Typology of Rural Agrarian Conflicts

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Abstract

This study was conducted at the rural areas in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The rural agrarian conflict tended to escalated at various places in the worlds, including rural areas in the province of South Sulawesi. The agrarian conflict whether its soft conflict or hard conflict, had been the triggered of greater social conflict, increased in social tension even prolonged insurgencies. This study aimed at find the typology of rural agrarian conflicts; discover the actors who were involved in the conflicts also aimed in discovers the solution of the conflict based on the inputs of the related stakeholders. This study was conducted in three stages: (1) Field trips to the agrarian conflict locations, to gather information. At this stage, the research was done to collect information that related with the theme of the study, discussed with several informants and witnessed on the locations which are the disputed objects. (2) Conducted in-depth interview with people from the communities or government and Large Private Plantations. (3) Analyzed the results and finding and constructed and reconstructed them according to the theme of this study. This study found three typology of rural agrarian conflict: conflict that based on the causes of conflict, conflict that based on the actors who were involved in the conflicts, and conflict that based on the intensity of the conflict.

keyword: Typology, Agrarian Conflict, Rural Areas, Indonesia.

1. Introduction

Various actions related to the struggle of community groups associated with agrarian conflict continued to escalate at the social spots at various sub-districts in Indonesia, even in the world. This ever increasing escalation in certain situation can interfere with social relations; will even lead to the social disaggregation, which ultimately has the potential for social conflict, vertically or horizontally.

The conflict in this study is defined as struggle between social groups who perceived each other as incompatible. These social groups used the frame of thinking, beliefs, perception, and values to fight or compete against each other, in order to sustain their basic needs with the intention to prevent, disturbs, and harm their opponents (Deutsch, 1973).

Generally, conflict is divided into two, soft conflict and hard conflict. Soft conflict interpreted as a continuous secret conflict, no physical clash but takes place continuously between farmers, fishermen (people) with the parties who intended to exploit them (Scott, 2000). Hard conflict is described as persistent and destructive conflict although it had been trying to be resolved many timed. (Grey et al., 2007). According to Coleman (2000), hard conflict always stalemate in finding resolution and has power resistance in escalating the conflict to harm other parties. In the previous studies, Burton (1987) describing the hard conflicted parties tend to have deep roots of conflict, while Azar (1990) referring to hard conflict as protracted social conflict. Hard conflict though its similar with other types of conflict, is generally viewed as the most complex to be solve because it has the potential to disunite social solidarity and it involves various social strata, thus hard conflict tend to influence destructive behavior of the conflicting parties and undermine the existing social interaction (Putnam et al., 2003). The weakening of social interaction between the conflicting parties will raise escalation of negative sentiment associated with religion, cultural identity, and more specifically issues of basic needs fulfillment, recognition, competition for power, self-determination and distributive justice (Gray et al., 2007; Coleman, 2000, 2003; Azar, 1990; Kriesberg, 1999).

Experiences in several countries have suggested that agrarian injustice had been the trigger of social conflict, social tension and even the prolonged insurgency. The cases of social conflict, insurgencies, and civil wars such as in Colombia, Peru, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Zimbabwe, Mindanao, Philippines, and several other developing countries were triggered by the lost of access of the local communities and indigenous people to their ancestral lands. Local communities lost their land where they earn their living, because the government tends to give land management authority to the investor. States often used land as a tool of capitalism. In addition, the States often occupied local people's land with the excuse for public interest. In this position, conflict often arise between local communities against the investor who are protected by the States (Taylor, 2011; Cramer and

Richard, 2011; Thompson, 2011; Rothgeb, 1995; Murray, 1989; Sikor, 2006; Peluso, Afiff and Rachman, 2008; Chauveau and Richards, 2008; Richards, 2005; Peters, 2004; Worby, 2001; Vellema et al., 2011).

Conflict often caused by irresolvable agrarian problem. Where the main agrarian problems (land, water and natural resources) are concentration of ownership, control, and exploitation of agrarian resources including land, forest, mining, and waters in the control of few people or large corporations who have the capital. On the contrary, there are millions of people with narrowed land or even landless. The emergence of agriculture commercialization not only has marginalized position of local communities for the control of the lands, but has been the trigger of ecological crisis, namely the decline in biodiversity characteristics. Environmental damage and commercialization of agriculture in the rural areas has contributed to the increased of urbanization. These conditions have been the triggered of agrarian conflict (Peluso et al., 2008; Andre and Platteau, 1998; Fred-Mensah, 1999; Daudelin, 2002; Cotula, Toulmin and Hesse, 2004; Van Donge, 1999).

In Indonesia, according to the National Bureau of Land (*BPN*) and Agrarian Assimilation Consortium, until 2011, agrarian cases had reached over 8000 cases, with 163 times number of conflict. It is a dramatic increased if compared with year 2010 were only 106 conflict cases. These conflicts involved more that 69.974 households while the size of conflicted areas approximately 472.948,44 ha. Among 163 cases, there are 97 cases in the plantation sector (60%), 36 cases in the forestry sector (22%) and 1 case in the ponds/coastal sector (1%). According to the distribution of conflict areas, the most agrarian conflict cases are in East Java with 36 cases, North Sumatera with 25 cases, Eastern Sulawesi with 15 cases, Central Java with 12 cases, Jambi with 11 cases, South Sulawesi with 11 cases, Riau with 10 cases, South Sumatera with 9 cases, Lampung with 5 cases and the rest are spread over other provinces in Indonesia.

In South Sulawesi, where the study was conducted, during the year 2010-2011, there were 21 protests and demonstrations by community groups from various regencies, relating to agrarian conflicts. The phenomenon of increased communal demands for agrarian disputes showed that there is hidden ammunition for horizontal disputes between the communities and the government (Office of Plantations and Forestry) State-Owned Enterprises (SOE/ *BUMN PTPN*), Private Sector (Large Private Estates/ LPP). Ignoring these signals can trigger hard conflict between the communities and the government or between communities and investor or private sector.

This study is intended dan limited to: find the agrarian conflict typology in South Sulawesi. Secondly, portraying the institutions or actors in agrarian disputes in South Sulawesi, and lastly discovers the conflict resolutions by considering the views or opinions of conflicting parties.

2. Methodology

This study began by gathering information about the locations of community conflicts (farmers, fishermen, and indigenous people) with the government (especially SOE, States Plantations and Forestry) and Large Private Plantation (LPP) in South Sulawesi. South Sulawesi is a region with long history of conflict. In addition, South Sulawesi has diverse political culture and high economic growth. These information then developed by conducting in-depth interview with the communities or aggrieved parties of the conflict. The interview started with personal discussion then to group discussion or Focus Group Discussion (FGD). In-depth interview and FGDs were conducted in informal setting (the informants were not aware that the study is being conducted). This was intended to objectively get view or gain knowledge about the history of land that is the object of conflict. Thus, prevent the suspicions or fears of giving out information by the informants.

Other sources of informations were the government and LPP. The research team also interviewed numbers of government personnel and LPP, and gathered rules or regulations that has legal standing and used by the government of LPP to occupy the disputed lands. The interview with the government and LPP were not in-depth as in with the communities, due to the limited knowledge of personnel who were being interviewed. The information obtained from them generally refers to the rules or government formal regulations.

This study was created in three stages; (1) Field trips to locations that are known to have agrarian conflict, namely nine locations at the Regencies in South Sulawesi. At this stage, collection of the related materials was carried out, discussions with several informants, and visited the locations of disputed objects. (2) Conducted in-depth interview, listened or recorded the story that were being told by the actors from the communities, government or LPP. (3) Analyzed the findings and constructed it according to the theme of the study.

In this study, data and information that were obtained, expressed in the form of description which explained the chronological order of the conflicts along with remarks and explanations of the related parties. Identified conflicts were also classified according to the causes of conflict, parties of the conflict and the government agencies/office that were involved in it.

(i) 3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Typology and types of agrarian conflict

Typology of rural agrarian conflicts in South Sulawesi can be classified into three main classifications, namely, the conflict that based on the conflicting parties, conflict arise due to the causes of conflict and intensity of the conflict. Explanation about typology classification as follow:

First, typology of agrarian conflict based on the conflicting parties; there were four main classifications, namely: conflict between people and LPP and or mining companies; conflict between governments (office of forestry) with the surrounding forest communities; agrarian conflict amongst the government and conflict between communities.

Second, typology of agrarian conflict that refer to the cause of conflict, the study found two main causes: unilateral issuance of land permission or decision on the function of land, or unilateral claim by the government or investor to the land that has been dominated by the communities; and unpaid land compensation or the amount of compensation did not suitable to the current price of the land as paid by the government or investors to exempt public land for the private investment project or for other public interest.

Third, typology of agrarian conflict based on the intensity of the conflict. This typology showed there are two types on conflict intensity, hard conflict and soft conflict. Intensity of hard conflict usually occurs in conflict between local communities and LPP or large mining (for commercialized or capitalized land). Hard conflict often happened with the acquisition of disputed land by the people. Other form of hard conflict is the demonstrations or vandalism by the community. While soft conflict tended to happen between the community with the states or governments (office of forestry), especially, when the states changed function of the land to be use for public or government interest, not for commercialization. Form of conflict marked by the gathering of mob then they express their aspirations through certain people or government agencies. In addition, soft conflict, often carried out by clandestine actions such as moving the boundary marks of disputed land, revoke the signs or warning boards, or other boards that tends to put them at disadvantage them. Moreover, the community also fought secretly by taking over or vandalized the existing resources on the disputed land.

3.2 Types of Agrarian Conflict

Several types of rural agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi based on the typology presented previously can be seen on result of these studies:

(ii) The conflict case between communities (416 households, in-total of 1.502 people) with *PTPN* (States Owned Plantation Companies) at district of North *Luwu*, sub-district of *Mappideceng* with the conflict actors are PTPN XIV, disputed land of 1.581 Ha. This case began with rearrangement of land boundary marks or Forest Land Use Agreement (*TGHK*) in the 1980's by the office of forestry for the land clearing planned for

Coconut Palm Plantation of *PTPN* XIV (in the 1980's *PTPN* XIV known as *PTP* XVIII).

This conflict began to unfold when the exploration and determination of *TGHK* was made unilaterally by the government (Office of Forestry). The determination of land boundary mark in this area did not involve local community. Based on these *TGHK*, all territory of formertownship which also the farm land of the village communities at *Kampung Kumila* and *Buntu Le'pon* where the land marks and boundary existed since the Dutch era, included in the Forest Land Use Agreement (*TGHK*).

In addition to *TGHK* boundaries, the previous year in the early 1979 data collection were conducted for land acquisition for palm oil plantation *Luwu I afdeling Inti Mappedeceng* with the area of 2.020 Ha. Land survey conducted at the lands of communities for the compensation payment of their plants, especially for the productive plants. For those who refused to be surveys were threaten to be taken by military forces.

The main source of conflict lies in the process of taking over the rights of local communities by the government or investor unilaterally. The take over process did not involve the community. This case based on the typology of conflict as classified in this study, showed that the conflicted parties are the local communities against the government or SOE, with hard conflict intensity. The local communities conducted several demonstrations, occupied the disputed land even burned-down the resources in the object of conflict.

(iii) Plantation conflict at Regent of *Wajo*, sub-district of *Keera* and *Gilireng* with the land disputes of 8.000 Ha. In the year 1972, *PT.Bina Mulia Ternak* (*PT.BMT*) expanded its business to the sub-district of *Pitumpanua*, now known as sub-district of *Keera*, they intended to purchased communities' land with compensation cost. The compensation amount was varied, for the paddies field and productive plantation around twelve millions rupiah to twenty five millions rupiah per hectare. The conflicts worsen when *PT BMT* never paid the compensation. Now, it is increasingly hard to resolve the conflict, because few years

prior to this study, the ownership of conflicted land had been transferred to PTP XIV from *PT BMT* without informing/consent of the local communities who claimed the rights on the disputed land.

Based on this study, it showed the conflict typology happened because the occupant of the land (PT BMT) did not deliver their promise to pay the compensation of the land. Followed the pattern of the study, this conflict typology can be classified as based on the reason of the conflict. While the conflicting parties were the private company (PT BMT) against the local communities. Conflict intensity can be classified as hard conflict where is characterized by the long duration of the conflict, resolution had not been found, tendency of the communities to be destructive, i.e., took or occupied the available resources at the disputed locations.

(iv) The plantation conflict at the Regency of *Sidrap*, sub-district of *Pitu Riase*, the conflicted parties is *PT* BULI and *PTPN XIV* against the local communities. The conflict was triggered by the government regulations to transfer the land cultivation rights from the communities to the *PT BULI* (private company) located at village of *Bila Riase*, sub-district of *Pitu Riase*. The people claimed their rights on the disputed land. Meanwhile, *PT BULI* claimed that they entitled to the land of 11.900 Ha based on the regulations of Cultivation Right from the government issued in 1973 and had been extended on 2009 for 25 years until 2034.

Conflict was triggered by the arrogance of government and private company that did not involve local communities on meeting for determination of land marks for cultivation right. Intensity of the conflict can be categorized as soft conflict. Resistance of the people toward PTBULI and PTPNXIV still in the form of protest or questioned the land marks of HGU. In addition, they covertly cultivated few hectares of the disputed land. In this conflict case there was not destruction or burglarized of the existing resources in the disputed land.

Another plantation conflict at the regency of *Sidrap* is the conflict which involved community of indigenous people of *Sando Batu*, at sub-district of Pittue, approximately 320 households or 1367 people against the Office of Forestry. The government claimed disputed forest territory as restricted forest production area (HPT) and protected forest (HL). However, the indigenous community claimed the territory based on the history and pattern of resources management and allocation which based on the local custom/culture. Meanwhile, the office of forestry claimed the same area based on the positive law imposed by the government.

This conflict classified as soft conflict, resistance of the communities against the states still in the form of protest by submitted written exception. The people used customary law approach to resolving the dispute. However, at the same time the community continued to occupy the land secretly.

(v) Plantation conflict between *PT.Semesta Margareksa (PT.SM)* with the communities surrounding the plantation at Regency of *Sidrap*, with the disputed land of 20.165 Ha.

The triggered of the conflict was *Sidrap*'s Regent Decree regarding location permit No. 341/2006 dated 24 August 2006 for *PT.SM* for sugar cane plantations estates, total area of 20.165 ha. The issuance of permit caused great social impact due to the lost of access of communities to their farmland. Additionally, the process of land metering was done unilateraly; it was only attended by the parties of *PT.SM* and government personnel. The government of Sidrap had failed to acknowledge the existence and knowledge of local people during the process, which has escalated the conflict between the communities and the government and investor. Conflict intensity still classified as soft conflict with the form of critical protest, such as exception and statement of the communities regarding the location permit *of PT.SM*. Though it is a soft conflict, but it was conducted systematical and organized by the community. This signaled the possibility of prolong conflict and can possibly turn into hard conflict.

(vi) Forestry conflict at the Regency of *Sinjai*, sub-district *Sinjai Borong*, and the conflicted parties are Office of Forestry against the forest communities of village *Bontokatute*.

The people of *Bontokatute* administered their territory far before independence of Indonesia by honored the concept of management sustainability. Their territory divided into two areas, namely cultivation area and prohibited area (indigenous forest). The people of *Bontokatute* treated the prohibited forest as the indigenous forest; they called it "*Barannai and Lembangia*". In this area only collecting the ropes or rattan is allowed.

Around 1950's (five years after independence of Indonesia), the prohibited forest were clarified with the signed of agreement between the communities, represented by the village leaders, *Sikki Pahamalang and Jappa*, and as the representative of the forestry office was *Karaeng Daming*. They agreed to divide the territory into two areas by planted bamboo trees as the boundary, until today this agreement still honored and valued by the local communities.

Although the agreement still honored by the indigenous people; the government through the office of forestry unilaterally regulated the Bontokute territory as protected forest in 1995. The regulations as protected forest

caused protest by the indigenous community, but it was ignored by the government of Sinjai. Even one resident named Muh.Rustam Hamka was sentenced in jailed for two month with the allegation of provocation of the community against the government by protesting the establishment of protected forest areas.

Conflict with the same type also happened at *Sinjai* namely mining conflict at the sub-district of Sinjai Borong. The actors of conflict are *PT.Galena Sumber Energi* against around 608 households or 2678 inhabitants. Source of the conflict was the mining license (IUP) for exploration of gold in the indigenous territory of *Barambang*. This caused social rejection by the people of *Barambang Katute* at village of *Bonto Katute*; they did not want their indigenous area became a mining location. Conflict intensity categorized as hard conflict and tended to be frontal. The indigenous people felt violated; they organized the protest by taking controlled of disputed land, damaged the existing facilities and expelled *PT.Galena Sumber Energy*.

(vii) Forest conflicts at the Regency of *Gowa*, sub-district of *Tombolo Pao*, the conflicted actors are Office of Forestry against the communities around the disputed area. This tenure conflict started from a project of pine seedling at the village of *Matteko* in 1977. A year after that the pine seed was planted in the same area. In 1979 or a year after the planting, the forestry office of Regency of *Gowa* established village *Matekko* as protected forest territory without acknowledged the local communities in the vicinity during process. As a result, the establishment of community farmland as protected forest, the communities protested against the government. This resistance ended up with the accusation of few *Matteko* villagers as suspect of protected forest annexation. Number of villagers' victims in this conflict is around 80 households.

The intensity of the conflict is a hard conflict; the people fought by take control of the disputed land because the land had been the source of income for the local communities.

Conflict with similar properties as in *Gowa* is the forest conflict at the Regency of *Enrekang*, sub-district of *Maiwa*. The actors of the conflict are Office of Forestry and the indigenous community with as many as 1093 inhabitants. The disputed area is estimates 960 ha. This conflict occurred due to the establishment of management areas of the indigenous people of *Baringan* as States' forest territory.

(viii) Plantation conflict at the Regency of *Bulukumba*; the conflicting parties are *PT.Lonsum* and people around the plantation; estimated disputed land 1500 ha.

The conflict was triggered by the establishment of Cultivation Permits (HGU) for PT.Lonsum. According to the people in the vicinity areas of the rubber plantations, total existing area of rubber plantation exceeded 1500 ha, where only 1500 HA stated in the permit. Based on that assumption, the communities requested re-measurement by the National Land Authority (BPN). If there is excess land, not mentioned in the HGU document, then they asked to be strike out from the areas of PT.Lonsum.

This conflict has been going for decades, due to the full support of government for PT.Lonsum, and their refusal to re-measure the total areas of HGU. Intensity of the conflict is classified as hard conflict, the communities demanded re-measurement of the HGU areas and continued to demonstrate at government office, vandalized the resources of PT.Lonsum, and tried to take control the HGU land and even assaulted and physically fought with PT.Lonsum Personnel or government official.

(ix) Conflict between the government and government and conflict amongst the communities. In this study, types of agrarian conflict, found mostly regarding the landmark conflict or boundaries between the regencies in South Sulawesi, such conflict happened at the boundaries of the regencies of *Toraja* and *Enrekang, Bulukumba* and *Sinjai, Soppeng* and *Wajo, Parepare* and *Sidrap,* last are *Toraja* and City of *Palopo*.

Intensity of the conflict is classified as soft conflict. No demonstration, vandalism or illegal occupant of land in this type of conflict. Conflict only happened at the discussion table. This condition due to causes of conflict is the administrative problem amongst the conflicted regencies. Conflict amongst the government caused involvement of civil society. This type of conflict can turn into hard conflict is both parties have different culture, ethnicities and religion. The boundaries conflict in the rural areas of South Sulawesi did not show any of the above characteristics.

3.3 Stakeholder' views regarding the agrarian conflict

This study also gathered various views or stakeholders' opinion regarding the importance of resolving of agrarian conflict. Their reasons are as follows:

Firstly, there is escalating trend of violence in agrarian conflict. The height of the violence was murdered of the people who were involved in the agrarian dispute. Types of violence experienced by the conflicting parties such as shooting, physical and mental torture, apprehension, eviction from their land and or properties, vandalism, burn down of houses or lands, terror intimidations and rapes of the family/people who fought in the agrarian conflict. (*Dg.Fatahuddin*, a resident of Bulukumba who had conflict with *PT.Lonsum*).

Secondly, the type of current agrarian conflict not only has violence dimensions, furthermore these conflict caused: (1) Lost of people access to the agrarian resources; (2) Damage of society social structure due to the unbalanced agrarian structure; and (3) Degradation of ecological quality that directly related to the descendants of the people who lived in that ecosystem. These signs of conflict have increased due to rise of courage of the victims (communities) because the political atmosphere have changed and the availability of democratic channels to protest up to repossession of controlled for their land and utilization of the disputed land (*Sulaiman Djafar*, conflict victim at the Regency of Sinjai).

Thirdly, the agrarian conflict itself reflected discontentment of the situations or no sense of fairness, especially for the disadvantage people (farmers, fishermen and indigenous communities). They mainly rely on the land or natural resources as their source of living. For them, controlled over land and the natural resources are the requirements for their safety and sustainability. However, this agrarian conflict had destroyed those requirements. Along with unfairness and discontentment in the conflict, attached numerous violence, eviction, and exploitation and suppression by the state officials, company' personnel or other parties who were hired by the companies to evict the people. (*Sudirman Nganro*, a farmer who demanded compensation in the plantation dispute at Regency of Sidrap).

Fourthly, the settlement of structural agrarian conflict could not be resolved case by case or be assigned to a specific government agency, because the current agrarian conflicts involved many sectors and actors. One party continued to raise the cause of agrarian conflict and inexistence of systematic efforts to resolve the conflicts, especially fulfillment of a sense of justice and the basic rights of the victims. Inexistence of clear mechanism, in resolving the agrarian conflict provided opportunity for violence approach and used of arm forces by the government and the companies in occupying the people's land or natural resources. Indeed this is very contradictive with the 1945 constitution, agrarian law 1960, and MPR Decree No. IX 2001 regarding Agrarian Reform and Management of Natural Resources (*Prof. Dr. Arf*, lecturer at University of Hasanuddin).

Opinions of the civilian stakeholders can be summarized as follows:

(1) The answer to question of unfairness of agrarian controlled can be found in the fact that agrarian conflicts at the numbers of location in almost half of the regencies in South Sulawesi underline the fact of unfairness of agrarian resources controlled. The agrarian conflict reflected the fact of unsatisfactory situation and or no sense of justice, especially for certain groups that relied on earning their living from land or natural resource, namely farmers, fishermen, and the indigenous society.

(2) Resolving the agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi with social justice principal means it prevented the violence potential between famers and the government personnel/SOE/Private Corporations. The fact showed series of rural agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi often followed with physical clash between the conflicted parties.

(3) Resolving agrarian conflict will provided the answer of food crisis threat in Indonesia. Food crisis threat shall be understand fundamentally as the effect of land crisis by the farmers. The cause of land crisis was the defeat of farmers in every agrarian conflict. Thus, rural people had been abandoned profession as farmers gradually. The case in South Sulawesi showed the number of residents who worked at the agriculture sectors (including plantation, forestry, animal husbandry, and fisheries) in the year 2010 approximately 1.572.479 people. While in 2011, the number had decline to 1.469.245 farmers or 103.200 people less than previous year (Statistical Bureau of South Sulawesi, 2010). Abandonment of farmer profession underlined the bigger potential of food crisis. Based on these facts, settlement of rural agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi not merely matter of law enforcement, but also closely related to the aspect socio-economics and politics. The province of South Sulawesi highly depended on local domestic income from the agricultural sector. Thus, settlement of agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi shall be prioritized immediately by involving all of related stakeholders.

3.4 Actions for Agrarian Conflict Settlements

Based on the discussion result with various parties and stakeholders who were the informant of this study, the proposed actions to reduce rural agrarian conflict in South Sulawesi are as follows:

- 1) Conduct survey or re-registration of all of disputed agrarian objects in South Sulawesi, and thorough study of the entire disputed lands documentations by the stakeholders.
- 2) Create a special forum to share information. Discuss and inventoried the desires of all related stakeholders (i.e. related government agencies, SOE, Private Corporation that relates with agrarian dispute, *DPRD*/Provincial Parliament and NGOs and Related Communities).
- 3) Create special task force at the Provincial Parliamentary for agrarian conflict settlement in South Sulawesi. The task force must conduct field trips to the disputed lands to verify the claims of each party in order to resolve the agrarian conflict. Then, they will discuss the findings in the internal meeting and

initiate the parliament for a special meeting with related stakeholders in order to get new inputs to resolve the agrarian disputes in South Sulawesi.

4) Special task force (*Pansus*) shall compose political recommendations for agrarian conflict settlement in South Sulawesi. Existence of a local committee for agrarian settlement that has legal formal standing such as Provincial Regulation (*Perda*) or Governor's Decree. In this matter, it is imperative to have the involvement of private companies (associations or individual) especially plantation estates, forestry or mining companies to be included in constructing a common perspective to resolve the agrarian conflicts. The participation of these actors is important in mainstream the dispute settlement and prioritized win-win solution also social justice in settling the agrarian conflicts.

4. Conclusion

This study found three typologies of rural agrarian conflicts in South Sulawesi, which are: based on the causes of conflict; institution or actor who were involved in the conflict and intensity of the conflict. The most dominant conflict was due to regulations (such as, license or permit, determination of protected forest) often conducted unilaterally by the government, and ignored the existence of local or indigenous communities. The conflict institutions are generally local communities against the government or plantation or Large Private Plantation. The intensity of the conflict often was hard conflicts.

The actions for rural agrarian conflict settlement in South Sulawesi has at least two options: firstly informal movement which is organized by the civil society group to create independent forum as the place for discussion, information sharing, and data the desires of all related stakeholders. This forum then, recommend their result to the government as the basis for conflict policy resolution. Secondly, a formal movement by creating a special task forces (local committee of agrarian conflict settlement for South Sulawesi) through provincial parliament. This formal movement is expected to compose political recommendation for agrarian conflict settlement.

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