

Actors in conflict and competition for living space in the Poboya gold mining area, Palu City, Central Sulawesi

Aktor-aktor konflik dan perebutan ruang hidup dikawasan tambang emas Poboya Kota Palu, Sulawesi Tengah

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Abstract

The conflict in the Poboya mining area has not ended due to the large number of parties involved in the conflict and conflict resolution has not been achieved optimally when the parties involved continue to risk strength for the struggle for living space. Social conflict mapping is needed as a conflict resolution step. This research aims to identify conflict patterns and analyze conflict relations between actors in the Poboya gold mining area of Palu City. A descriptive qualitative approach was used to extract empirical data through observation methods, in-depth interviews, and news searches related to conflict phenomena. Data were analyzed interpretatively through an interactive analysis model including data reduction, data display and data verification. Meanwhile, data validity was carried out through the triangulation method. The results showed that conflict patterns stemmed from the continuous struggle for territory. Conflict has two characteristics, namely latent and manifest. The existence of conflict follows the existence and relations between actors in the conflict scheme. It is concluded that the mining industry creates social conflict vulnerabilities that are difficult to end. The findings of this research indicate the need for conflict management and resolution in mining areas.

Keywords: conflict dynamic; conflict map; Poboya mine; actors in conflict

Abstrak

Konflik di kawasan tambang Poboya belum usai disebabkan oleh banyaknya pihak-pihak yang terlibat konflik dan resolusi konflik belum tercapai maksimal ketika pihak-pihak terlibat terus mempertaruhkan kekuatan untuk perebutan ruang hidup. Pemetaan konflik sosial dibutuhkan sebagai langkah resolusi konflik. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi pola-pola konflik serta menganalisis relasi-relasi konflik antar aktor di kawasan pertambangan emas Poboya Kota Palu. Pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif digunakan untuk penggalan data empirik melalui metode observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan penelusuran berita terkait fenomena konflik. Data dianalisis secara interpretatif melalui model analisis interaktif meliputi reduksi data, display data dan verifikasi data. Sedangkan keabsahan data dilakukan melalui metode triangulasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pola-pola konflik bersumber dari adanya perebutan kawasan secara terus-menerus. Konflik memiliki dua sifat, yaitu laten dan manifes. Eksisnya konflik mengikuti eksistensi dan relasi antar aktor yang berada dalam skema konflik. Disimpulkan bahwa industri pertambangan menciptakan kerentanan konflik sosial yang sulit diakhiri. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan perlunya manajemen dan resolusi konflik dikawasan pertambangan.

Kata kunci: dinamika konflik; peta konflik; tambang Poboya; aktor-aktor konflik

Introduction

Agrarian conflicts in Indonesia are a social phenomenon that continues to rage to this day. Similarly, in Central Sulawesi, conflicts arising from mining industrialization have become a central issue that is very important to study further. Land is a source of conflict because it contains limited (scarce) resources. Because the value of land is so fundamental, conflicts are passed down from generation to generation. For almost two decades, the Poboya gold mining area in Palu City has been a source of conflict over limited resources, namely gold. This area was originally a small-scale traditional mine controlled by the community, but it gradually turned into an industry controlled by companies. A recent study found that the conflict in the Poboya gold mining area was caused by unequal land ownership, which was dominated by the company PT Citra Palu Minerals (PT CPM). The conflict stemmed from demands for justice, disappointment, and unilateral claims (Nutfra et al. 2024).

Land and its contents are the main sources of conflict in the agrarian sector (Wiradi 2009b). Similarly, Manguntara et al. (2006) state that agrarian conflict is a legacy of colonialism, the Old Order, the New Order, and the post-reform era. Why is this so? Because land is fundamental to society and there is no final resolution to agrarian disputes (Wiradi 2009a, Shohibuddin 2018). Another opinion says that land is a resource that is always contested because it contains materials needed by humans (Sitorus et al. 2002, Fauzi 2003). The emergence of agrarian conflict cases marks the existence of inequality in the control of natural resources (land and its contents), which means that the conflict involves two or more groups (Manguntara et al. 2006, Zuber 2013). The inequality can even be a source of poverty for one of the parties subordinated due to conflict (Rasyid et al. 2022).

According to conflict theory, if the distribution of resources is unequal, it will lead to conflict (Pruitt & Rubin 2010). Conflict will occur if there is something that is contested, including certain interests (Doda 2005, Alwajir 2018). Another opinion says conflict is always closely related to the roles of actors who directly or indirectly contribute to the contribution (potential) of conflict (Nasikun 2012, Kasim & Nurdin 2015). In the case of agrarian conflicts, conflicts often involve conflicts between companies (corporations) and civilians (communities) (Rachman 2012, Shohibuddin 2018). However, according to Nutfra in her research in Central Sulawesi, agrarian conflicts in this region have involved three main actors: civilians (indigenous peoples), companies (PT KLS) and the government (the state) - the conflicts have marginalized indigenous peoples (Nutfra et al. 2023).

In Central Sulawesi, especially in Palu City, agrarian disputes involving multiple actors have not ended until now. According to the results of research by Nutfra et al. (2024), gold as a natural resource is one of the causes of agrarian conflict in Central Sulawesi, including social conflicts in mining areas. Several studies have found that conflicts over land tenure inequality, as well as conflicts over land (land) occur in rural areas (Wiradi 2009a, Shohibuddin et al. 2017, Cahyono et al. 2019, Rasyid et al. 2022), but this study has proven that agrarian conflicts also occur in urban areas, such as those in Palu City due to natural resources in the form of gold.

Other research (Zainuddin & Soetarto 2012, Lahandu et al. 2016), revealed that the agrarian conflict in Palu City was a conflict over gold mining areas, especially in the area of the Royal Forest Park (Tahura) in which there was a social system. Other research also revealed that the conflict involved actors. Conflicts are driven by fundamental factors such as environmental (ecological) damage, injustice in resource distribution (land division), structural violence, and other hidden interests (Jahi 2001, Walhi Sulteng 2018). On the other hand, conflicts in the Poboya gold mining area require serious resolution so that there is no prolonged resistance (conflict), even requiring conflict mapping that should be a reference for conflict resolution.

Several studies have recommended the importance of conflict resolution and conflict management in Poboya to prevent the conflict from escalating (Andi & Setiawan 2012, Djuhri 2022). Moreover, news about conflict cases in Poboya has always been a hot and sensitive discourse in Palu City due to the

unfinished agrarian dispute (Harian Sulteng 2022, Izfaldi 2022, Tula 2022, Urip 2022). So far, conflict mapping in Poboya has not been done seriously. Referring to previous research (Zainudin & Soetarto 2012, Nutfa et al. 2024), conflict mapping in Poboya indicates that conflicts involve several actors including the city government, security forces, miners' associations, illegal miners, local political elites and customary institutions.

The findings of this study indicate that the Poboya gold mining area is the only source of agrarian conflict in Palu City that still exists today. There are at least two important reasons why this area became the locus of research: (1) Although the conflict is not always visible on the surface, it still exists latently, giving rise to seasonal patterns of conflict; and (2) The Poboya gold mining area is an area of contention between companies (PT CPM), illegal miners, and local elites. This study describes the dynamics of conflict and analyzes the conflict map in the Poboya gold mining industrial area in Palu City.

Research Method

This research was conducted in Poboya Village, Palu City, Central Sulawesi in 2024. The reason for choosing Poboya Village was because this area has a mining area, most of which is controlled or owned by PT Citra Palu Minerals (PT CPM), the only company exploring for gold in this area. Since the discovery of gold deposits, many local residents have turned to illegal mining, joining other illegal miners from outside the area. In the last ten years, some of the local community has worked as contract employees or vendor employees at PT CPM. However, sadly, the local community is very sensitive to issues of mining conflict because the conflict involves multiple parties, especially the conflict between the community who feel aggrieved or who are pro-illegal mining and the company, as well as with the police, so that researchers encountered difficulties when collecting primary data. This study uses a qualitative approach to describe social phenomena (Bungin 2015) - regarding conflicts in the Poboya gold mining area in Palu City. This study is descriptive in nature through the process of analyzing the subjects' views, interpreting narratives, and understanding the natural context of the research subjects (Creswell 2014, Moleong 2014).

The research unit of analysis is the groups that experience events (Bungin 2015), namely the parties who experience conflict of interest situations. Research informants were determined purposively through specific and objective criteria. Research informants consisted of company employees (PT. CPM), local community leaders, and NGO leaders. Informants were selected based on their knowledge of conflicts involving multiple actors, their work at the company, and their involvement in organizing or assisting communities experiencing conflict. A total of five informants were interviewed to provide explanations about the dynamics of the conflict and to describe the elements or actors involved in the conflict in the Poboya gold mining area.

The researcher is the main instrument (key instrument) in this research (Bungin 2015), then supported by other instruments in the form of interview guidelines and observation papers. Data were collected through empirical observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis data (Sugiyono 2016). Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis is used to analyze data through the processes of data reduction, presentation, and verification (Marvasti 2004, Miles & Huberman 2007). Researchers reduce or simplify data by filtering the required data, grouping the data, and categorizing or conceptualizing the data. When simplifying data, researchers sort data, code data, and summarize key findings or abstractions. Next, researchers present the data so that the results of the simplification can be arranged in a pattern between data and interrelated. Then, researchers categorize the data by conceptualizing data relevant to the research topic so that the data becomes meaningful and has achieved the research objectives. The final stage after simplifying and presenting the data is for researchers to draw conclusions and verify the findings. Data reliability is achieved through triangulation. Researchers extend the data collection time at the research site, conduct repeated interviews, clarify data with key informants, analyze news, and compare data.

Results and Discussion

In this section, the research findings are organized into two discussions: the first section explains the patterns of conflict and social tension in gold mining areas. The second part explains the conflict map in the Poboya gold mining area. The first part of the overview discusses land as a natural resource that causes agrarian conflicts because it contains high-value elements, namely gold. Meanwhile, the second part discusses the results of the author's analysis of the conflict through mapping the actors involved in the conflict situation in the Poboya gold mining area.

Patterns of conflict and social tension in the gold mining area

The results showed that in the conflict in the mining area (gold), the potential of natural resources became a source of conflict. As in the Poboya gold mining area, the existence of social conflict in this area marks various kinds of social dynamics. There has always been conflict between local communities and companies. The latest controversy occurred in 2023. This conflict arose from dissatisfaction with the unilateral claim made by the company PT. CPM, which continues to attempt to dominate control of the land (areas) that is believed to contain gold. In addition, the land ownership claim between the company and the local community remains unresolved to this day. This is consistent with the following statement from an informant AGF:

“The conflict that occurred in Poboya Village in 2023 was caused by PT CPM, where the company suddenly claimed land in the mountains belonging to PT CPM without the knowledge of the Poboya community, and prohibited the community from mining activities in the PT. CPM area. In fact, many residents of Poboya still own land in the mountains, but their land does not have certificates.” (Informant AGF).

Based on the results of the investigation, factual social tensions in the Poboya gold mining area began to heat up again in 2023 after the previous years had subsided. The conflict in 2023 was when PT CPM suddenly claimed the Poboya mining area as corporate property. The claim was without the knowledge of the Poboya community, and then had consequences on the prohibition of the community from conducting mining activities. According to local community leaders, PT CPM's unilateral claim is very detrimental to the Poboya community because many Poboya people own land in the disputed area but they do not have ownership certificates. Finally, tensions could not be avoided, especially when the mining community clashed with the police who used a militaristic approach. Experts argue that conflict is caused by the struggle for resources, especially limited resources and economically valuable resources (Zuber 2013, Zakie 2017).

Another informant, HDK, added that this conflict was caused by factors related to mining land management, which the community considered unfair, as well as inequality in control of mining land, as he acknowledged below:

“The conflict between the Poboya community and PT. CPM was caused by several factors, including issues surrounding the management of mining land. All of the land above (the mining area) belongs to PT. CPM, which is adjacent to Taman Hutan Raya.” (Informant HDK).

Both informants emphasized that the conflict in the Poboya gold mining area involved three important aspects, namely: (1) a long-standing and recurring conflict between the community and the company (PT. CPM); (2) a struggle for or attempt to dominate control of valuable resources (gold), which was won by PT. CPM; and (3) the lack of legal status of land ownership, which further complicates the resolution of the conflict and allows it to continue.

Conflicts in mining areas are conflicts between parties that fight over agrarian resources that are economically valuable and limited in nature (Zakaria et al. 2015). Thus, social conflict in the Poboya gold mining area is an agrarian conflict motivated by the struggle for natural resources (living space)

involving interested groups. According to several studies, the conflict began with a dispute between PT CPM and the local community when the establishment of a conservation area, namely the 1000 ha Botanical Forest Park and Poboya Nature Reserve. This was in accordance with forestry ministerial decrees No. 461/kpts-II/1995 and No. 24/kptsII/1999.

However, in 1997 gold porenecy was discovered when PT CPM conducted exploration in the Poboya area. Then, in the same year, through Presidential Decree Number B-143/Pres/3/1997, PT CPM was declared to have a mining area of 561,050 hectares. This legitimacy became the beginning of the source of conflict because in 2005 when local communities (without legality) carried out mining activities, they began to clash with PT CPM.

According to several sources, the conflict began to heat up when the production operation license was issued by the Central Sulawesi regional government through decree number 422. K/30/DJB/Regarding Approval of the Increase in the Production Operation Stage of PT CPM's Contract of Work in 2017. This permit was based on the decision letter of the Governor of Central Sulawesi Number 660/576/ILH/DPMPTSP concerning Environmental Permit for Gold Mining and Management Activity Plan in Block I Poboya Palu City, Central Sulawesi Province by PT CPM.

Then in 2017, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources issued Decree No. 422.K/30/DJB/2017 concerning the approval to increase the production operation stage of PT Citra Palu Minerals' contract of work. On this basis, the exploitation license of PT CPM began on November 14, 2017 until December 31, 2050 (Lamboka 2017). Based on this, it is understood that the pattern of conflict in the mining area is formed from several factors, namely: (1) the discovery of potential natural resources of economic value; (2) the existence of institutional legitimacy for the exploration and exploitation of natural resources; and (3) the involvement and interests between parties to exploit the potential of these natural resources.

According to informant's AGF and HDK, since the issuance of the mining permit, the community has been conducting mining activities in the Poboya area based on the legitimacy of the Poboya customary institution. Economic factors are the main reason why the community conducts mining activities, followed by historical factors related to local community land ownership. In addition, the strengthening of the issue of customary territories (land) has further exacerbated the chaos caused by overlapping land ownership between local communities and corporations (PT. CPM).

Another informant, WWN, also said that when the conflict between the community and the company occurred in 2022, the community was confronted with pressure from security forces (the police) who used weapons. The story is as follows:

"When the conflict occurred in 2022, it started in the morning and lasted until night. The community blocked access to the mining site and did not allow any employees to enter. At noon, the company called the police and deployed several fully armed officers. At night, the community was forcibly dispersed by the authorities using tear gas. The impact of the tear gas was felt not only by adults but also by children, who felt the sting of the tear gas as the police indiscriminately fired it at residents' homes." (Informant WWN).

Confrontations between the community and the company (PT. CPM) always began with the community blocking the road leading to the company. The company, feeling aggrieved and unable to compromise with the community, chose to use the police to stop the action. The demanding community is forced to face the police. The confrontation escalates when the police use violent methods to disperse the community's protests. As a result, the community, including children, suffers the adverse effects of violence.

According to the author's observations, customary institutions and city and provincial governments have repeatedly mediated conflicts between the claimant communities and the company, including involving the Komnas HAM in the resolution of land disputes (areas). However, these efforts have so far been unable

to stop open confrontation and latent confrontation (resentment and dissatisfaction). This finding is in line with conflict theory, which states that conflict is part of human life that marks the survival of individuals. Therefore, conflict still exists in society, but it must be regulated in such a way that it does not damage the social system as a whole (Pruitt & Rubin 2010). There is also another opinion that states that conflict marks the occurrence of social dynamics that bring about small to large-scale social change (Lauer 2012).

The findings of this study show that the community's distrust of the mediation process has further strengthened the patterned and repetitive dynamics of the conflict. The pattern of conflict referred to is open confrontation between the claimant community, which is dominated by illegal miners, and the company, which is then protected by security forces through intimidation and armed violence. This dynamic occurs repeatedly at certain intervals, making it difficult to predict the ending of this conflict. Therefore, conflict is a social phenomenon and is inherent in every society (Borgatta & Montgomery 2012, Nasikun 2012). According to conflict theory, conflict is one form of dynamics in social life so that it will continue to exist (Poloma 2012). The most common form of conflict as in this case is conflict between groups based on interests (Ritzer 2012). This perspective is in stark contrast to structural functionalism, which views society as always being in a state of harmony and integrated through social consensus (Soelaeman 2015). Furthermore, the findings of this study highlight that the conflict in the Poboya mining area not only involves the local community, companies, and the city government, but also involves indigenous communities, security forces, miners' associations, and non-government organizations (NGOs).

Conflict map of Poboya gold mine area

Conflict mapping is an analysis of the parties involved in a conflict (actors), their relationships, interests and objectives, and the main issues of the conflict. The results of conflict mapping are visualized in the form of lines representing the relationships between actors and how actors build relationships of interest. Through conflict mapping, the results of this study also found the involvement of multiple parties in disputes or social conflicts in the Poboya gold mining area.

Previous research on social conflict in the Poboya gold mining area has been conducted by several people based on a sociological perspective. Conflict identification has been carried out through conflict map instruments with the aim of mapping the involvement of actors and institutions in conflict situations. Two previous studies that have mapped similar conflicts are (Zainudin & Soetarto 2012, Nutfa et al. 2024). The two studies have similarities regarding the use of instruments (conflict maps) and the similarity of the research site (Poboya). But on the other hand, there are differences related to the findings in the field. This difference is certainly caused by two main factors, namely: (1) differences in the time when the research was conducted; and (2) differences in the setting of the social situation when the research was conducted.

The latest findings of this research have shown different dynamics from the previous two conflict maps regarding the description of conflict patterns between various parties in the Poboya gold mining area. The findings of the conflict mapping show that there are two forms of relations between actors, namely dissociative (conflict) and associative (functional) relations. In dissociative relations, actors are involved in small-scale and large-scale conflicts. In large-scale conflicts between PT CPM and local communities or illegal mining groups (PETI), conflicts are patterned into regular periods of time. Large-scale conflicts between PT CPM and local elites are also bound by interests that are difficult to end. Open confrontation is tied to several main issues, namely smallholder mining permits (IPR), land acquisition, and access restrictions for the community. Small-scale confrontational relationships between the community and security forces only occur when there is confrontation with the company.

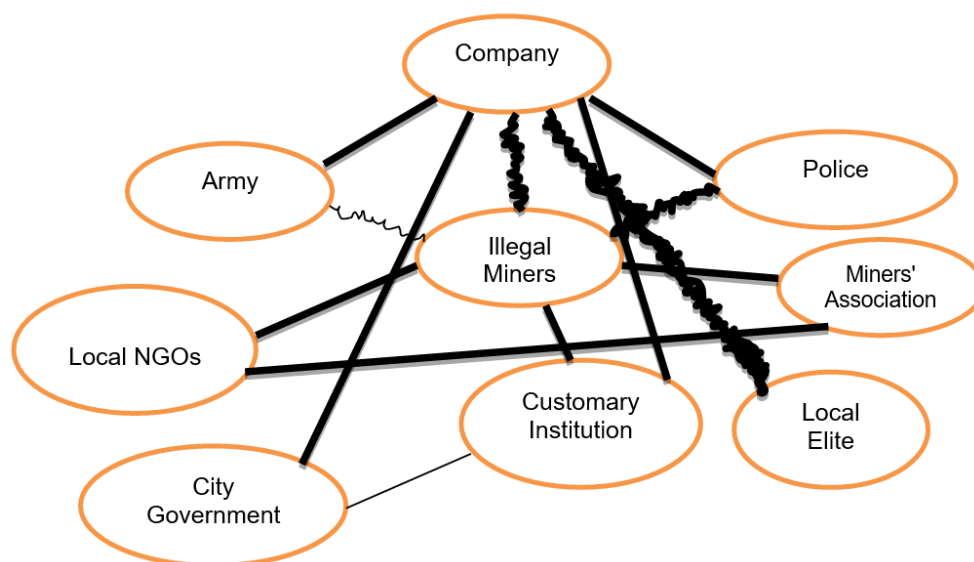
When local communities and mining groups staged protests, the company always avoided compromise and chose to pit state security forces (the police) against the community. This ended in open confrontation and violence. The company's hegemony over the security forces meant that the police became a third party in the conflict. As explained by informant SPA:

"...what I know is that this conflict occurred between the community and PT CPM over land issues... The conflict began in the morning... many people were already at the intersection leading to PT CPM, blocking access to the road until around 5:00 p.m. As dusk approached, I heard commotion outside. That was when the conflict between the community and the police began. Tear gas was fired into all the houses." (Informant SPA).

There are three main actors in this conflict: the mining community, the company, and the security forces. However, in this conflict, the community is the most disadvantaged because it lacks power. Meanwhile, the company is the most benefited actor because it always uses the security forces as a shield when the conflict escalates into violence. Look at Figure 1 to get an idea of the relationships between actors.

The results of conflict mapping Zainudin & Soetarto (2012) show that there are ten (10) parties involved in conflict situations, either based on functional relations (cooperation) or conflict relations (tension). Conflict relations occur between PT CPM and unlicensed mining groups (hereinafter referred to as PETI), then with local NGOs, WALHI, and the Poboya indigenous community. On the other hand, PETI has a conflict relationship with the provincial government, as well as local NGOs in conflict with the Central Sulawesi Regional Police.

Meanwhile, in terms of functional relations (cooperation), the conflicting groups also have good relations with each other. PETI has good relations with local NGOs, and local NGOs have harmonious relations with WALHI and indigenous communities. Similarly, the Poboya indigenous community has harmonious relations with PETI and WALHI. However, on the other hand, there are moderate relationships, such as between indigenous communities and the local government, the Central Sulawesi Regional Police, and the Palu City Government, although indigenous communities appear to have a conflictual relationship with the Central Sulawesi Regional Police. The functional relationship between PT CPM and the central government, provincial and city governments, forestry services, and the Central Sulawesi Regional Police is a relationship built on the basis of cooperation for specific interests.



Notes:

Thick wavy line = main conflict (continuous)

Thin wavy line = small-scale conflict relationship

Thick straight line = Good relationship (strong)

Thin straight line = moderate relationship (not good)

Figure 1.

Actors in the conflict

Source: Processed data by authors

Meanwhile, Nutfa et al.'s research (2024) entitled "Actor Dramaturgy in the Poboya Mining Conflict in Palu City", has findings that are quite different from the previous one. This study found a conflict map from the involvement of actors (parties) who are interrelated with each other, making the dynamics of the conflict even more widespread. This research has differences with that conducted by (Zainudin & Soetarto 2012). The difference can be seen from two aspects, namely the number of actors involved and the relationship between actors in conflict situations. If the previous study showed that there was no involvement of APRI, while in Nutfa et al.'s research (2024) found that the APRI group had a relationship with the PETI group. This research also shows that the main (continuous) conflict relationship is played by the PT CPM group with the PETI group, which also has a conflict relationship with the Central Sulawesi Police, and even extends to the local/city government.

Based on the latest research findings, there have been conflict dynamics in the Poboya gold mining area in Palu City. This dynamic can be seen from several recent findings, namely: (1) the formation of a conflict relationship between TNI personnel and the PETI group; (2) if previously the main actor of the conflict was the PETI group, currently the local elite has the main conflict relationship with PT CPM; (3) if Zainudin & Soetarto research (2012) shows a conflict relationship between the community and customary institutions (Poboya) with PT CPM, currently the Poboya Customary Institution has a harmonious relationship; and (4) APRI has no conflict relationship with PT CPM. The conclusion of this finding is that the occurrence of social dynamics is followed by conflict dynamics. With the increase in the number of actors in a conflict situation, the relationship between actors is increasingly complex and the more dynamic the social relations between actors, both functional relations (harmony/cooperation) and conflict relations.

Although various local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and local actors were involved in the conflict, not all of them actually interfered in the issues of the conflict. For example, the JATAM Central Sulawesi claimed that it was not involved in organizing the Poboya community either before or after the conflict. According to information from the chair of JATAM Central Sulawesi, the local NGOs that helped with legal advocacy and community organizing in the Poboya gold mining area were WALHI Central Sulawesi and the LBH Central Sulawesi. This is as stated by the following informant TFK:

"Since the conflict between the Poboya village community and PT CPM, Jatam has not been involved in organizing the community or providing assistance. Those involved in organizing or assisting are LBH Sulteng." (Informant TFK).

Based on the mapping, the essence or main root of this conflict issue is the struggle for control of the area that holds gold potential between the corporation (PT.CPM) and the community with the dimensions of mining groups. After most of the Poboya mining area is controlled by PT CPM (the size of the area), conflicts with groups of miners occur continuously. This means that land/areas containing economically valuable minerals are a source of conflict.

As for the involvement of civil society organizations in the conflict, they act as actors who side with the interests of the community. LBH Sulteng plays a role in providing legal advocacy for community members who experience pressure and violence as a result of the conflict. Meanwhile, Walhi Sulteng often highlights the activities and environmental impacts caused by the exploration and exploitation of nature carried out by PT CPM in the Poboya area.

As reported by Walhi Sulteng, the extent of the mining area controlled by PT CPM is 37,020 hectares or at least one-third of the area of Palu City (Walhi Sulteng 2024). Meanwhile, on the other hand, groups of miners (PETI) who carry out excavation activities in the Poboya mining area are identified as people who seize the corporate control area (PT CPM) - this area is included in the corporate control area (block). As a consequence, the community has restrictions in taking mining materials.

According to the conflict perspective, conflict in society is due to differences, including competition and interests to compete for something that is valuable or even limited (Taib et al. 2010). Even according to Susan (2014) the emergence of conflict is caused by differences in views, the emergence of social gaps and differences in perceptions of certain things. Thus, conflict is seen as a social symptom that continues to occur as in the community in the Poboya gold mining area.

In conflict resolution efforts, customary institutions in Poboya Village play an important role in mediating tensions between the community and corporations. According to structuralists, conflict is created by class conflict between the dominant and the dominated class (Susan 2012). It is not surprising that the conflict between classes produces social change so that there are changes in social structures and systems (Sztompka 2007).

Conflict does not always destroy structures because there are safety valves that function as mediators of conflict, such as customary institutions. Although the role of customary institutions is still weak, they are able to somewhat ease tensions in small and medium-scale conflicts. Similarly, the local government is often perceived by the community as being unable to mediate the conflicts they face to date. Conflicts involving tensions between local communities and security forces were exacerbated when conflict management was carried out in a militaristic manner (the use of weapons) which then resulted in disturbances in the community due to the use of weapons (tear gas). All local communities criticized the attitude of the security forces, which led to a decrease in public trust in the police after the conflict.

Conclusion

The results of the study show that the existence of the gold mining industry in Palu City has led to the formation of patterns of conflict between social elements that are both manifest and latent. The continuous expansion of PT CPM has caused disappointment and a sense of injustice among the local community and mining groups, as it is perceived to be encroaching on their living space. Intimidation by security forces has also fueled anger and resentment. Finally, when the conflict became unstoppable, those demanding justice were forced to confront the armed forces used by PT CPM as a shield in repeated confrontations. The conflict becomes increasingly difficult to end when the parties involved build up their power and involve other elements through relationships of interest. The interests of the actors include four things, namely economic interests (material resources), political interests (social position/influence), ideological interests (anti-mining movement), and ecological interests (environmental movement).

Furthermore, through conflict mapping, the involvement of various social elements in the conflict in the Poboya gold mining industry area was discovered, namely companies, illegal miners, local elites, NGOs, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, the police, traditional institutions, and miners' associations. This study found that mining conflicts involving multiple actors are difficult to reconcile and do not end quickly, but instead always form new patterns of conflict that can persist for a long time. When one confrontation (manifest) ends, dissatisfaction (latent) will also arise as a new conflict. Then it moves on to manifest conflict, then to latent conflict again, and so on.

Recommendations for provincial and municipal authorities include the need to continuously reconcile conflicts in order to anticipate the emergence of new escalations. Encourage the importance of conflict resolution without resorting to armed violence (militaristic approaches) and prioritize multi-stakeholder dialogue. Resolve land disputes between companies (PT CPM), local communities, and illegal mining groups. Conduct regular on-site investigations of company activities to monitor and evaluate environmental management standards. This study fills the gaps in previous research and shows the prolonged agrarian conflict between community elements and companies in the gold mining industry area of Palu City, Central Sulawesi. Although this study has attempted to describe the map of agrarian conflict, not all aspects can be summarized due to differences in socio-political situations, locations, times, perspectives, and research subjects. Therefore, further research on mapping agrarian conflicts in mining industrial areas needs to be developed using the primary data from this study as a reference.

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