

Gender and Conflicts: Patterns and Causes of Masculinization of Land Conflicts in Indonesia

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Abstract. The conflict associated with land-use change led by oil palm expansion has been published intensively. However, analysis of the conflict from a gender perspective is still lacking, so it does not have a balanced view of the involvement of women and men. By paying attention to gender issues, this paper attempts to fix this knowledge gap. Based on the use of gender-sensitive conflict analysis and mixed method, the results of the study of 150 conflicts that occurred between 2010-2019 overland conversion for oil palm plantations in four provinces (West Sumatra, Riau, West Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan) will be presented and explained. This paper would suggest that while households and community members risk losing access to land within village areas, women are much less involved than men in struggling for land defense and conflict resolution processes. Consequently, when land struggles are successful, men benefit. Our explanation is the dominance of male involvement in land-use change conflicts because of male-oriented of customary land tenure.

Keywords: conflict, gender, land-use change, oil palm expansion, Indonesia

1 Introduction

While a land-use change in rural Indonesia is the result of infrastructure, housing, mining, rubber plantations, and oil palm expansion, recent land-use change is more the result of oil palm expansion. It is Indonesia's most powerful land-use change force [1], [2], [3]. The area of oil palm plantations has almost doubled over the last decade [4]; it has changed the function of 14,456,611 ha of land on the islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua [5].

Besides contributing to the economy (income for the government and employment for citizens) and causing environmental damage [6], this expansion causes massive escalation conflicts between oil palm companies and rural communities. Referring to Afrizal [7], in the article, oil palm plantation conflicts are defined as conflicts of interest between affected community members and oil palm plantation companies related to land acquisition, including land release agreements by oil palm plantation companies. The conflicts considered are those that have developed into manifest conflicts to enable us to study them. In many parts of Indonesia, communities protest against oil palm companies [8], [9], [10], [11].

They protest against land acquisition without permission, the loss of access to land, the lack of adequate compensation, as well as pollution, poor labor conditions, and unequal distribution of benefits through partnership schemes locally known as plasma [8], [12], [13], [14], [15]. Of

the 279 agrarian conflicts in Indonesia in 2019, 87 cases were plantation conflicts, with a percentage of 31.18%. A total of 69 cases (79.31%) of plantation conflicts were oil palm plantation conflicts [16]. The number of agrarian conflicts reported by KPA in 2019 increased from that reported in 2015.

The conflict has been studied intensively and insightful in the way they have highlighted the relative powerlessness of rural communities when dealing with corporate violations [17], [9], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], the fragility and fractiousness of collective action [23], [24] and the limited capacity of Indonesia's legal system to address these conflicts [25]. However, analysis of the conflict from a gender perspective is still lacking: "Current debates and policy discussions on the social and economic effects of oil palm expansion on local people have thus far been largely gender blind" [26]. We so far do not have a balanced view of the involvement of women and men in the land struggle. On the other hand, the gender study on the impact of oil palm expansion focuses only on the different impacts of oil palm expansion on men and women. In contrast women's involvement in land struggles or conflict resolution is not given attention [27], [28], [29], [30], [31], [32], [15].

By paying attention to gender issues, this paper attempts to contribute to this knowledge gap. This article will address the following questions: To what extent do women and men involve in land conflict resolution? To what extent do women and men benefit from land conflict resolution? This article contributes to the literature on gender analysis of land-use change conflict by addressing these questions.

The results of the study of 150 conflicts that occurred between 2010-2019 over the land conversion for oil palm plantations in four provinces (West Sumatra, Riau, West Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan) will be presented and explained using gender-sensitive conflict analysis. We identified conflict cases from newspapers and research reports. A total of 150 conflict cases were investigated in depth. Each case is described in detail, after which each case is coded.

The analysis focuses on the involvement of men and women in both activisms in the struggle for land rights and in conflict resolution processes. With these data, the involvement of men and women as plaintiffs and as agents in conflict resolution can be found. This paper would suggest that while households and community members risk losing access to land within village areas, women are much less involved than men in struggling for land defense and conflict resolution processes. Although in-depth case studies find women's involvement in conflict resolution, this involvement is lacking they are more involved as troops.

Consequently, when land struggles are successful, men benefit. Women benefit through men as wives and daughters. Our explanation is the dominance of male involvement in land-use change conflicts because customary-based land tenure is male-oriented. In general, the land referred to is ulayat land (community customary land), not property rights. Because according to adat, the authority over land is in the hands of traditional leaders and non-traditional men who work on the land. Women do not see themselves as fighters for land rights and men do not involve them as the main actors in the land struggle.

We proceed as follows. We start by discussing our approach and method in the analysis of land-use change conflict, after which we present the results of our analysis on community grievances. We subsequently analyze the involvement of women and men in conflict resolution through the use of different conflict resolution mechanisms; we analyze the results of these conflicts for women and men and the reasons for different involvement of women and men as well as the different benefit of community achievement for women and men. We end by discussing the implications of our findings for a gender-sensitive conflict study.

2.1 Theoretical framework

The land is gendered. The land is not only functional for men; it is also critical for rural women for a source of protection for themselves and their offspring [26], [27], [31]). Accordingly, land-use change affects men and women differently. Women's exclusion from ownership of land due to oil palm expansion may misfortune them in three ways: a) their access to plots of oil palm is not secure in case of divorce; b) their husband might sell or loan a plot without their permission, and c) their husbands could spend the money from the harvest without their consent [32].

Since the land is gendered, any study on resolution of land-use change conflicts should consider the involvement of women and men. As Elmhirst et al. [26] "say gender serves as a critical lens through which to examine the implications of land-use change due to oil palm expansion in a community", this idea can be extended to analyze conflict resolution. The study should be directed to the role of women and men, and for this, gender exclusion/inclusion is useful to understand gendered mechanisms. Inclusiveness is both the degree and manner in which interested parties are involved in the process and outcome of conflict resolution [33]. It refers to the presence and absence of men and women in the process of conflict resolution [26].

In light of that, gender-sensitive conflict analysis is needed. It is the conflict analysis with a gender lens: Research studies the involvement of men and women in conflict [35], [36], [37]. Its principles are as follows: Researchers recognize that women and men may have different experiences, opportunities, and constraints due to gender norms in their society; Researchers analyze the unequal social, political and economic power dynamics between women and men within society and how these influence opportunities and capacities for peace and security; Researchers address underlying gender dynamics in society, including discriminatory or exclusionary practices, as part of addressing the root causes of conflict[(37)].

2 Methodology

This article is based on a comprehensive study. We are part of the research team led by Ward Berenschot and Afrizal, of the trajectory and 150 conflicts outcomes between villagers and oil palm plantation companies in the period 2010-2019. The study was part of a research collaboration between three academic institutions and six Indonesian NGO's (Universitas Andalas, KITL, Wageningen University, Scale-Up, Walhi Sumatera Barat, Wallhi Kalimantan Tengan, Lembaga Gemawan, and Epistema Institute).

Initially, the study did not employ a gender-sensitive method, but the collected data allow us to examine different involvement of women and men in land conflict resolution. Focusing on four provinces with a high intensity of palm oil cultivation — West Sumatera, Riau, Central Kalimantan, and West Kalimantan - 19 local researchers traced these conflict's emergence, chronology and outcomes of these conflicts. They collected newspaper reportages, internet sources, NGO and government documents and academic publication); they also interviewed community leaders.

We used a mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods. In total, 283 community members were interviewed. Based on data collected, the field researchers wrote reports of each case base on a shared template that focuses on understanding: 1.) essential characteristics of the conflict, 2.) essential features of actors, 3.) the nature of protests, 4.) dispute resolution mechanisms, and 5.) conflict outcomes. Then, the reports were coded for the descriptive

statistics presented in this paper. To better understanding of a particular subject, we also conducted an in-depth field case study of fourteen cases.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Why rural Indonesians are complaining about oil palm companies

In this section, we discuss the grievances of people in conflict with oil palm plantation companies. We identified and categorized the complaints people voiced during their protests and interviews of the 150 conflicts studied. Table 1 displays the findings. Considering that people are usually expressed two or more dissimilar complaints, the percentages add up to more than 100%. This table provides a general overview of the main complaints of communities to oil palm companies in Indonesia.

Table 1. Types of complaints

Category of grievances	Riau*	West Sumatra*	West Kalimantan*	Central Kalimantan*	Total (150 cases)
Land acquisition without permission	32 (67%)	16 (64%)	15 (47%)	36 (80%)	99 (66%)
Problems with profit-sharing (Plasma)	25 (52%)	13 (52%)	21 (66%)	27 (60%)	86 (57%)
Plantation violates regulations	4 (8%)	5 (20%)	5 (16%)	17 (38%)	31 (21%)
Environmental impact	4 (8%)	0	7 (22%)	8 (18%)	19 (13%)
Inadequate compensation	5 (10%)	3 (12%)	5 (16%)	7 (16%)	20 (13%)
Rejection of oil palm plantation	0	0	2 (6%)	3 (7%)	5 (3%)
Loss of access to lands	2(4%)	0	1 (3%)	2 (4%)	5 (3%)
Poor labour situations	8 (17%)	2 (8%)	6 (19%)	2 (4%)	18 (12%)
Others	3 (6%)	1 (4%)	2 (6%)	7 (16%)	13 (9%)

Source: (38)

Oil palm conflicts in our studied cases are primarily about two categories of complaints: how palm oil companies obtain control of land (66%) and grievances over how companies implement plasma plantation schemes (57%) (see Table 1). The first is related to the process through which consent is obtained: People blamed the oil palm company did not ask their consent to use a plot of land. The second major complaint is about the implementation of plasma plantation, the plantation part reserved for local people.

Since 2007, the Regulation of the Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia (No. 26/2007) on Guidelines for Plantation Business Licensing requires oil palm companies to develop at least 20% of the nucleus plantation area as plasma plantations for villagers where the company's nucleus plantation is located.

As Table 1 highlights, the implementation of such schemes often generates protests. Companies often simply break their promise to provide the plasma plantation. Although the Indonesian government efforts to ensure that impacted people by oil palm expansion were compensated, in reality, companies renege on their promises to affected people.

3.2 Community protest strategies

Table 2 provides an overview of communities' strategies to express their grievances and realize their claims. In all provinces during the period 2010-2019, this study found that demonstrations and hearings with district government officials and parliament members are two dominant strategies carried out by local communities (respectively 247 and 170 times), followed by land occupations (105 times), destruction of company property (64 times), and petitions to local government (50 times).

In fact, in Indigenous Dayak communities of Central and West Kalimantan, residents perform traditional rituals, called *hinting pali*, and impose customary sanctions in the form of payment of certain fines: we document 14 of these events.

Table 2. Categories of protest strategies used by community members

Type of protest	Number of protests	Number of cases	Percentage (Total 150)
Demonstrations	247	115	76%
Hearings, public Facilitation & press conferences	170	95	63%
Occupation of land or disruption of company access to their plantations	105	68	45%
Disruption of company property & oil palm fruit	64	41	27%
Petitioning	50	31	20%
Adat ritual and sanctions	14	13	9%
Land delineation/mapping	13	12	8%
Events			
Others	5	5	3%

Source: (38)

A critical finding was that demonstrations were mostly directed not at companies, but at local governments. Before that, in many cases, the community members started trying to negotiate bilaterally with the company. However, due to a dead end (companies often do not respond by appreciating local people's complaints), community members then staged demonstrations in front of the district government and DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah/DPRD) buildings to pressure the company and invite local public officials to get involved. Generally, the demonstrations aim to convince local government officials to organize a resolution.

Hearings with local government and DPRD officials were common (involving 63% of cases). During these meetings, villagers directly submit their complaints to local authorities, and companies are given the opportunity to respond to residents' complaints and demands. Such demonstration and hearing partially shame the company through the coverage that these meetings get in the local media. But just as significantly, people target local politicians and government officials to get them to organize conflict resolution. In particular, the study found that the anti-corporate activism of rural people was strongly government-oriented, as the most common means of protest to get local authorities to persuade and even pressure companies.

In both the organization of protests and the interaction with government officials, local and national NGOs are often involved: NGO involvement in over 60% (91 cases) of the studied conflicts. Although in this article comprehensive scrutiny of NGOs' role in these conflicts is not done, many aspects of their involvement are worth highlighting. First, local NGOs such as Walhi, Gemawan, and Scale Up, play an important role in increasing the capacity of rural

communities because in general the people involved in these conflicts have limited ability to use to state institutions.

When cases are reported to local government officials and enter the mediation process, adequate skills are required. Land maps with GPS coordinates need to be produced, proof of land ownership needs to be provided, community organizations need to be formed and many letters need to be written. In particular, in the 10 cases reported to the RSPO conflict resolution mechanism, extensive and detailed communication and documentation was essential.

A second crucial NGOs' role concerns supporting local people struggle to allow local people to pressure corporations by attracting national and international mass media attention. Between 2014 and 2019, an NGO based in the United Kingdom, Forest People Program (FPP) supported the leader of the Kapa community, in West Pasaman (in West Sumatra). FPP released news about the bad behavior of a palm oil company towards the Kapa community and wrote a letter of protest against Wilmar International, which was in conflict with the Kapa community.

Three of 91 studied conflicts that supported by NGOs (3.3%) resulted in partially or largely successful outcomes. However, such conflict internationalization is rare because of the absence of assistance to villagers. Only 6 cases (6.6 %) involved international NGOs in our studied cases.

Another remarkable finding is that although lands in question are communal land, participation in the resolution of conflict due to oil palm expansion is dominated by men. Our data on claimants' identity reveals that in the 150 cases, nearly 100% of claimants are men. We recognize this from the names of claimants. Likewise, claimants of conflict resolution using RSPO conflict resolution mechanism are also men. After further study the names of claimants, of 6 claimants from individual villagers, 6 claimants from labor/farmer union, and 5 claimants from representative of local community, all are men.

Table 3. Types of claimants

Claimants	Number
Confidential*	8
Individual villager	6
Labor/famers union	9
Labor/farmer union &NGO	6
Representative of local community	4
Representative of local community & NGO	5
NGO	43
RSPO secretariat	4
Total	85

* The complainant requested confidentiality when filing their complaints to RSPO

* Sources: (39)

We examine four main conflict resolution forums that villagers affected by oil palm expansion can capitalize on to resolve their conflicts with oil palm plantation companies: Indonesian courts, the RSPO complaint system, and alternative dispute resolution forums such as local governments. In the literature, the mediation concept is difference from facilitation: As far as process is concerned, the former largely uses a systematic stage to reach agreements between the disputing parties, starting from the pre-mediation stage (agreeing with a mediator, assessing conflict, actors' identification, mediation management design), mediation (negotiation process leading to agreements), and implementation of agreements (e.g. 15).

What often happens in reality is that roles of local parliament members and district government officials are limited to organizing meetings between disputing parties and recommending both parties to find agreed solutions together. Using our case description reports,

we found how frequently local people utilize the different conflict resolution forums as part of their efforts to find a solution for their complaints and demands. Table 4 presents the results. A first critical finding is that few villagers use Indonesian state courts. Only 27% of villagers turned to court of all conflicts studied.

The reasons for this are the difficulty of proving land ownership, the high costs of court proceedings, and the perception of corruption in the court system. Because of these issues, litigation is considered an unattractive option. Likewise, the RSPO complaint system is only used by a few villagers, so the contribution of the RSPO conflict resolution mechanism in oil palm conflict resolution is small.

The mechanism that is established to provide alternatives for villagers to resolve their conflicts with oil palm companies offers a promising forum as RSPO member companies must comply with RSPO principles in order to obtain and maintain sustainable palm oil certification. Unfortunately, the RSPO mechanism was only used in 16 cases (11%) of the 150 conflicts studied. Our informants inform that in certain cases, land struggle leaders are unaware of the RSPO complaint system, and in the other cases, the complexity of reporting complaints to the RSPO makes RSPO mechanism is an unattractive choice.

Table 4. Conflict resolution forums used

	Riau %	West Kalimantan %	West Sumatera %	Central Kalimantan %	Total (150 cases) %
Mediation and facilitation (n=109)	60	72	92	34.76	73
Court (n=40)	25	16	52	22	27
Bilateral Negotiation (n=29)	19	38	12	11	19
RSPO (16)	4	16	4	20	11

Source: Berenschot et al. 2021

Due to the skepticism and inaccessibility of these more formal mechanisms, in the majority of the conflicts studied (73% of cases), villagers relied on Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), particularly mediation and facilitation by local government officials. Most commonly practiced, the implementation of ADR is by holding a series of meetings organized by local government officials such as the bupati (conducted for severe cases) or heads of local government agency (*kepala dinas*) or heads of sub-district (camat). Initial communication revolved around clarifying basic facts about land boundaries and/or compensation to be paid, compensation paid or unpaid.

This mediation process generally takes a long time due to the complexity of verifying land ownership and the reluctance of companies to participate. We often come across examples of companies delaying or obstructing the mediation process by refusing to attend and providing the requested documents. An example is in the case of conflict resolution between PTPN V and the Senama Nenek Community (in Kampar District in Riau). After years of no progress in conflict resolution efforts at the district government level, the district head (bupati) of Kampar district gave up; he decided to hand over the resolution of the case to the Governor of Riau in May 2006.

To resolve the conflict, the governor formed his own conflict resolution agency. The agency mediates the two party by organizing several meetings between 2007 and 2009. These meetings resulted in an agreement that PTPN V returned 2,800 ha of land to the Senama Nenek community and paid compensation for as long as the company used the land for 5.3 billion rupiah.

However, after this lengthy process, the company refused to implement the agreement. An outstanding aspect of the efforts of local government officials to deal with conflict resolution is the gentle approach to companies. While palm oil companies regularly refuse to participate constructively in such meetings involving allegations of serious violations (such as lack of a license), local government officials usually avoid taking any firm action against companies. We coded the results of the oil palm conflict studied by discovering whether and to what extent villagers were successful in getting the company to meet their demands.

Because such coding is complicated as most conflicts never actually end and companies or villagers rarely publicly announce agreements between them and because such agreements, court decisions or result of RSPO uses are often not enforced, we decided to rely on subjective assessment of local researchers and interviewed local villagers to address this issue. Researchers and villagers were separately interviewed to rate conflict resolution achievements by ranking conflict outcomes from one (we were not at all successful) to five (we achieved our goal completely).

As reported in Table 5, the results of the analysis demonstrate that, from the villagers' point of view, successful conflict resolution is rare. In 57 cases (38%) of the conflicts studied in the four provinces, village informants reported that their community members achieved nothing from their conflict resolution. In 45 cases (30%), they classified the villagers as barely achieving results. In this case, the company made promises to the residents, such as contributing more CSR money and hiring more local people as workers. This promise is beyond the demands of the villagers. In other words, in 68% of the 150 conflicts studied, villagers did not (or hardly) get redress for their complaints and demands.

There are very small differences between the four study provinces. We found only two cases of conflict resolution (PT UHP in Central Kalimantan and PTPN V in Riau) where the informants in the village felt that the villagers had completely succeeded. Meanwhile, we also recorded as many as 17 cases where the informants felt that the villagers had succeeded in getting most of what was demanded. Most conflicts drag on for years: in cases where multiple solutions are reached, this takes an average of 8.5 years. Ongoing and unresolved conflicts have lasted for an average of 11 years.

These findings suggest that the existing conflict resolution forum - the Indonesian courts, RSPO's conflict resolution mechanism, local government officials, and bilateral negotiation-are ineffective in addressing community's complaints and demands. Despite considerable efforts, in 102 of the studied conflicts (or 68%) local people felt that they did not (or barely) achieve something.

Table 5. Conflict results in four provinces

	West Sumatra n=25 in %	Riau N=48 in %	West Kalimantan n=32 in %	Central Kalimantan	Total (150 cases)
No success at all	36	48	38	29	(n=57) (38%)
Barely successful	28	21	28	42	45 (30%)
Partially successful	16	19	22	20	29 (19%)

To a large extent successful	20	10	13	7	17 (11%)
Fully successful	0	2	0	2	2 (1%)

Source: Berenschot et al. 2021

Domination of men in the conflict resolution caused achievements of communal land conflict resolution is enjoyed by men the most. To show this, we use two cases studies. The two cases studies reveal that as men who did land struggle, men members of communities benefited the most: People who participated in the resolution shared plasma plots and financial compensation obtained.

The first case is the success of Pangean people in District Kuantansingingi of Riau Province. This is the case of 400 ha of land claimed as customary land of the Pangean community. 212 people were claimants recruited based on willingness to contribute to the cost of the resolution and involvement in the process. All the 212 people registered are men. After a long and complicated process, in mid of 2010, an agreement between PT. CRS/Wilmar Group and M. Yunus group to end dispute about a plot of community's customary land with PT CRS was lastly made. PT. CRS/Wilmar Group approved to deliver the M. Yunus group with 225 ha of oil palm plantation in a plasma scheme. The M. Yunus group accepted the proposal of the creation of a cooperative to manage the 225 ha oil palm plantation before being transferred from PT. CRS to his group.

The consensuses were officiated in an agreement letter, signed by representatives of both parties on June 14, 2010.¹ Both parties successfully implemented the solutions. PT. CRS/Wilmar Group delivered its promise of the 225 ha of oil palm plantation to the cooperative created by M. Yunus group. The head of customary leaders of Nagari Pangean insisted that the status of the land must remain customary land that is collectively owned by Nagari Pangean community.

However, because of tension among the members of the cooperative was intensified, they wished to sell the 225 ha plantation. When we revisited the village at the end of 2020, we found that the cooperative members sold the 225 ha plasma plantation to a local oil palm businessman. The second case is conflict resolution between the Kapa Village community and PT. Permata Hijau Pasaman I (PT PHP1), which is a Wilmar International group member.

In this article, we pay attention to two grievances of Kapa people: Plasma plot and HGU application rejection. The Kapa people demanded the provision of a plasma plantation plot of 50% of the land they provided to the company in 1997, and this was agreed by the company and written in the letter of land provision. While the land had been planted with oil palm trees by PT. PHP1 since that year, until 2000, when the palm trees were 3 years old and began to produce, PT PHP1 did not yet hand over the plasma plantations to Kapa people.

According to the assessment of the Kapa customary leaders, the plasma plantation deserved to be handed over to the Kapa people. In 2000, the customary leaders of Kapa and the plasma farmer cooperative chief lobbied PT PHP1 management to hand over the plasma plantation, but they failed. After that, they demonstrated the company management: Men and women involved in the demonstration. The demonstration also failed.

Then, they used the court and won the court tribunal. PT. PHP1 handed over the 697 ha of plasma plantation plot to Kapa people in two terms. PT PHP1 delivered the plantation not to individual members of Kapa village but groups consisting of two types: a group of members of kinship groups and leaders of the kinship group. The former as recruited from kinship members, 70% was women, and 30% was man, the latter were from kinship group leaders, who were also all men.

The customary leaders of Kapa rejected the HGU application by PT PHPI. In 2014, the PT PHPI staff contacted the Pucuak Adat Nagari Kapa, Alman Gampo Alam, to ask for his approval for PT PHPI to propose a HGU over the land handed over in 1997. Gampo Alam was asked to sign a statement of land release as a basis for PT PHPI to propose a HGU. Gampo Alam refused to give consent and was not willing to sign a letter of release for the land to be used as the basis for PT PHPI's rights. Following that event, led by Alman Gampo Alam, the traditional leaders of Nagari Kapa attempted to prevent PT HGU from obtaining HGU the land in question. The people actively fighting for the land right were the traditional Kapa leaders plus one community leader. All of them are men.

At the end of 2019, finally, the mediation carried out by the Impartial Mediation Network led by Ahmad Zazali succeeded in producing a solution agreement. Three crucial agreements resulted are as following:

- a. Wilmar Internasional and PT PHPI acknowledge that the land used by PT PHPI to develop an oil palm plantation in Nagari Kapa is the customary land of Nagari Kapa. If the replanting and extension of the HGU are carried out, PT PHPI will request approval from the Nagari Kapa customary leader.
- b. PT PHPI paid IDR. 1.2 billion to the Kapa customary leader as compensation for the use of ulayat land.
- c. PT. PHP pays IDR 25,000,000 every month to the traditional leaders of Nagari Kapa. The agreement was lower than the demands of the Nagari Kapa customary leaders, namely removing the land located in Nagari Kapa from the PTPHPI HGU. Nevertheless, PT PHPI and Gampo Alam Cs understand the solution ended the conflict between them regarding re-measurement of nucleus and plasma plantations and canceling the HGU certificate application.

PT. PHP1 paid the 1.2 billion rupiah to the Pucuak Adat Kapa and started to pay the 25 million monthly payment. Nine kinship group leaders and one informal leader ,who actively participated in resolving the land, shared 75 percent of the 1.2 billion rupiah and the monthly payment of 25 million rupiah. All the beneficiaries were men. The two cases show that men members of the two communities did land struggles; They enjoyed the benefit the most. Women were not involved at all, they were not beneficiaries of the result.

3.3 Causes of Masculinization of Land-Conflict Resolution

We found that in the masculinization of land conflict resolution due to oil palm expansion in four provinces (West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, West Sumatra, and Riau) women are suspended in the resolution process and use of achievement of the resolution. Claimants and their active supporters are men. As the two case studies show, the men who struggle shared benefit among them. In a situation like this, women benefit from land conflict resolution through their husbands and fathers.

The cause of women exclusion is patterns of gender relationships in a community. We follow Julia and White's explanation. They say women are constraint to attend public meetings in village; although women may be allowed to participate, village meetings and leadership positions are still very much considered men's world. Local people may use their organization to manage land use conflict resolution, but farmer organization membership may bias toward men. They added that in a community such as Hibun Dayak communities, "there is a taboo with regard to women's leadership roles and participation in the local political process [27]. We are of the opinion that such a pattern of gender relations is behind the domination of men in the process of resolving customary land conflicts in four provinces we studied.

Additionally, we argue that land tenure is the source of masculinization of land use conflict resolution and outcomes. While the lands being fought for are customary land of village communities (such as in West Sumatra and Riau) and lands used for shifting cultivation (such as in West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan) which are the source of livelihood for male and female farmers, the result of conflict resolution of lands controlled by palm oil companies without consent or adequate compensation is dominated by men.

Although men and women are excluded from access to land by oil palm expansion, the results of this study show that masculinization of land use conflict resolution impacted women more deeply.

4 Conclusion

Masculinization of conflict resolution over land use due to oil palm expansion and the use of resolution results occurred. This phenomenon results from a male-biased of customary land ownership system in the four provinces studied. The masculinization process implies that the head of a household led by a woman due to the absence of a man (due to life-or-death divorce) does not benefit from the results of conflict resolution on customary land conflicts.

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