

Dissociative Social Interaction of Plasma Farmers and Palm Oil Companies in East Kotawaringin

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the forms of social interaction between plasma farmers and the Sarawak Damai Estate (SDE) Sawit Company in Pundu Village, Cempaga Hulu District, East Kotawaringin Regency. For the objectives to be answered, a qualitative approach was used to withdraw purposive sampling informants with data collected from oil palm farmers (primary) and documentation (secondary). The data collection techniques used are observation, interview, and documentation. The results showed that social interaction between the plasma farmers community and the SDE Company in Pundu Village, namely dissociative social interaction, occurred during the entry phase of the SDE Palm Oil Company and the management of the oil palm plantation. In this dissociative interaction, the plasma farmer community strengthens its solidarity in fighting against companies that are considered to be doing things that are detrimental to farmers. Therefore, social interaction between the plasma farmer community and the SDE Palm Oil Company in Pundu Village is dissociative.

1. INTRODUCTION

The government's desire for the 2020 palm oil boom will have an impact on accelerating the development of oil palm plantations in various regions in Indonesia. This expansion of oil palm plantations has penetrated into the hinterlands of various provinces in Indonesia. The latest data shows that oil palm plantations are spread across 32 provinces in Indonesia, Central Kalimantan Province ranks in the top three with an area of 1.16 million hectares (Ditjenbun, 2014). Plantations in Central Kalimantan Province are one of the levers and prime movers of regional progress (Usop, 2008). Based on BPS (2014) there are 96 oil palm plantation companies operating in Central Kalimantan Province and 77 CPO companies (Maruli, 2011). The entry of large private companies (PBS) in the field of palm oil has provided distinct benefits for people in rural areas. Along with the perceived positive benefits, new problems also arise as a consequence of the progress of the local community, one of which is the phenomenon of social interaction between Plasma Farmers and Palm Oil Companies (Bahari, 2002).

Plasma farmers communities, although highly diverse, are characterized as farmers who are structurally bound by contract, through credit agreements or specific mill plans (RSPO, 2007). They come from local farmers or transmigrants who receive credit from the government in the form of gardens. Plasma farmers are obliged to properly manage their own plantations in accordance with the guidance of the nucleus company, selling plantation products to the nucleus company (Zazali, 2014). The People's Nucleus Plantation Company consists of the nucleus company and plasma plantations, the nucleus company is a large plantation company both privately owned and state owned which is designated as the implementer of the PIR project, while plasma plantations are plasma areas built by the nucleus company with plantation crops designated for farmers participants (Fauzi, 2008). The purpose of implementing this PIR will be achieved if each partnering party has their respective roles and obligations. The core company must be aware of its role as an agent of development in mobilizing farmers to increase their abilities, knowledge and skills (Zulkifli, n.d.). Instead, farmers must be aware of their role as individuals or groups

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to participate actively. In order to create conditions for harmonious cooperation, each party needs to be aware of the balance of rights and obligations (Sunarko, 2009), (Gary, 2011).

Social interaction is a reciprocal relationship between individuals and individuals, individuals and groups and between groups and groups (Soekanto, 2005), (Johnson, 1989).. Social interaction is a process of communication between people to influence one another's feelings, thoughts and actions (Asrori Ahmad et al., 2018) (Fatimah et al., 2019) (Hadari et al., 2019). Meanwhile, according to Young, social interaction can take place between: (a) individuals with groups or groups with individuals; (b) group with group; (c) individuals (Taneko, 1990). (Hendropuspito, 1990) states that in general sociologists classify forms and patterns of social interaction into two, namely associative processes and dissociative processes.

Dissociative processes are often referred to as oppositional processes, exactly the same as cooperation, which can be found in every society, although the form and direction is determined by the culture and social system of the society concerned. For the purposes of analyzing opposition or dissociative processes, several forms are distinguished below (White et al., 2012), (Ramdani et al., 2018), (Baughan et al., 2022). First, competition is a social process, in which competing individuals or groups seek profit through areas of life which at a certain time become the center of public attention (both individuals and human groups) by attracting public attention or by sharpening existing prejudices, without using threats or violence. This competition can be in the form of individual or individual competition and group competition. There are several forms of competition, economic competition, cultural competition, and racial competition (Soekanto, 2005). Competition within certain limits can have several functions, including: (a) channeling the desires of individuals or groups that are competitive; (b) as a way in which desires, interests and values which at one time were the center of attention, were channeled properly by those who competed; (c) is a tool for conducting selection on the basis of sex and social; (d) a tool for filtering the citizens of the working class (functional) which will eventually result in an effective division of labor. The results of a competition are closely related to various factors, including: (a) a person's personality; (b) community progress; (c) group solidarity; (d) disorganization (Soenyono and Basrowi, 2004). Second, conflict is a social process in which individuals or groups try to fulfill their goals by opposing the opposing party with threats or violence. The causes of the conflict, namely: (a) individual differences; (b) cultural differences; (c) differences in interests; (d) social differences (Goodman, 2007). Conflicts involving a goal, value or interest, as long as they do not conflict with patterns of social relations within a particular social structure, then these contradictions are positive. Society usually has certain tools to channel the seeds of hostility, these tools in sociology are called safety-valve institutions which provide certain objects that can divert the attention of the warring parties in another direction (Goodman, 2007). Forms of conflict include: personal conflict, racial conflict, conflict between social classes. Generally caused by differences in interests, such as political conflicts, international conflicts. The result of these forms of conflict is an increase in "in-group" solidarity or vice versa, changes in personality, accommodation, domination and submission of one particular party (Jeong, 2008).

Conflict is a difference in perception of interests that occurs when there is no visible alternative. As long as these differences exist, conflict cannot be avoided and will always occur until the aspirations of both parties are satisfied. Conflicts can occur simply because one of the parties has high aspirations or because an integrative alternative is considered difficult to obtain. When such a conflict occurs, it will deepen if one's own aspirations or the aspirations of other parties are rigid and persistent (Pruit, 2004: 27). Dahrendorf views society as always in a process of change which is marked by continuous conflict between its elements. Every element in society contributes to social disintegration (Susan, 2009). Conflict can create consensus and integration. Therefore, the process of social conflict is the key to social structure. Dahrendorf argues that in every association marked by conflict there is tension between those who participate in the power structure and those who are subject to that structure (Poloma, 2003), (Wirawan, 2010). According to (Francis, 2006) the causes of conflict between incomplete communication, power struggles between conflicting interest owners or systems, and discrepancies between goals or personal social values with the behavior they play, and changes in perceived values. It can be latent or overt (Turner H., 1998), (Sztrompka, 2004).

In the partnership pattern between the Serawak Damai Estate Palm Oil Company (SDE) and the plasma farmers, two interests have brought together but are motivated by management capabilities, lack of understanding in legal knowledge and different capital. This difference triggers the emergence of several phenomena of interaction between the SDE Palm Oil Company and the plasma farmers of Pundu Village. Previous research conducted by (Aprilyan et al., 2021) shows that the form of cooperation in associative in the social interaction of oil palm farmers is manifested in the form of cooperation based on orders in dealing with various work problems and initiatives to help. Based on that, the focus of this research is related to the forms of dissociative social interaction between the plasma farmer community and the SDE Palm Oil Company in Pundu Village, Cempaga Hulu District, East Kotawaringin Regency.

2. METHODS

This research was approached with a qualitative approach (Mardalis, 1990), (Moleong, 2004). Departing from the formulation of research objectives, qualitative research methods are research methods applied in examining a natural object, (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is the key instrument, the data collection technique is processed through triangulation (combined), inductive data analysis. The qualitative approach used in this research is based on a case study which is a form of qualitative research based on understanding and human behavior based on human opinion. Descriptive research is research by knowing the value of each independent variable. (Mulyana, 2001). Operationally, this study seeks to explain the forms of dissociative social interaction between plasma farmers and oil palm companies, especially competition and conflict. This research was conducted in Pundu Village, Cempaga Hulu District, East Kotawaringin Regency. Data collection was carried out for approximately six months, from June to November 2017. The location of this research is at the Sarawak Damai Estate (SDE) Sawit Company in Pundu Village, Cempaga Hulu District, East Kotawaringin Regency. This study relies on primary data obtained from interviews and observations. Interviews were conducted with 20 key informants, including the plasma farming community, the SDE company, the village head and village officials who handle company affairs, the sub-district government and residents of Pundu Village. Meanwhile, secondary obtained from various reports, journals, population statistics, articles and other information. Credibility testing conducted of the research results are processed through extension of observation, increasing persistence in researching, triangulation, also require reference sources, negative case analysis (Sugiyono, 2018). In this study, researchers used triangulation and used reference sources in testing the validity of the data.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Pundu Village Overview

In Pundu Village, around 1825 people depend on the plantation and agriculture sectors and there are 1700 people who are active in the SDE Palm Oil Company plasma. Apart from plasma farmers, there are also non-plasma farmers who develop oil palm plantations on their own land, outside the HGU. Non-plasma farmers groups become partners of plasma farmers, more because of their interest in managing oil palm plantations. Based on the results of the interviews, around the 1990s before the entry of the SDE Company, the people of Pundu Village still depended on rubber tapping. Rubber tapping is the work of generations. While waiting for the rubber to drip, they fish for ingredients for the afternoon's cooking. When the rainy season comes, rubber production usually drops and the people are spoiled by the river's gold mining and looking for logs.

In terms of social interactions prior to the entry of the SDE Palm Oil Company into Pundu Village, there was still a traditional atmosphere, especially from the aspect of understanding the future and views of nature. Regarding the future, community members still think that what they get today is used up for today. This phenomenon can be seen in the results obtained, for example gold mining, that when money is obtained from the sale, community members use it more for things that are tertiary in nature and do not support their needs. This is also the reason why many children in villages do not continue their education to a higher level. Strong family and communal values are a characteristic of traditional societies that do not dare to take risks and if there are those who advance, they are not born from themselves but on the recommendation and approval of community groups. Social life at that time was still very harmonious and peaceful without any imbalances in society. It was realized that the Pundu Village community at that time was very homogeneous. The principles of tolerance, collectivity, shared destiny, upholding customs still guide their social actions.

Even though it was rumored that there would be a palm oil company entering Pundu Village, precisely in early 1996, the SDE Palm Oil Company officially expanded into Pundu Village. Even though the SDE Palm Oil Company has not been completely physically built in Pundu Village. A number of responses from the people of Pundu Village emerged regarding the plan to enter the SDE Palm Oil Company. From several interviews, the inclusion of the SDE Company was a kind of blessing for community members who complained about the difficulty in obtaining income at that time. Actually, oil palm farming is not much different from rubber farming because this business is long-term, unlike mining and logs. The joy of the people of Pundu Village increased when the company offered a plasma program to the community plus a CSR program from the SDE Palm Oil Company. In this case the improvement is not only at the level of welfare of the residents but also the face of Pundu Village will change from before. In the plasma program,

the community will not be bothered with capital because all capital and maintenance will be borne by the company, but the community will pay monthly installments to the SDE Palm Oil Company in exchange for operational and maintenance costs until the time when the plantation is handed over to the community.

In plasma management, to support the funding needs of members, it is required to form a cooperative as a condition for disbursing credit from banks whose members are farmer groups. At that time, the Village Unit Cooperative was formed under the name Harapan Abadi Cooperative. The cooperative is authorized to take care of everything related to the plasma program. The plasma plantation management pattern involves the SDE Palm Oil Company, credit channeling banks, the Harapan Abadi Cooperative which is a forum for participating farmers and plasma farmer groups in the plasma area whose function is to coordinate supervision of the development of plasma plantations both during land clearing, maintenance/care, harvesting, transportation and sale of produce production. Farmer Group is a container or organization of participating farmer groups who are in the same area and finally Participating Farmers are farmers who are designated as recipients of plasma plantation ownership.

Based on the interviews, the stages of developing plasma plantations include the construction phase consisting of local government permits, preliminary surveys, requests for forest area release from the Minister of Forestry, feasibility studies and program planning and the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture concerning project implementation and the nucleus company then enters the plantation physical development stage and finally the stage of handing over the plantation to the plasma farmers and until the settlement of the plantation which is usually when the plants are 30 – 48 months old. This stage includes plot measurements, formation of farmer groups, block/plot lottery, final technical assessment of the plantation, agreement on credit agreements for core companies, cooperatives, groups farmers and banks and making land certificates.

Pundu Village plasma farmers get a net yield for each plot of 2 ha/plasma farmer after receiving a 7% discount for the core company, 3% for the Harapan Abadi Cooperative operation, a bank credit discount with a total credit of 56 million/plot in installments over 9 years with a deduction system agreed monthly basis with a tiered system. The greater the year of planting, the greater the credit discount. For the first year Rp. 174,000/month/first year and continues to increase every year until it is paid off for 9 years. There is also a monthly percentage system until it is paid off, then the maintenance and harvest costs are deducted. Every month, the people of Pundu Village receive the results of their plasma plantations by submitting oversight of plantation activities through the Cooperative consisting of plasma farmers who have been appointed through the management and the Cooperative annually to carry out the RAT (Annual Member Meeting) as an accountability report on the co-operative organization's wheels.

Competition

The competition that I want to explain in this section is the interaction of plasma farmers and SDE Palm Oil Companies towards objectives that are limited in the context of managing oil palm plantations in order to maintain viability. The presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company in the lives of plasma farmers is not always within the limits of adjustments and agreements. However, there were competitions which according to both parties were very profitable and on the other hand also detrimental. The existence of the SDE Palm Oil Company does not only generate interactions with plasma farmers, but furthermore it also forms systemic interactions with non-plasma farmers. Interactions between plasma and non-plasma farmers also often occur with the SDE Palm Oil Company, especially in terms of the productivity of oil palm plantations. Oil palm farmers in Pundu Village are not only plasma farmers who run a partnership program with SDE Palm Oil Company. However, non-plasma oil palm farmers are also aggressively opening up new oil palm plantations outside the company area. Plasma farmers interact very intensely with them, especially when there is new information from the company. Initially they learned a lot of garden management knowledge with us. They are among the groups who are not willing to join the partnership program, for various reasons, in particular they don't want to be tied to the company.¹ When it was further confirmed why most of his friends converted the rubber plantations into oil palm plantations. The reason was because the price of rubber at that time dropped dramatically, so he learned from the plasma farmers to open oil palm plantations. Initially, they opened a 1 hectare of rubber plantation to become an oil palm plantation. The seeds were purchased from the company at a price of Rp. 20 thousand/ stem, fertilizer purchased from the company. Regarding maintenance, they are also used to caring for rubber plantations, although there are many different treatments for oil palm plantations.²

The knowledge for oil palm gardening is also the same, obtained through the learning method of observing friends directly by visiting their colleagues' plasma plantations. From interacting directly and

¹ Interview with plasma farmers, field notes, 2017.

² Interview with plasma farmers, field notes, 2017.

seeing how to plant and maintain oil palm, it was then immediately applied to his garden. At that time, the SDE Palm Oil Company also provided all the components needed in the development of community oil palm plantations, both plasma and non-plasma. From the observations of researchers in Pundu Village, it was found that non-plasma oil palm plantations, apart from belonging to the community with a single livelihood, were also cultivated by traders in Pundu Village as an additional livelihood. These traders also sell groceries, motorbike spare parts, building materials, and others. Also sells all equipment, fertilizers and all materials related to palm oil. The presence of Palm Oil Company SDE creates new opportunities for trade in Pundu Village. Initially, the community was very dependent on the SDE Palm Oil Company in buying fertilizers, equipment, sprays, and so on. There are people who started this shop for eight years and now they are making a comeback. While looking after the shop, I also steal knowledge from buyers, who are generally palm oil farmers and entrepreneurs.

The large number of oil palm players in Pundu Village, gave birth to very varied models of competition, besides being detrimental to one party, for a number of oil palm plantations it also brought very profitable competition. The head of the self-help farmer union in Pundu Village, gave his explanation about the competition that was taking place. According to him, the development of oil palm plantations owned by independent farmers still seems to be a cause for concern, both in terms of low productivity and the income received by farmers. The average productivity level of independent oil palm plantations is still very low compared to plasma farmers. Because the difference in productivity of independent farmers is 0.8 tons of fresh fruit bunches (FFB) compared to plasma farmers. The productivity of plasma farmers who are able to get oil palm productivity is 2 tons of FFB per hectare per month. While independent farmers are only able to get 1.2 tonnes of FFB per hectare per month. Even more ironic, the income of independent farmers is still very low, namely only Rp. 700,- - Rp. 800,- per kilogram. Meanwhile, plasma farmers are able to sell FFB for Rp. 1,700,- per kilogram.³

Why is there a difference in the price of FFB? The low income of non-plasma/self-help farmers in Pundu Village occurs because the non-plasma oil palm FFB trading system chain is very tiered. Non-plasma farmers in Pundu Village cannot sell FFB directly to palm oil processing factories (PKS). Usually farmers sell FFB through collectors and then to wholesalers. From there the FFB is sold again to entrepreneurs who have carriers from PKS. Meanwhile, FFB production from plasma plantations can be sold directly to the nucleus estate mills at a price level according to the results of the FFB Pricing for Planters Production. There should be no difference in the pricing mechanism between plasma plantations and independent plantations. However, due to the non-functioning of the independent oil palm farmers' institutions, their bargaining position is very weak, so they lose the opportunity to enjoy a reasonable level of selling price.⁴ The FFB sales chain, both by plasma farmers and non-plasma farmers, has stages. The plasma farmers have high bargaining power because there is an agreement with SDE Palm Oil Company so that the price of FFB is high. Meanwhile, what is very concerning is that the non-plasma farmers in the FFB sales chain are very long, involving collectors and wholesalers, so the price received is very low. However, on the plasma farmers side, not all FFB is received by SDE companies, depending on the quality of the FFB produced. This encourages competition to produce quality FFB, and in the interviews we conducted there were plasma farmers who produced better plasma FFB than SDE Company FFB.

Competition also occurs not only in the incident regarding plasma plantations but also occurs from the impact caused by the SDE Palm Oil Company and plasma plantations owned by farmers in Pundu Village. The interaction that took place between the farming community of Pundu Village and the SDE Palm Oil Company fostered a work ethic among the farmers. As said by residents of Pundu Village⁵, if habits of our plasma farmers are really a criticism of our way of working in the oil palm business. They saw that their plasma farmer friends were very enthusiastic and implemented a strict work system in managing and maintaining oil palm. For example, spraying weeds around the palm trees, following the pattern of rules applied by the company. Do not spray on the stems and fruit of the palm. In this area, be extra careful. Besides that, what they exemplified regarding time and discipline, both when starting work and ending work. They left at dawn and returned at night. Clearing and cleaning the palm wickets every day, whereas the previous custom was once every three days. Such forms of hard work are seen in managing oil palm plantations.

Some of what we have found is that competition in managing oil palm plantations among them does not always give bad things, instead it gets good and new things. Learn about discipline at work, accuracy of palm oil maintenance procedures and hard work in obtaining the best results, for example

³ Interview with The head of the self-help farmer union in Pundu Village, field note, 2017.

⁴ Interview with The Cooperative chairman in Pundu Village, field note, 2017.

⁵ Interview with pundu villagers, field note, 2017.

quality FFB. Apart from that, there is also new knowledge gained from interactions with fellow oil palm farmers. For example, from several interviews, new knowledge was obtained regarding proper fertilization, proper weed spraying, spacing between oil palm trees, how to produce quality FFB. However, sharp competition in the field occurs between FFB collectors who buy FFB from non-plasma farmers. FFB collectors are those who buy FFB from farmers. The owner of this non-plasma oil palm plantation has no other way but to sell the FFB to the collectors, because FFB cannot be stockpiled for too long because over time its quality will decline and even rot. Intermediate collectors always have a strategy so that non-plasma farmers sell FFB to certain collectors. The number of collecting traders in Pundu Village is around 19 people and they have an average shop in Pundu Village. Competition between them is very visible when harvesting. The strategies used to engage customers vary. There are those who provide loans before the harvest arrives, there are those who finance their daily needs before they are cut when the harvest arrives, and there are even collectors who dare to buy FFB at higher prices than other traders. Not only loans for a certain amount of money to non-plasma farmers, there are also those who provide loans in the form of fertilizers, pesticides, etc. This is often done by traders of oil palm equipment in Pundu Village.

The pattern of competition between traders in fighting for FFB from non-plasma farmers is carried out with various strategies, either by lending a certain amount of money or lending a number of goods needed for the operational activities of the oil palm plantations. When asked further what was the money borrowed for? Of course, it is used to buy basic family needs while waiting for the harvest to arrive. Besides that, it is also used to buy fertilizers and pesticides and pay labor wages in oil palm plantations. When borrowing goods from a palm equipment shop, it is none other than meeting the operational needs of palm oil, which must be met on a daily basis. In fact, competition can also occur in the sale of FFB from collectors to companies. Because the benchmark price of FFB for each company can be different. If the price of FFB at other companies is higher than the SDE Palm Oil Company, then the collectors will sell it to other companies. The productivity of the SDE Palm Oil Company will decrease even more if the traders sell FFB to other companies around Pundu Village. The FFB price is not constant, but fluctuates according to the world CPO market price. So that the pricing of palm oil companies also varies according to world market conditions.

From observations and interviews we conclude that the competition that occurs between plasma farmers and SDE Palm Oil Companies occurs in the form of cultural competition, namely work ethic and also economic competition. In the form of cultural competition, what is highlighted is the existence of competition in opening plantations so that rubber plantations are also sacrificed for planting oil palm. Competition in terms of work ethic is also carried out to produce quality FFB, especially between plasma farmers and non-plasma farmers, as well as both with SDE Palm Oil Companies. Economic competition quite colors this competition, especially between collectors who use various tricks so that the FFB of non-plasma farmers is sold to collectors. Similarly, competition in obtaining high FFB prices is also carried out by plasma farmers. But in fact, the FFB of plasma farmers is still valued based on quality.

Conflict

The conflicts referred to in this section are conflicts between one group and another, in this case the conflicts that occur between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company and the conflicts that occur as a result of the existence of the two groups. It could be the community with the SDE Palm Oil Company, non-plasma farmers with the SDE Palm Oil Company. Conflicts that occurred in the context of oil palm plantations in Pundu Village occurred in the initial phase, namely at the initial entry of the SDE Palm Oil Company into Pundu Village, then also occurred in the early stages of the physical development of plasma plantations in which there was a partnership program, and then in the management and production.

In the early days of opening the SDE Palm Oil Company's land, not all of the people of Pundu Village could take the presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company for granted. The public's perception of the presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company is quite diverse, some are pro and some are contra. The pro Pundu villagers think that the presence of the company will have a good impact, because of the availability of jobs and increased income. On the other hand, those who are against consider the erosion of the sources of life which they believe so far have revived society from generation to generation. Some of the pros and cons that occurred, meaning that the friction that occurred between the people of Pundu Village and the SDE Palm Oil Company was mainly considered to make the village area narrower because most of it was used for oil palm plantations, while the population was increasing, the land owned was getting narrower so that people's livelihoods such as farming and rubber gardening are decreasing.

The frictions that occurred in the early stages were related to the rejection of the presence of the SDE Company. Various opinions among the people of Pundu Village, among them, were fears that the order of the village would be damaged, that sacred places such as forests that used to exist could

disappear. Its also possible that many other things will arise from the socio-cultural problems of local residents, to environmental issues. Residents can also starve to death because their source of livelihood is disrupted by company activities, and many more are ejected from members of the community. However, the SDE Palm Oil Company will promise to open road access and recruit community members to take part in the company as workers, the community land affected by the company's area will be compensated.⁶

In general, both independent and plasma farmers also face a number of non-technical problems. One of the most prominent problems is land conflicts with companies holding Cultivation Rights (HGU). There has been a dialogue between them. From this dialogue, there were complaints from the community that the land belonging to several residents in the core land (HGU) had not been released and compensation had not been received by the company. Indeed, most people do not know about and have followed the land acquisition process, witnesses, and evidence of land acquisition from the company to the community. There is a possibility that the company's way of acquiring community land is not open to the public. It is possible that the company used a personal approach in land acquisition. So that legally, the land is free from conflict even though the method used by the company is not in accordance with the way that is expected by the community.

Some of the people's land that belongs to the core land of the SDE Palm Oil Company should have received compensation for the land, but it turns out to be just a figment of imagination. On several occasions the company's promises of compensation have not been realized. In fact, if a company is applying for an HGU permit to BPN, then the lands submitted for obtaining an HGU permit must be clean and clear of land conflicts. This means that if there is still conflicting land, that land must be excluded from the HGU permit application. Apart from HGU land, plasma land also often triggers conflicts between the SDE Palm Oil Company and plasma farmers, especially in the partnership agreement that occurred in Pundu Village. According to the former Head of Pundu Village⁷, the problem with plasma land in several villages, including those in Pundu Village, is that the community is required to lend land to the company. In reality, the community was asked to hand over their land to the company, but then they were only given 2 hectares of plasma and it had to be credited to the company. As issues have occurred in the field, the community complained that there was plasma land that had to be purchased by the community by means of credit, even though the land previously belonged to the community. If the plasma land ownership scheme has to be credited, it's called not bringing prosperity to the community. At that time, the community was very angry and demanded from SDE Palm Oil Company that the plasma program should provide convenience to the community, not cause suffering to the community.

Plasma land is a gift from the company to members of the company's plasma as an obligation for the company to comply with the provisions that 80% is managed by the company and 20% is managed by the community. With this provision, residents are not obligated to credit land to the company. In the case of credit, the form is the purchase of fertilizers, seeds, land clearing costs if done by the company, and land certificates. The fee is paid in installments by the plasma members after the first harvest of palm oil is paid off within the agreed timeframe. In fact, the land taken by the company must already be released before the company can carry out its activities. The SDE Palm Oil Company must conduct deliberations and negotiate with land owners before enacting such a rule.

The results of our observations show that there is ignorance of the community about the ownership status of the company's land or land acquisition from the SDE Palm Oil Company. The SDE Palm Oil Company's land was partly obtained by way of pressure on a number of Pundu Village residents, so that the community could not move anymore if the apparatus was involved. Plasma land is the company's obligation to obtain a permit to develop an oil palm plantation in a certain location. However, so far there have been misunderstandings in calculating plasma land. The actual calculation of plasma land is based on the area of the HGU permit issued by BPN. Simply put, plasma land is calculated from the area of HGU owned. So if the company has an HGU permit for 8 thousand hectares, then 8 thousand hectares plus 20%, then the plasma area is 2 thousand hectares. Plasma land is not included in the permit or is outside the HGU permit. Thus the plasma land tax is outside the company's obligations. What is obligated by the company in terms of land tax is the area of land for which the HGU permit has been issued.⁸

Opinion in the community, the issue that is still a topic is the issue of land compensation that goes into the core land of the SDE Palm Oil Company. However, in reality, some communities have not received compensation for their land. This has led to the emergence of public distrust of the SDE Palm Oil Company. Some of them have conflicts due to tough negotiations between the owners of palm oil companies and residents around the plantations. In fact, there is a lot of vacant land that has no owner, but since the oil

⁶ Interview with head of the pundu village, field notes, 2017.

⁷ Interview with the former head of the village of Pundu, field notes, 2017.

⁸ Interview with company management, field notes, 2017.

palm entrepreneurs came, many residents have been claiming with the company that the vacant land is theirs. As a result of these mutual claims, the matter of land ownership rights must be resolved at a notary and some even involve the government in resolving this case. If the dispute reaches the notary and the government, the decision becomes absolute and binding on both of them. For example, if land ownership rights fall to local residents, then the oil palm company must buy the land from the residents if they want to open oil palm land on that land. The money that must be spent by the company to buy the land is also not small, it was noted that the land price that was set by the residents to the oil palm company was around ± IDR 10,000,000/ha. However, this price is very insignificant when compared to the company's profits if it opens oil palm land on that land. This always happens if there is a palm oil company that wants to open a new oil palm area, price bargaining begins directly with the involvement of a notary.

When we confirmed to the SDE Palm Oil Company who was handling this issue at the time, they explained that they had made a spatial plan that determined which core land belonged to the company and plasma land belonged to the community. Making this spatial layout based on management policies. At that time, the residents insisted on asking what basis and rules the company would use regarding the spatial arrangement of the plantation. Indeed, we do not use any rules that are used to organize the core land and plasma land. Placement of land is the company's management policy. It doesn't feel good everywhere where the plasma land is in spots or scattered. So the company's policy for plasma land owned by the community is to provide one stretch of land so that from an orderly and aesthetic point of view it is comfortable to look at.⁹

Some of the results of previous interviews referred to events in the early stages of the existence of the SDE Palm Oil Company, especially regarding the acquisition of oil palm land by the company which gave rise to several tensions and led to conflict. In subsequent developments, during the management period by plasma farmers, there were still frequent conflicts between plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company. In the management, especially during the harvest and sale of FFB, many people feel that there are irregularities which are very detrimental to us as plasma farmers. The partnership agreement stated that the nucleus estate obliges the plasma to sell the harvested [Fresh Fruit Bunches] to the nucleus estate even after the completion of the plasma credit, that is, up to one planting cycle of +/- 20 years. The practice in the field is that when selling FFB, the SDE Palm Oil Company prioritizes processing of the FFB produced by this company's plantation. In this condition, the plasma farmers are disadvantaged because their FFB is forced to stay in the plantation, which in turn reduces the quality of FFB, which has implications for lower FFB prices. . This often makes fellow farmers angry and take inappropriate actions.¹⁰

Based on the results of interviews with the Head of the Cooperative,¹¹ it is known that the source of disappointment for the plasma farmers in Pundu Village is the lack of transparency by the SDE Palm Oil Company about the productivity of their plasma plantations, especially the difference between local and export prices. In fact, it is the plasma farmers who reap the difference, because they are the ones who have the right to do so. But in reality, SDE Palm Oil Company does not want to clearly disclose this information. Some of the facts that happened like this sometimes trigger the resistance of the Pundu Village plasma farmers against the non-transparent treatment of the SDE Palm Oil Company. On the one hand, the plasma farmers are indeed bound by the agreement, but on the other hand, the plasma farmers' hard work to produce quality FFB is not worth the price they receive. Dissatisfaction and distrust of plasma farmers towards the SDE Palm Oil Company at that time was indeed widespread. There have been demonstrations, theft of FFB, demands and others, but not to the point of brutal horizontal conflict. Efforts to avoid brutal conflicts have already been resolved amicably by all stakeholders, be it the management of the SDE Palm Oil Company, village officials, community leaders, plasma farmers who are in conflict, as well as officials authorized to resolve these disputes.

Based on the interviews above, it can be concluded that there were several triggers for the conflict, namely land acquisition that was not in accordance with procedures, compensation for community land that entered the HGU area of the SDE Palm Oil Company, several agreements violated by the SDE Palm Oil Company, fixing the price of FFB unfair from the company. Conflicts that arose included a number of demands from members of the village community regarding the return of land, theft of the company's FFB, selling FFB to other companies, demonstrations. However, the conflict did not result in casualties and was resolved peacefully.

⁹ Interview with company management, field notes, 2017.

¹⁰ Interview with plasma farmers, field notes, 2017.

¹¹ Interview with The Cooperative chairman in Pundu Village, field note, 2017.

Social interaction between the plasma farmers community and the SDE Company

To analyze the competitions that occur, it seems that (Soekanto, 2005) opinion on competition is important as a reference material. According to him, competition is a social process, in which competing individuals or groups seek profit through areas of life which at a certain time become the center of public attention by attracting public attention or by sharpening pre-existing prejudices without using threats or violence. To analyze conflicts that occur between plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company, conflict theory can be used as an analytical tool. Conflict theory is a theory that views social change not as occurring through a process of adjusting values that bring about change, but as a result of conflicts that result in compromises that are different from the original conditions.

Competition. To analyze the competition that occurs in the management of oil palm plantations in Pundu Village, it is important that this section reviews a few theories related to this competition. According to Soekanto (2005) this competition can take the form of: (a) economic competition. Arise due to limited supply when compared with the number of consumers. (b) cultural competition. Concerning cultural competition, religion, social institutions such as education, and so on. (c) position and role competition. In a person or in a group there are desires to be recognized as a person or group that has a respected position and role. (d) racial competition. Differences in race either because of differences in skin color, body shape, or hair style and so on, are only a symbol of awareness and attitude towards differences in culture.

If you look at the research results, the competition that occurs is systemic, meaning that the interaction between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company has created competitions that have broad implications for the people of Pundu Village. However, the point is that the competition started with competition in terms of palm oil productivity. First, competition between plasma and non-plasma farmers. The case of competition between plasma farmers and non-plasma or independent farmers is in terms of the sale of FFB, where the price of oil palm FFB sold by plasma farmers and non-plasma farmers is very large, which is around 0.8 tons per hectare. There is a difference due to the FFB sales chain by both plasma farmers and non-plasma farmers. Plasma farmers have high bargaining power because they have an agreement with SDE Palm Oil Company so that the price of FFB is high. Meanwhile, what is very concerning is that the FFB sales chain for non-plasma farmers is very long, involving collectors and wholesalers, so the price received is very low.

Second, the case of competition between collectors in Pundu Village is in the context of buying FFB from non-plasma farmers. Various strategies and efforts were made to get customers and bind customers, either by lending a certain amount of money or lending a number of goods needed for the operational activities of oil palm plantations. Money is used to buy basic family needs while waiting for the harvest to arrive. Besides that, it is also used to buy fertilizers and pesticides and pay labor wages in oil palm plantations. When borrowing goods from a palm equipment shop, it is none other than meeting the operational needs of palm oil, which must be met on a daily basis. Then, competition can also occur in the sale of FFB from collectors to companies. Because the benchmark price of FFB for each company can be different. If the price of FFB at other companies is higher than the SDE Palm Oil Company, then the collectors will sell it to other companies. But if it's the other way around, it will only be sent to the SDE Palm Oil Company. The productivity of the SDE Palm Oil Company will decrease even more if the traders sell FFB to other companies around Pundu Village. Although not a few traders sell FFB to SDE Palm Oil Company. The FFB price is not constant, but fluctuates according to the world CPO market price. So that the pricing of palm oil companies also varies according to world market conditions. This also affects where the collectors sell the FFB.

When examining the cases above, this competition actually occurs between groups of farmers and between groups of traders. The presence of SDE Palm Oil Company in Pundu Village has resulted in very dynamic competition in the sale of FFB. Competition between these groups can be said to be competition in the form of fighting over resources to optimize material. This also supports Soekanto's opinion that competition is an effort and a way to seek profit in various fields of life. In looking for a form of competition, as Soekanto said, the context of this research illustrates that both farmers and traders compete to obtain maximum palm oil yields. Presumably this can indeed be categorized as healthy economic competition. Particularly for plasma and non-plasma farmers, this competition brings big changes to the progress of work ethics and materials. Although in several respects there is a system that hinders the progress of one of the farmer groups, especially non-plasma. The impact of the partnership program gives priority to plasma farmers to sell FFB directly to the SDE Palm Oil Company and on the other hand, closes the opportunity for non-plasma farmers to sell FFB directly to the SDE Palm Oil Company. Of course, this makes non-plasma farmers think hard to overcome this. These obstacles are also seen by traders as promising business opportunities and at the same time give birth to other forms of economic competition.

The traders themselves create various strategies so that the FFB from the plasma farmers can be sold to them. This strategy is nothing but building trust between traders and farmers, for example providing temporary loans to farmers. Then, another strategy is to receive FFB at high prices from non-plasma farmers. These strategies also form long-lasting networks and relationships among them. Traders benefit by obtaining the difference from the sale of FFB to palm oil companies and farmers benefit because FFB sells out and does not have time to stockpile. Networks and relations between traders and farmers according to (Putnam, 2003) and (Coleman, 1990) as social capital, are "similar to the notions of physical and human capital, the term social capital refers to features of social organization - such as network, norms and trust that increase a society's productive potential". This is in line with previous research which also found similar things, namely networks, norms and beliefs support productivity in society as is the case for non-plasma farmers and traders in Pundu Village. When returned to the context of this study, it can be said that competition gave birth to norms in the Pundu Village community, especially traders and non-plasma farmers, namely networks and relationships and this also has an impact on achieving the goals of each of them, especially the attainment of in economic life. A description of the competition between the SDE Palm Oil Company and plasma farmers, non-plasma farmers, wholesalers and other palm oil companies around Pundu Village.

Based on analyzes of competition between plasma farmers and SDE Palm Oil Companies in the context of the Pundu Village community, the findings can be described as follows: (1) Competition between groups of farmers, traders and SDE Palm Oil Companies takes the form of economic competition in maximizing palm oil productivity. (2) This competition brought about major changes in the progress of the work ethic and materials of various groups, both farmer groups and traders. (3) This competition gave birth to norms, networks and trust between traders and non-plasma farmers in Pundu Village with regard to the buying and selling of FFB, this has also been conveyed in other studies that became one of the references in this study and found similar results.

Conflict. The conflict that occurred between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company seems relevant when examined by Coser's conflict theory. His analysis in *The Functions of Social Conflict* is according to Simmel's ideas (Goodman, 2007). The core thought of Coser's conflict theory is that conflict does not have to be destructive or dysfunctional for the system in which the conflict occurs, but rather that conflict can have positive or beneficial consequences for the system; the strength of internal solidarity and in-group integration increases because the level of hostility or conflict with outside groups increases; close emotional relationships are characterized by ambivalent attitudes or by closely related positive and negative feelings. In fact, the closer the relationship, the more likely it will be that stimulating opportunities arise, such as antagonistic feelings or tension; Coser makes an important distinction in this relationship between "realistic" and "non-realistic" conflict. Realistic conflict is a tool for a certain goal, which if that goal is achieved will probably eliminate the basic causes of the conflict. Conversely, non-realistic conflict includes the expression of hostility as its own goal (Goodman, 2007).

If we look at the results of the research, first, the conflict occurred in the early days of the SDE Palm Oil Company's land clearing, not all of the people of Pundu Village could take the presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company for granted. The public's perception of the presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company is quite diverse, some are pro and some are contra. The pro Pundu villagers think that the presence of the company will have a good impact, because of the availability of jobs and increased income. On the other hand, those who are against consider the erosion of the sources of life which they believe so far have revived society from generation to generation. Some of the pros and cons that occur are mainly considered that the presence of the SDE Palm Oil Company will make the village area narrower because most of it is used for oil palm plantations, while the population is increasing, the land owned is getting narrower so that the people's livelihoods such as farming and rubber gardening are decreasing.

Second, what is quite prominent is the land conflict with the company holding Cultivation Rights (HGU). Some of the people's land that belongs to the core land of the SDE Palm Oil Company should have received compensation for the land, but it turns out to be just a figment of imagination. On several occasions the company's promises of compensation have not been realized. In fact, if a company is applying for an HGU permit to BPN, then the lands submitted for obtaining an HGU permit must be clean and clear of land conflicts. This means that if there is still conflicting land, that land must be excluded from the HGU permit application.

Third, apart from HGU land, plasma land also often triggers conflicts between the SDE Palm Oil Company and plasma farmers. In the early stages of land acquisition by the SDE Palm Oil Company, it was discovered that the community strongly objected to land credit to the SDE Palm Oil Company, which was none other than the land owned by the community itself. Regarding plasma land, it is a gift from the company to members of the company's plasma as the company's obligation to comply with the provisions: 80% is managed by the company and 20% is managed by the community. With this provision, residents

are not obligated to credit land to the company. Credit can be received if it is in the form of purchasing fertilizers, seeds, land clearing costs if done by the company, and land certificates. The fee is paid in installments by the plasma members after the first harvest of palm oil is paid off within the agreed timeframe. In fact, according to the provisions in force, the land taken by the company must already be released before the company can carry out its activities.

Fourth, regarding land compensation is also a source of conflict among the residents of Pundu Village. Based on the promise made by the SDE Palm Oil Company that they will pay attention to compensation for community land that is included in their HGU area. However, in reality, some communities have not received compensation for their land. This has led to the emergence of public distrust of the SDE Palm Oil Company. The demand came from the people of Pundu Village regarding the problematic plasma land. Various complaints and demands from the residents want their land to be returned to the residents if the SDE Palm Oil Company cannot fulfill their demands. The residents also asked to return their rights as stated in the Cooperation Agreement Letter, where in the dictum of the letter, it was said that the SDE Palm Oil Company would provide its own land for a plasma plantation. In fact, it is not a problem if the SDE Palm Oil Company hands over another area to be used as plasma land as long as the land is not problematic and overlapping.

Fifth, conflicts between plasma farmers and SDE Palm Oil Companies due to competition in setting the price of FFB. As previously explained, competition between plasma farmers and SDE Palm Oil Companies has resulted in conflict. The SDE Palm Oil Company is obliged to sell the FFB belonging to the plasma farmers to the company, even after the credit is paid off for up to one planting cycle, approximately 20 years. The plasma farmers feel disadvantaged by the treatment of the SDE Palm Oil Company which does not directly receive their FFB. This has an impact on decreasing the quality of FFB so that the price of FFB will decrease. In addition, the experience of the farmers when selling FFB, SDE Palm Oil Company bought FFB from Pundu Village plasma farmers did not make cash payments, but payments were made one month later because they were waiting for a price fixation from the government (Ditjenbun, 2014). In addition, the yield of FFB originating from plasma farmers is not transparent in practice by the core companies, as a result the farmers only receive reports on the amount of CPO production from the PKS. The practice of selling FFB from companies that harms plasma farmers and also conceals information from SDE Palm Oil Company regarding the productivity of plasma farmers. The source of disappointment for the plasma farmers in Pundu Village is the lack of transparency by the SDE Palm Oil Company about the productivity of their plasma plantations, particularly the difference between local and export prices. In fact, it is the plasma farmers who get the difference because they are the ones who have the right to do so. But in reality, SDE Palm Oil Company does not want to clearly disclose this information.

Some of the facts that happened above became the trigger for the resistance of the Pundu Village plasma farmers against the treatment of the SDE Palm Oil Company. On the one hand, plasma farmers are indeed bound by the agreement, but on the other hand, plasma farmers also have the right to claim their rights, both compensation, credit calculation and transparent FFB pricing. Dissatisfaction and distrust of plasma farmers towards the SDE Palm Oil Company at that time was indeed widespread. There have been demonstrations, theft of FFB, demands and others, but not to the point of brutal horizontal conflict. Efforts to avoid brutal conflicts have been resolved amicably by all stakeholders, be it the management of the SDE Palm Oil Company, village officials, community leaders, plasma farmers who are in conflict, as well as officials authorized to resolve these disputes. This is in line with other research that has been conducted by (Aprilyan et al., 2021) although on different objects.

The reality in the background of this research, when viewed from the Coser conflict theory, several things that were carried out by the SDE Palm Oil Company gave rise to a number of objections from the plasma farming community in Pundu Village. Even though at the initial stage cooperation, accommodation and assimilation had taken place, due to various kinds of subsequent events that were not in accordance with the previous agreement, conflicts emerged from the plasma farming community. Under these pressures, the plasma farmers collectively begin to reveal their identities and must fight collectively. This is indeed in line with Coser's proposition that when the strength of internal solidarity and integration within the group increases, the level of hostility or conflict with outside groups increases. According to him, the increased cohesiveness of a group involved in a conflict helps strengthen boundaries between that group and other groups in the environment, especially groups that are hostile or potentially hostile. The plasma farmers collectively began to question their rights to resources. In the sense of the emergence of solidity and collectivity in responding to the behavior of the SDE Palm Oil Company which is considered detrimental to their lives.

In several incidents the plasma farmers really maintained their relationship with the SDE Palm Oil Company until the cooperation agreement was agreed upon. Various ways have been made to make

accommodations to the SDE Palm Oil Company. This is what causes the interactions between them to be very intimate and intense, but according to Coser this is what causes the seeds of conflict to emerge. This means that some of the agreements previously made between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company were not in the context of absolute agreement but still harbored and harbored thoughts that were not in line with the SDE Palm Oil Company. In turn it will accumulate conflicting feelings that are getting bigger. So do not be surprised if the farming community commits acts that are considered inappropriate, such as theft of company FFB, demonstrations, demands for the return of community land, and so on.

The conflict between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company is believed to be a "realistic" conflict as Coser said. The actions they take as a form of resistance are their tools to fight for their rights. If examined carefully that the right is related to the increase in economic welfare. But the real reality is that even though the solidarity of these plasma farmers still places them in a subordinate and powerless position. Plasma farmers still see that the conflict that occurs provides benefits in supporting changes in their lives. This is what the researchers think, that there is still a place for them to feel the benefits of this interaction, in the sense that this interaction more or less makes the goals of the farmers achieved.

Based on an analysis of the conflict that occurred between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company within the framework of the Pundu Village community, several findings can be formulated: (1) The causes of the conflict between the plasma farmers and the SDE Palm Oil Company are narrow land, eroding local resources, non-realization of land compensation communities included in HGU, disputes over plasma land credit, FFB pricing that is not transparent. (2) Palm oil conflicts occur in the form of demonstrations, demands and also the theft of FFB belonging to the company. (3) The conflict occurred because of the increasing solidarity of the farming community who realistically fought for their rights in the form of resistance and the intensity of previous communication.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that the form of social interaction between the plasma farmer community and the SDE Palm Oil Company in Pundu Village is both dissociative. Dissociative social interactions occurred during the entry phase of the SDE Palm Oil Company, management of oil palm plantations, and of course there were views that were not in line with the SDE Palm Oil Company which at the time the collaboration was being carried out was suppressed and considered completed by one of the parties. In this dissociative interaction, the plasma farmer community strengthens its solidarity in fighting against the SDE Palm Oil Company which is considered to have done many things that are detrimental to farmers. The results of this study cannot stand alone without involving a number of theoretical frameworks that are very relevant to the context of research on the social interaction of the plasma farmers community and the SDE Palm Oil Company. The findings in this study implicitly or explicitly have implications for Young's theoretical framework (Young & Mack, 1959) (Taneko, 1990) which defines interaction as the relationship between individuals and groups and groups and groups. This study illustrates that the process of interaction both associatively and dissociatively confirms that there has been social interaction in Young's view. So the results of this study support Young's opinion. Simmel's perspective itself provides a basis for interpreting social interaction. Simmel's approach includes identifying and analyzing patterns of "sociation", which is the process by which society occurs. Socialization includes reciprocal interaction and through this process, individuals interact and influence each other. In this research perspective, the interaction between the plasma farmers community and the SDE Palm Oil Company illustrates that a sociation process has taken place as described by Simmel. The process of sociation has occurred once again in the community of Pundu Village. The interaction between the SDE Palm Oil Company and the plasma farmers builds a mutually beneficial relationship. Of course, this research area supports Simmel's view that interactions that occur indicate an interest, goal or purpose that must be fought for. After studying the context of this research, it was found that each of the interacting parties, including plasma farmers, non-plasma farmers, traders, community members, cooperatives, village institutions, and the SDE Palm Oil Company, had interests and goals that had to be achieved. Competition between farmer groups, trader groups, oil palm company groups has created valuable social capital, especially the FFB trade network, norms of reciprocity and trust among them have been established (Putnam, 2003) (Coleman, 1990). The pattern of conflict that occurs between the plasma farmers community and the SDE Palm Oil Company is in fact in line with Coser's view. The closeness between the farming community and the SDE Palm Oil Company has consequences that lead to a rupture in the relationship and a conflict erupts. Contradictions in HGU, FFB pricing, compensation and others have resulted in resistance from the plasma farmers community in various forms, including

demonstrations, demands and symbolic actions by the community for their disagreement with the principles of the SDE Palm Oil Company. Research on the interaction between the plasma farming community and the SDE Palm Oil Company is built from a framework based on social interaction theory, social action theory, social change theory, symbolic interaction theory, conflict theory. The findings in this study indicate that there are a number of interaction cases that lead to efforts to explore the theory of social capital as a result of competition between traders, farmers and companies. Because of this there is room for other researchers to dig deeper into the theory of social capital in the context of the interaction of the farming community with the SDE Palm Oil Company in Pundu Village. Not only at the theoretical level, but the results of this study also contribute to the practical level. By knowing the social interactions that occur and all the problems that exist in it, this research is certainly useful as a reference for the preparation of pro-pro-strategies and policies for the welfare of farming communities and empowering farming communities, especially for Village, District and Regency Governments and SDE Palm Oil Company Management.

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