



The Influence of Perceived Agrarian Injustice and the Sense of Oppression on Farmers' Collective Mobilization: A Study of the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri (KTTJM) in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict, Padang Lawas Regency

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the influence of perceived agrarian injustice and feelings of oppression on farmers' collective mobilization in the agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumun District. Using an explanatory quantitative approach, data were collected through questionnaires distributed to 154 farmers and members of the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri (KTTJM) who were directly involved in the conflict. Data were analyzed using Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (SEM-PLS) with SmartPLS, including validity, reliability, path coefficient, R-square, and bootstrapping tests. Interview data were also used to strengthen the interpretation of statistical findings. The results show that perceived agrarian injustice and feelings of oppression have positive and significant effects on farmers' collective mobilization, with T-statistic values above 1.96 and P-values below 0.05. The R-square value of 0.64 indicates that the model explains 64% of collective mobilization. The study links cognitive, emotional, and collective action dimensions within local agrarian conflict and farmer resistance.

INTRODUCTION

Agrarian conflict in Indonesia is a social reality that reflects inequality in land control, weak farmers' access to productive resources, and the dominance of state and corporate actors in the management of agrarian space (Dalimunthe et al., 2023; Lee, 2022). In many cases, land conflicts do not remain merely administrative disputes, but develop into experiences of losing living space, social pressure, and economic uncertainty that weaken the bargaining position of smallholder farmers (Dalimunthe, Suhendar, et al., 2024; Ntumva, 2022). This reality is evident in the agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict, Padang Lawas Regency, which involved farming communities and PT Barapala and subsequently encouraged the strengthening of the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri, or KTTJM. Research data show that this conflict covers 18 out of 25 villages, involves community claims over approximately $\pm 10,300$ hectares of land, and affects more than 6,000 farmers who experience unequal access to land as a source of livelihood (Bowles & Fochesato, 2024; Otu, 2022). This condition indicates that agrarian conflict is not merely a matter of land ownership legality, but also a matter of social injustice that is perceived, experienced, and responded to through farmers' collective action (Dalimunthe, Syam, et al., 2024; Nwankwo, 2025). Therefore, the empirical reality of the KTTJM conflict is important to examine as a sociological study that connects agrarian structures, farmers' subjective experiences, and the formation of collective mobilization within a single analytical framework.

Recent literature on agrarian conflict shows that unequal access to land, changes in land use, and spatial control by capital-intensive actors often generate resistance from local communities. However, most studies still position conflict primarily as a matter of structure, regulation, or resource governance (Aysan et al., 2023; Ritonga et al., 2024). Studies on collective action in land policy emphasize the importance of trust, social capital, cooperation, and organizational capacity, but they do not always explain how perceptions of injustice and emotional pressure operate as psychosocial triggers of farmers' mobilization (Ohorella et al., 2024; Saraan et al., 2024). Contemporary social psychology literature explains that shared grievances, social identity, efficacy beliefs, and intergroup emotions can strengthen individuals' tendency to engage in collective action. However, the examination of these relationships remains rarely situated specifically within local agrarian conflicts based on farming communities (Dalimunthe et al., 2025; Rathi, 2022). Studies on social unrest also show that relative deprivation, economic uncertainty, and negative emotions can serve as accelerators of protest action. Nevertheless, the empirical relationship between the sense of oppression and farmers' mobilization has not been widely tested through quantitative structural models (Mzimela & Moyo, 2026; Suhendar et al., 2024). Thus, this study needs to be conducted because there is a gap between agrarian conflict literature, collective action theory, and the need for empirical testing of cognitive-emotional relationships in farmers' mobilization.

This study aims to analyze the influence of perceived agrarian injustice and the sense of oppression on farmers' collective mobilization within the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict, Padang Lawas

Regency. This objective is directed toward explaining whether farmers' perceptions of unequal land control, the distribution of agrarian benefits, and weak protection of community rights have a positive relationship with their involvement in deliberation, advocacy, demonstrations, and organizational activities. This study also aims to examine whether the sense of oppression, emerging from experiences of social pressure, loss of control over living space, and a weak bargaining position, influences the strengthening of farmers' solidarity and collective participation. In addition, this study aims to assess the ability of the structural model to explain farmers' collective mobilization through the coefficient of determination, so that the relationships among variables are not only described narratively but also empirically tested through the SEM-PLS approach. Interview data are used to deepen the interpretation of statistical results so that farmers' social experiences are not reduced merely to numbers, but remain understood as a conflict reality with historical, social, emotional, and organizational contexts. With these objectives, this article is directed toward building a more measurable explanation of the systematic formation of farmers' collective mobilization in local agrarian conflicts.

The main argument of this article is that farmers' collective mobilization cannot be explained solely through the objective existence of land conflict, but must be understood through the ways farmers evaluate injustice and experience oppression in their social lives (Doherty et al., 2023). Perceived agrarian injustice is positioned as a cognitive dimension because farmers first interpret land inequality, imbalanced access, and distributive injustice as situations that harm them socially and economically (Nwankwo, 2025). The sense of oppression is positioned as an emotional dimension because experiences of losing living space, social pressure, and weak control over agrarian resources can strengthen the impulse to seek protection through collective solidarity (Kurniawati et al., 2025). The hypotheses proposed are that perceived agrarian injustice has a positive effect on farmers' collective mobilization, and that the sense of oppression also has a positive effect on farmers' collective mobilization. This argument is important because agrarian studies require a model that not only reads conflict as a structure of power, but also explains how such structures are translated into awareness, emotions, and collective action at the community level. Thus, this study has both academic and practical urgency in strengthening the understanding of farmers' mobilization as a social response to agrarian injustice.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review in this article is grounded in three main keywords: perceived agrarian injustice, the sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization. Perceived agrarian injustice can be defined as farmers' subjective assessment of inequality in control, distribution, access, and legal recognition of agrarian resources, which they consider inconsistent with the principles of social justice (Saragih, Suhendar, et al., 2025). This concept refers not only to objective conditions such as land concentration, but also to the ways in which communities interpret such inequality as a social experience that disadvantages farming groups (Thuijsman et al., 2022). In contemporary agrarian studies, land injustice is related to issues of access, tenure rights, resource control, and protection for

groups whose livelihoods depend on land (Batisai & Chipato, 2022). From the perspective of landscape justice, agrarian issues also include the dimensions of distribution, procedure, and recognition of communities affected by spatial-use decisions (Yang et al., 2026). In the context of this study, perceived agrarian injustice is positioned as a cognitive dimension because farmers first evaluate conflict situations as a form of inequality before engaging in collective action (Saragih et al., 2025). Therefore, this concept is important for explaining how agrarian conflict is translated by farmers into an awareness of their social position within agrarian power relations.

The categorization or manifestation of perceived agrarian injustice can be observed through several forms of farmers' experiences with unequal agrarian structures. The first manifestation is the perception of unequal land control, namely a condition in which productive land is more extensively controlled by capital-intensive actors, while smallholder farmers have limited access to cultivated land. The second manifestation is the perception of distributive injustice, namely farmers' assessment that economic benefits, management rights, and the outcomes of agrarian resource utilization are not proportionally distributed to local communities. The third manifestation is limited access to agrarian resources, which is evident when farmers face obstacles in obtaining land, capital, tenure security, and legal protection. The fourth manifestation is inequality in the legality of ownership, because administrative recognition often benefits formal actors more than the historical and social claims of farming communities (Dalimunthe et al., 2023). The fifth manifestation is the perception of unfair treatment by companies or the state, particularly when policies, permits, and spatial-control measures are perceived as weakening farmers' position. In the operationalization of this study, these manifestations are translated into indicators of perceived inequality, land distribution, resource access, ownership legality, and unfair treatment. These various manifestations show that agrarian injustice operates through structures, policies, and farmers' everyday experiences.

The sense of oppression can be defined as an emotional and social experience that emerges when individuals or groups feel marginalized, pressured, deprived of control, and lacking bargaining power within unequal power structures. In social psychology studies, the experience of injustice not only shapes cognitive evaluations but also generates collective emotions such as anger, fear, disappointment, and helplessness, which can influence the orientation of group action (Furqon et al., 2022). In the agrarian context, the sense of oppression is related to farmers' experiences when access to land, living space, and sources of livelihood is increasingly restricted by actors possessing greater economic, legal, or political power. This concept differs from agrarian injustice because its emphasis is not only on the assessment of inequality, but also on the inner and social experiences that arise as a result of such inequality. In collective action research, negative emotions arising from unfair treatment can strengthen group identification and the desire to improve shared conditions (Nguyen, 2021; Ferry et al., 2024). In this study, the sense of oppression is positioned as an emotional dimension that connects experiences of conflict with the impulse

toward solidarity and farmers' collective participation (Siregar, 2026). Thus, the sense of oppression becomes a concept that explains why agrarian conflict can turn into social energy for farmers' movements.

METHODOLOGY

The object of this study is farmers' collective mobilization in the agrarian conflict occurring in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict, Padang Lawas Regency. The empirical focus of the study is directed toward farmers who are members of the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri, or KTTJM, as a social group involved in the struggle to defend land claims, respond to inequality in land control, and build collective solidarity in the conflict with the company. The phenomenon under study is not merely understood as a land dispute, but also as a social process that shows how farmers interpret agrarian injustice and experience a sense of oppression as the basis for forming collective action. This object was selected because the agrarian conflict in the area has persisted over a long period, involves many villages, and demonstrates a connection between experiences of land inequality, social pressure, and participation in farmers' organizations. Thus, this study positions the KTTJM agrarian conflict as an empirical case for testing the relationship between perceived agrarian injustice, the sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization within a single analytical model. The selection of this object is relevant because social research oriented toward relationships among variables requires a phenomenon with clear actors, context, indicators, and empirical dynamics so that the model construction can be tested in a measurable way while retaining sociological meaning (Markova, 2026).

This study uses a quantitative approach with an explanatory design because its main objective is to explain the influence of perceived agrarian injustice and the sense of oppression on farmers' collective mobilization. The quantitative approach was selected because the relationships among variables in this study need to be tested through numerical data, structural modeling, and systematic hypothesis testing. The explanatory design is used to answer whether changes in the independent variables, namely perceived agrarian injustice and the sense of oppression, can explain variation in the dependent variable, namely farmers' collective mobilization. The primary data of the study were obtained directly from respondents through the distribution of questionnaires to farmers and KTTJM members who experienced and understood the dynamics of agrarian conflict at the research site. The primary data were also strengthened through in-depth interviews to capture farmers' social experiences that cannot be fully explained by numbers. Secondary data were obtained from agrarian conflict documents, organizational archives, supporting reports, and scholarly literature related to agrarian injustice, the sense of oppression, collective mobilization, and the SEM-PLS method. The use of quantitative data supported by qualitative data is consistent with an explanatory design, because statistical findings can be deepened through narrative data that explain the social context behind the relationships among variables (Creswell, 2021).

The sources of information in this study consist of respondents, supporting informants, field documents, and academic literature relevant to the research focus. The main respondents of the study were 154 farmers who were

members of, or part of the social environment of, the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri and who were involved in the agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict. The respondents were positioned as sources of quantitative data because they provided answers to questionnaire items measuring perceived agrarian injustice, the sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization. Supporting informants were used as sources of qualitative data to explain farmers' experiences related to inequality in land control, social pressure, loss of control over living space, and involvement in organization and collective action. KTTJM organizational documents, conflict records, and archives related to land disputes were used to strengthen the empirical context of the study. Scholarly literature was used as a conceptual, methodological, and comparative basis for interpreting the research findings. The use of various sources of information is important because social research requires a connection between measurable data, participants' experiences, and documentary context so that the analysis does not lose its empirical depth. With this arrangement of data sources, this study continues to position the questionnaire as the main source and interviews as a means of strengthening interpretation.

The research process was carried out through several sequential stages, beginning with determining the research location and subjects, developing instruments, collecting data, processing data, and interpreting the results. The first stage was conducted by identifying the context of the agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumun Subdistrict and establishing KTTJM farmer members as the research population. The second stage involved developing a questionnaire based on the indicators of each variable, namely perceived agrarian injustice, the sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization. The questionnaire instrument used a Likert scale because this scale is commonly used to measure attitudes, opinions, and perceptions through structured statements that can be converted into quantitative data (Alabi & Jelili, 2023). The third stage was conducted by distributing questionnaires to 154 respondents to obtain numerical data on farmers' perceptual tendencies, emotional experiences, and collective participation. The fourth stage involved conducting in-depth interviews with selected informants to strengthen the explanation of the statistical results. The fifth stage was carried out by collecting secondary data in the form of agrarian conflict documents and academic literature. This sequence shows that the data collection techniques in this study were designed in a structured manner while still allowing space for contextual explanations of farmers' social experiences.

The data analysis technique in this study was carried out through descriptive analysis and Structural Equation Modeling based on Partial Least Squares, or SEM-PLS, with the assistance of SmartPLS software. Descriptive analysis was used to describe respondents' characteristics and response tendencies for each research variable. SEM-PLS was used because this study examines relationships among latent variables constructed from several indicators and aims to explain the model's ability to predict farmers' collective mobilization. PLS-SEM is relevant when research is oriented toward explanation and prediction, involves a theoretical model with several constructs, and requires simultaneous evaluation of the measurement model and structural model

(Sharma et al., 2023). Evaluation of the measurement model was conducted through outer loading, Average Variance Extracted, Composite Reliability, and Cronbach's Alpha to assess construct validity and reliability. Evaluation of the structural model was conducted through R-square, Q-square, effect size, path coefficient, and bootstrapping significance testing. These indicators are commonly used in PLS-SEM reporting because they help researchers assess construct quality, relationship strength, model predictive power, and the significance of effects among variables. Bootstrapping was used to test the stability of path coefficient estimates and determine hypothesis acceptance through T-statistics and P-values. The quantitative results were then read together with the interview data so that the statistical relationships could be explained through farmers' social experiences.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Agrarian Conflict Context and the Role of KTTJM

The agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumun District provides the empirical context for explaining the emergence of farmers' collective mobilization in this study. The area is characterized by an agrarian socio-economic structure because most residents depend on agriculture, particularly oil palm, rubber, and rice cultivation, as their main source of livelihood. However, the structure of land control shows a significant imbalance because productive land is largely controlled by plantation companies, while small farmers have limited access to land. The conflict between local farmers and PT Barapala has developed since approximately 1996, particularly after the promised plasma partnership scheme was not realized as expected by the community. This condition generated disappointment, perceived injustice, and social pressure among farmers. In response to these conditions, farmers consolidated themselves through the Komite Tani Tano Jaya Mandiri (KTTJM). KTTJM functions as a collective organization that articulates farmers' demands, strengthens internal solidarity, and connects farmers with external actors such as students, civil society organizations, and agrarian advocacy groups. Therefore, the agrarian conflict in this study is not merely a land dispute, but a social process that transforms unequal land control into collective awareness and organized action.

Table 1. Distribution of respondents in 18 villages

No	Villages
1	Aek Bonban
2	Aek Buatun
3	Aek Nabara Jae
4	Aek Nabara Julu
5	Aek Nabara Tonga
6	Bangkuang
7	Hadungdung Aek Rampah
8	Hadungdung Pintu Padang
9	Huta Bargout

No	Villages
10	Janji Maria
11	Marenu
12	Padang Garugur Jae
13	Padang Garugur Julu
14	Padang Garugur Tonga
15	Paran Julu
16	Paran Tonga
17	Paya Bahung
18	Sayur Mahincat

Respondent Characteristics and Farmers' Agrarian Vulnerability

This study involved 154 respondents who were active members of KTTJM and were distributed across 18 of the 25 villages affected by the agrarian conflict in Aek Nabara Barumon District. The distribution of respondents across many villages indicates that the conflict is not isolated within a single locality, but is experienced by a broader network of village communities facing similar agrarian problems. Most respondents were in productive age groups, with 43.5% aged 30–45 years and 31.8% aged 46–60 years. This shows that collective mobilization is mainly driven by farmers who still have strong productive capacity, economic responsibility, and direct dependence on land. All respondents in this study were male, reflecting the social structure of the local agrarian community, where land management, organizational membership, and collective action are mostly represented by men as household heads. In terms of education, most respondents had completed elementary school and junior high school, while 68.2% owned less than one hectare of land. Most respondents had also been members of KTTJM for two to five years. These characteristics show that the respondents represent small farmers with limited land access, low formal education, and strong vulnerability to agrarian inequality.

Table 2. Respondent characteristics: age, gender, education, land area, length of membership

Age	Frequency	Percentage
< 30	23	14,9%
30–45	67	43,5%
46–60	49	31,8%
> 60	15	9,8%
Total	154	100%

Descriptive Findings of Research Variables

The descriptive findings show that perceived agrarian injustice, sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization are all positioned at high to very high levels. The variable of perceived agrarian injustice obtained a mean score of 4.21, indicating that most respondents strongly perceived inequality in land control, distribution, and access to agrarian resources. Farmers viewed land

control as being dominated by actors with capital power and structural support, while local communities experienced limited access to land as their main source of livelihood. The variable of sense of oppression obtained a mean score of 4.08, indicating that farmers did not only recognize agrarian inequality cognitively, but also experienced it emotionally and socially. They felt marginalized, powerless, and increasingly disconnected from their own living space. Meanwhile, farmers' collective mobilization obtained the highest mean score of 4.32, which falls into the very high category. This result shows that respondents were strongly involved in organizational meetings, deliberations, collective actions, and agrarian advocacy through KTTJM. These descriptive findings indicate that agrarian injustice and oppression are not passive experiences, but have developed into collective participation and organized social action.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics of Research Variables

Variabel	Mean	Category
Perception of Injustice (X_1)	4,21	High
Feeling of Oppression (X_2)	4,08	High
Farmers' Collective Mobilization (Y)	4,32	Very high

Measurement Model Evaluation

The evaluation of the measurement model indicates that all indicators used in this study met the validity and reliability criteria required in the SEM-PLS approach. The outer loading values for all indicators of perceived agrarian injustice, sense of oppression, and farmers' collective mobilization were above 0.70, meaning that each indicator was valid in representing its latent construct. The outer loading values for perceived agrarian injustice ranged from 0.757 to 0.845, while the outer loading values for sense of oppression ranged from 0.764 to 0.842. Meanwhile, the outer loading values for farmers' collective mobilization ranged from 0.787 to 0.856. The Average Variance Extracted (AVE) values also exceeded the minimum threshold of 0.50, with 0.654 for perceived agrarian injustice, 0.638 for sense of oppression, and 0.681 for farmers' collective mobilization. In addition, the Composite Reliability values were 0.918, 0.907, and 0.926, while the Cronbach's Alpha values were 0.904, 0.892, and 0.917. These results indicate that the research instrument has strong internal consistency and is suitable for further structural model testing.

Structural Model Evaluation

The structural model evaluation shows that the research model has a strong explanatory capacity in explaining farmers' collective mobilization. The R-square value for farmers' collective mobilization was 0.64, meaning that perceived agrarian injustice and sense of oppression explained 64% of the variance in farmers' collective mobilization. The remaining 36% was influenced by other factors outside the model, such as social networks, external actors, local political dynamics, organizational strategies, and advocacy support. The Q-square value was 0.357, indicating that the model had predictive relevance because the value was greater than zero. This means that the independent

variables in the model have predictive ability in explaining the dependent variable. The effect size test also showed that perceived agrarian injustice had an f-square value of 0.213, while sense of oppression had an f-square value of 0.178. Both values fall into the medium category. These findings show that both variables contribute to explaining farmers' collective mobilization, although perceived agrarian injustice has a slightly higher effect size. Therefore, the structural model confirms that farmers' collective mobilization is shaped by the interaction of cognitive awareness and emotional experience in agrarian conflict.

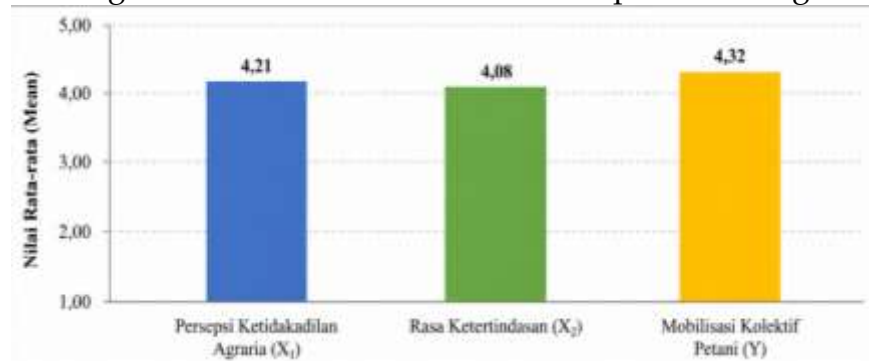


Figure 1. Diagram model SEM-PLS

The Effect of Perceived Agrarian Injustice on Farmers' Collective Mobilization

The first hypothesis test shows that perceived agrarian injustice has a positive and significant effect on farmers' collective mobilization. The path coefficient of the relationship between perceived agrarian injustice and farmers' collective mobilization was 0.41, indicating that the stronger farmers' perception of inequality in land control and distribution, the higher their tendency to engage in collective action. The significance test showed a T-statistic value of 7.846 and a P-value of 0.000. These values meet the significance criteria because the T-statistic is greater than 1.96 and the P-value is lower than 0.05. Therefore, the first hypothesis is accepted. This finding shows that farmers do not experience agrarian conflict merely as an objective dispute over land, but interpret it as a form of injustice affecting access, livelihood, and recognition of their living space. Such interpretation becomes the cognitive foundation for collective awareness. In this context, perceived agrarian injustice functions as a mechanism that connects unequal land control with farmers' willingness to participate in organizational meetings, advocacy, deliberation, and collective protest. Thus, perceived agrarian injustice is an important cognitive factor in explaining the emergence of farmers' collective mobilization.

The Effect of Sense of Oppression on Farmers' Collective Mobilization

The second hypothesis test shows that sense of oppression has a positive and significant effect on farmers' collective mobilization. The path coefficient of the relationship between sense of oppression and farmers' collective mobilization was 0.46, which is higher than the coefficient of perceived agrarian injustice. This means that the emotional experience of oppression has a stronger influence on collective mobilization than the cognitive perception of injustice. The significance test showed a T-statistic value of 3.494 and a P-value of 0.001, indicating that the relationship is statistically significant. Therefore, the second hypothesis is

accepted. This finding shows that feelings of powerlessness, marginalization, economic pressure, and loss of control over living space become important drivers of farmers' collective involvement. In the context of KTTJM, sense of oppression does not remain an individual psychological burden, but develops into a shared emotional experience. This shared experience strengthens solidarity and motivates farmers to engage in collective struggle. Thus, collective mobilization in this study is strongly influenced by the emotional dimension of agrarian conflict. The higher coefficient of sense of oppression also indicates that emotional pressure can be a more immediate trigger for collective participation than cognitive awareness alone.

Table 4. Path Coefficient

Variable Relationships	Koefisien (β)	Information
$X_1 \rightarrow Y$	0,41	Positif
$X_2 \rightarrow Y$	0,46	Positif

Qualitative Support: Farmers' Experiences of Injustice and Oppression

The qualitative findings support the quantitative results by showing that perceived agrarian injustice and sense of oppression are rooted in farmers' lived experiences during the land conflict. Interviews with farmers revealed that agrarian injustice was not only understood as an economic problem, but also as an imbalance of power between local farmers and the company. Farmers perceived that access to land was controlled by actors with stronger capital, legality, and structural support, while local communities who had long depended on agrarian space were increasingly excluded from fair access and benefits. Farmers also experienced oppression through feelings of marginalization, limited participation in decision-making, and loss of control over land as a source of livelihood. These experiences show that agrarian conflict created both cognitive awareness and emotional pressure. The interviews also indicate that farmers' shared experiences of injustice and oppression strengthened solidarity among community members. They felt that they were facing the same structural problem and therefore needed to act collectively. Thus, the qualitative findings explain the social mechanism behind the statistical relationship between perceived injustice, oppression, and collective mobilization. The interview data confirms that collective action emerged from real and repeated experiences of agrarian inequality.



Figure 2. Interview Documentation

KTTJM, Collective Action, and Field-Based Mobilization

The dynamics of farmers' collective mobilization can be seen through their involvement in organizational activities, deliberation, advocacy, collective action, and solidarity networks built through KTTJM. The interview findings show that KTTJM functions as a social consolidation space that transforms individual experiences of injustice into organized collective awareness. Through this organization, farmers discuss their experiences, formulate demands, build advocacy strategies, and strengthen participation in collective action. The SEM-PLS analysis produced the structural equation $Y = 0.41X_1 + 0.46X_2 + e$. This equation shows that farmers' collective mobilization is positively influenced by perceived agrarian injustice and sense of oppression. The coefficient of 0.41 for X_1 indicates that an increase in perceived agrarian injustice is followed by an increase in collective mobilization. The coefficient of 0.46 for X_2 indicates that sense of oppression has a stronger influence on farmers' collective action. The error term represents other factors beyond the model, such as external support, social networks, and political conditions. This equation confirms that collective mobilization is the result of the interaction between cognitive awareness and emotional experience in agrarian conflict.



Figure 3. KTTJM Organization Farmer Activities

Discussion: Cognitive Awareness and Collective Mobilization

The finding that perceived agrarian injustice positively affects farmers' collective mobilization shows that collective action is not formed spontaneously, but through farmers' interpretation of unequal access, distribution, and control over land. The coefficient of 0.41 and the significant P-value indicate that the stronger farmers' awareness of agrarian injustice, the stronger their tendency to participate in collective action. This confirms that perceived injustice functions as a cognitive mechanism in the process of mobilization. Farmers first recognize that the agrarian structure is unequal, then interpret such inequality as a shared problem that requires collective response. This finding is consistent with contemporary collective action studies, which explain that perceived injustice, collective identity, and group efficacy can encourage individuals to participate in collective action. In the agrarian context, land inequality is not only an economic issue, but also a problem of recognition, access, and power relations. Therefore, the case of KTTJM shows that perceived agrarian injustice becomes the starting point for collective consciousness. Farmers' collective mobilization emerges because injustice is not only experienced individually, but interpreted collectively as a threat to livelihood and social existence.

Discussion: Emotional Experience and the Sense of Oppression

The finding that sense of oppression has a stronger effect on farmers' collective mobilization indicates that emotional experience plays a central role in agrarian movements. The coefficient of 0.46 shows that farmers' feelings of being marginalized, powerless, and deprived of control over their living space have a stronger influence than cognitive perception alone. This means that farmers' participation in collective action is not only based on rational awareness of inequality, but also on emotional pressure generated by prolonged conflict. Recent studies on collective action emphasize that negative emotions such as anger, frustration, and perceived group threat can strengthen participation when they are experienced collectively and organized through group identity. In the case of KTTJM, farmers' sense of oppression developed from repeated experiences of exclusion, limited access to land, and weak bargaining power in dealing with the company. This emotional experience strengthened solidarity because farmers felt that their suffering was shared. Therefore, sense of oppression becomes an emotional bridge between agrarian conflict and collective action. This finding confirms that emotional dimensions are essential in explaining why farmers continue to engage in mobilization despite risks and pressures.

Discussion: Interaction between Cognitive and Emotional Dimensions

The relationship between perceived agrarian injustice and sense of oppression shows that farmers' collective mobilization is formed through the interaction of cognitive and emotional dimensions. Perceived agrarian injustice allows farmers to recognize structural inequality in land control, while sense of oppression makes such inequality felt as social pressure that threatens their livelihood and dignity. This interaction explains why agrarian conflict does not always automatically produce collective action. Farmers need both shared

awareness and shared emotional experience before they can organize themselves into a sustained movement. The findings of this study show that KTTJM became the organizational arena where these two dimensions were translated into collective action. Through meetings, discussions, and advocacy activities, individual grievances were transformed into shared claims. Contemporary collective action literature also emphasizes that perceived injustice, collective identity, emotions, and perceived efficacy work together in encouraging social movement participation. In this study, the cognitive dimension is represented by perceived agrarian injustice, while the emotional dimension is represented by sense of oppression. The combination of both dimensions explains why farmers' mobilization was strong and organized. Thus, collective mobilization should be understood as a social process that connects structure, perception, emotion, organization, and action.

Discussion: Theoretical Interpretation of Agrarian Mobilization

The findings of this study can be interpreted through three theoretical pathways: relative deprivation, production of space, and collective mobilization. First, perceived agrarian injustice reflects the gap between farmers' expectations of fair land access and the reality of unequal land control. This explains why farmers develop collective awareness when they perceive that agrarian resources are controlled by actors with stronger capital and legal authority. Second, sense of oppression reflects the experience of losing control over agrarian space. In this context, land is not merely an economic asset, but a living space that supports family livelihood, social identity, and community continuity. Third, collective mobilization shows that grievances only become organized action when there is an institution capable of connecting awareness, emotion, resources, and strategy. KTTJM plays this role by providing organizational structure, leadership, deliberation space, and advocacy networks. Recent agrarian studies in Indonesia show that land conflict often emerges from unequal land access, weak recognition of local claims, and unresolved tensions between communities, corporations, and state policies. Therefore, this study contributes to agrarian sociology by integrating cognitive, emotional, and organizational dimensions in explaining farmers' collective mobilization.

Discussion: External Factors and the Limits of the Structural Model

Although the model explains 64% of the variance in farmers' collective mobilization, the remaining 36% indicates that other factors outside the model also influence collective action. These external factors may include student networks, civil society organizations, local media, agrarian advocacy groups, customary leaders, political opportunities, and legal developments surrounding land conflict. In the context of KTTJM, external actors did not replace farmers' internal awareness, but strengthened the movement by providing information, public legitimacy, advocacy support, and broader networks. This explains why mobilization was not only shaped by perceived injustice and oppression, but also by organizational capacity and external opportunity structures. Agrarian reform studies emphasize that land conflict resolution often requires institutional support, participatory mechanisms, and recognition of community claims in

order to prevent prolonged social tension. Therefore, the R-square value should not be interpreted as a limitation, but as an indication that the main model is strong while still leaving space for future research. Subsequent studies may include variables such as organizational leadership, political opportunity, legal consciousness, external advocacy, or social capital. Thus, this study provides a focused model while acknowledging the broader socio-political context of agrarian mobilization.

Discussion: Contribution of the Structural Model

The structural equation $Y = 0.41X_1 + 0.46X_2 + e$ confirms that farmers' collective mobilization is shaped by both perceived agrarian injustice and sense of oppression. The coefficient of perceived agrarian injustice indicates that farmers' cognitive awareness of unequal land control has a positive effect on their participation in collective action. Meanwhile, the higher coefficient of sense of oppression indicates that emotional experience is more dominant in encouraging mobilization. This finding is important because it shows that farmers' movements cannot be explained only by the objective existence of land conflict. They must also be understood through how farmers interpret injustice and experience oppression in everyday life. The use of SEM-PLS strengthens this argument because it allows the study to test latent relationships between perception, emotion, and collective action. In this study, the measurement model and structural model meet the main criteria for validity, reliability, explanatory power, predictive relevance, and statistical significance. Therefore, the article contributes empirically and theoretically by showing that KTTJM's collective mobilization is a structured response to perceived injustice and collectively experienced oppression.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study concludes that farmers' collective mobilization in the agrarian conflict of Aek Nabara Barumun District is shaped by the interaction between perceived agrarian injustice and the sense of oppression. The findings show that perceived agrarian injustice has a positive and significant effect on farmers' collective mobilization, with a path coefficient of 0.41, a T-statistic of 7.846, and a P-value of 0.000. This indicates that the stronger farmers perceive inequality in land control, access, distribution, and recognition of agrarian rights, the greater their tendency to participate in collective action. Agrarian injustice in this case is not merely understood as an objective structural condition, but as a cognitive experience that forms collective awareness among farmers. Therefore, farmers' mobilization through KTTJM emerges as a social response to unequal agrarian relations that affect their livelihood, bargaining position, and control over living space.

The study also concludes that the sense of oppression has a positive and significant effect on farmers' collective mobilization, with a path coefficient of 0.46, a T-statistic of 3.494, and a P-value of 0.001. This result shows that emotional experiences such as marginalization, powerlessness, economic pressure, and loss of control over agrarian space are important factors that strengthen farmers' involvement in collective action. Compared to perceived agrarian injustice, the

sense of oppression has a slightly stronger influence on collective mobilization, indicating that emotional pressure plays a central role in transforming agrarian grievances into organized action. The R-square value of 0.64 further confirms that perceived agrarian injustice and the sense of oppression jointly explain 64% of the variance in farmers' collective mobilization. Supported by interview findings, this study demonstrates that KTTJM functions as an organizational space that transforms individual experiences of injustice and oppression into collective awareness, solidarity, advocacy, and sustained agrarian struggle.

ADVANCED RESEARCH

Based on these findings, this study recommends that agrarian conflict resolution should not only focus on administrative legality and land ownership documents, but also consider farmers' lived experiences of injustice, marginalization, and loss of control over agrarian space. Local governments and relevant agrarian institutions need to develop more participatory, transparent, and socially responsive mechanisms for resolving land conflicts by involving farmer organizations, customary actors, civil society groups, and affected communities. For farmer organizations such as KTTJM, strengthening internal consolidation, leadership regeneration, legal literacy, documentation capacity, and advocacy networks is essential to maintain the sustainability of collective mobilization. Future research is recommended to include additional variables such as social capital, political opportunity, organizational leadership, external advocacy support, and legal consciousness in order to explain the remaining 36% of factors influencing farmers' collective mobilization beyond the structural model tested in this study.

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