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## National Strategic Project (Rempang EcoCity): Indigenous Peoples' Resistance in Responding to the Grabbing of Customary Land in Rempang Island

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**Abstract:** The agrarian conflict in Rempang Island, Batam, centres on the construction of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project which requires the relocation of indigenous communities who have long lived there. This research aims to analyse indigenous peoples' resistance to the dispossession of customary land caused by the project, which threatens their existence. This research uses a qualitative approach with a literature study and secondary data analysis from online media coverage. Data was collected through NCapture with the keyword "Rempang" and analysed using NVivo12 Plus to understand the forms of resistance that emerged in the online media coverage. The results showed that the resistance of the Rempang indigenous community to the Rempang Eco City project arose due to development policies that did not involve them, threatening their existence. This resistance was triggered by the fear of losing customary land. Meanwhile, online media coverage highlighted the conflict between the community, security forces, and the project. From the results of content analysis, open forms of resistance actions such as "confrontation and sabotage" and closed forms of action such as "symbolic protests", as a response to perceived injustice. From the results of the narrative analysis, online media coverage tends to focus on social conflict and economic impacts, using words such as "Rempang," "residents," and "government." This research reveals the social dynamics and community responses to the controversial project on Rempang Island.

**Keywords:** Resistance, National Strategic Projects, Indigenous Peoples, Rempang Eco City.

### INTRODUCTION

Recently, the focus of Indonesian society has been on the agrarian conflict that occurred on Rempang Island, Batam. Agrarian conflicts are land conflicts that are born and arise as a result of inequality in the form of Natural Resources (SDA). The phenomenon of agrarian conflict that occurred on Rempang Island is not the first time in Indonesia, what happened in Dayak Seruyan in 2012, Kinipan in 2018, Air Bengis in 2023, and Central Lampung in 2023 are similar cases. Referring to tempo.co (Rachel Farahdiba Regar, 2023), The Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA) noted that from 2015 to 2023, there were 73 agrarian conflicts that occurred during President Joko Widodo's administration due to

National Strategic Projects (PSN). The increasing types of extractive businesses encouraged by the government by exploiting Natural Resources (SDA) without considering social aspects, especially indigenous peoples, which can lead to horizontal conflicts between the government and citizens. (Fazri Maulana, 2023).

The Rempang Eco City development project has been planned since 2004 and is now part of the National Strategic Project programme. In the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Regulation Number 7 of 2023 concerning the third amendment to the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Regulation Number 7 of 2021 concerning Amendments to the list of National Strategic Projects in which, Rempang Eco-City is a project listed in the National Strategic Programme in 2023 (Perekonomian, 2023). Pulau Rempang is planned to be an integrated industrial, trade and tourism area with the aim of increasing competitiveness with Malaysia and Singapore (Jeane Neltje Saly, 2023).

In addition, the central government through the Batam Concession Agency (BP) Batam and the Batam City Government, collaborated with PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG) as a private partner. Based on the website (BP Batam, 2023), It is estimated that the total investment in the development of Rempang Island will reach IDR 381 trillion and will take up 7,572 hectares of land in the construction of the Rempang Eco City project or 45.89 per cent of the total land on Rempang Island with an area of 16,500 hectares. Meanwhile, Xinyi Group's second largest glass factory will also be built on Rempang Island. In July 2023, the government signed a memorandum of understanding with Xinyi Group, a Chinese company, to build a glass and solar panel factory on Rempang Island. The agreement was witnessed by President Joko Widodo in Chengdu, China. The project investment is estimated to reach US\$11.6 billion or Rp 174 trillion.

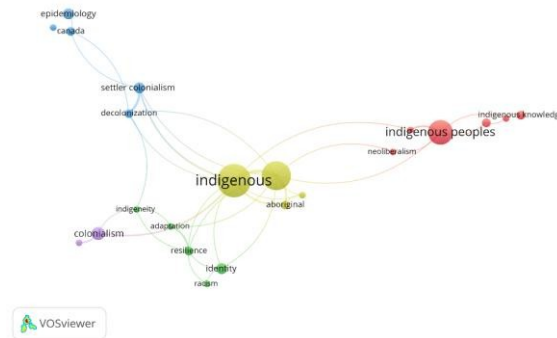
BP Batam is tasked with monitoring the implementation of the investment and plans to relocate the Rempang indigenous people who live in 16 old villages on Rempang Island (Fuzain, 2023). The stages of development in the National Strategic Project are carried out by focusing on the essential aspects of economic resilience for a nation's progress as a form of welfare for all levels of Indonesian society, which is the goal stipulated in article 33 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution (RI., 2016). However, in practice, various forms of development carried out by the government often lead to human rights violations when the government is faced with the issue of land acquisition through the mechanism of eviction of settlements that are residential areas, especially 16 old villages located in the Rempang Eco City project site (Chaerudin, 2023).

The existence of indigenous people in Rempang Island is a real segment in the structure of Indonesian society and they have occupied the area for hundreds of years, long before the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia and the formation of BP Batam (Chaerudin, 2023). The existence of the Rempang indigenous community is a historical reality that cannot be avoided or denied by the government. Formally, the acceptance, or justification and recognition of indigenous peoples' rights have been regulated by national and international law, which includes rights to customary land, rights to natural resources, rights to cultural development, and rights to participation in decision-making that can affect their survival (Pratiwi et al., 2018). However, the fact is that the Rempang indigenous community is marginalised by interests, especially in the context of development and natural resource utilisation, which are not oriented towards the needs and interests of the Rempang indigenous community itself.

Referring to the news in (bbc.com, 2023), The development project carried out by the government on Rempang Island requires the relocation of residential areas for the sake of smooth development. Thus, on 07 September 2023, the Rempang community responded to this in the form of a demonstration that led to a clash between the community and BP Batam. This conflict broke out due to the local community's rejection of relocation and rejection of

project development that was considered to damage the environment and threaten the survival of indigenous peoples (Fuzain, 2023).

Based on previous research, taken from the Scopus data base, there are 440 documents in the range of 2005 to 2020 related to the theme of Indigenous and Resistance. In the Vos Viewer analysis used to map the relationship between Indigenous and Resistance in previous research, the analysis is shown in Figure 1 and Table 1.



Source: Vos viewer analysis

**Figure 1. Research mapping on indigenous and resistance (Scopus database 2005-2020)**

**Table 1. Frequency of theme discussion in research (Scopus database 2005-2020)**

Words	Cluster
<i>Environmental Justice, Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Peoples, Mining, Neoliberalism, Political Ecology.</i>	1
<i>Adaptation, Identity, Indigeneity, Racism, Resilience</i>	2
<i>Canada, Decolonization, Epidemiology, New Zealand, Settler Colonialism.</i>	3
<i>Aboriginal, Indigenous, Resistance, Self-Determination.</i>	4
<i>Colonialism, Indigenous Resistance.</i>	5

Source: Vos viewer analysis

In the Vos Viewer analysis, we can see themes that have connections with resistance such as; Indigenous, Resistance, Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Resistance. As for the results in the Vos viewer analysis, this research focuses on Cluster 5 on the topic of Indigenous Resistance. In analysing Indigenous Peoples' Resistance in Responding to Land Grabbing on Rempang Island.

In research conducted by (Ayuningmas, Alfian, 2023; Triani et al., 2023) revealed that development carried out by the government requires the approval of the local community through good communication, so as to avoid problems that might occur. Conversely, if communication cannot go well, but development is still carried out through the laws and rules of a country. this will trigger a community social movement that is resistance to policies and actions that occur.

This is also in line with research (Satriani, Juhaepa, 2018; Susilowati, 2018) which found that cultural and economic factors, structural factors, environmental factors are factors that cause community social resistance through demonstrations and temporary resistance. The research conducted by (Abdurrahman, 2015; Adiyanta, 2019; Chaerudin, 2023; Fuzain, 2023; Herlina Manik, 2019; Jeane Neltje Saly, 2023; Pratiwi et al., 2018; Ramadhani, 2019; Rosyadi, 2016) on "The Existence of Customary Law Community Rights in Land Acquisition for Public Interest" in which the findings state that Law No.2/2012 does not specifically regulate land originating from customary rights or according to Permen ATR / Ka. BPN No.10/2016 is referred to as hak ulayat (Pemerintah Pusat, 2012; Permen ATR/Kepala BPN,

2016). However, the existence of customary rights can be seen in Article 40 of Law No.2/2012, which states that Indigenous Peoples are entitled to receive compensation, and land acquisition originating from customary rights is carried out through a feasible and fair compensation mechanism, and agreed upon by the indigenous people concerned.

Of the research case studies on the existence of indigenous peoples above, generally only focus on their legal aspects. However, there are still few studies that can reveal that the existence of indigenous peoples provides a prism to see the seizure of customary land as a situation that causes the emergence of indigenous resistance movements against the seizure of customary land. The novelty of this research is to explore and identify the development of digital news framing regarding the resistance of the Rempang indigenous community to the National Strategic Project (Rempang Eco City) using Nvivo12 Plus data analysis. Thus, it is very appropriate to reveal the resistance of indigenous peoples in responding to the seizure of customary land on the island of Rempang.

Based on the background explanation above, the purpose of this research is to analyse the study of indigenous peoples' resistance in responding to the seizure of customary land on Rempang Island caused by the construction of the National Strategic Project (Rempang Eco City). And this research tries to find out how the digital news media reported the resistance of the Rempang indigenous people in the construction of the National Strategic Project (Rempang Eco City). The problem formulation in this research is as follows:

1. How is the existence of the Rempang indigenous community towards the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme?
2. How is the resistance of the Rempang indigenous community in responding to the seizure of customary land due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme?

Therefore, in order to provide scientific treasures in the scope of social movements, namely the resistance of indigenous peoples on the island of Rempang, this research contributes to providing a new perspective in the study of indigenous resistance. The theory used in this research is resistance theory.

Resistance in the context of social movements refers to the community's efforts to resist or oppose situations, policies, or actions that are considered unfair or problematic. Resistance or resistance is something that is of interest to social scientists. In the late 1980s, resistance has become a trend in assessing cases that are empirical and easy to observe. For social researchers, resistance emerges through people's daily expressions and actions, so resistance is considered culturally characterised. Analysis of resistance to a phenomenon will be associated with many things that exist in people's daily lives in the form of stories, swearing, themes of conversation, and other behaviours so that resistance becomes the answer in social science (Irfan Fanani, 2016).

Everyday resistance is often associated with James Scott and Michel de Certeau's theory of resistance in (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2018). They understand resistance as a conflict that arises from the experience of subordination when the conflict is resisted or negotiated with the elite class to achieve better conditions for the subordinate class by maintaining its dignity and autonomous rights. According to Foucault in (Heredia, 2017), resistance acts as a chemical catalyst to clarify power relations, determine one's position, know the point of its application and the method of its use.

Michael Hardt and A. Negri in (Harahap, 2017), assert that resistance is a phenomenon that refers to a social situation in which the disadvantaged parties in the social structure of society then fight back against those who harm them. This means that resistance is understood as resistance to reject all forms of oppression, threats, pressure, and coercion carried out by a number of people, such as landowners, capital owners, governments, and other parties. In its journey, resistance also has different forms from time to time. This can happen because society or organisations undergo changes. However, basically, resistance wants to show that the oppressed community or group opposes all forms of injustice due to

power relations that are built James C. Scott defines resistance as an act of injustice. Scott defines resistance as an act of resistance carried out by people or subordinate groups aimed at rejecting all forms of rules or policies made by parties or superordinate groups that are considered detrimental (Scott, 2000).

James C. Scott divides the resistance into two parts, namely Public transcript or open resistance, and Hidden transcript or closed resistance. In both categories, James C. Scott, differentiates on the articulation of resistance, characteristics, forms, and social and cultural areas. Open resistance is characterised by an open interaction between the dominated classes and the dominating classes. Meanwhile, closed resistance is characterised by a closed, indirect interaction between the dominated classes and the dominating classes. James C. Scott (Scott, 2000) provides an overview of the notion of resistance that considers the reality of the situation in society.

Resistance is defined as something that (1) is organic, systematic and cooperative, (2) is based on the principle of selflessness, (3) has revolutionary consequences, and (4) involves ideas or intentions that eliminate the background of family life. James C. Scott states that resistance focuses on forms of resistance that actually exist and occur in everyday life, which clearly illustrates the form of resistance from weak minority groups, namely those who do not have the strength to fight openly.

James C. Scott argues that resistance arises from the oppression that occurs in everyday life. Resistance is used by oppressed communities as a tool to defend their rights. This is what makes people who feel oppressed still maintain their existence by resisting change through resistance movements.

Resistance according to James C. Scott is divided into two types depending on the nature and characteristics of people who provide open and closed resistance. James S. Scott found that resistance is divided into two types: open resistance (Public transcript) and closed resistance (hidden transcript). Below, is an explanation of James C. Scott's explanation of the types of resistance.

Open resistance (public transcript) is a form of resistance that can be observed, is concrete, and there is a direct relationship between the two parties to the dispute. Stuart Hall in (Susilowati, 2018) defines open resistance as a form of resistance that occurs in public spaces or open social spaces. This overt resistance can take the form of actions such as demonstrations, protests or campaigns that can be witnessed by the public. According to Michel de Certeau in (Heredia, 2017), open resistance is a form of resistance that occurs through daily actions carried out by individuals or groups in the face of dominant power. This open resistance can occur through actions such as ignoring rules, manipulating symbols, or changing existing meanings. An example of open resistance is a general uprising, such as a demonstration. Open resistance produces systematic movements when coordinated between leaders and members who play a role in carrying out resistance.

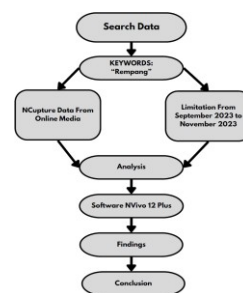
Closed resistance (hidden transcript) is a form of resistance carried out by someone through less systematic procedures. Stuart Hall in (Susilowati, 2018), defines resistance or resistance that is closed as a form of resistance that occurs in the private sphere or open personal space. According to Michel de Certeau in (Heredia, 2017), closed resistance is a form of resistance that occurs through everyday actions that are not noticed by stakeholders. This closed resistance can occur when individuals or groups resist and face resistance behind closed doors or through ways that are modelled and controlled by stakeholders. This covert resistance can occur through actions such as ignoring rules, manipulating symbols, or changing the meaning of personal space. Covert resistance tends to understand resistance movements through gradual rejection, with attention to the form of resistance, the achievements gained and the positioning of individuals in organising desire and ability to resist.

These two types of resistance show that people use resistance as a tool to help the oppressed in defending the existing culture and system. Open resistance shows a resistance struggle that is recognised by society because the form of action can be observed, while closed resistance usually has no real form of action because it is individual and is considered to affect the existing order within a person.

## METHOD

This research uses qualitative research with a literature study approach and Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software). This research uses secondary data obtained from online media and articles that are still relevant to this research. As for the data collection techniques in this study, using NCapture to collect data through online media with the keyword "Rempang" so that it is still relevant to the topic of this research. This research uses the help of NVivo12 plus to analyse and visualise the data that has been collected. In the data analysis stage, the NVivo12 plus application is used to help visualise the data that has been collected in the form of images, graphs, and word frequencies, thus making the findings easy to understand.

The number of online media documents that were successfully analysed, namely 85 documents taken from September 2023 to November 2023. The process in the stages of data collection in this study can be seen as follows:



Source: Research stages made by the author

**Figure 2. Research stages**

Figure 2, shows that the process in the stages of this research starts from searching for data in online media with the keyword "Rempang" which is considered credible and then the data is collected using the NCapture feature with a limit of September 2023 to November 2023. After the data was collected, the next stage of the data was analysed using NVivo12 plus software to visualise the data and display data trend graphs. The reason the author uses NVivo12 plus software is that it can be used to analyse and process qualitative research documents more efficiently and effectively (Faletahan et al., 2022). Then in the last stage, the findings are presented with graphical visualisations and images for deeper analysis, and a discussion review will be conducted in order to strengthen the research findings that have been presented and draw conclusions.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Existence of Rempang Indigenous Community towards Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme.

The existence of Rempang indigenous people is often manifested in the form of resistance. The development stage of indigenous resistance began with the issuance of Presidential Decree (KEPPRES) No.41 of 1973 which explained that the establishment of the Batam Authority (BP Batam) fully held the management rights over Batam land and had the authority to distribute it to third parties who would manage the land with a further (Keppres, 1973). Third parties involved were required to pay the government for land use rights. In

1992, the government handed over the Rempang and Galang areas to the Batam Authority to manage with the aim of promoting Batam's industries (Satria.ardhi.n, 2023). Resistance efforts formed a movement against the KEPPRES issued in relation to BP Batam's management rights, which threatened the existence of the Rempang indigenous community.

The rejection movement reached the level of joint determination between the Mayor of Batam City and the Rempang Indigenous People. The agreement was marked by the issuance of Decree of the Mayor of Batam City No. KPTS. 105/HARI/III/2004 on 23 March 2004, concerning the old village area in Batam City. According to the Mayor of Batam in the news (Indonesia, 2024) that the old village had existed before the KEPPRES on Batam authority management rights was issued. Therefore, the Mayor of Batam does not recommend that the management rights cover the old village area.

However, not long after, on 26 August 2004 PT MEG (Makmur Elok Graha) was selected as the development partner and manager of the area and began to invest in Rempang island, which was marked by an agreement with BP Batam through a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the provision of 17,000 hectares of land and covers the entire area of Rempang island and Subang Mas island to be worked on into the Rempang eco city area (Nor Fitri Ayuningmas, Andri Alfian, 2023). This is based on the Local Regulation (PERDA) of Batam City No. 17 Year 2001 on tourism in Batam City (Pemerintah Kota Batam, 2001), in which the Batam City government came to Jakarta, attempted to offer a development prospect in the Rempang area in 2001 and invited national companies and foreign investors including PT MEG to play an active role in the development of the Rempang island project. Under the terms of the agreement, the Batam City government and BP Batam were tasked with providing land, as well as issuing all necessary licences to PT. MEG (Redaksi, 2023). After the establishment of a memorandum of understanding (MoU) between BP Batam and PT MEG in 2004, the project was delayed for several years due to corruption allegations in 2007. It was not until 2022 that a new problem arose, when a company that held the right to cultivate and had obtained a legally issued certificate (SK) in 2001-2002, came to visit Rempang Island, only to find that the land was already occupied (Nora Afrilia, 2023).

On 28 August 2023 the stipulation of "Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Third Amendment to the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Number 7 of 2021 concerning Amendments to the List of National Strategic Projects" which states that there is a Rempang eco city development project in the Riau Islands (Perekonomian, 2023). This provides legality and signals that the Indonesian government fully supports the development project by PT Makmur Elok Graha (Satria.ardhi.n, 2023). After this decision, the resistance of the Rempang indigenous community continued. The resistance of the Rempang indigenous people manifested in the form of efforts to reject the policy of relocation of residential areas within the Rempang eco city national strategic project programme area.

The Rempang indigenous people refuse to leave their homeland. Rempang indigenous people who have lived and settled in the area for hundreds of years feel threatened, if they are relocated and Rempang-Galang island will be built as an industrial area, the heritage value of the Rempang community will also be lost. The cultural heritage and history of the emergence of the Rempang indigenous community and the 16 old villages in Rempang-Galang that have existed for hundreds of years will be lost and extinct.

Based on the investigative findings of the National Solidarity Alliance for Rempang in (Rempang, 2023), Between July and August 2023, the people of Rempang Island were threatened with criminalisation through summonses sent by Barelang Police, Riau Police, and the Attorney General's Office. The summons included various articles related to unlawful acts, namely illegal occupation of land, obstructing investment and causing state losses, and destruction of coral reefs. On 13 August 2023, the Rempang community successfully prevented the police from forcibly arresting the chairman of Kerabat Masyarakat Adat

Tempatan (KERAMAT) at his home. So on 21 August 2023, the community built a guard post to deal with the ongoing intimidation and threats. At the same time, the people of Rempang Island were informed that there would be boundary demarcation and condition creation activities on 7-10 September 2023 in the Rempang area, Galang sub-district.

On 06 September 2023, the Rempang community responded to this information by closing access to Rempang Island and carrying out various rejection actions. Quoted via (bbc.com, 2023), On 07 September 2023, the Rempang community gathered and blocked the access to Bareleng Bridge 4, which was the entry point for the joint TNI-Polri officers to the location where the stakes were installed. Thus, clashes between the community who insisted and the joint apparatus who forced entry could not be avoided. The events that took place on 7 September 2023 have created a sense of fear and discomfort, resulting in a traumatic feeling in the local community due to the use of excessive force and arbitrary arrests which are considered a form of criminalisation against the protesters. Meanwhile, the violation of the right to community participation and lack of access to information in decision-making where the directly affected communities were not asked for their consent before the Rempang Eco-city mega project was implemented and only sacrificed the land of the Rempang community (Habiba et al., 2023).

The incident that occurred on Rempang Island is a serious problem, because the Rempang Eco-city project, which has been designated as a PSN, will potentially deprive the community of their living space. Ideally, the government should ensure the guarantee and protection of the community. However, the government has failed to fulfil its obligations and has instead become an extension of the company. The government seems to be only concerned with the size of the investment value and ignores the existence of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island.

The existence of indigenous peoples, as enshrined in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, recognises the existence of customary law communities as distinct legal entities. Article 18B explicitly confirms the recognition of customary law communities and their traditional rights by the state. This recognition is not only formal, but reflects the will of the constitution, not just a policy or political decision of the government (Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2016).

In addition, the Basic Agrarian Principles Regulation Law (UUPA) No. 5/1960 (Pemerintah Pusat, 1960) strengthening legal certainty regarding customary land for indigenous peoples. This gives them the right to use natural resources, including land, which plays an important role in their survival and well-being. Indigenous peoples' hereditary attachment to customary land, both physically and spiritually, is a strong foundation for preserving cultural identity and maintaining ecosystems (Triani et al., 2023).

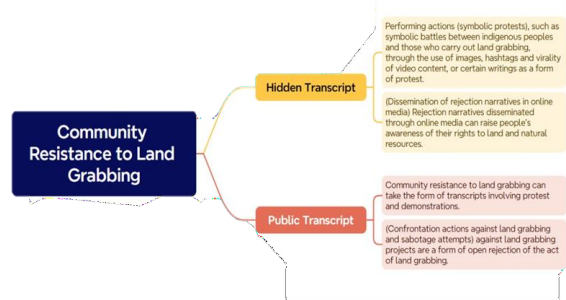
Therefore, the protection and recognition of customary land rights is crucial in maintaining the balance between indigenous peoples' rights and national interests. Thus, the existence of the Rempang indigenous community is manifested in their efforts to defend their homeland, cultural heritage, and rights that are considered threatened by the Rempang Eco-city project. The threats and intimidation faced by the community, as well as the rejection of relocation, are forms of resistance carried out by the Rempang indigenous people in maintaining their existence in the midst of environmental changes caused by the national strategic project.

### **The resistance of the Rempang indigenous community in responding to the dispossession of customary land due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme.**

In this section, it tries to see how online media coverage in the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island in the case of refusal to relocate settlements to the National Strategic Project programme. In this framework, it tries to describe how indigenous peoples'



resistance to land grabbing is found in online media coverage that often occurs, which is explained in Figure 3 below:



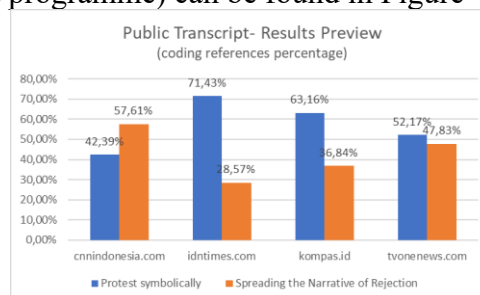
Source: Research framework made by the author  
**Figure 3. Research framework**

on Figure 3, it can be seen that this study has a variable focus on community resistance to land grabbing, in this case, Indigenous Peoples' Resistance in Responding to the Grabbing of Customary Land in Rempang Island due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project programme. This study has 2 research indicators, namely, Public Transcript and Hidden Transcript. In each indicator, there is content as the main focus, to find out the concentration of content that exists in the case of Indigenous Peoples' Resistance in Responding to the Dispossession of Customary Land on Rempang Island due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project programme.

These sections are defined in three parts of the analysis. The first is the content of online media coverage on the Public Transcript about the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island. Second, the content of online media coverage on the Hidden Transcript about the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island. Third, the narratives stored in online media coverage in Indonesia about the resistance of the Rempang indigenous people.

**1. Online Media News Content on Public Transcript on Rempang Island (Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to the Grabbing of Customary Land on Rempang Island Due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme).**

This analysis aims to see the content in the online media coverage related to the Public Transcript related to the resistance of the Rempang indigenous people in responding to the seizure of customary land on Rempang Island due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. This analysis uses Crosstab Analysis NVivo 12 plus, to see the content in online media coverage. The calculation and analysis results related to the content in the Public Transcript on Rempang Island (Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to the Dispossession of Customary Land on Rempang Island due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project programme) can be found in Figure 4 and Table 2.



Source: Crosstab analysis Nvivo 12Plus  
**Figure 4. Content analysis of online media coverage on public transcript on Rempang island**

**Table 2. Content analysis of Online media coverage on Public Transcript on Rempang island**

Online Media	Protests and demonstrations	Acts of confrontation and sabotage	Total
cnindonesia.com	30,34%	69,66%	100%
idntimes.com	31,25%	68,75%	100%
kompas.id	44,78%	55,22%	100%
tvonenews.com	41,18%	58,82%	100%
Total	36,49%	63,51%	100%

Source: Crosstab Analysis Nvivo 12Plus

This analysis looks at the content of the Public Transcript in online media coverage in Indonesia related to the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island. In this analysis, there are 4 online media reports consisting of: *cnindonesia.com*, *idntimes.com*, *kompas.id*, and *tvonenews.com*. Meanwhile, the content in the Public Transcript in the online news media is divided into 2 categories, namely, protest and demonstration actions, as well as confrontation and sabotage actions.

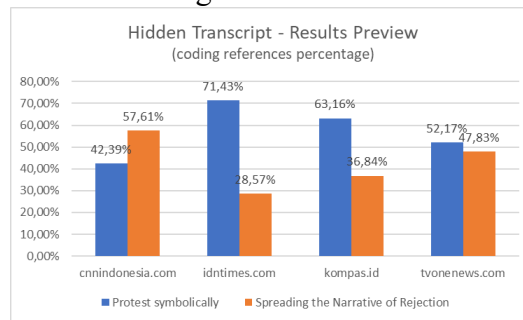
In this analysis, it can be seen that content related to "acts of confrontation and sabotage" has the largest presentation on online media news *cnindonesia.com* with an amount of 69.66%. Then *idntimes.com* with a value of 68.75%. Followed by *tvonenews.com* with a value of 58.82%. And *kompasnews.com* with a value of 55.22%. On content related to "protests and demonstrations" contained in online media, the news with the largest presentation is *kompas.id* with a value of 44.78%. Then, online media coverage by *tvonenews.com* with a value of 41.18%. And followed by *idntimes.com* with a value of 31.25%. And *cnindonesia.com* with a value of 30.34%. Online media coverage in total has a presentation in each content, namely, 63.51% on the content of "confrontation and sabotage actions" and 36.49% on the content of "protest actions and demonstrations". In this analysis, it can be seen that the content related to "confrontation and sabotage actions" is widely reported in the online news media *cnindonesia.com*, *idntimes.com*, *kompas.id*, and *tvonenews.com*.

In this case, the news about the case that occurred on Rempang Island began when there was a plan to develop the Rempang Eco City area by PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG) and BP Batam, where Rempang Eco City was included in the list of National Strategic Project programmes in 2023. At least 16 old Malay villages on the islands of Rempang and Galang are included in the development area and are threatened with relocation. Thus, on 07 September 2023, the Rempang community initially responded to this in the form of demonstrations, leading to clashes with security forces and BP Batam (Mujahidin, 2023). At the same time, confrontation and sabotage efforts were carried out by the indigenous people of Rempang Island as a form of frontal and open rejection, an open frontal form referred to as Public Transcript which has the characteristics of open interaction between subordinated classes and dominating classes (Bakar, 2016; John Gaventa, 2018).

**2. Online Media Coverage Content on Hidden Transcript in Rempang Island (Indigenous Peoples' Resistance in Responding to the Dispossession of Customary Land in Rempang Island Due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project Programme).**

This analysis aims to see the content that spreads in online media coverage related to Hidden Transcript related to the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. This part of the analysis uses Crosstab Analysis to see the content that spreads in online media coverage. The calculation and

analysis results related to the content spread in online media coverage on the Hidden Transcript on Rempang Island (Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to the Expropriation of Customary Land on Rempang Island due to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project programme) are contained in Figure 5 and Table 3. As follows.



Source: Crosstab analysis Nvivo 12Plus

**Figure 5. Content analysis of online media coverage on Hidden Transcript on Rempang island**

**Table 3. Content analysis of online media coverage on Hidden Transcript on Rempang Island**

Online Media	Symbolic protest	The spread of rejection narratives	Total
cnnindonesia.com	42,39%	57,61%	100%
idntimes.com	71,43%	28,57%	100%
kompas.id	63,16%	36,84%	100%
tvonenews.com	52,17%	47,83%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>55,48%</b>	<b>44,52%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Crosstab analysis Nvivo 12Plus

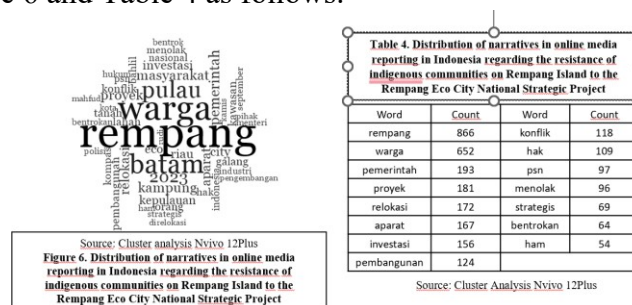
This analysis looks at the content of the Hidden Transcript that spreads in online media coverage in Indonesia related to the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island. In this analysis, there are 4 online media reports consisting of: cnnindonesia.com, idntimes.com, kompas.id, and tvonenews.com. Meanwhile, the content on Hidden Transcript in online media coverage is divided into 2 categories, namely, symbolic protest, and the spread of rejection narratives.

In this analysis, it can be seen that the content related to "spreading the narrative of rejection" has the largest percentage in the online media coverage of cnnindonesia.com with an amount of 57.61%. Then, the online media coverage of tvonenews.com has a percentage with a value of 47.83%. and online media coverage of kompas.id with a value of 36.84%. As for idntimes.com with a value of 28.57%. On content related to "Symbolic protest", the online news media that has the largest percentage of content, namely: idntimes.com with a total value of 71.43%. Then, kompas.id with a value of 63.16%. Followed by tvonenews.com with a total value of 52.48%. and cnnindonesia.com with a value of 42.39%.

Online media coverage in total has a percentage in each content, namely, the content of "symbolic protests" has a value of 55.48%. Meanwhile, the content of "spreading rejection narratives" only has a value of 44.52%. In this analysis, it can be seen that the content spread in online media coverage is dominated by "symbolic protest" content. In this case, protests carried out by the community through symbols such as the use of images, hashtags and virality of video content, or writing propaganda writings as a form of rejection. The use of online media is one way to attract attention and also to voice what is happening on Rempang Island (Sutan, 2021).

### 3. Analysis of the Distribution of Narratives in Indonesian Online Media Coverage of Indigenous Peoples' Resistance on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project.

This analysis aims to see the distribution of narratives in online media coverage related to the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. As it can be seen that online media is considered to have a significant influence on society, and narratives in online media coverage can influence people's understanding and attitudes regarding an event (AZIL, 2023). This section uses Worldcloud analysis on Nvivo 12Plus, with the maximum number of words in the popular narrative displayed is 46 popular words in the discussion related to the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. Discussion related to popular narratives contained in online media coverage is explained in Figure 6 and Table 4 as follows.



**Table 4. Distribution of narratives in online media reporting in Indonesia regarding the resistance of indigenous communities on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project**

Word	Count	Word	Count
rempang	866	konflik	118
warga	652	hak	109
pemerintah	193	psn	97
proyek	181	menolak	96
relokasi	172	strategis	69
aparatus	167	bentrokan	64
investasi	156	ham	54
pembangunan	124		

Source: Cluster Analysis Nvivo 12Plus

From the results of the analysis, it can be seen that the narrative in online media coverage is dominated by one word, with the highest word coverage being "Rempang" with a total count of 866. Followed by "residents" (652), "government" (193), "project" (181), "relocation" (172), "apparatus" (167), "investment" (156), "development" (124), "conflict" (118), "rights" (109), "PSN" (97), "refuse" (96), "strategic" (69), "clash" (64), and "human rights" (54). From this section, it can be seen that online media coverage tends to use words such as "Rempang" to disseminate information to netizens, related to the resistance of indigenous people on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. On the other hand, the words "citizens" and "government" reflect the focus on the conflict between the indigenous people and the government regarding the project. The words "relocation" and "investment", on the other hand, become an issue that shows tensions related to the socio-economic impact of the project.

The use of the word "PSN" reflects controversy over the project's status as part of the National Strategic Project, which has been a source of conflict and debate. The use of the words "Rights" and "Human Rights" shows that online media coverage also discusses the importance of rights and human rights aspects in the context of indigenous peoples' resistance to the project. In the words "Refusal" and "Conflict", the Online media coverage underlines the rejection of indigenous peoples and the potential conflicts that arise in the implementation of the project. In this case, we can see the narrative in the online media coverage with the distribution of certain words, reflecting how online media coverage can influence the understanding or perception and attitude of the community regarding the resistance of indigenous peoples on Rempang Island to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (Fahmi, 2016).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the research analysis, several main conclusions can be drawn regarding the resistance of the Rempang indigenous community to the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project. Indigenous resistance on Rempang island occurred due to the development policy of the Rempang Eco City mega project, which did not involve the Rempang

indigenous community in making decisions and ignored the rights of indigenous peoples affected by the development activities. So that it threatens the existence of indigenous peoples directly. The online media content analysis revealed that the news mostly highlighted conflicts between the community and security forces and project-related parties. Forms of community resistance, such as open resistance "confrontation and sabotage", and closed resistance "symbolic protest" are seen as a response to the injustice they feel due to the project. In addition, online media coverage narratives tend to use words such as "Rempang," "residents," and "government," reflecting a focus on social conflict and the economic impact of the project. The results of this study provide important insights into the social dynamics and community responses to the controversial development project on Rempang Island.

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