

LAND CONVERSION IN THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE IN THE KUTA MANDALIKA SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE, LOMBOK, INDONESIA

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Abstract

The problem of community resistance to the Land Conversion for the National Strategic Development Plan in the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone, Lombok, Indonesia, carried out by the government is an interesting issue to study. The purpose of this study is to analyze the form of disobedience and the existence of resistance from the community. The research approach used is qualitative with a case study method. To obtain and check the validity of the data from field exploration, the following will be done: 1) triangulation: place or location of research, namely determining observation points at the research location, namely the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone. 2) Triangulation of data collection methods (observation, interviews, documentation studies); 3) triangulation of theory (emic and etic) by reviewing relevant theories, not using a single theory but multiple theories. Through this approach and method, it is possible to identify, map, and find local knowledge about the form of disobedience and community resistance. The research found that community resistance arose due to the control of vast natural resources and the hegemony exercised by the state (the authorities) over the landowners in the Kuta Mandalika area. The community engaged in counter-hegemony, namely, open and covert resistance using socio-cultural symbols. This phenomenon indicates that the authorities are not sensitive to socio-economic, cultural, and ecological issues.

Keywords: Resistance; Land Conversion; National Strategic Development; Mandalika Lombok.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Kuta Special Economic Zone in Lombok, Indonesia, is currently in the spotlight due to the numerous strategic development programs being implemented. These programs can generally improve social, cultural, and economic cohesion within the community. However, the program's implementation has encountered obstacles, particularly protests from residents who oppose its implementation. Hundreds of farmers, students, and environmental activists, united in the NTB People's Movement for Concern (PMC), held a demonstration in front of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) building and the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Governor's office on Wednesday, September 27, 2023. The demonstration was held to commemorate National Farmers' Day, which falls on September 24, 2023. They demanded that the NTB Provincial Government resolve various agrarian issues, including land conflicts at the Mandalika Circuit. The development of the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone, which was promised to boost the economy, has resulted in the eviction of affected communities

without fair compensation. The impact has been felt by local residents, particularly farmers, fishermen, and livestock breeders who have lost access to economic resources. In the Mandalika Special Economic Zone area, land issues until this research was conducted were: the community still claims that there is land in the area that is still under the status of citizen land; there are attempts to evict residents from productive land cultivated by residents; and inconsistencies in land acquisition prices that are different from previous determinations (1),(2). The missing participatory value in the land acquisition policy so that this aspect of non-involvement makes residents powerless in determining land acquisition (3). In the (4) report, it is referred to as Project Affected Communities (MTP), which can be classified into the following four groups: (a) Enclave land owners. The total area of enclave land required by the Kuta Mandalika infrastructure development project is approximately 1 ha. (b) ITDC (Indonesia Tourism Development Corporation) land claimants. The community is suing for land controlled by ITDC that is required by the Project. The lawsuit is still ongoing in the court process. The total area of land claimed that the Project requires is approximately 10.4 ha. (c) ITDC land claimants. There are communities claiming land that has been controlled by ITDC. In general, their claims are based on reasons of not having received payment, not having received a portion of the payment, or requesting additional payment. The total land area claimed and required by the Project is approximately 2.4 ha. (d) Residents occupying and/or utilizing ITDC land. Within the 106 ha land area with “clean and clear” status, there are approximately 49 residential houses and 3 homestays on ITDC land that will be used for Project purposes. In addition, there are also non-permanent buildings, rice fields, and gardens on the land.

To understand the phenomenon of community resistance to the national strategic development program in the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone, Lombok, Indonesia, it is necessary to conduct a theoretical study of the emergence of community resistance. According to Simon (5) and Siswati (6), who are very well known for his theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony? This theory is used not in the sense of testing the theory, but rather seen as a perspective or lens to see, study, and analyze the phenomenon of community resistance to government policies regarding the policy of taking over people's land. State (government) policies can always be dominant, but will never be total, because they always face challenges. Therefore, if the concept of power is considered to have hegemonized in society, then this still faces challenges and is never considered a fixed and standard system. Furthermore, it is necessary to further explore the concept of the existence of an alternative hegemony or counter-hegemony that arises from the community that rejects it, which are lower social groups (exploited and subordinated) who can organize and resist. The dominated society is apparently able to create its own structure and interpret socio-cultural reality according to its experience, something that tends to be ignored. Counter-hegemony from the dominated society can also be understood as a statement or discourse of resistance (counter-discourse), where the struggle against discursive practices and disciplinary power occurs both in symbolic production and in socio-cultural relations (7). The question that arises and stimulates the thoughts of researchers in the study of community resistance to national strategic programs in society as a symbol of community resistance to the government is: why do people rebel against the power of the government, and why do they

abandon obedience or resist the wishes of the government? To answer this question, there are at least two theoretical concepts that attempt to explain it. (a) The phenomenon of resistance from the perspective of moral authority as the basis of social relations and social stability (8). (9). (b) second, basing its explanation on the structural necessity that determines the actions and behaviors of individuals and society, including resistance to power (10). In the perspective of moral authority, resistance and rejection can occur due to the existence of moral savagery in society. In contrast, in the second approach, rejection and resistance are based on the existence of external stimuli as the main factor.

Apart from the two factors above, to explain the phenomenon of rejection and disobedience, according (10),(11) every society has a "natural morality" that existed long before the influence of socio-culture but does not necessarily have the advantage of solving the problem; this natural morality is not merely a consequence of social customs and conditions. Through this kind of morality, it encourages the development of moral rules, moral anger, and perceptions of injustice in every society. Furthermore, social resistance occurs in a society due to the existence of moral barbarity. Moral barbarity occurs due to the problem of social injustice. Social injustice is a deviation in the understanding of moral anger that is influenced by three elements in a social system: 1) Social coordination or power. In this dimension, resistance and disobedience will occur if a person or community feels that power no longer fulfills basic moral obligations. 2) Dimension of division of labor. Failure to address social inequality will result in moral anger that takes the form of condemnation or protest, openly or secretly. 3) Distribution of resources. That equality plays a role as a form of social security, because every member of society is always faced with limited resources. Failure of members of society to fulfill this obligation will result in disappointment and moral anger (12). (13).

To carry out acts of resistance by groups who feel marginalized and exploited. They use cultural and religious symbols to fight against the hegemony of the ruling classes. These cultural symbols include humor and gossip, in addition to actions such as strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, slowness, avoidance, and theft. Marginalized and exploited classes also utilize traditional norms and value systems to fight against the domination of elite groups, and they have their own interpretations of moral obligations rooted in cultural traditions; even these groups use methods that are difficult to trace (14). This becomes the "weapon of the weak" to carry out moral condemnation and protest openly. Or it can also occur covertly, carried out collectively or individually (15). (16). (17).

2. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1) Land issues in the Kuta Mandalika special economic zone

Currently, the land in Kuta Mandalika is controlled by ITDC (Indonesian Tourism Development Corporation), which has now changed its name to Injury Tourism Development Corporation. The land was acquired through the transfer of state land from the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in 2009. A small portion of the land was also acquired through purchase from private owners. The land area controlled is 11,634,612 m², or approximately 1,164 ha, divided into 125 Land Management Rights (HPL) certificates. Of the 1,164 ha

controlled by ITDC, 1,079 ha, or 92.70 ha, is declared "clear and clear." Furthermore, approximately 27.2 ha, or 2.33%, still has the potential to be retained or is currently under negotiation. Furthermore, 57.7 ha, or 4.95%, is currently under litigation in various courts. This project will require additional land, totaling 119.8 ha. Of the total area, 106 ha (88.5%) is clean and clear; 10.4 ha (8.9%) is still in the process of being sued; 2.4 ha (2.0%) is claimed by individuals related to past payments; and 1 ha (0.8%) is privately owned land that must be purchased before implementation can be carried out. In this document, land that is in the Project area but is still owned by individuals is called "enclave land". Some of the land required to still be owned by the Project is occupied or used by individuals, either legally or illegally.

Project Affected Communities (PAC) can be classified into the following four groups: (1) Enclave landowners. This is land required for the Project. The total area of enclave land required by the Mandalika infrastructure development Project is approximately 1 ha, containing approximately 16 houses and coconut plantations. Five of these enclaves are located in Kuta village and one in Mertak village. (2) ITDC land claimants. There are claimants for land controlled by ITDC and required by the Project. The lawsuit is still in the court process. The total area of the claimant land required by the Project is approximately 10.4 ha, containing only houses, and the rest is rice fields and empty land. These lands are located in Sengkol and Mertak villages. (3) ITDC land claimants. There are claimants for land that has been controlled by ITDC. In general, their claims are based on the reason that they have not received payment, have not received a portion of the payment, or are requesting additional payment. The total area of land claimed and required by the Project is approximately 2.4 ha, within which there are houses; the remainder is rice fields, gardens, or empty land. These claimed lands are located in the hamlets of Ujung, Pelemong, Tobelo, and Serenting. (4) Residents who occupy and/or utilize ITDC land. Within the 106 ha land area with "clean and clear" status, there are approximately 49 residential houses and 3 homestays on ITDC land which will be used for Project purposes. In addition, on this land there are also non-permanent buildings, rice fields, and gardens. To see what the rights of the affected communities in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone are, it can be seen from the identification carried out by ITDC that the rights of the Project Affected Communities can be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Rights of Project-Affected Communities (RPAC)

No	Problems of Affected Communities	Community Rights
1	Owners who lose land and/or other assets (including houses, buildings, crops) and lose sources of income.	Compensation for loss of land and other assets on the acquired land, based on a valuation carried out by a licensed appraiser
2	Land/asset owners who lose their source of income temporarily or permanently.	Compensation for loss of income sources and livelihoods based on the valuation of non-physical assets carried out by licensed appraisers, as well as facilitation for livelihood restoration.
3	People who own and/or occupy residences and other buildings on land owned by the state or government, without any legally recognized rights or claims to the land they occupy.	Compensation for loss of housing, other buildings, and sources of income or livelihood, as well as resettlement assistance based on valuations carried out by licensed appraisers.

4	Tenants of dwellings and/or other buildings constructed on state or government land without legally recognized rights or claims to the land occupied.	Sufficient time (at least two months before the move-out deadline) is provided for tenants to find new accommodation and other assistance, as agreed upon between the tenant and the relevant agency/body. This assistance can include moving allowances, transitional allowances, and livelihood recovery assistance.
5	Sharecropping farmers.	Assistance for livelihood recovery
6	Squatters.	Compensation for homes and/or buildings, as well as livelihood recovery assistance and facilitation of access to public housing. Transition and moving allowances. Housing repairs
7	A person who exaggerates or expands their private land claims by claiming government or state land in the surrounding area as part of their private property.	Compensation for homes and/or buildings, as well as livelihood recovery assistance and facilitation of access to public housing. Transition and moving allowances. Housing repairs.
8	Persons who occupy the Project area after the deadline for compensation is set and announced	Not entitled to any compensation

Data Source: Indonesia Tourism Development Corporation (2018). Resettlement Policy Framework for the Mandalika Urban and Tourism Infrastructure Project (MUTIP)/, 2018 (4).

2) Forms of Community Resistance

The impact of such extensive land control is directly related to various aspects of community life, such as the socio-cultural, economic, and political dimensions. The direct impact of this extensive land use will lead to the scarcity of natural resources (especially land) that communities have traditionally owned (18). Socio-culturally, in various communities and ethnic groups in Indonesia, land, water, beaches, mountains, and forests have socio-cultural values that must be preserved, as many customary lands and sacred places are held.

Even for adherents of structural functionalism, beliefs and myths within a community have many functions; namely, social and psychological functions in creating social order. The social function is to foster collective solidarity, collective identity, communal harmony, and cultural stability. Meanwhile, the psychological function is to reduce anxiety.

What's happening in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone in Lombok, Indonesia, is that residents are concerned that extensive land acquisition activities will threaten the ecosystem, land, sea, and ultimately their livelihoods as farmers, ranchers, and fishermen. Likewise, agriculture, the mainstay of the residents' crops, will be threatened by the displacement of the tourism industry.

Land acquisition extends beyond coastal areas to include forests, mountains, and rice fields. For the community, the economic function of land and rice fields, for example, is to find various necessities to support their families and children. In the forests and rice fields, they can grow rice, secondary crops, and various other necessities. Furthermore, the cultural dimension, which is a belief system, is threatened with extinction if large-scale exploration is carried out. The greed theory argues that environmental problems arising from the control of natural

resources, such as land, are driven by the greed and gluttony of capitalists (corporations), resulting in discrimination, injustice, and the marginalization of indigenous communities. Communities are aware that resource exploitation leads to scarcity and environmental damage, thus reducing the community's vitality. It also leads to the degradation of natural resources and the environment, as well as the marginalization of communities whose lives have traditionally been managed by forest and land resources. The profits have clearly been enjoyed by entrepreneurs.

Entrepreneurs and rulers reap the benefits and enjoy prosperity, but the indigenous communities experience hereditary ecological losses. The case of the Dayak people under the influence of a Forest Concession (IFC) company is an example of how environmental degradation affects the degradation of human values. Residents become victims on their own land from an unfair and unsustainable land exploitation system (19), (20).

The tourism industry developed in the Mandalika Kuta Lombok Special Economic Zone, Indonesia, which should be able to and strive to humanize people through community empowerment (development), has instead seen corporations exploiting natural resources, resulting in a decline in basic human values (devaluation) and the marginalization of people from communities that are their property rights.

This can occur because they have always viewed development by minimizing the non-physical meaning of humanity, which will only benefit layers of people who are wealthy (the haves) and neglect the weak and poor people or communities (the have-nots). In this development pattern, rulers and entrepreneurs are those who have great access to formulate policies so as to obtain maximum profits, without regard for the risks felt by others, generally the common people.

If we observe carefully, the benefits obtained through the destruction of natural resources, apart from benefiting a small group of people and the trickle-down concept (trickle down), are not felt, or are felt less, by the community. With this concept of development, development is almost identical to destruction, because development itself actually destroys the availability of natural resources for the future, the social order, and also destroys the environment, which will ultimately neglect society itself. To maintain the entity and existence of the community in the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone, some of them carry out counter-hegemony (disobey and resist) against the domination of the authorities and entrepreneurs. By using local cultural symbols as a source of ideology of the oppressed community to fight (resistance) the dominant classes, both verbally, hidden or open confrontation such as: holding demonstrations, remaining in the area, there is a fence that has collapsed, continuing to Farm, garden and raise livestock in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone area avoiding and refusing to pay taxes, holding demonstrations, sabotage, evasion, and so on. These things are weapons of the "weak" that are strong enough to carry out moral condemnation and open resistance.

What happened to the community in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone, Pujut District, Central Lombok, even though it was paid for with body and soul and material losses, such as protesting to various state agencies; some even went as far as protesting in Jakarta to fight for their rights to get humane compensation for social, economic, and cultural rights.

Table 2: Forms of Social Resistance

No	Forms of Disobedience	Form of Social Resistance	Field findings
1	Remain and live in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone with family	Protesting to the Regional Government in Mataram, all the way to Jakarta, the land is still being cultivated for farming, raising livestock (goats, chickens, and cows)	Promised to be paid, but not paid until now.
2	On the land owned, buildings such as Barugak can be erected, and gardens can be planted	Gardening and building a barn for raising cattle, participating in demonstrations to the local government	Didn't leave the area because it hadn't been paid; it was just a promise
3	Stay on the land we own; if we get paid, we'll leave.	On the land he owned, he planted soybeans and cassava and still earned a living as a fisherman.	Not yet paid, this is what we are waiting for
4	Still building houses in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone.	Demonstrations at the Regent's office, Sub-district Head, Police, and Regional Police, the land I own is staked out and continues to be monitored.	It has been paid according to ITDC. I asked for the data, but it was not given. Who it was paid to is not known; it has not reached us. We are still maintaining the land
5	Persisting in staying at the ITDC location.	The fence that was built near the village collapsed.	What was sold, the rest has not been paid, every time the land grows, it is promised to be paid, in reality, it is not.
6	Until now, we are still paying taxes even though the land is claimed to belong to ITDC.	Continue gardening and livestock farming. Demonstrate to the House of Representatives and the Governor.	Until today, our land still pays taxes.
7	Still living in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone with his wife, children, and family.	Livestock, gardening, and fishing businesses are taking action with the Indonesian Environmental Forum	There was once a compensation agreement, but until now, there has been none.
8	Land is retained even if someone dies in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone.	Still fighting because the price doesn't match.	Payment is not as promised.
9	Not wanting to leave the special economic zone, the house remains standing strong.	There is undeveloped land for growing. I did not demolish the house; I still maintain the livestock pen	It's just a promise for now. I still live in the Mandalika Special Economic Zone.
10	Inherited land was taken by force; they stayed and built a house, promised compensation, but nothing has come of it.	Demonstration at the Land Agency office, the Governor, and the Provincial People's Representative Council	The land was taken without any clear compensation; they said it had been paid for, and who was the payment to?

Data source: Reprocessed Primary Research Data, 2025

3. CONCLUSIONS

Regarding the control of vast natural resources in the Kuta Mandalika Special Economic Zone, it must be acknowledged that the hegemony exercised by the state (the authorities) and businesspeople can never be fully and comprehensively maintained because the community engages in counter-hegemony. This can be achieved through open and covert resistance and disobedience, using socio-cultural symbols that have become institutionalized in local life. Resistance and disobedience are driven by the existence of moral authority, rooted in natural morality, which encourages the perception that injustice has been committed by those in authority against their citizens. This failure results in disappointment, disobedience, and open and covert resistance. The phenomenon of controlling vast areas of land for industrial tourism development and the resulting strong community resistance indicates a lack of socio-economic, cultural, and ecological sensitivity on the part of the authorities and businesspeople. To avoid disobedience and resistance, the community needs to be involved in planning, implementation, and evaluation (development with the community), so that the local community or society does not feel devalued and marginalized from their own land.

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