IMPACT AND RESOLUTION OF LAND CONFLICT CASES ON REMPANG ISLAND, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This research aims to uncover land conflicts on Rempang Island, Indonesia and provide solutions. People who claim to have had rights to their land since 1720 feel disturbed by plans to build Rempang Eco City, spearheaded by a national company in collaboration with Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd, China, to manage 17,600 hectares of land. The riots on September 6 and 7, 2023, sparked major conflict when officers tried to break through residents’ barricades using water cannons and tear gas.

Theoretical framework: Regarding land acquisition for strategic projects, Downing (2002) advised the Government to be careful because every investment plan is generally designed to avoid structural poverty by avoiding new poverty by relocating communities due to mining and providing resettlement. Meanwhile, land owned by the state is very limited. Therefore, the best way for the Government is to buy land belonging to communities whose rights are controlled based on customary law and formal law, not by force. Johnson and Swedlow (2019) explain that land acquisition for National Strategic Projects requires the principle of deliberation between the government and land rights holders. To ensure the successful implementation of government policies, the concept of deliberation is essential and needs to involve many community groups. Williams (2021) states that designing deliberations is a challenge because society is guided by its culture's norms, values and rules. Mitchell et al. (2023) refer to deliberation as policy dialogue, a tool that encourages evidence-based policymaking that addresses high-priority issues a synthesis of the best available evidence. Land acquisition analysis should focus on deliberative dialogue and not on ethical issues in a policy context (Bevan & Rasmussen, 2017).

Method: This research method uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological study. The selection of informants was carried out using purposive sampling technique. We used an interview study supported by information from trusted online newspapers to obtain various information. The triangulation method is used to re-check the correctness of the data by reducing as much as possible bias during data collection and analysis. The research questions are why land conflicts occur, whether no regulations facilitate them, and how land conflicts should be resolved. The research results show weaknesses in communication and outreach, officials do not understand the history of community land ownership, and weak bureaucratic structures result in repressive actions.

Results and Conclusions: The land conflict on Rempang Island exploded due to the Government's weakness in communicating and socializing the President's policies, demonstrated
by regional government officials and other institution, which only carried out socialization in April 2023 but failed because they did not understand the history of community land control. The weak bureaucratic structure causes repressive actions, which are shown in the implementation of wrong government policies. This conflict has caused trauma to children and society, requiring various mental and psychological health efforts. The conclusion shows that conflicts occurred because the regulations for determining land in Rempang as a strategic state project were too hasty without socialization, and the law could not prevent land conflicts. This conflict has caused trauma to the community, especially children. Most informants want the government to be able to solve problems by implementing a dialogue (deliberation) policy as a solution.

Research implications: This study presents policy implications that regional, provincial and national governments can utilize to encourage the successful resolution of land conflicts in any region. The consequences of this strategy can help develop more potent methods for enhancing regional cooperation.

Originality/value: This research analyses paradigm changes in the land administration system, strengthening bureaucratic structures, collaboration between institutions, and increasing community understanding through socialization and public dialogue. These changes can affect land governance and reduce land conflicts that continued to occur after Indonesia's independence. This paradigm shift study is a new contribution because it can provide a deeper understanding of the evolution of land governance and law in Indonesia.

Keywords: land investment, conflict resolution, land law, land governance, deliberation culture, policy dialog.

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IMPACTO E RESOLUÇÃO DE CASOS DE CONFLITOS TERRESTRES EM REMPANG ISLAND, INDONÉSIA

RESUMO

Objetivo: Esta pesquisa visa descobrir conflitos de terra na Ilha Rempang, na Indonésia, e fornecer soluções. As pessoas que alegam ter direitos sobre suas terras desde 1720 se sentem perturbadas com os planos de construir a Rempang Eco City, liderada por uma empresa nacional em colaboração com a Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd, China, para administrar 17.600 hectares de terra. Os tumultos de 6 e 7 de setembro de 2023 provocaram um grande conflito quando policiais tentaram romper as barricadas dos moradores usando canhões de água e gás lacrimogéneo.

Estrutura teórica: Em relação à aquisição de terras para projetos estratégicos, Downing (2002) aconselhou o governo a ser cuidadoso, porque cada plano de investimento é geralmente projetado para evitar a pobreza estrutural, evitando a nova pobreza, realocando as comunidades devido à mineração e fornecendo reassentamento. Enquanto isso, as terras pertencentes ao estado são muito limitadas. Por conseguinte, a melhor maneira de o Governo comprar terras pertencentes a comunidades cujos direitos são controlados com base no direito consuetudinário e no direito formal, e não pela força. Johnson e Swedlow (2019) explicam que a aquisição de terras para Projetos Estratégicos Nacionais requer o princípio da deliberação entre o governo e os detentores de direitos de terra. Para garantir a implementação bem-sucedida das políticas governamentais, o conceito de deliberação é essencial e precisa envolver muitos grupos comunitários. Williams (2021) afirma que projetar deliberações é um desafio porque a sociedade é guiada por normas, valores e regras de sua cultura. Mitchell et al. (2023) referem-se à deliberação como diálogo político, uma ferramenta que incentiva a formulação de políticas baseadas em evidências que abordam questões de alta prioridade, uma síntese das
melhores evidências disponíveis. A análise da aquisição de terras deve se concentrar no diálogo deliberativo e não em questões éticas em um contexto político (Bevan & Rasmussen, 2017).

Método: Este método de pesquisa utiliza uma abordagem qualitativa com um estudo fenomenológico. A seleção de informantes foi realizada com técnica de amostragem intensiva. Usamos um estudo de entrevista apoiado por informações de jornais on-line confiáveis para obter várias informações. O método de triangulação é usado para verificar novamente a exatidão dos dados, reduzindo tanto quanto possível o viés durante a coleta e análise de dados. As questões de pesquisa são por que os conflitos de terra ocorrem, se nenhuma regulamentação os facilita, e como os conflitos de terra devem ser resolvidos. Os resultados da pesquisa mostram fraquezas na comunicação e no alcance, as autoridades não entendem a história da propriedade da terra da comunidade, e estruturas burocráticas fracas resultam em ações repressivas.

Resultados e Conclusões: O conflito de terras na Ilha Rempang explodiu devido à fraqueza do governo em comunicar e socializar as políticas do presidente, demonstradas por funcionários do governo regional e outras instituições, que só realizaram a socialização em abril de 2023, mas falharam porque não entenderam a história do controle de terras da comunidade. A fraça estrutura burocrática causa ações repressivas, que são mostradas na implementação de políticas governamentais erradas. Este conflito causou traumas às crianças e à sociedade, exigindo vários esforços de saúde mental e psicológica. A conclusão mostra que os conflitos ocorreram porque os regulamentos para determinar a terra em Rempang como um projeto estatal estratégico eram muito apressados sem socialização, e a lei não podia evitar conflitos de terra. Este conflito causou traumas à comunidade, especialmente às crianças. A maioria dos informantes quer que o governo seja capaz de resolver problemas implementando uma política de diálogo (deliberação) como solução.

Implicações da pesquisa: Este estudo apresenta implicações políticas que os governos regionais, provinciais e nacionais podem utilizar para incentivar a resolução bem-sucedida de conflitos de terra em qualquer região. As consequências desta estratégia podem ajudar a desenvolver métodos mais potentes para reforçar a cooperação regional.

Originalidade/valor: Esta pesquisa analisa mudanças paradigmáticas no sistema de administração da terra, fortalecimento de estruturas burocráticas, colaboração entre instituições e aumento da compreensão da comunidade através da socialização e do diálogo público. Essas mudanças podem afetar a governança da terra e reduzir conflitos de terra que continuaram a ocorrer após a independência da Indonésia. Esse estudo sobre mudança de paradigma é uma nova contribuição, porque pode fornecer uma compreensão mais profunda da evolução da governança da terra e da lei na Indonésia.

Palavras-chave: investimento em terras, resolução de conflitos, lei agrária, governança agrária, cultura de deliberação, diálogo político.

1 INTRODUCTION

The current highlight issue in Indonesia is the land conflict on Rempang Island, Batam, Riau Islands Province. Reuters (2023), Time (2023), (Al Jazeera (2023), and Think China (2023) have reported on 12, 13, and 19 September 2023, why Rempang residents reject investments worth hundreds of trillions. The riots began on September 7, 2023, and resulted in community clashes between the National Army, the National Police, the Directorate of Security for Batam Free Trade Zone, and the Free Port Management Agency (BMA). The community rejects the land for the construction of Rempang Eco
City, the location of the factory for glass manufacturers from China, Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd, which is partnered with Makmur Elok Graha Company (MEG), a national private company. Since 2004, MEG was selected by the Batam City Government and BMA to manage 17,600 hectares of land on Rempang Island, including 10,028 ha of protected forest. The company received a concession for 80 years, and a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between MEG and Xinyi in China, covering 2,000 hectares (Arrijal 2023).

The National Government requires the Rempang community to move from the project plan area to be built. The Government claims that most residents do not have certificates or proof of land tenure on Rempang Island. When clashes occurred on Rempang Island, the Investment Ministry presumed any uncontrolled involvement of other parties outside Rempang Island. The land that will be used is 2,000 hectares covering three villages, i.e., Sembulang Hulu, Sembulang Tanjung, and Pasir Panjang, with 700 families living in the factory construction area (Messakh & Punuf, 2020). During the conflict between Rempang residents and the authorities, President Joko Widodo demanded to continue Rempang Eco Park development. Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd and MEG are committed to building a quartz sand processing plant worth US$ 11.5 billion (Susilo, 2023).

The Minister of Investment presumes three things triggering the incident in Rempang. First, there needs to be more dissemination from the authorities in Batam, either from local or BMA officials. Second, six companies had previously been provided exploitation permits in the Rempang area, but after the Government conducted tracking, procedural errors were found, and the permits were revoked. Third, the involvement of foreign parties. He reasoned that when the Government stipulated Batam as an industrial zone through Presidential Decree Number 74 of 1971 to compete with Singapore, many interruptions were found to obstruct the zone development (Astri, 2023).

The Rempang case caused Commission VI of the Parliament to summon the Minister of Investment to discuss this case. A tense discussion occurred between the Minister of Investment and Wahid from Commission VI when discussing investment developments on Rempang Island. Wahid questioned the issue of permits to use investment land covering 570 hectares on Rempang Island, which was just issued in 2023, despite long before 2023, there were already residents living on Rempang Island. Wahid questioned why the National Government surrendered the community land in the area
without their knowledge, despite the land being owned from generation to generation and their ancestors' land (Zefanya 2023).

Meanwhile, the Non-Government Organization called WALHI West Java noted that various National Strategic Project (NSP) projects can create new problems, such as the Indonesia China Fast Train in West Bandung, mining in Bogor and Sukabumi, Patimban Port, Steam Powered Electric Company in Indramayu, Gas and Steam Power Plants in Karawang, geothermal good drilling consisting of 12 toll road projects, two ports, five railway lines, six dams, and a coastal embankment will cause widespread mining activities to obtain raw materials, and NSP is considered to have an adverse impact to environment, dominate the exploitation and extraction of natural resources. NSP problems also occurred related to construction of Kertajati Airport in West Java, which required political transactions (Naipospos et al., 2020). The utilization of the Mandalika circuit in West Nusa Tenggara has not been maximized (Caraka et al., 2023), and there is an unresolved land conflict, and the development of the Komodo Island tourist zone in Labuan Bajo, East Nusa Tenggara Province (Erb, 2015). This research question is why land conflicts occur, is there no law that facilitates this so that conflicts do not occur, and how should the solution to these land conflicts be implemented? (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Indonesia Rempang Island

Source: Siwage and Negara (2023)
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The Government has issued Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of Implementing National Strategic Projects (NSP) (Santika, 2023). This Presidential Regulation explains that NSP is a strategic project implemented by the Government, local governments, and business entities to increase growth and equitable development to improve community welfare through local development (Aji & Khudi, 2021). Projects included in the NSP consist of toll road infrastructure development projects; national strategic or non-toll national road projects (Sihombing et al. 2018); intercity railway facilities and infrastructure projects; inner-city rail project; airport revitalization project; construction of a new airport; other strategic airport development projects; construction of new ports and capacity development; one million homes program; construction of an oil refinery; gas pipelines or Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG terminal projects); waste-based energy projects; projects to provide drinking water infrastructure; projects to provide communal wastewater systems; construction of flood defense embankments; National Border Guard Post development projects and supporting facilities; dam projects; programs increasing broadband coverage; other strategic science and technology infrastructure projects (Firdausy 2018); development of priority industrial areas or special economic zones; tourism projects; smelter construction projects; and agricultural and marine projects.

NSP has strategic characteristics for economic growth and equitable development. Government Regulation 42 of 2021 explains that implementing local and regional services must prioritize integrated connectivity between infrastructure and economic activity centers to drive accelerated local-based economic growth by considering the direction of local development in the national development plan (Permatasari et al., 2021). The main issue with NSP is land acquisition (Tutuko & Shen, 2016)(Widiyono & Khan, 2022). Land generally belongs to the community, customary land, and extensive royal land in each province and existed before Indonesia’s independence. Land management includes ownership and benefits many people’s lives, such as farming, animal husbandry, gardening, and others. However, Downing (2002) suggests the Government should be careful because every investment plan is generally designed to avoid structural poverty by avoiding new poverty by relocating communities due to mining and providing resettlement.
Meanwhile, land owned by the state is very limited. Therefore, the best way for the Government is to buy land owned by communities whose rights are controlled based on customary law and formal law, not by force (Erwiningsih, 2023). Land acquisition for NSP procurement requires the principle of deliberation between the government and land rights holders (Rifai et al., 2019). Land acquisition means releasing legal relations between land rights holders by providing compensation. The process of determining the amount of land compensation is the full responsibility of the Public Appraiser.

To ensure the successful implementation of government policies on Rempang Island, the concept of deliberation is important and needs to involve many community groups. Designing broad community deliberations is a challenge. Besides, community deliberation participants are guided by their culture's norms, values, and rules, minimizing cultural bias. (Johnson & Swedlow, 2019). It can create a congruence of opinion between the goals of a practical approach to broad public considerations and how individuals view issues related to other people and utilize information and innovative ideas (Williams, 2021).

Mitchell et al. (2023) mention it as a policy dialog, a tool that encourages evidence-based policymaking. That involves discussing high-priority issues under a synthesis of the best available evidence, where stakeholders discuss potential policy interventions. An analysis should focus on the deliberative dialog itself and not on the ethical issues in the broader policy context, in which the dialog takes place. However, a policy dialog is sometimes deemed a mode of governance or a negotiation instrument (Bevan and Rasmussen 2017).

3 METHODOLOGY

This research method uses a qualitative approach with phenomenological studies, namely a type of research that attempts to explain why people experience an event (Khan, 2019)(Nigar 2020). The phenomenological studies were chosen because researchers tried to explore sensory perceptions about essential aspects of people's life experiences (Smith, 2008)(Al-Habil 2011). Phenomenological studies are considered appropriate given that there is no solution to the existing problems regarding land conflicts in Rempang.

Considering that this research aims to explore the life experiences and sensory perceptions of community leaders, religious leaders, educational leaders, community groups, policy experts and officials, the use of a phenomenological approach is
considered appropriate in this research. Interviews were used to support the implementation of this phenomenological study by compiling an interview list (DeJonckheere & Vaughn, 2019)(Emiliussen et al. 2021). Key informants are selected using a purposive sampling technique (Etikan, 2016). The author formulates various eligibility criteria for the interview list by considering the research objectives (Creswell, 2013)(Ishtiaq, 2019). To compile a list of interviews, the author searched for literature in various online media about the characteristics of land conflicts. These criteria include (a) information from online articles and (b) online newspapers and magazines. The researcher compiled an interview list from this information and tested it on five family heads who knew about this research topic. Then, they proceed to informants outside and inside the research area. Informant data is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Key informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mr. Habiburokhman</td>
<td>Deputy Chairman of Commission III of the Parliament</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mr. Arman</td>
<td>Regional Research Center-National Research and Innovation Agency</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mr. Suprana</td>
<td>Founder of the Humanitarian Learning Studio</td>
<td>Jakarta Provincial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mr. Widijantoro</td>
<td>The Indonesian Ombudsman</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Utomo</td>
<td>The Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision (CAPIP)</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. Alfirman</td>
<td>Director General of Financial Balance at the Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ms. Alisjahbana</td>
<td>Director of the Indonesian Investment Management Risk Institute or Indonesian Investment Authority</td>
<td>Special institution/Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ms. Atnike</td>
<td>Chair of the National Human Rights Commission (HCRC)</td>
<td>Special institution/Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mr. Rukminto</td>
<td>The Police Observer from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS)</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mr. Suprana</td>
<td>Founder of the Humanitarian Learning Studio</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mr. Zoelva</td>
<td>President of the Islamic Sharia Organization</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mr. Rudi</td>
<td>the Batam Free Trade Area and Free Port Management Agency</td>
<td>Riau Province/Rempang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ms. Azlaini</td>
<td>The Local Indigenous Community</td>
<td>Riau Province/Rempang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ms. Suryani</td>
<td>The Local Indigenous Community</td>
<td>Riau Province/Rempang</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mr. Mongga</td>
<td>The Local Indigenous Community</td>
<td>Riau Province/Rempang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ms. Netya</td>
<td>The Local Indigenous Community</td>
<td>Riau Province/Rempang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to validate the research results, we interviewed experts in public policy, environment and stakeholders. This technique is called the triangulation method (Noble...
and Heale 2019), namely the researcher's effort to re-check the correctness of data or information obtained from various points of view by reducing as much as possible the bias that may occur during data collection and analysis in the field.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 RESULT

4.1.1 disclosure of land ownership history

Differences of opinion occurred when the Minister of Politics, Law, and Human Rights, the Minister of Investment, and several people confirmed that the current residents of Rempang Island were not native residents. In resolving this conflict, historical ownership of land on Rempang Island is needed so policies and decisions taken by the Government become more transparent in the future.

Ms. Azlaini, a Local Indigenous Community, said:

_The Manuscript of the Tuhfat An-Nafis Book by Raja Ali Haji (first publication in 1890) explained that the residents of Rempang, Galang, and Bulang Islands were descendants of the Lingga Riau Sultanate Soldiers who once inhabited those islands since 1720. Those islands were inhabited during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman Badrul Alamsyah I. During the First Riau War (1782–84) against the Dutch, they became soldiers of Raja Haji Fisabilillah (one of the National Heroes). Then, in the Second Riau War, also against the Dutch (1784-87), they became an army led by Sultan Mahmud Riayat Syah. When Sultan Mahmud Riayat Syah moved the center of Government to Daik-Lingga in 1787, the islands of Rempang, Galang, and Bulang became the basis of the largest kingdom of the Lingga Riau Sultanate led by Engka Muda Muhammad and Commander Raman. The massive defense base on Rempang Island, Galang, and Bulang made Dutch and British troops not brave enough to enter the territory of the Lingga Riau Sultanate. They were the children of soldiers who had inhabited the islands of Rempang, Galang, and Bulang from generation to generation. During the Riau I and Riau II Wars, their ancestors were called the Sultanate's Combat Troops (a kind of elite force)._ 

She added:

_Thus, it would be fatal if the Indonesian Government considered the residents of the 16 Old Villages on Rempang Island as immigrants. The Malay people who inhabited Rempang Island, including Galang and Bulang, had existed for more than 300 years, giving birth to generations, settling on the island, and maintaining the values and traditions of their ancestors to this day. Currently, the population of Rempang Island is estimated at 5,000 people, excluding Galang and Bulang, whose main livelihoods are fishing and trading._

The founder of the Humanitarian Learning Studio, Mr. Suprana, said:
The history of Rempang Island began during the leadership of the King of the Riau Duli Sultanate, His Majesty Seri Paduka Baginda Yang Dipertuan Besar, Sultan Hendra Syafri Syah bin Tengku Hasin Saleh. The King of the Riau Sultanate emphasized that, on a de facto basis, the residents of Rempang Island were not immigrants but native residents. The Rempang Island indigenous people who lived in the villages on Rempang Island were descendants of soldiers from the Bintan Malay Sultanate, which later became the Riau-Lingga Sultanate and had lived since the eleventh century. Their ancestors were soldiers who lived on Rempang Island since the time of the Sultanate of Sulaiman Badrul Alam Syah I in 1720. They fought with Raja Haji Fisabilillah in the First Riau War in 1782-84 and the Second Riau War with Sultan Mahmud Syah III in 1784-87.

Mr. Arman, a History Researcher at the Local Research Center-National Research and Innovation Agency, said:

Life on Rempang and Galang Islands and its surroundings had existed since the time of the Malacca Sultanate, a Malay Kingdom centered in Malacca. Many said the Malays on Rempang and Galang Islands only appeared in 1834. The evidence needs to be disclosed. In 1837, a British ship was hijacked on Galang Island, and the pirates were Galang Malays. The Malays have lived on the island since that year. In 1900-40, many reports or files revealed that a Dutch official, Elisha Netscher, had visited Rempang Island around 1946. At that time, Rempang Island was already inhabited by the Galang Malay community, the Land People, and the Sea People. In 1722-1818, the Temenggung Lingga Riau Government Center was moved from Hulu Riau (Tanjungpinang) to Bulang Island (near Rempang and Galang Islands). It proves that the Rempang and Galang Islands and its surroundings had long been inhabited by the Galang Malay tribe, Land People, and Sea People (Sea Tribe). In 1829, the Sultan of Lingga Riau, Sultan Abdul Rahman, gave Raja Isa or Nong Isa power to lead Nongsa, namely the Batam, Galang, Rempang, and its surroundings. In fact, this year is celebrated as the birthday of the Batam Islands.

He added:

The Sea Tribe, who was better known as the Sea People, was one of the indigenous tribes on Rempang Island. They lived on the coast spread across the islands of Batam, Rempang, and Galang (Barelang). Meanwhile, the Land Tribe settled in the interior of Rempang Island. Land communities live in Sadap Village, and only a few families live. There are three indigenous ethnic groups and another one who has been a migrant since 1998.

From the three key informants, it is clear that Rempang Island also belongs to the people who have lived there for hundreds of years. This description denies some people outside Rempang who consider the sea and land tribes as non-indigenous people.
4.1.2 bureaucratic structure

In issuing a policy, most public policy implementation models highlight organizational structure. Policy implementation in Indonesia adheres to the policy dialog (deliberation) principle as part of the democratic and bottom-up concept. The weak bureaucratic structure of the National Government, Ministries, Regional and Local Governments, and the BMA is about coordination. The Ministry of Finance recognizes that many of the National Strategy Projects implemented need to be revised, and this problem triggers local governments to be more active and involved therein.

Director General of Financial Balance at the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Alfirman, said:

> Most local governments need to understand PSN in their regions more quickly. For example, they still need to prepare infrastructure. In the end, the project became redundant.

Weak coordination of government bureaucracy at the Ministry and Local Government levels has resulted in many abandoned infrastructure community protests and delays in land acquisition, which often gives rise to land mafias. The Rempang case is one of the examples.

The Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision (CAPIP), which was formed based on Presidential Regulation Number 75 of 2014, Mr. Utomo explained:

> The first problem related to planning and preparation. Twenty-six projects encountered problems with planning and preparation. These problems include plans to increase the scope of development and design changes. Second, related to licensing. Thirty-one projects encountered problems with licensing, including not yet issuing an extension on location designation, delays in issuing Borrow-to-Use Forest Area Permits, and still waiting for review and approval of the Environmental Impact Analysis. Third, related to funding and financing. Fifteen projects encountered constraints with funding and financing, National Budget commitments, projects that required additional budget, and project financing schemes that still needed to be determined. Fourth, related to construction. Thirty-seven projects encountered constraints with construction, including labor shortcomings, inadequate material availability, and weather/natural conditions (rain, landslides), which caused delayed construction work. Fifth, related to land acquisition.
He added:

Forty-one projects encountered problems with land acquisition, including the unfinished process of the land acquisition, non-issued permits for releasing forest areas, unique characteristics of land acquisition, and land disputes. CAPIP noted that in implementing 208 projects and 10 programs, 150 problems had been reported and followed up, with the largest concentration of problems in land acquisition at 27%.

4.1.3 financial resources

Funding for basic infrastructure and connectivity projects derives from the Government, public-private partnerships, state-owned enterprises, and the private sector. Funding support from the Government for five years was IDR 5,841 trillion (equivalent to US$ 372 billion) to complete 170 NSPs (Putera et al. 2021). The need for expected funds was from other party cooperation. Of the total NSP investment, 67% derived from private funding, particularly for economic support infrastructure and urban infrastructure; 20% was financed by State-Owned Enterprises, and 13% by the National Budget (CAPF 2023). Thirty-five private companies involved in the NSP, including China Hongqiao Group Ltd, Winning Investment (Hongkong) Company Ltd, Shandong Weiqiao Aluminum and Electricity Co. Ltd, PT Indonesia Guang Ching Nickel and Stainless-Steel Industry, Shanghai Huadi Co. Ltd, Russian glass producer Rosneft, and Xinyi Glass Holdings Ltd from China which will now manage Rempang Island. Up to October 2023, the President had inaugurated 17 NSPs with IDR 259.41 trillion (US$ 16.49 billion). Given limited funds, the Government planned to rationalize several NSPs.

Chairman of the Implementation Team for the Acceleration Committee of Priority Infrastructure Provision, Mr. Utomo, said:

The Government will soon hold a limited cabinet meeting to discuss the fate of Local Area Signaling Services (LASS) that may not reach targets and plans to revoke LASS. Two major projects that have been almost decisively canceled are the Jakarta-Surabaya Fast Train project and the New Ambon Port project. Unfulfilled financing needs constrain both. Until now, no private investors have been interested in investing in this project. Regarding the fast train project, the Ministry of Transportation had requested to revoke the NSP status of the project. The costs are high, and the processing time is long.

Director of the Indonesian Investment Management Risk Institute or Indonesian Investment Authority, Ms. Alisjahbana, said:
In general, foreign investors' decisions to leave the LASS project were caused by the failure to reach an agreement due to unattractive valuation, economic value, or investment results.

4.1.4 communication and dissemination

During the Rempang conflict, the Indonesian Ombudsman collected and processed the information and concluded the findings.

Mr. Widijantoro from the Indonesian Ombudsman explained:

The Ombudsman demanded residents for information in several old villages, such as Pasir Panjang, Tanjung Banun, and Sembulang Villages. Our findings included that some residents living in the old village had population data published since 1980. Residents claimed that the information provided by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy, BMA, Army, and Police had changed and was uncertain. Residents refused to be relocated. They only supported village planning. On average, residents refused to be displaced from their place. They refused compensation from the Government.

Regarding dissemination on Rempang Island, the Head of BMA, Mr. Rudi, explained the following:

Dissemination was already conducted in June. In April, the Batam government committed to developing Rempang Island. However, given that the village location was far apart, dissemination was difficult to conduct quickly and effectively. The majority of family heads in the three villages worked as fishermen. This profession requires them to go out at night and come home at dawn so they can rest or sleep from morning to evening. As a result, people who participated in the dissemination were only their families or wives, so the dissemination conveyed by BMA on their rights when relocated did not reach them directly. Therefore, according to Rudi, dissemination will be intensified from now on so every resident who will be relocated can hear directly about the rights they will receive.

He added:

We tried to ensure that people knew their rights and what the Government had provided so their daily lives were not interrupted. The national Government demanded that the BMA intensify dissemination regarding relocation. He also acknowledged that he had formed a special team to disseminate to three villages in the Rempang Island area.

4.1.5 Repressive actions

The conflict between the Police and indigenous communities in 16 traditional Rempang Island and Galang Island villages had become a national issue. Residents were threatened with eviction due to the construction of a national strategic project called
Rempang Eco City. The incident began when news circulated among Rempang residents on Wednesday, September 6, 2023, that the Batam Free Trade Area and Free Port Management Agency (BMA) and the competent authorities would force entering Rempang Island for land measurements. Hearing the news, residents gathered around. At 09:51, residents saw hundreds of joint troops from the Civil Service Security Unit, Police, Army, and Batam Security Directorate lined up in front of the bridge. The joint troops then moved towards the residents standing at the end of the bridge. Barelang Sector Police Chief, Commissioner Mr. Nugroho, demanded that residents go backward using loudspeakers. This incident provoked Commission III of the Parliament to investigate this case.

Deputy Chairman of Commission III of the Parliament, Mr. Habiburokhman, said:

\textit{Methods of resolving conflicts using violence had to be avoided. We looked at the video and we would examine it. The use of violence had to be avoided in resolving conflicts in society. Facts on the field showed this, and Commission III would investigate the case of joint forces' repressive actions against residents on Rempang Island. We communicated with the Police and waited for the latest information from the institute.}

HCRC responded to the clash on Rempang Island between police enforcers and civilians that broke out on Thursday, September 7, 2023. HCRC Chairwoman Ms. Atnike said:

\textit{HCRC regretted the clashes between enforcers and residents, which resulted in children and adult victims. HCRC urged the Police to stop mobilizing troops at the location.}

Mr. Rukminto, a Police Observer from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS), proposed the formation of an Independent Team:

\textit{We considered that using violence or excessive power leading to acts of violence against citizens had to be ceased by the Police. We demanded that the Government and the Parliament form an independent team and investigate the use of violence and authority by police enforcers, explain this transparently to the public, and impose sanctions on those who showed and used power arrogantly.}

Ms. Mansuriah, one of the women from the local traditional community, opined:

\textit{We considered that the Rempang case was a confiscation of people's land. Children and women became victims of tear gas firing near Galang Primary School, which resulted in fear and physical injuries.}
4.1.6 Mental health and psychology of children and society

Ms. Atnike, HCRC Chairwoman, explained:

We hoped the local Government would immediately restore communities suffering violence and trauma, including children who needed extraordinary recovery. HCRC demanded that the national and local government and law enforcers apply a humanist approach to agrarian disputes and national strategic projects.

Ms. Suryani, one of the Community members, explained:

With so many children affected by tear gas, it would leave trauma, and the Government had to be responsible for restoring children's mental health in Rempang. Field enforcers had to understand the conditions on the site before acting. The enforcers should have known that there were schools near the conflict location. School children had to be evacuated first; tear gas should not be fired because children would be affected.

Mr. Mongga, Spokesperson for the Local Indigenous Community, said:

Victims of children from tear gas firing during clashes with residents who refused to be relocated in Rempang were still traumatized. Most children suffering from this trauma were still in primary school; some were even afraid to attend school.

Ms. Netya, a resident (Community member), said:

We, the people here, demanded the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, and the Child Protection Commission to send a trauma healing team to the conflict location and provide therapy to child victims of the Rempang Island conflict. It had to be done to prevent them from suffering mental health problems in the future. They felt clouds of tear gas smoke in their school. This incident caused mental health problems and long-lasting trauma that would hurt psychological health, such as anxiety disorders. Children had a strong memory of recording events. They would grow and develop by remembering incidents of violence from the Police and army.

4.1.7 A dialog policy

The Rempang case requires solutions through consensus and open dialog. The Islamic Sharia Organization demanded that the Government and many parties bring a dialog forward.

President of the Islamic Sharia Organization, Mr. Zoelva, said:

We had to bring forward dialog, persuasive, and deliberative steps in resolving every problem, including the impact of investment on Rempang Island. We had to keep away from repressive and violent actions. The
development process might recognize human rights, human rights, and community dignity.

HCRC Chairwoman, Ms. Atnike, said:

We demanded that repressive actions against the people of Rempang should not happen again. We should hold a dialog and release residents detained by the Police.

Mr. Rukminto from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS) explained:

Differences in views on implementing government decisions could not be resolved through violent means hurting people’s consciences. The various impacts of violence suffered by residents, including tear gas firing experienced by children, showed that police officers did not understand the rules they had.

Mr. Widijantoro from the Ombudsman suggested:

One way to resolve the conflict was to avoid violence and bring forward persuasive public dialog efforts to resolve the Rempang Island case.

4.2 DISCUSSION

Rempang Island is very rich with a long history. During the colonial period, this island was inhabited by various tribes and ethnic communities. Many historical relics, such as temples and historic buildings, exist on this island. Rempang Island is also known as a shelter for refugees during the Vietnam War. They can be found on Galang Island and are known as Vietnam Ross (Daud, et al., 2023). Natural riches on Rempang Island, such as its beautiful beaches, mangrove forests, and diverse marine life, offer various tourist activities. Activities such as snorkeling, diving, and enjoying the sunset on the beach attract tourists looking for a unique natural experience.

The growth of Batam City next to Rempang Island has triggered significant infrastructure development. International ports and industrial facilities have been built on Rempang Island, creating jobs and economic opportunities for its residents. The international port causes high trade activities in Batam, so Rempang Island is now becoming a target for investment and development in the future. Rempang Island has quite a high potential for the economy. However, development planning on the island often needs to pay more attention to the aspirations and needs of local communities, who
also want to participate in the economic benefits that may arise from the area's development.

The root of the conflict is from here, i.e., the high potential for Rempang Island's economy. Besides, the land tenure issue is the root of the conflict on Rempang Island. Communities have claimed ownership rights to most of the island for years, while the local Government also has claims to the area. Both parties often have different opinions on land tenure legality. In order to resolve the Rempang Island conflict, it is necessary to carry out dialogue to address misinformation between the regional Government, the national Government, and the community. Transparency in land tenure and development processes involving communities can help reduce tensions.

Daniel Bell explains that information has become the most valuable commodity in the industry, and one day, the industry can take away people's rights in various ways. In practice, they monopolize information to increase profits but at the expense of greater uncertainty (Torre et al., 2020a). Therefore, to create efficient and effective information, the Government, stakeholders, and the public must be careful in choosing information compared to information that is useful for interest groups (Sabir & Torre, 2020b). David Shenk makes the analogy that excessively obtaining uncertain information is called information obesity (Whitworth, 2009). For example, initially, someone will experience hunger for information, so they will swallow any information as long as it is pleasant to hear, even though it is not needed, analogous to the habit of consuming foods high in cholesterol. Misinformation about obesity can cause disease and a physical and mental health decline. The more misinformation someone absorbs, will reduce their ability to digest new information that is easier and more valuable. Information obesity makes it difficult for them to differentiate between healthy and unhealthy information, and they rely on the information they normally consume (Heylighen, 2002). They think it is useful when, in fact, it is a disease. Information about land ownership, injustice in the land administration system, and officials' deployment needs to be corrected.

Additionally, a fair solution that considers the interests of all parties needs to be found, and compromise may be necessary to achieve peace. Only now, the Indonesian Government has a spatial comprehensive conflict index (SCCI). This index must identify and trigger land use conflicts in any region (Bao et al. (2021). This study showed that land use conflicts increased significantly in regions experiencing rapid urban-rural transformation and terrain transition (Yang et al., 2020). In encountering increasingly
prominent conflicts in land use globally, it needs to mitigate ecological security and protect agricultural land and forests. Like in China, the Government is expected to start implementing this SCCI next year. Basically, land conflicts in China are caused by population density and socioeconomic background (Jiang et al., 2021); (Zou et al., 2021). In contrast to the Rempang case, the conflict occurred because the company-controlled residents' land, the Government supported companies, and concerns about environmental issues and sea and forest degradation, even though Indonesia was one of the Paris World-signing countries. Based on the Climate Change Summit or COP 21 agreement, the UNFCCC announced Indonesia's commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 (Ali et al., 2021).

Eneyew and Ayalew (2023) researched the responsibilities of kinship councils and religious leaders in handling a comprehensive conflict resolution process, seeking the truth, and taking an oath to realize conflict reconciliation. Gena and Jarra (2023) revealed that the effective mechanisms for indigenous community conflict resolution in handling complex conflicts at the grassroots level contributed significantly to restoring peace in post-conflict resolution. By taking litigation proceedings to get the truth, problems related to elders, intermediaries, religion, and attitudes are some obstacles that exacerbate the effectiveness of indigenous people's conflict resolution mechanisms in building a culture of peace (Tan & Hassen, 2023). These studies are necessary given that the involvement of community leaders is very important in disseminating government policies in the Rempang case. It aligns with research conducted by Olademo et al. (2021), who emphasized that collaboration and consensus were powerful tools to strengthen peace in Share and Tsaragi communities in Africa. According to Ruggie (2011), his research revealed that transnational companies and other businesses should follow guiding principles on business and human rights. Studies on regionalization and inter-regional cooperation, especially cooperation, are also proposed in research Rozikin & Sofwani, (2023) to reduce management gaps between governments in Indonesia.

Hönke and Geenen (2016) researched Indigenous communities in Australia, Aotearoa (New Zealand), North and South America, and the Northern Ring who experienced land confiscation due to the development of industrial resources such as mining, hydroelectric power plants, petroleum, agriculture, and others (Burns et al., 2023). The study reported on mental health and industrial resource development due to community trauma, whose land is controlled by corporations. Land confiscation resulting
from industrial resource development harms the mental health of Indigenous communities (Mashford-Pringle, 2016)(Burns et al., 2022). The impacts of industrial relations threaten the identity, resources, language, traditions, spirituality, and indigenous community's way of life (Mazel, 2018). This study proposed that the health impact assessment process in industrial resource development had to explicitly consider risks and potential impacts on mental health and respect the rights of indigenous peoples by making knowledge of mental health risks a key component in government decisions (Tom, 2008) (Nelson & Wilson, 2017). Ms. Mansyuriah, an observer of women and generations, also explained the same on the Rempang conflict. She considered that the Rempang case was a confiscation of people's land. Children and women became victims of tear gas firing near Galang Primary School, which resulted in panic, fear, and physical injuries. Cases of conflict and confiscation that result in victims have been widely reported in scientific research, as suggested by Blache (2019) and Malone et al. (2023), and need the best solution.

In this context, it is necessary to involve legal and land experts to resolve land tenure claims on a legal basis to clarify the land status on Rempang Island so this conflict can be resolved. The community and Government can work together to plan sustainable development and positively impact all parties involved (Sihombing et al., 2021). The Government and NGOs in the legal sector see the need for advocacy on agrarian issues, such as victims, perpetrators, types of human rights violations (Runtuboi et al., 2020)(Sahide et al., 2021), and efforts such as advocacy barriers and challenges, including customary law and the impact of agrarian conflict on society, women, and indigenous communities (Latukau et al., 2022). In addition, the government is expected to encourage companies to communicate more transparently about sustainable practices, environmental performance, social impacts, and corporate governance to the Rempang community and stakeholders before investing (Siregar et al., 2023).

The Government and stakeholders must sit together to create policy dialogs to resolve the Rempang case. Policy dialogs are a fundamental process for building shared understanding. With policy dialogs and deliberation, a group gradually accumulates shared meaning, enabling higher levels of mutual understanding and creative thinking. When people heard about the conflict on Rempang Island, they tried to think and express the meaning instead of trying to convince each other. The Government and the people of Rempang need to build a foundation of shared experience that enables everyone to learn
collectively. The more a society reaches collective understanding, the easier it is to make decisions, and the greater those decisions will possibly be enforced following shared desires. Besides improving communication and dissemination, policy dialogs have excellent potential for formulating and solving problems. Policy dialogs are necessary for understanding the culture and subculture in Rempang and learning for the government bureaucracy, which will ultimately depend on understanding Rempang Malay culture. Thus, dialogs become a central element of any organizational transformation model and show the effectiveness of the organizational structure.

If dialogs are to benefit the conflict process, they must be accessible to everyone. Therefore, to disclose the mystery of dialog, we need to focus on the process of how a dialog starts and why a dialog often fails and explore some of the problems to be addressed by the government and community groups in Rempang so the dialog can be effective. The community will become apathetic if dialog policies are not implemented or have poor meaning. They do not support policies and often criticize government policies in limited conditions (Levine, 2021), and it is called a risk culture, which has formed risk perceptions and behavior of individuals, groups, organizations, and society due to conflict. The concept of risk culture is commonly applied among practitioners as it has the potential to integrate various sets of research policies and can provide practical guidance. Streicher et al. (2023) introduced three domains of influence, i.e., society, social context, risk situations, and three cultural layers, i.e., observable, unobservable, and implicit factors resulting from a policy.

We found five important interrelated variables that stakeholders must understand to achieve policy dialogue, namely Disclosure of Land Ownership History, Bureaucratic Structure, Financial Resources, Repressive Actions, Mental Health and Psychology of Children and Society. Firstly, the variable of disclosing the history of land ownership is essential for formulating dialogue policies. Revealing history is an evidence-based policy to explain that before independence (Pallett 2019), the land was owned by the people of Rempang Island. This variable is related to the government's bureaucratic structure, c.q the National Land Agency, which represents the government, which is here to help people who do not have land certificates because it is customary land. In terms of land administration, there are many cases like this in Indonesia, and the government is not yet fully present to provide land ownership certificates to the community, the impact of which is prolonged conflict (Tessema et al. 2023). Financial resource variables play an essential
role in the occurrence of land conflicts. The government's inability to finance expensive infrastructure will lure foreign investors to control communal land. In line with research Tlale (2022) in Kenyan and Tanzanian, he explained in his study that conflicts and related disputes are increasingly common and occur on customary land in all parts of the world. Friis and Nielsen (2016) study in Laos concluded that the scientific debate around 'global land grabbing' has developed theoretically, methodologically and empirically. They investigate a series of large-scale land acquisitions in the context of a surge in banana plantation investment in Luang Namtha Province, Laos. The next two variables are the impact of the previous variable, where the repressive action variable and the mental and psychological health of children and the community are instant solutions used by the government to confiscate people's land. Therefore, these variables need to be brought into policy dialogue to find the best solution to reducing land conflicts. Policy dialogue in Malay culture on Rempang Island is the same as deliberation (Yusof and Ab. Majid 2012).

5 CONCLUSION

Land conflicts on Rempang Island have become a hot issue in national and international news. During September 2023, more than 2 million news in online newspapers, YouTube, videos, news on X, and Meta (Facebook). The conflict has caused many victims as Police tried to breach residents' barricades to spray water cannons and tear gas to disperse the crowd and hit many schoolchildren. The conflict explodes because, first, the authorities are weak in communicating and disseminating the President's policies. This weakness is indicated by local government officials and the Batam Free Trade Zone and Free Port Management Agency, which has just held dissemination since April 2023 but failed. They reason that the 16 villages are far apart, and the community livelihood is fishing, making communication and dissemination difficult even though the development plan for Rempang Island has been designed since 2004.

Second, the authorities need to understand the history of land tenure of the people where they have lived since 1720, long before Indonesia became a country. The problem lies in the land administration system because the Government has yet to certify their land, and many are still in the form of C registers issued by the colonial Government. Third, the weak bureaucratic structure has led to repressive actions. Weaknesses in the
bureaucratic structure can be seen in implementing government policies, especially regarding Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of Implementing National Strategic Projects. A good bureaucratic structure starts with comprehensive coordination between the Ministry, provincial Government, and the NSP management agency, so its implementation is not serious. Fourth, the conflict has caused trauma to children and the community, and they require various mental and psychological health measures. The best solution to this conflict is that the people outside and inside Rempang Island want a policy dialog between the national Government (Ministry), Local Government, BMA, and the indigenous people to remain living in the Rempang area or relocate to the surrounding area.

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