

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND LAND ACQUISITION IN WATESJAYA VILLAGE, BOGOR REGENCY

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ABSTRACT

Social movements in Watesjaya Village, Cigombong District, Bogor Regency, emerged in response to the massive land acquisition by PT MNC Land for the development of the Lido Special Economic Zone (KEK Lido). This practice encourages massive land conversion that has a direct impact on the survival of local communities, especially forest and non-forest area farmers who have worked on the land for generations. This research uses a qualitative approach involving in-depth interviews with key actors, direct observation in the field, and archival searches. The two main actors, forest area and non-forest area farmers, showed different resistance movements. Farmers in forest areas use an adaptive approach through forest utilization and ecotourism management under the Social Forestry scheme with a Conservation Partnership Agreement (PKK), while the resistance movement of non-forest area farmers uses protests, demonstrations, and rejection of unfair compensation. These different approaches reflect variations in resource mobilization, local knowledge, and level of organization with impacts varying from delaying eviction to creating alternative livelihoods.

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INTRODUCTIONS

Social movements are an inevitable phenomenon in dynamic social systems. This is because social movements are characterised by their demand for change or their opposition to change. As defined by Raho (2019), a social movement is a long-term organised movement intended to support or oppose certain issues. Land conflicts are one of the issues that can trigger social movements in society. Generally, these conflicts are characterised by oppression carried out by powerful groups against weaker groups. Land ownership conflicts are a social reality that

must be objectively revealed (Tjondronegoro & Wiradi, 2008). Historically, injustice in land ownership is a historical reality rooted in territorial expansion by colonisers, including discriminatory legal regulations regarding land ownership and possession (Thontowi, 2000).

The global phenomenon of large-scale land acquisition or takeover is occurring on a massive scale in various countries, especially agrarian countries such as Indonesia. These land acquisition and takeover practices are driven by various economic and political interests of global actors, leading to widespread land grabbing. Transnational and national economic actors with capital power and political dominance, such as companies, national governments, and actors with global capital power (Borras Jr & Franco, 2012; Hall et al., 2017). The agrarian conflict in Watesjaya Village, Bogor Regency, resulting from the development of the Lido Special Economic Zone (SEZ) managed by PT. MNC Land in collaboration with several multinational companies, serves as a concrete example of the social dynamics that give rise to social movements. In this context, social movements emerge as a manifestation of resistance from affected communities excluded from access to land management. This dynamic can be more sharply observed through the lens of analysis in Ribot and Peluso (2003)'s theory of access exclusion, which states that access is not merely a matter of legal ownership of land but also relates to the ability of agrarian actors to utilise resources through various mechanisms such as power, social identity, knowledge, or institutional relationships.

The massive land acquisition that has taken place in Watesjaya Village, involving 680 hectares of farmland that was previously managed by tenant farmers, has been privatised due to the development of the area. Furthermore, the local community is still facing disagreements over compensation and damages to this day. This land acquisition has excluded the community from their own land. They have lost their main livelihood as tenant farmers and face difficulties accessing roads to their settlements because their villages are located at the heart of the MNC Land development area.

"For residents, it is not a problem when their land is taken over, as long as it is for the public interest. However, in this case, it is largely for business interests. Imagine if the graves that have been passed down from generation to generation, especially the sacred graves that have historical value, are taken over even though the evidence of inheritance is not yet clear," said Mr. DM (48 years old), Head of RW 06, Ciletuh.

This agrarian conflict has escalated due to a dispute over sacred graves, which PT MNC Land claims as its property, despite never having presented evidence to the local community. This on-the-ground reality indicates that the conflict over land acquisition is not merely about economic access to land management but also involves social identity and the socio-cultural relationship between the community and their land (Pradnyadana & Tanaya, 2023).

Furthermore, the agrarian conflict arising from this land acquisition has sparked a social movement in the community of Watesjaya Village. In the study of social movements, Resource Mobilisation Theory highlights the social processes that support the emergence and success of social movements. This approach places greater emphasis on economic and political aspects, with minimal consideration of individual psychological factors. According to Oberschall (1973), who first developed this theory, mobilisation refers to the process of forming groups, associations, or organisations to achieve collective goals in social movements. Klandermans (1997) emphasises that this theory highlights the importance of structural factors, such as the availability of resources for groups and the position of individuals within social networks, and stresses rationality in participation in social movements. An individual's decision to join a social movement is not based on psychological factors but is a rational choice made after considering the benefits and drawbacks of their involvement. Based on the views of experts, Oman Sukmana formulates the determining factors in social movements based on this theory, namely: (1) Social Movement Organisation, (2) Leaders and Leadership, (3) Resources and Resource Mobilisation, (4) Networks and Participation, and (5) Opportunities and Community Capacity.

The diversity of resistance movement patterns observed in Watesjaya Village, as documented in this study, can enrich the literature on how local communities, particularly tenant farmers, respond to large-scale national

development programmes within the context of land use regime changes in Indonesia. This study aims to analyse in greater depth the forms and dynamics of social movements among farmers in forest and non-forest areas in the land acquisition conflict occurring in Watesjaya Village. Specifically, this study examines three things, namely (1) the history of land tenure in Watesjaya Village; (2) the forms of resistance movements by farmers in forest and non-forest areas; and (3) the main actors involved in the farmers' resistance movement.

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted using a qualitative approach in Watesjaya Village, specifically in the Ciwaluh and Ciletuh communities. The research location was deliberately chosen (purposive), considering the level of dynamics and diversity of the movements carried out by the Ciwaluh and Ciletuh communities in facing the contestation of interests in land acquisition for the development of the area. Furthermore, Watesjaya Village was selected based on the consideration that this village is the target area for the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) development project, which is projected to become a central economic development zone and is planned to absorb a significant number of local jobs on a large scale.

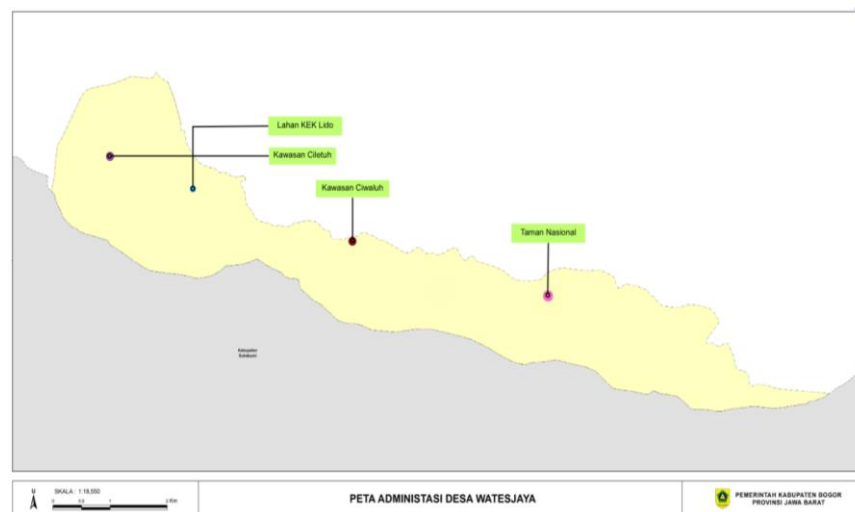


Figure 1. Map of Watesjaya Village Location

Source: Personal compilation

Primary data was collected using several methods, namely in-depth interviews with key actors, direct observation in the field, and archival research. In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants such as tenant farmers in forest and non-forest areas, community leaders, NGOs/NGOs and local government. Data analysis was conducted using a qualitative descriptive approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Qualitative data was analysed by reducing, classifying and grouping the data, as well as explaining the phenomena obtained logically and drawing conclusions. This explanation was also carried out by linking the phenomena obtained (data) with theory and the results of other studies. The results of this analysis were then presented descriptively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Characteristics of Farmers in Forest and Non-Forest Areas

The social movement in the land acquisition practice in Watesjaya Village involves two local community groups, namely forest area farmers and non-forest area farmers. Forest area farmers consist of farmers located in the Ciwaluh Hilir and Ciwaluh Girang villages. Meanwhile, non-forest area farmers consist of farmers located in the Ciletuh Hilir and Ciletuh Girang villages. The movement carried out by these two farmer groups is a resistance movement due to restrictions on access to land, which is the main source of livelihood for the community. Budi et al. (2021) state that access to land is not only determined by formal ownership but also by economic, political, and social mechanisms that affect the community's ability to benefit from land resources. The classification of land use by the two farmer groups in Watesjaya Village is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Classification of Land Use in Forest and Non-Forest Areas

Aspects	Farmers in Forest Areas	Non-forest area farmers
Land Area	< 60 Ha	> 680 Ha
Area Status	Forest Areas (State Forest Land)	State Land (APL)
Area Control	Gunung Gede Pangrango National Park (TNGGP)	PT. MNC Land
Forms of Land Use by the Community	1. Cultivated Land	1. Cultivated Land 2. Residential Land
Legality of Land Use by the Community	Social Forestry (Conservation Partnership Scheme)	The company grants unwritten permission to the community to cultivate
Cultivated Land Use	Agroforestry, Food Crops & Ecotourism	Horticulture and Food Crops
Types of Crops	Pine, coffee, rice, spice plants (cardamom, cat's whiskers), timber trees (Sengon) and fruit and vegetable plants (jengkol, petai, jackfruit)	Cassava, bananas, rice, vegetables and secondary crops
Licensing Authority (Government)	Ministry of Environment and Forestry/Ministry of Forestry	Local Government or Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency

Based on the land use table, it can be seen that farmers in forest areas have smaller land areas (<60 ha) under the control of the National Park, with a focus on agroforestry and ecotourism, demonstrating a conservation approach as well as sustainable use. Legalisation through the Conservation Partnership Scheme provides legal certainty for the community. Meanwhile, farmers in non-forest areas have larger land areas (>60 ha) under the control of PT. MNC Land, with unwritten cultivation permits that tend to be illegal. Their utilisation is less diverse (horticulture and food crops) and includes settlements, indicating more intensive exploitation. In addition, the types of crops in forest areas are more diverse, including commodities, while non-forest areas focus on more commercial food crops and secondary crops. This indicates that farmers in forest areas are more bound by conservation regulations and formal legality, while non-forest area farmers have greater flexibility but with less strict supervision.

"People are sometimes confused about selling their land because it is still profitable. Most of the people here are farmers who work the land," said Mr. HY (48), Chairman of KTH Ciwaluh.

The land acquisition process that took place in Watesjaya Village for the provision of large-scale land to be developed into the Lido Special Economic Zone (KEK) by PT MNC Land not only reduced the community's access to land as a source of livelihood, but also triggered collective resistance, forming an organised social movement with the ability to gather, manage and utilise resources to achieve its goals. The organisation of community groups in the area can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Organisation of Groups in Forest and Non-Forest Areas

Aspect	Farmers in Forest Areas	Farmers in Non-forest Areas
Village (Area)	Ciwaluh Village 1. Ciwaluh Hilir 2. Ciwaluh Girang	Ciletuh Village 1. Ciletuh Hilir 2. Ciletuh Girang
Membership Type	Forest Farmers Group (KTH)	Farmer Groups (Poktan)
Number of Initial Cultivators (Pre-Land Grab)	<120 people (before 2008)	< 900 people (or 80% of Ciletuh residents after 1995)
Current Number of Farmers (After Land Dispute)	<62 people in 2021-2025	<32 people in 2021-2025
Number of Groups	2 Forest Farmer Groups 1. Ciwaluh Hilir Forest Farmer Group 2. Ciwaluh Girang Forest Farmer Group	3 Farmer Groups (Poktan)
Farmers Begin Cultivating Cultivation Activities	1960s Active	1960s (On-Off) Passive

In the following table, forest areas have a smaller number of initial cultivators but are more stable after land disputes than non-forest areas, which have experienced a drastic decline. Farmers in non-forest areas have a longer history of agriculture and more groups, but their activities tend to be passive. Factors such as land disputes and socio-economic conditions tend to influence significant differences between the two areas.

History of Land Tenure in Watesjaya Village

The Beginning of Land Tenure: From Colonialism to Nationalisation (1960s to 2000s)

Land tenure in Watesjaya Village began during the colonial era with foreign-owned private plantations managing commercial crops such as rubber and tea under a feudal system. After Indonesia's independence, these lands were nationalised by the government and managed by the State Plantation Company XI (PNP XI) in 1961 (covering rubber and tea plantations). In 1971, PNP XI changed its name to Limited Liability Plantation Company XI or PTP XI.

Around the 1960s, farmers in the forest area began to occupy and cultivate the Ciwaluh region because the farmers in the Ciwaluh area were involved in the DI/TII (Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army) rebellion to establish the Islamic State of Indonesia in the 1960s. Meanwhile, farmers outside the forest area began cultivating the land through gradual land ownership transfers. In the 1960s, the community began cultivating the land illegally. By the 1980s, the community ceased cultivation due to changes in land ownership, and restrictions on the area also influenced the decision to stop cultivating.

On 11 March 1996, PTP XI was merged with PTP XII and PTP XIII, both located in Bandung, under the name PT Perkebunan Nusantara VIII (Persero). Before the merger of PTP XI, XII, and XIII into PTPN VIII, there had already been a transfer of plantation land into HGU (Right to Use) land owned by several national private companies.

PT. Pengembangan Agrowisata Prima (PT. PAP) completely cleared the rubber trees owned by PTP XI as part of the land acquisition process for a 680-hectare area to build an 18-hole golf course (planned to expand to 32 holes) and the Lido Hotel. The collapse of Bank Pacific in 1995 led to the land being abandoned, but in 1999, the community began cultivating the land again by planting vegetables and cash crops. However, PT. PAP imposed a tax/rent on the land cultivators. The tax amounted to Rp. 300 per square metre (Rp. 300,000 per hectare). In reality, however, PT. PAP's security guards collected taxes per planting season, making it difficult for the community to cultivate the land. PT. PAP's strategy to perpetuate the practice of land sales was carried out through another subsidiary named PT. Lido Sarana Prima, which purchased land owned by the community to expand its business operations.

Post-MNC Group Period: The Beginning of MNC Land Development (2000s)

In 2011, farmers in the forest area developed ecotourism organised by the community and involving young people. From this ecotourism development process, the Ciwaluh community, together with RMI, held the first Green Camp as a form of advocacy for sustainable forest management. Efforts to reach an agreement regarding the activities of the Ciwaluh community in the forest area were initiated in 2012 through discussions with the Head of the TNGGP Office, but no consensus was reached. Additionally, in 2012, the Bocimi toll road project was taken over by the MNC Group, along with plans to build a Disneyland-style theme park in the Lido-Cigombong area spanning 2,000 hectares under PT. Lido Nirwana Parahyangan. This marked the beginning of the area's development as a business project, with aggressive negotiations for land purchases with the community. Meanwhile, 2014 became the peak of the resistance movement by non-forest area farmers, marked by various demonstrations and rejections of the development of the area that threatened the farmland of the Ciletuh community.

"On 15 July 2014, I was invited to attend a socialisation meeting on the development, and coincidentally, the invitation letter mentioned a 'bukber' (breaking the fast together) event. Three villages were invited: Benda Village (represented by Mr. Agus), Watesjaya Village (represented by Mr. Budi), and Sorogol Village (represented by Mr. Hendra). Each village was represented by 20 people, totaling 60 people. At that time, there was no documentation. Ten days later, heavy machinery arrived. The community was surprised", said Mr. DM (48 years old), Chairman of RW 06, Ciletuh.

In 2018, farmers in the forest area formed the Ciwaluh Forest Farmers Group (KTH) to support the initiation of legal forest area management in line with the issuance of Perdirjen KLHK No.6 of 2018 concerning Conservation Partnerships. Then, at the end of 2021, after a lengthy process spanning several years, the cooperation agreement document No. PKS/884/BBTNGGP/TU.1/12/2021 on Conservation Partnerships was finalised. This agreement aims to empower communities through access to non-timber forest products and traditional cultivation, marking the formal legalisation of farmers' access to forest area management.

In the same year, the Lido Special Economic Zone (KEK), which will develop world-class tourism and amusement park projects, officially commenced operations with government support through Government Regulation No. 69 of 2021 and offers fiscal and non-fiscal incentives for businesses. The threat of exclusion from farmland and the expansion of the SEZ has triggered tensions with farming communities in non-forest areas due to the privatisation of agricultural land, which has been reinforced by government policies and the lack of community involvement in policy-making, weakening the community's resistance to the company's actions.

Land Acquisition Dynamics in Special Economic Zones (SEZs)

The development of SEZs in the Watesjaya Village area has impacted land use and community access to roads. Although the Gunung Gede Pangrango National Park (TNGPP) dominates approximately 55.95% of the land in Watesjaya Village, the Lido SEZ covers 24.81%. However, SEZ expansion has the potential to threaten the national

park's ecosystem and trigger resistance from local communities and environmental organisations. The conflict is exacerbated by limited housing and agricultural needs, highlighting the need for mediation and inclusive land planning to balance conservation, economic development, and local community interests. As an illustration of the conditions, data on land use in Watesjaya Village is presented in Table 3 as follows.

Table 3. Land Use Area in Watesjaya Village

	Land Use	Land Area (Ha)	Percentage (%)
1.	National Park (TNGPP)	1,057,234	55,95%
2.	KEK Lido (MNC Land)	468,867	24,81%
3.	Plantations	154,22	8,16%
4.	Settlements	84,71	4,48%
5.	National Strategic Project Infrastructure	64,503	3,41%
6.	Agriculture	36,542	1,93%
7.	Green Open Spaces	17,261	0,91%
8.	Public Facilities	5,998	0,31%
	Total	1,889,335	100%

Source: Profile of Watesjaya Village, 2023

Land tenure conflicts in Indonesia, particularly in agrarian countries, are a recurring practice and a major trigger for social movements in various regions, including in Watesjaya Village, Cigombong Subdistrict, Bogor Regency. As stated by Tjondronegoro and Wiradi (2008), land ownership conflicts are often characterised by the oppression of weaker groups by stronger ones, reflecting injustice in the distribution of agrarian resources. Historically, this injustice stems from territorial expansion during the colonial era, which introduced discriminatory legal regulations regarding land control and ownership (Pamungkas, 2021). This phenomenon continues into the modern era, where large-scale land acquisition by corporations, such as in Watesjaya Village, has become a major trigger for agrarian conflicts. In the case of Watesjaya, land acquisition by PT MNC Land, which began with the takeover of assets from the Bakrie Group in 2012, has limited the community's access to the agricultural and plantation land they have been cultivating. This can be seen, for example, in the following statement from a source:

".....well, actually, there have been many concerns since this large project began. A. Our livelihoods have been disrupted because access to agricultural land and plantations has also become increasingly limited. The situation in the area is becoming increasingly concerning, especially regarding land ownership. Some residents here have chosen to move out of the village or even the district and sell their land to the company. Additionally, at the time, residents participated in a site survey, and it was said that PT. MNC Land applied for a concession permit from TNGGP for a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in the biodiversity conservation sector. 'What a dilemma we're facing now...' said Mr. HY (48 years old), Chairman of the Ciwaluh Community Forestry Group.

This sparked resistance, as happened in Kampung Ciletuh Hilir, where the community rejected the eviction of a 1.2-hectare sacred tomb claimed by MNC Land without clear proof of ownership. The plan to demolish the sacred cemetery in Kampung Ciletuh Hilir sparked a strong reaction from the community. The cemetery, which existed before Indonesia's independence, has high cultural and spiritual value for the local community. MNC Land's claim of ownership without valid evidence triggered the consolidation of the local community, including protests and visits to the Bogor Regency DPRD to demand clarity. This is supported by Elsenhans (2012), who states that new social movements tend to focus on cultural issues and everyday identities, which in this context is reflected in the community's resistance to threats against their cultural heritage. This issue is not only related to the loss of land, but also to the violation of the community's cultural identity and history. This resistance shows how communities use

social capital and collective solidarity to oppose land acquisitions that are considered unfair. Furthermore, another problem is the silting up of Lake Lido.

The silting of Lake Lido has become an ecological reason that strengthens the social movement in Watesjaya Village. Based on satellite evaluations by the Ministry of Environment (KLH), the water surface area of Lake Lido has decreased from 24.78 hectares in 2015 to 11.9 hectares in 2024 due to the construction of the Lido Special Economic Zone (KEK). This siltation not only threatens the local ecosystem, but also eliminates a vital source of water for agriculture and the daily lives of the community. Community complaints about this siltation prompted the KLH to seal the project, demonstrating concern for the environmental impact of land acquisition. One informant said:

"... The latest incident was a demonstration against the reclamation of the lake. Originally covering an area of 24 hectares, this lake is not a lido lake, but a ciletuh lake fed by the Ciketuh River. Now it only covers 12 hectares, with the rest having been converted for other uses. It has become roads and buildings that are inaccessible to the public and have been privatised. Even drones are now prohibited from flying over the area." Mr. DM (48 years old), Chairman of RW 06, Ciletuh.

According to Kurniati and Prawira (2022), land acquisition often causes environmental damage that affects the livelihoods of local communities. In the context of Watesjaya, the silting up of Lake Lido has become a symbol of ecological injustice that has prompted the community to form social movements, both through direct protests and through softer approaches. Conditions such as the loss of land access, the demolition of sacred graves, and the silting up of Lake Lido have become the main triggers for the social movement carried out by the local community.

Patterns of Farmer Resistance Movements in Watesjaya Village

Patterns of Social Movements by Farmers in the Ciwaluh Forest Area

The social movement of farmers in forest areas who are members of the Ciwaluh Forest Farmers Group (KTH) has adopted an advocacy and organised approach through the Social Forestry (PS) scheme. This scheme allows them to obtain formal recognition of their access to forest management and also opens up opportunities to develop local-based ecotourism. Their movement focuses on sustainable forest resource management as an alternative to the threat of land acquisition. Within the framework of resource mobilisation analysis, this strategy demonstrates success in identifying and utilising structural opportunities, as well as establishing strategic relationships with the government as the policy maker (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Furthermore, the resources mobilised in this context are not only physical (land and forest products), but also include legal legitimacy, networks, and the ecological knowledge possessed by the local community. Thus, it can be said that this process also demonstrates the ability of forest area farmer groups to take advantage of the political opportunity structure (POS), where political conditions allow the movement to be accepted or even facilitated by the government. The following are the forms of social movements carried out by farmers in forest areas:

Social Forestry-Based Ecotourism Management

KTH Ciwaluh accessed the Social Forestry scheme through a conservation partnership with Gunung Gede Pangrango National Park (TNGGP) to manage ecotourism in the forest area around Watesjaya Village. Through the Social Forestry permit, this group develops ecotourism activities, such as nature tourism and environmental education, to create alternative livelihoods that do not depend on threatened farmland. According to Martinez-Alier (2002), this approach reflects a soft resistance strategy that utilises local knowledge capital to maintain access to natural resources. The management of ecotourism involves support from TNGGP as well as environmental education and advocacy from NGOs, such as the RMI Foundation, to increase the group's capacity in forest management. However, the process of obtaining a PS permit is time-consuming due to strict bureaucracy, including administrative requirements and land

verification. The success of KTH Ciwaluh in managing ecotourism shows how social movements can integrate environmental and economic aspects to sustain livelihoods.

Lobbying and Negotiating with Policy Makers

KTH Ciwaluh lobbied policy makers, such as TNGGP and the local government, to obtain recognition of their forest management rights. In 2021, the group successfully obtained a 50-hectare forest management permit through a conservation partnership scheme, allowing them to legally manage the forest area. The negotiation process involved presenting a sustainable forest management plan and demonstrating the group's commitment to environmental conservation. This approach reflects a more structured and institutionalised strategy compared to the confrontational actions of tenant farmers, as described by Porta and Diani (1999) regarding the role of negotiation in resource-based social movements.

Community Network Development

KTH Ciwaluh is building a community network with other farmer groups in the Bogor area to strengthen their position in the Social Forestry scheme. This network facilitates the exchange of knowledge and experience on forest management and ecotourism, and enhances solidarity across communities. Social capital and local knowledge are key to building this network, which also involves collaboration with external actors such as academics and NGOs to obtain technical support and advocacy.

Patterns of Social Movements among Farmers Outside Forest Areas in Ciletuh

The community of non-forest tenant farmers, especially in Kampung Ciletuh Hilir, faces the immediate threat of eviction from their farmland and sacred burial grounds due to the expansion of the Lido Special Economic Zone. Their social movement tends to be action-oriented, reflecting their response to the direct injustice they experience. Within the framework of social movement theory, these actions are a manifestation of motivational framing, which is the effort to frame injustice as a shared problem that requires “collective action” (Klandermans, 1997). This began when the community realised that the land compensation offered did not match the economic value, history and local wisdom, which sparked anger and frustration among the community and subsequently triggered the formation of moral collective agency. The following are the forms of social movements carried out by tenant farmers based on field findings.

Protests and Demonstrations

Farmers staged protests to oppose land evictions, particularly in relation to PT MNC Land's claim to 1.2 hectares of sacred land in Kampung Ciletuh Hilir. The protests involved dozens of residents who gathered to show solidarity and demand clarity on land ownership status. In 2019, for example, residents staged a demonstration at the KEK Lido project site, which temporarily halted construction activities. The action was supported by local community leaders, such as the head of RT 06, who mobilised residents to resist intimidation from the company. In addition to local protests, tenant farmers also consolidated with the Bogor Regency DPRD to voice their aspirations. In 2020, a delegation of residents visited the DPRD to demand transparency regarding the land acquisition process and compensation promised by PT MNC Land. According to Elsenhans (2012), such actions reflect a new social movement focused on issues of identity and everyday justice, such as the protection of sacred graves that have cultural and spiritual value.

Rejection of Unfair Compensation

The tenant farmers rejected the compensation offer from PT MNC Land, which they considered inadequate. Since the takeover of the land from PT Pengembangan Agrowisata Prima (PT PAP) in 2012, one informant said:

“The farmers used to cultivate the HGU land of PT. PAP, and anyone could cultivate it here. Some information said to just cultivate it first. The company bought private land from the community, which at least had SPPT certificates. The offered price was 2.1 million rupiah per square metre for land with structures and 600,000 rupiah for land alone. Residents did not accept this uniform pricing, as those with certificates or AJB documents would certainly have different prices. Moreover, the materials for each structure vary.”

Mr. DM (48 years old), Chairman of RW 06, Ciletuh.

Residents believe that the compensation is not commensurate with the value of the land as their place of residence, as well as some privately owned agricultural land used for growing vegetables and cash crops. This rejection is a form of passive resistance, where residents collectively refuse to surrender their land without guarantees of fair compensation or alternative livelihoods.

Comparison of Patterns and Forms of Social Movements by Farmer Groups in Watesjaya Village

Social movements by tenant farmers in the forest area of Ciwaluh and non-forest area of Ciletuh show differences in the approaches, strategies, and resources used in responding to the threat of land acquisition by PT MNC Land in Watesjaya Village. Referring to Millward and Takhar (2019), the social movement pattern adopted is collective activism (offline) through direct action. Farmers in forest areas use advocacy as a strategy to influence public opinion and policy by accessing Social Forestry policies through Conservation Partnerships, while farmers in non-forest areas engage in mass demonstrations to voice demands for compensation and address the impacts of development in the area, thereby pressuring authorities. To facilitate understanding of the comparison between the social movements of these two groups, the author attempts to identify them through three aspects: the nature of resistance, power capital, and level of organisation:

Table 4. Patterns of Resistance Movements in Forest and Non-Forest Areas

Aspects	Farmers in Forest Areas (Collective - Advocacy)	Non-forest area farmers (Collective - Action)
Nature of Resistance	Advocacy approach by responding to political changes through policy negotiations (social forestry scheme of the Conservation Partnership). This strategy opens up institutional negotiation space that can maintain access to forest resources.	Taking action (open protests and demonstrations) to directly reject evictions and voice demands for a fair resolution to the issue of land compensation for access to land that has been managed for generations.
Capital Power	Utilising local knowledge capital and institutional capital (Understanding conservation area governance and social forestry scheme policy regulations. Formal legitimisation as an effort to minimise direct conflict shapes power structures due to involvement in government legal mechanisms.	Relying on social capital in the form of community solidarity, kinship networks, and local values regarding sacred land. Lacking access to formal political or economic capital, their room for manoeuvre is limited and they depend on public support through the dissemination of information in the mass media.
Level of Organisation	More formal organisational structures and more planned movements and groups can develop medium and long-term strategic planning, such as community-based	Spontaneous, informal and reactive in nature. They usually form temporary action alliances, without a strong institutional structure. Coordination is horizontal and

ecotourism development and membership highly dependent on the initiative of training. influential local figures.

Actors in the Resistance Movement

Social movements cannot be understood solely as collective actions that are visible on the surface; the larger picture behind them must also be examined in order to understand social reality in its entirety. Behind the dynamics of the social movement in Watesjaya Village, Cigombong Subdistrict, Bogor Regency, there are actors who play key roles by mobilising various resources as the main driving force. In the context of the resistance movement against land acquisition in this village, there are four actors involved: local communities, private entities, the government, and NGOs/CSOs, spread across three environmental conditions: forest areas and non-forest areas as the “arena” of agrarian contestation, and companies as the physical manifestation of an operational office. More specifically, the actors involved in this social movement are illustrated in Table 4 as follows:

Table 5. Actors involved in the Social Movement in Watesjaya Village

Actors	Forest Area	Company	Non-Forest Area
Local Community	Head of the Ciwaluh Forest Farmers Group Head of Pokdarwis Ciwaluh Community Leader (Religious Leader)	Land Acquisition Staff assigned by the Company Company Employees	Head of RW 06 Ciletuh Farmers who are former HGU tenants of PT. PAP
Private sector	-	PT. MNC Land	Mass Media (MNC Media)
Government	National Park (KLHK)	Central Government (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy)	-
NGOs/CSOs	Rimbawan Muda Indonesia (RMI) Foundation	-	Legal Aid Foundation (YLBH) Sembilan Bintang

In the case that occurred in Watesjaya Village, the main actors at the centre of the resistance movement were the farming community, namely tenant farmers in non-forest areas and tenant farmers in forest areas who were members of the Ciwaluh Forest Farmers Group (KTH). These two groups played a central role in responding to the threat of losing access to land due to corporate expansion.

As the main drivers of the resistance movement, the core actors have a strategic role in shaping the direction of the resistance and determining the pattern and character of the movement. The core actors in this study consist of community leaders (farmers' group leaders and community leaders) and supporting organisations such as NGOs and legal aid institutions (Yayasan RMI and YLBH Sembilan Bintang). They are at the centre of all decision-making processes, movement strategies and mass consolidation in the resistance movement.

Movement leaders, both in forest and non-forest areas, have distinctive characteristics that are reflected in different approaches to the movement. In non-forest areas, key opinion leaders (KOLs) such as the head of RW 06 and the head of the Ciletuh farmer group play a strategic role in building group solidarity. One of the most effective approaches is through religion. Mass mobilisation is carried out through regular religious gatherings organised by the local community. During these religious gatherings, KOLs guide discussions on the movement's action plans (demonstrations). This process shows that spiritual values can be mobilised and converted into a confrontational source of resistance. These leaders have also successfully framed the agrarian issue as a moral issue concerning the sustainability of life and social justice, not merely an administrative land dispute. In contrast, the forest area farmer group has more structured leadership through KTH Ciwaluh. The chairperson of KTH Ciwaluh acts as a spokesperson

in establishing formal communication with the government and private sector, such as in formal relations with Gunung Gede Pangrango National Park (TNGGP), which has produced a social forestry scheme through partnership forest management as a form of defence against land eviction. Their power capital includes social capital through community networks and local knowledge about the characteristics of the area, which enables them to manage the forest sustainably (Kurniati & Prawira, 2022). In this case, the resistance carried out by KTH Ciwaluh tends to be adaptive, with a focus on forest resource management to maintain livelihoods.

CONCLUSIONS

The social movement in Watesjaya Village is a response to agrarian injustice resulting from land acquisition by PT MNC Land for the development of the Lido Special Economic Zone (KEK). Farmers in the forest area or Ciwaluh Village have demonstrated a pattern of collective advocacy by adopting an ecotourism management strategy through the Social Forestry scheme and building community networks, despite facing bureaucratic challenges. Meanwhile, tenant farmers in non-forest areas or Kampung Ciletuh have demonstrated a pattern of collective action through protest activities and rejection of compensation, driven by threats to their farmland and sacred graves. Both approaches demonstrate the dynamics of social movements influenced by social capital, local knowledge, and organisational structures. Although tenant farmers have successfully delayed eviction, long-term solutions remain limited, while KTH Ciwaluh offers a more sustainable livelihood alternative but with a small scale of impact.

This study emphasises the importance of community participation and transparency in land management policies to reduce agrarian conflicts. Furthermore, this study recommends strengthening the Social Forestry scheme and recognising customary land rights to support agrarian justice. Further research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of this movement in the long term.

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