

## Spatial Battle: The Dynamics of Fisherman Community Resistance to the Management of the Lagoi International Tourism Area in Bintan Regency

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### Article Info

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**Abstract:** This article aims to discuss the phenomenon behind the management of the Lagoi International Tourism Area, which creates conflicts over the space for residential fishing communities and tourism space for foreign private parties. The presence of foreign private parties as a form of cooperation between the Indonesian government and the Singapore government has created resistance from the people who live as fishermen in struggle for their residential land (fishing ground). In addition, the area manager who came up with Singapore as a role model in managing the tourist area, which of course, there was not compatible with the socio-cultural conditions of the local community, participated in triggering rejection by the community. We uses the theory of resistance by James Scott regarding patterns and strategies of community resistance to fight for their residential land in the management of the Lagoi International tourist area. This research uses a case study research model, using participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation as data collection techniques. The findings are that the fishing community's resistance towards the area manager experienced a shift from the previously closed symbolic pattern to an open-frontal pattern. Community resistance also experienced a weakening caused by external factors and internal factors.

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### INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explain and uncover the phenomenon in the management of tourism resources in the border area between the Bintan Regency government and foreign private parties who seem to exclude the community in its management. The phenomenon in question is in the form of an agreement that causes the dominance of foreign private parties in the management of tourism resources and conflicts over the struggle for residential space for the community and tourism space for foreign private parties in the Tourism Area. The power relations between the government and foreign private parties (the company managing Lagoi International Tourism Area, namely PT. Bintan Resort Cakrawala) which gave rise to community resistance in the struggle for interests in the area became the main focus of this study. Economic interests unite Indonesia and Singapore in an agreement between the Indonesian government and the Singapore government that agreed on an MoU on cooperation in developing tourist areas in the Framework Agreement on Regional Economic Cooperation in 1991. Development of this region began after the MoU was agreed between Indonesia and Singapore, in 2004 and development in this area is still ongoing (History of PT. Bintan Resort Cakrawala (BRC), [www.Bintan-Resort.com](http://www.Bintan-Resort.com)).

The realization of cooperation is based on the views of each complementary country. Singapore, which is seen as a developed country in the Southeast Asia region, has advantages in terms of capital, high technology mastery, managerial capabilities, and infrastructure. However, this progress is not in line with the supply of natural resources and labor. Indonesia in this case the Bintan Regency, Riau Islands has the natural resources and can provide the needed labor.

The phenomena that occur in the management of tourism resources in the Lagoi Tourism Area include the following:

1. There is resistance or resistance from the community which is marked by a small number of people who do not want to give their residential land and choose to remain in the area. One of the causes is the prolonged land conflict due to the absence of a meeting point in the agreement regarding the price of land compensation between the community and the manager, PT. BRC.
2. Conflicts over the settlement space for the community and tourism space for foreign private parties. Conflict over space also occurs with mutual claims of land ownership between the community and the manager of the tourist area. The gap between the residential space and the tourist area is visible where the community settlements that do not have adequate infrastructure. This condition is also clearly visible on the road to non-paved community settlements making this road difficult to pass. Protests and prosecutions for conflict-resolution continue to besent by the community to the government, but they still do not get results. Protests from the community continued to peak in 2013 but until now have not been ignored by the government (Tribun Batam News, Warga Lagoi Tagih Janji Soal Harga Ganti Rugi Tanah, diakses dari [www.tribunbatam.com](http://www.tribunbatam.com)).
3. The management of tourism resources in the Lagoi Tourism Area which is fully held by the foreign private sector (PT. BRC) causes the government to only get rental results on land permits that do not yet have regulations that govern and clarity about profit sharing. This collaboration with the foreign private sector eventually also caused the dependency of the Bintan Regency government because tourism strategies and capabilities were deemed to be still low. On the other hand, tourism assets managed by foreign parties cannot be enjoyed by local tourists (the archipelago), because the rates set by the private sector follow foreign exchange rates.

The cooperative relationship between the Bintan Regency government and foreign parties was strengthened by the birth of implementing regulations namely Government Regulation Number 47 Year 2007 Regarding the Free Trade Zone and the Free Port of Bintan, making the condition of the Lagoi Tourism Area in Bintan Regency to be an FTZ (Free Trade Zone) area or free trade area . Since it was opened until now, the Lagoi Tourist Area has used dollars (Singapore dollars and United States dollars) as a transaction tool. The Lagoi tourism area is very crucial in Bintan Regency, because the Regional Original Revenue Source (PAD) of the Bintan Regency is highly dependent on the tourism sector, especially from the Lagoi Tourism Area.

The cooperative relationship between the Government and Foreign Private Parties not only causes conflicts over the struggle for residential space and tourism space but also in the distribution of profits in this collaboration. The rational actions of the government in determining the direction (strategy) in this cooperative relationship are very calculated especially concerning the terms of profit-sharing agreed by both parties. The government must choose a strategy and determine its attitude to all risks. The government must achieve the interests of fighting for collective interests for the sake of improving the economy, while the achievement that the foreign private parties want to achieve is to get the maximum benefit from this cooperative relationship. But of course, the question will arise again whether this achievement is equal and can be felt by these three parties. Therefore the

rational actions of these actors will be explored so that a means to develop an effective and efficient strategy is obtained (Carporaso, 2008:22)

From a journal entitled "Network, knowledge and relationship impacts on innovations in tourism destinations" written by Florian Zach (2017), explained that the government needs a relationship of cooperation and capital from foreign parties to fulfill public values and management of tourism that continues to innovate which will impact on improvement locally-generated revenue. However, whether the public value is fulfilled if you see the condition of local communities around the area living in an environment that is not conducive and excluded from the rights that they can achieve.

This research uses two main theories looking for dynamic patterns and fisherman services strategies. First, borrow logic from the theory of the stages of the formation of social movements by Farley (1992) which formulates three stages that are carried out in each movement. (1) the organizational stage, during the organizational stage, the emphasis of a social movement is on mobilizing people, recruiting, and seeking mass media attention, and at this stage demonstrations, boycotts and defiance are common, so coalitions with groups are always carried out. others that have similar goals; (2) the institutionalization stage, which is a social movement through the culture of society with the aim that the movement can be widely accepted by the community so that it becomes part of the social structure; (3) the receding stage, ie, each movement will eventually experience a decline due to the loss of movement leadership, internal opposition, a decline in support or also because the movement's goals have been achieved. Furthermore, according to Harton and Hunt (1993) revealed the following stages of social movements. (1) the level of uncertainty due to uncertainty and uncertainty is increasing; (2) the stage of stimulation, namely the feeling of dissatisfaction has been so great and the cause of the movement has been identified; (3) the formalization stage, namely the emergence of movement leaders, preparation of action plans, mobilization of support and tactics have been matured to carry out the action of the movement; (4) the institutionalization stage, namely the strengthened organizational structure, ideology and program plans have been realized; (5) the dissolution stage, i.e. the movement has achieved the desired goal (Tatang, 2018: 81-82).

Movement of the fishing community resistance to fight for residential land and fishing ground areas against companies that manage tourist areas is not a social movement that does not go through the stage of organizing. Therefore an election is needed in tracing the stages of the emergence of the resistance movement, namely:

1. The stage of uncertainty due to uncertainty and uncertainty is increasing;
2. Stimulation stage, namely the feeling of dissatisfaction is already so great and the cause of the movement has been identified;
3. The formalization stage, namely the emergence of movement leaders, preparation of action plans, mobilization of support and tactics have been matured to carry out the movement's actions;
4. The institutionalization stage, namely the organizational structure is strengthened, ideology and program plans have been realized and the movement goes through the culture of the community with the aim that the movement can be widely accepted by the community so that it becomes part of the social structure;
5. The phase of receding, ie every movement will eventually experience a decline due to the loss of movement leadership, internal opposition, the decline in support or also because the movement's goals have been achieved.

The second theory is the theory of community resistance by James C. Scott. James Scott's research (1993) about resistance that occurs in agrarian societies that can also be borrowed to describe resistance in coastal communities, there are at least three patterns and forms of resistance:

1. Symbolic resistance. The patterns of resistance that are often seen in the daily life of people with an unorganized, incidental, and without a clear intention.
2. Compromise resistance. This pattern of resistance is usually carried out with an accommodation strategy and adaptation to the provision of assistance or existing subsidies which are then used instead to strengthen networks with fellow communities or with other communities that are equally marginalized by power.
3. Frontal resistance. The pattern of resistance that arises from the subordinate with the form of resistance that is organized, revolutionary, non-cooperative and directly attacks the dominant.

The daily patterns of resistance from farmers written by Scott are a benchmark to see how the patterns of resistance and actors behind the community that persists in the tourist area managed by PT. BRC. Although the style of the people here is different, the people who survive in the tourist area are fishing communities. Will, they also ally fishermen as is usually made by the alliance of indigenous peoples and peasants and which patterns of resistance are taken by fishing communities here, that is, closed patterns or open patterns. Until now the people who fight for their settlement land have not reached the point of success, all they have done is endure the pressures of the management's actions and their votes are only considered windy by the government.

However, for more details on seeing the dynamics of resistance patterns in a society can be seen from the resistance efforts made by one party to another party can be analyzed from the core components contained in the resistance effort covering two dimensions as explained by Hollander and Einwohner (2004):

1. Action  
Efforts to resist this dimension are still hidden and only show a few concrete actions, verbal, cognitive or physical. Action is marked by an awareness of the conditions that are happening by starting to set a strategy to take collective action and be ready for the challenge of existing power.
2. Opposition  
Resistance efforts at this stage have entered into action directly from resistance motives that have been realized and are contradictory (denial), reject (rejection), and challenge (reprimand). In the opposition, the actors made a statement of negation or rejection of the situation in every demonstration or protest accompanied by violence.

The concept of Hollander and Einwohner will later help the main theory in seeing the chronology of resistance that experiences an increase or decrease in turmoil in the resistance movement. The dynamics of resistance patterns and strategies in the fishing community eventually weakened. Movements with protests or other acts of violence in the concept of social movements expressed by John Lofland relate to changes in all elements in the public arena and are characterized by the quality of "flow" or "waves". This can be seen from the increasing number of members in each wave of resistance that occurred and the increasing number of planned or unplanned acts of violence or protests.

There are two empirical aspects of the wave which is the weakening change in elements in the public arena. First, the flow tends to be short-lived between five to eight years. Movement that has passed through that period will weaken and although it still exists but the movement has undergone a process of "cooled down". Second, there is a shift in the macrostructure (for example, a crisis of capitalism) or a battle that will occur between good and evil or just waiting for a malfunction. Such movements are considered as peripheral movements (wings), initial movements and embryonic movements (Lofland, 2015: 25-26).

## RESEARCH METHOD

To compile this article, important data were collected qualitatively through a case study approach. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with 11 main informants representing three main actors in the study of community resistance in managing Lagoi international tourism area in Bintan, namely: Sebong Lagoi Village Community as the

main participant, starting from the village apparatus, RT/RW, residents residing within the Lagoi Tourism Area and residents who have been relocated, relevant government officials and managers of the Lagoi international tourism area, and the fishing community association that represents the aspirations of the people in the coastal area. Access to all informants was obtained through a purposive sampling technique. To complete the research data so that it is more comprehensive, the researcher makes participant observation, especially in the daily activities of residents who are still in the tourist area, to better understand symbols, phenomena, or special terms that cannot be obtained only through interviews. In addition to primary data, secondary data such as government documents and documents in the mass media can be analyzed for analysis.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### **Fishermen and Resistance Communities: Exclusion as the Root of Resistance to the Monopoly of PT. Bintan Resort Cakrawala (Manager of Lagoi Tourist Area)**

Control and access to natural resources are increasingly becoming significant issues in society's fast-evolving social problems. The problems here are conflicts between fishermen, local communities and mining and oil palm companies, local communities and conservation area management authorities, and so on. In this discussion, the main topic is the conflict between fishing communities and companies managing international-standard tourist areas. They say they are driving them away from residential lands and stalls where they can quickly reap vast expanses of marine products (Kinseng, 2014: 30).

The fishing ground area in Kampung Baru, Sebong Lagoi Village, which has an abundance of fishery resources and a sprawling, beautiful beach, has made some people choose to stay in this area. However, the presence of the government and companies disturbed their existence by asking them to leave their places. Multiply and try their luck to make people respond slowly through various resistances. This can be equated with the concept proposed by Robert Gurr (1968): deprivation or deprivation is the leading cause of resistance. Someone can resist if something already theirs is taken away or the comfort of how they used to live so far is threatened to be changed by new developments.

The local community was disappointed with the government and company's plans to suddenly expel them to be immediately relocated to a place that had been provided. Of course, as people who have lived in an area for a long time and have cared for and cultivated the land from generation to generation, they certainly don't want to let it go. The existence of confusion regarding the price of compensation for this land has also made the atmosphere of the local community's relocation even more complicated. They need to figure out the system the government and companies agreed upon in this land acquisition agenda. Not only that, but the community was also disappointed with their relocation location, which was far from the sea, the land was arid, and the land boundary had been marked out in such a way by the company. The company is managing the Lagoi Tourism Area, namely PT. BRC tends to be monopolistic by limiting the activities of local people who still survive in the location, which they call a dispute with the existence of a portal and a post that marks the area as not being able to be freely entered by outsiders because the road is directly adjacent to two resorts managed by PT. BRC, namely Banyan Tree and Bintan Lagoon Golf. The unpaved road leading to Kampung Baru, which is still inhabited by 40 households, is still surrounded by wilderness without any lighting to pass through this road at night, this is of course, in contrast to the company road, which is directly adjacent to the dirt road, filled with lights along brightly lit paths illuminate every corner of the magnificent resort and hotel buildings.

Following are the problems that became the starting point for community resistance in Kampung Baru, Sebong Lagoi Village against the government and the company managing PT. BRC (Interview results of Mr. Jasmine and Mr. Lalu Sabri):

1. The price of cheap land compensation, one of which is marked by the leveling of prices on the type of land and land management. Determination of the price of compensation

- is determined and assessed by the land acquisition committee (Public Works Agency), namely: Land that has been managed/cultivated and shrubs valued at Rp. 100 - Rp. 125, - per meter; land for generations Rp. 150, and contiguous land Rp. 200 per meter.
2. The land acquisition team from the government and company are in a hurry to promise that they can live in houses and other facilities for those who are willing to be relocated so that the community does not have a building at the relocation site even though their residential land has been compensated.
  3. The land acquisition agenda carried out by the government and the company shows the impression of collusion and non-transparency in determining the price of compensation that can be seen when there are differences in the amount of compensation payments for a group of people.
  4. The location of their relocation far from the beach takes a long time if you want to go to sea, some even change their livelihood by gardening because the location is very far from the beach, however, the arid soil conditions make it difficult to grow crops.
  5. The exclusion of local people from their residential land raises anxiety and dissatisfaction with the price of compensation. During the period of development and development of the Lagoi Tourism Area, the local community was not more prosperous by this foreign cooperation but the community became increasingly excluded.
  6. For people who are not willing to be relocated and stay in the area, it is difficult to get adequate infrastructure, such as unpaved roads, lack of electricity from PLN because of the disputed land status and access to and from the area which is severely restricted by the company as manager region.

Table.1 The Dynamics of Fishermen Community Resistance to Management of the Lagoi International Tourism Area

No.	Year	Chronology of events
1.	1991-1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The planning and signing of the MoU carried out by the governments of Indonesia and Singapore as a sign of the establishment of bilateral relations between the two countries in the development of the Lagoi International Tourism Area.</li> </ul>
2.	1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implementation of land acquisition which was originally a local community settlement by the committee and the manager of the area.</li> </ul>
3.	1995-1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community began to act against and get around the form of resistance that was conveyed through the "coffee shop" forum after the sea (action).</li> </ul>
4.	1998-2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community began to position themselves and carry out resistance movements with protests and violence (opposition).</li> </ul>
5.	2011-2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The protest returned but was only followed by a handful of people who were still demanding the price of land</li> </ul>

		compensation. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of HNSI (Association of Indonesian Fishermen).</li> </ul>
6.	2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has again taken part in protesting and prosecuting conflict resolution that has been sent by the community to the government, but it still does not get results.</li> </ul>
7.	2014-2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The absence of further protests from the community that marked the process of weakening the resistance movement (back to the dimension of action).</li> </ul>
8.	2018-Present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The tension in the struggle space between the community and PT. BRC has ended, but dependence on economic needs cannot be avoided as a dependency effort by PT. BRC.</li> </ul>

*Source: Author's processed data from observations and interviews of village officials and residents of Sebong Lagoi Village.*

An explanation of Hollander and Einwohner's concept of two dimensions in the efforts of community resistance was illustrated in 1994-1997 where people began to realize to take action that intends to change the conditions that are happening, although still in verbal form (action). In 1998-2000 the new community truly entered into the dimension of opposition which was marked by protests and acts of violence carried out by the community on the opposing party.

In 1998 the euphoria in the reform era was exploited by people who were displaced from their settlement lands and dissatisfaction with the issue of endless compensation prices caused people to show open resistance actions that revealed what they had been complaining about and demanded what should be their right to the government and the manager namely PT. BRC. The local people certainly feel jealous with only a handful of people who can enjoy the impact of the development of the Lagoi Tourism Area, namely entrepreneurs who participated in the project, those who received high compensation prices by manipulating land.

The local people's resistance began with demonstrations centered in the Lagoi Tourism Area, which took place periodically since early 1998 and reached a peak in 2000 and has not been completed to this day. Chronology of the demonstration as an open act of resistance:

1. Period 1998-1999

The demonstration was followed by visitors who felt around 50-500 demonstrators. Demonstrations have been felt anarchist because the people who marched blocked the flow of land transportation that brought a group of tourists from the ferry terminal to the resorts by occupying the road and displaying a variety of sharp weapons intentionally, burning guard posts at the entrance of the area (Amalia, 2004).

2. 2000 period

The demonstration continued with physical and psychological threats to the company, employees working in the area, isolating the main entrance to the area which seriously disturbed the activities of the workers who lived in the area.

### 3. 2011-2013 period

Protests and prosecutions for conflict-resolution continue to be sent by the community to the government, but they still do not get results. Protests from the community continued to peak in 2013 but until now have not been ignored by the government. This action was held in front of the Bintan Regency DPRD building (Tribun Batam News, Warga Lagoi Tagih Janji Soal Harga Ganti Rugi Tanah, [www.tribunbatam.com](http://www.tribunbatam.com)).

The resistance of the local community with a frontal pattern was seen in the reform era while in the early 1994 period where the ongoing land acquisition agenda the community was unable to do much. Resistance in the 1998-2000 period was more directed and focused on the company that managed the Lagoi Tourism Area, PT. The BRC, then ten years later, in the 2011-2013 resistance period this action was aimed specifically at the government, which was expected to be a neutral party in the mediation effort.

The fishing community's resistance movement to fight for its residential land and fishing ground area against the company managing the tourist area experiences a shift in patterns and strategies in each of its momentum, to explain this it requires the stages of the movement that had been raised by Farley, Harton and Hunt as a framework for analysis. Starting from:

1. brundle stage (1994), the stage of unrest due to uncertainty and uncertainty is increasing. During the land acquisition, the community was forced to immediately leave the residential land and get out of the comfort zone where they used to capture sea products to meet their daily needs.
2. the stage of the brundle-hidden transcript (1994-1997), the stage of stimulation, that is, feelings of dissatisfaction have been so great and the cause of the movement has been identified. Fishermen who let go of fatigue and gather at the "coffee shop" forum and spill their guts started to initiate small-scale resistance in their daily lives. At this stage, they have begun to show somewhat their rejection of companies and the government symbolically with little resistance.
3. hidden transcript stage – public transcript (1998-2000), formalization stage, namely the emergence of movement leaders, preparation of action plans, mobilization of support and tactics have been matured to carry out movement actions. At this stage the fishermen who have been successfully relocated as well as the fishermen who still survive in their residential land begin to plan action against the government and PT. Bintan Resort Cakrawala as an open manager with a frontal pattern of resistance.
4. public transcript stage (2010-2013), institutionalization stage, program plans have been realized as well as movements through the culture of the community with the aim that the movement can be widely accepted by the community so that it becomes part of the social structure. Large-scale protests that were conducted openly in 1998-2000 caused several losses to the area manager that made them immediately take precautionary measures so that there was no wave of resistance aftershocks, and sure enough within ten years the people no longer carried out the resistance movement with massive protest action because the program plan has been realized.
5. the cooled downstage (2014-2018), the preceding stage, where each movement will eventually experience a slump caused by the loss of movement leadership, internal opposition, declining support or also because the movement's goals have been achieved. The receding phase marks an internal conflict between the people who are members of the resistance movement and frustration, exhaustion or boredom due to the government and the company managing the tourist area do not provide a satisfactory response to the agenda of the people's demands and The tension in the struggle space between the community and PT. BRC has ended, but dependence on economic needs cannot be avoided as a dependency effort by PT. BRC (2018-Present).

### **Weakening Community Resistance Movement: Entering the "Cooled Down" Period**

The decline of community resistance is marked by the weakening of community resistance caused by external and internal factors that influence the resistance movement.

1. Internal factors such as the process of cooled down (related to the age of the movement), the shifting commitment of movers as leaders who influence the initial objectives of the resistance movement, the failure of the resistance movement in managing resources (members and funding)
2. External factors such as repressive actions from the opposing side involving the security forces, dependency actions from the opposing side that create economic dependence, the impact of natural disasters that affect the internal structure of the resistance movement.

The process of weakening community resistance has now shifted into community dependence on assistance from companies. The efforts made by the company are trying to go through welfare schemes, especially in the social and economic fields.

1. Assistance from the management specifically for the people of Kampung Baru in the form of operational funds for fuel for power generators (gensets) which only operate from 18.00-23.00 WIB.
2. Assistance from the management provided to fishermen in Sebong Lagoi Village in the form of speed boats, various types of fishing equipment and fuel, in addition to subsidies from the government through fishermen groups.
3. Assistance from the management is given to people who work in the company in the form of educational scholarships abroad and within the country.
4. Assistance from the management was given to the Kampung Baru turtle conservation group in the form of maintenance and operational funds.
5. Opening of employment opportunities with special quotas for local people. This is of course a promising job opportunity for native sons of the region.

### **CONCLUSION**

Fishing community resistance against PT. Bintan Resort Cakrawala (BRC) in reclaiming its residential space and the prosecution of conflict resolution land compensation prices has shifted from what was originally symbolic to a frontal pattern. Based on the resistance patterns and strategies put forward by James Scott, in the early 1994 period, the symbolic pattern of resistance was still closed, at which time the ongoing agenda of land acquisition by the government together with the area manager (PT. BRC). The fishing community at that time was unable to do much and was still holding back because it was in the new order.

This frontal patterned local community resistance was seen in the reform era in 1998-2000 which was open which was directly aimed at and focused on the company managing the Lagoi Tourism Area, PT. The BRC, then ten years later, in the 2011-2013 resistance period this action was aimed specifically at the government, which was expected to be a neutral party in the mediation effort.

Cultural factors or lazy and individualistic fishing habits are also one of the supporters of the successful management of the area management company dependencies. The habit of fishermen directly harvesting fish because it is available and just catching it in the ocean without having to spread the seeds (without having to wait a long time) is very

different from farmers who have to be diligent in sowing the seeds, caring for and waiting for the harvest time which takes a long time. This difference affects the individualistic nature of fishermen and is more difficult to organize compared to farmers who have a sense of ownership of land (held by one landlord) if the land is to be seized they will be united and more easily organized.

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