

CONFLICT, DEVELOPMENT AND LIVELIHOOD TRANSITION
A Case Study of the International Airport Development
in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat Indonesia



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Z a e n u d i n

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Abstract

This thesis explains a study on conflict, development and livelihoods in transition; a case study of the international airport development in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat Indonesia. A five-month fieldwork was carried out in the village of Penujak Central Lombok. The objective of this study is to contribute to gaining knowledge about the changes of livelihoods in a situation of conflict during the international airport development. This research is descriptive and qualitative. Data was collected through interview, focus group discussion, survey, observation and document analysis. The results of the study show that the development of the international airport induces social conflicts involving various actors, interests and positions. The conflict is caused by several factors including bad government practices during the process of airport development. In the situation of conflict, those dispossessed and resettled households challenge social and political structure in order to gain access to resources. The process of confronting the structure is strengthened through consolidating power relation, local institution and network. Moreover, the development of the international airport transforms the way people making a living. In the pre-airport construction the livelihoods of interviewed respondents mainly hinge on farming activities. In the post-airport development, however, livelihoods are more diverse. The limited access and control to farming land forced people to look at other options and opportunities to sustain their livelihoods, such as commerce, migration and paid employment.

Keywords: *conflict, development, livelihoods, access, institution, Lombok, Indonesia.*

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AD/ART	: Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga (Basic Principles)
BAPPEDA	: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Development Planning Board)
BIL	: Bandara International Lombok (Lombok International Airport)
BPS	: Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistic Agency)
BTI	: Barisan Tani Indonesia (the Indonesian Peasant Front)
FSPI	: Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant Association)
FORMASI	: Forum Masyarakat Lingkar Bandara (Community Forum in the Airport Area)
FGD	: Focus Group Discussion
GERWANI	: Gerakan Wanita Tani Indonesia (the Indonesian Women Peasant Movement)
GAPOKTAN	: Gabungan Kelompok Tani (Peasant Group Association)
GORA	: Gogo Rancah (Dry Planting System)
GOLKAR	: Golongan Karya (Golongan Karya Party)
IPM	: Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (Human Development Index)
KUHP	: Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Criminal Code)
KUD	: Koperasi Unit Desa (Village Unit Cooperative)
KOPILOS	: Kelompok Pengamanan Lombok Selatan (South Lombok Security Group)
KOMNAS HAM	: Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia (National Commission for Human Rights)
LTDC	: Lombok Tourism Development Corporation
LSBH	: Lembaga Studi Bantuan Hukum (Law Service Institution)
NTB	: Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara)
NGOs	: Non-Government Organizations
NJOP	: Nilai Jual Objek Pajak (Tax Object Selling Value)
OTL	: Organisasi Tani Lokal (Local Peasant Organization)
PPPA	: Perkumpulan Petani Pemakai Air (Water User Association)
PAMSWAKARSA	: Pasukan Pengamanan Swakarsa (Civil Security Forces)
SPI	: Serikat Petani Indonesia (Indonesian Peasant Association)
UUD	: Undang-Undang Dasar (Basic Law of Indonesia)

1. Introduction

This chapter explains the context of the development of an international airport in Lombok Indonesia including its consequences to the peasant households living in the area. It also elaborates on some points, respectively the objective and research question, the organization of the thesis, the significance of this research, and the constraints and obstacles the researcher dealt with. Finally, it also deals with the ethical considerations met during this research at the end of this chapter.

1.1. Background and problem

In 1995, the central government of Indonesia issued a development policy to construct an international airport in the Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) province of Indonesia, namely BIL (Bandara International Lombok or Lombok International Airport). A number of social and political processes accompanied the policy for the international airport development project until the start of its construction in 2007 and its opening in 2011. Looking at the time frame, the airport development policy has gone through two different social and political contexts, namely centralization, known as new order era (1968-1998), and decentralization, known as the reformation period (1999-present).

The idea for this international airport development emerged when the new order regime of Soeharto ruled Indonesia (1996-1998). During the new order regime, the concept of development was translated into several construction projects, such as buildings, bridges, roads, and transport infrastructure (Hadiz & Robison, 2005; Heryanto & Lutz, 1998). At the time, the Indonesian term for development (*pembangunan*) was a keyword used by the regime to authorize and legitimize the course of development policies (Dove & Kammen, 2001; Heryanto & Lutz, 1998). To aid this national development, the regime also oppressed those people who were recognized as anti-development or who resisted the development agenda. They were called “*antek-antek komunis*” (communist agents). The term “communist” has historical roots in a political movement, the communist party that emerged in Indonesia in the 1950s. The party was a close ally of peasant organizations, such as BTI (*Barisan Tani Indonesia* or the Indonesian Peasant Front), and Gerwani (*Gerakan Wanita Tani Indonesia* or the Indonesian Women Peasant Movement). The communist party, together with these peasant organizations, mobilized the people living in rural areas to occupy large lands of private owners and they became the most active opponents of the state’s land reform programme (Peluso, Afiff, & Noer, 2008). When the military regime of Soeharto came to power, he banned left-wing organizations, including the peasant organizations, which he considered to be followers of the communist party (Peluso et al., 2008). Furthermore, it is not surprising that during the military regime of Soeharto, peasant movements and individuals resisting government policy were accused of being communist followers.

After the regime of Soeharto took power, land resources have been mobilized as a part of market-driven economic development (Bachriadi & Wiradi, 2011). The commoditization of land tempted private sectors to invest in rural areas by purchasing land resources. In the name of development, legal institutions legitimized the process of land acquisition although it took place under pressure. For instance, Presidential Decree No.55/1993 permits acquisition of land by government agencies to develop public infrastructure without considering the people’s rights to their own land resources. As a result, vertical conflicts over land resources became one of the most striking features of the development process in Indonesia. Data shows that from 1970 to 2001, as many as 1,753 land conflicts occurred in Indonesia. The conflicts took place in 10 sectors, of which 19.6% in plantations, 13.9% in urban infrastructure development, 13.2% in forestry, 6.6% in industrial area development,

4.4% in dam and irrigational infrastructures, 4.2% in hotel and tourism, 3.4% in mining, 2.7% in military facilities development and 2.5% in conservation projects (Bachriadi & Wiradi, 2011).

The regime of Soeharto stepped down in May 1998 following the severe economic crisis that hit Indonesia in 1997. In the aftermath of the regime, there were significant changes to political power relations between the central government and the local government. The implementation of decentralization law No.22/1999, which was later replaced by law No.32/2004, had an effect on the reconfiguration of political-legal institutions at a local level (McCarthy, 2004). It also changed the way national agencies governed the state, because their power decreased as some activities and responsibilities were transferred to the local government (Hadiz, 2004). The aim of decentralization was to promote democracy and good governance and to increase the efficiency of delivery services in development. In turn, this contributed to create transparency, accountability and participatory processes for creating development policies (Hadiz, 2004). The consequence of the shifting of power relations was that the local government not only managed the administrative process, but also gained authority on regulating and budgeting on a local level.

The politics surrounding the decentralization ensured that the patterns of governance inherited from the past remained in place and still affected the development planning process (McCarthy, 2004). In addition, there was still an overlap in the activities of the organization and the responsibilities of government agencies. For instance, natural resource management had been decentralized to the district authority, but some parts, such as natural resource management policies were still decided and controlled by the national government (Marifa, 2005). Moreover, because of the decentralization policy, the budget from the central government to support development agendas at the regional level decreased. As a consequence, the regional authorities had to find other sources to realize development projects instead of being fully dependent on central financial support. The decentralization also created new types of power relations at the local level. The term “regional sons” (*putra daerah*) was used to allow only those from the region the right to power (Klinken, 2007). Furthermore, instead of improving democracy, good governance and participation in development projects, the decentralization process cultivated corruption and conflict at regional level (Schulte Nordholt & Klinken, 2007).

Social conflicts became more vehement in the era of decentralization. According to Avonius (2004), after the new order regime, a democratization of violence took place. Protests and demonstrations were organized on a large scale, both on a national and local level. During the new order regime, the state monopolized the violence, but after 1998 it became weak, and many agencies formerly affiliated with the regime started to function independently by making claims over territories using violence (Avonius, 2004). Moreover, vigilante groups were often employed by the local apparatus to support their development policy and they often aggravated the conflict at the community level (Tyson, 2013). For instance, during the process of the international airport development, local government employed several vigilante groups to eradicate peasant households who opposed the airport project. The conflicts may have occurred because policy makers did not consider the developing dispute concerning resolution mechanisms that had an effect on the emerging conflict at the local level (Barron, Diprose, & Woolcock, 2007).

The development of the international airport was especially aimed at supporting tourism development and encouraging local economic growth (Setneg, 2011). These objectives were based on the fact that central Lombok is one of the areas with offers much potential for tourism development in Indonesia. According to Fallon (2010), during the new regime of Soeharto hold the power, the fast track of tourism development was formulated in regional and local development planning. Nowadays, Lombok island is one of the main tourist destinations after Bali, also called the “Bali plus” destination. However, although there were massive land investments in coastal areas in Lombok, it was not followed by the development of a tourism infrastructure and the area became

more popular with land speculators. The speculators purchased land in the area for Rp. 300.000 (\$30) per acre in 1980s and were offered to Rp. 12 to 16 million (\$1,200-1,600) per acre in 2001 (Fallon, 2001). In the central Lombok regency, particularly in the south coastal areas, such as Kuta and Tanjung A'an beach, at least 6,000 hectares of coastal areas was acquired by PT.LTDC¹ (Lombok Tourism Development Corporation) and 22 other national companies (Suara-NTB, 2010).

Moreover, from a social-economic perspective, the central Lombok regency is still struggling and is one of the poorest areas in NTB province. The Human Development Index (HDI)² shows that since 1996 the central Lombok regency has had one of the lowest HDI ratings of the province (BPS, 2011). According to Hadar, et al., (2008) the poor living conditions of peasant households in Lombok are caused by several factors, such as: (a) the level of land ownership is low with an average of 0.5 hectare per household; (b) local institutions in the agricultural sector, such as sharecropping systems, provide more benefit to the land owner; (c) the quality of human resources is relatively low; (d) rural households do not have productive assets; (e) alternative jobs in rural areas are limited; and (f) the infrastructure in rural areas are still limited (Hadar, Zaini, Afifi, Sayuti, & Wahyulina, 2008). Zaini (2004 in Taqiuddin, 2010) argues that the existence of social capital is important to eradicate poverty in rural areas. For instance, the involvement of peasant households in local organizations and institutions would provide more opportunities to access resources, which in turn significantly contributes to the increase of household incomes (Taqiudin, 2010).

The area of the international airport was previously used as productive-farming lands on which thousands of rural households depended for their livelihoods. Furthermore, it could be assumed that the airport project has generated some considerable impacts.

Firstly, land dispossession. The emergence of the project eradicated thousands of peasant families' rights to their lands. They were denied access to the land they inherited and from which they had made a living for generations. Moreover, land acquisition in order to build an airport may have negative effects, including a limited income for smallholdings and the loss of local farming practices and institutions (Beth Robertson & Pinstup-Andersen, 2010). A study conducted by PT.Angkasa Pura³ in 2007 found that 81% of peasant households in the villages affected by the airport project depended on the agricultural sector for their livelihoods (PT.AngkasaPura, 2009).

Secondly, displacement and resettlement. In the case of the international airport development project, displacement did not only concern moving to a new place, but more than that; the displaced families would be cut off from their histories, traditions and social practices which they had established in their daily life. The shifting function from farming lands to a building site for the airport had a significant effect on available sources of income.

Thirdly, social conflict. In the case of the international airport development, conflict might occur because the airport project has diminished the most essential asset (farming land) for making a living. As discussed earlier, the peasant households living in the area derive their livelihood from the agricultural sector and they are small holders and subsistent farming households. Therefore, the airport project would threaten their livelihoods.

¹ PT.LTDC is a joint venture between a private company (PT.Rajawali), which holds 65% and regional government of NTB, which holds 35%. The main shareholders of PT.Rajawali were the eldest daughter and the son of Soeharto.

² The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has developed the Human Development Index (HDI). This measure encompasses three dimensions of development in relation to human well-being, such as a long and healthy life, education and knowledge, and a decent standard of living (Willis, 2011)

³ PT.Angkasa Pura is a state company, which is responsible for managing the international airport in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat province.

1.2. Objective and Research Question

The main objective of this study is to contribute to gaining knowledge about the changes in livelihoods in a situation of conflict during the international airport development in Lombok, Indonesia. Therefore, the general research question is:

“How have livelihoods of the dispossessed and resettled households in the village of Penujak Lombok transformed due to the conflicts during the international airport development project?”

In order to answer the general research question above, specific research questions were formulated:

1. What was the livelihood situation of the dispossessed and resettled households prior to the development of the international airport?
2. Why did conflicts emerge during the development of the international airport?
3. What are current livelihood activities of the dispossessed and resettled households after the development of the airport?

1.3. The Organization of this Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 consists of six sections. The first section describes the background and problem of this research including the conflicts surrounding the airport development projects in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat. The research objective and questions, which I have used as a guideline during the fieldwork, are also discussed in this chapter. This is followed by a description of the significance of this research. Subsequently, the constraints and obstacles the researcher has had to deal with are highlighted. In the last section, I explain my ethical considerations during this research project.

Chapter 2 comprises of two main sections. The first is the conceptual framework that I have applied throughout this study, such as livelihoods, access and property, institutions and power relations included in the operational framework. Section two is methodology. In this section I explain the research area, followed by a discussion of the design of the research and the sources of data and information. Finally, I describe the data collection techniques I applied in this study, such as interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document analyses.

In chapter 3, I analyze the livelihoods prior to the international airport construction. This chapter pays attention to two main issues. The first section investigates the livelihoods activities including the vulnerable contexts that the respondents have to deal with. Then, the following section examines the institutions and their role in having access to resources. Finally, a conclusion is presented at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 4 focuses on presenting the dynamics of the conflicts during the airport project. It consists of four sections. The first section describes the process of land acquisition for the international airport. It is followed by section two, which presents the causes of conflict during the airport project. In section three, the patterns of conflict during the airport project are analyzed. With this information, I discuss the strategy of reducing conflicts during the airport project. The final section presents the conclusion.

Chapter 5 looks at how the dispossessed and resettled families re-adjusted their livelihoods after the airport development project. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section investigates the way in which those families gained access to new settlements. Then, it is followed by section two, which presents the current livelihood activities performed by the dispossessed and resettled households to sustain their livelihoods. In the third section, institutions and their role in having access to resources are presented. This chapter ends with a conclusion. Finally, the overall conclusion of this thesis is presented in chapter 6.

1.4. Significance of this Research Project

This study is significant in various ways. The first is to challenge the main development assumption that development interventions pave the way for the eradication of poverty in rural areas. It is widely said by policy makers that development projects, such as this international airport, provide change and opportunity for the local people. It would allow them to have better jobs and more income, which in turn improve their quality of life. Then, the critical question is how the promises of these development projects turn out. Development projects may to some extent only benefit some people and disadvantage many others. The second is to understand the point of view of the peasant families who have been dispossessed and displaced from their inherited lands which were the basis for their livelihoods for generations. To do so, the life histories of the subjects in this study are used to research those people's experiences and histories in terms of the impact the construction of the international airport had on their life. This is also a good way to understand what happened in the past and what is going on right now. The third significant element is to provide basic information related to the social, cultural and economic changes which have taken place due to the development project and the experiences of the families who transformed their livelihoods in a transitional period.

1.5. Limitations and Constraints

There are some factors that influence the results of this research. First, this relates to external validity. The number of respondents engaged in this study is limited, which means that they did not represent the views of the whole population affected by the airport construction. Data analyses of this study are based on data and information collected from those respondents. Thus, any changes in terms of livelihood situations and the living conditions of other families in the research area are not represented in this report. Secondly, the study was conducted in the dry season, when people leave their home to work outside the village or in the field. Though I talked to them in a field setting, they had a limited amount of time and this made it impossible to share information as much as in in-depth interviews. Visiting them at night was also quite difficult during the field work considering that villagers spend that time to rest after working all day. Thirdly, the issue of land conflicts was still a sensitive topic in the study area. Some people that I met during my fieldwork were not really interested in talking about bad experiences from the past, particularly those families who were forced by the state to leave their own lands, so they didn't want to be interviewed. Even when I met them, they were very careful with giving information about this issue. This situation may also have influenced the content of the information provided by the respondents.

1.6. Ethical Considerations

I took some ethical considerations into account when making observations and conducting interviews and focus group discussions. The first is the principle of informed consent. Individuals who participate in any research project should not be coerced, persuaded, or induced into the project against their will, but their involvement should be based on voluntarism, and the implication of their participation should be fully understood (Green & Thorogood, 2009). Apart from the principle of informed consent, I always introduced myself as a Lomboknese and a Master student at Wageningen University in the Netherlands, who conducted research about the changes to livelihoods in the village. I also explained the reason why I chose the village as the location of my research. This is essential, as the topic of my study was quite sensitive for a number of reasons, one of which is that it could recall bad experiences, when rural households in the village were involved in a conflict with the government.

The next consideration is confidentiality. Before conducting an interview, I explained to respondents that the information collected and their identity would be protected and I ensured them anonymity. I found this was very important in the context of my study, since some respondents were still afraid of giving information about my research topic. They were considered provocateurs in the past by the government, because they had resisted the international development policy. As an example, one respondent did not want to talk about the conflict at his home and he brought me to talk about it in the field where nobody could see us. Another practical consideration was asking permission to gatekeepers, such as village leaders, when entering the research site. It is very common in Lombok that a newcomer coming into a village needs the permission of the village leader to enter in order to avoid any misunderstanding about the purposes of conducting a study in the village.

Further ethical considerations concerned making appointments with the people that I wanted to interview. Though this is not a common thing in the village, this is the best way to show respect. Their availability for an interview had to be taken into consideration, for instance. In addition, the interviews were conducted with respect for the local values, traditions and cultures. For example, I avoided meeting respondents when they were organizing social and religious ceremonies in the village. I also did not meet a female interviewee when the head of family wasn't at home. Before starting the interview I clarified some points: (1) respondents were not obliged to answer research questions; (2) if they did not mind I would take photographs; (3) their answers were noted and recorded; and (3) at the end of interview, I gave my personal contact details (phone number) to the interviewees in case they wanted to clarify or withdraw any data or information given to the researcher.

2. Theory and Methodology

This chapter mainly focuses on presenting conceptual framework and methodology of this study. The livelihood approach was applied to guide this study. It was also used to understand how the dispossessed and displaced households struggling for making a living before and after the international airport development. In analyzing livelihoods, we employ several concepts, namely access and property, institution and power. In section methodology, several elements are explained, such as research design and study area, the source of information and informants. Then, in the last sub section, data collection techniques are presented.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.1. Livelihoods

A number of theoretical definitions about livelihoods are proposed by various scholars. For instance, Chambers and Conway (1992) conceptualize livelihoods, as follows:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term”
(Chambers & Conway, 1992)

This definition implies that livelihood is the way to make a living more sustainable and to improve well-being. Then, in order to make living more sustainable, the livelihoods have to deal with and recover from stress and shocks through maintaining or enhancing their capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney, 1998). Another scholar perceives livelihood as a collective action. Painter (1996 in Tsikata, 2006), for instance, argues that livelihood as a collective action refers to the ability of individuals, households, or corporate groups to access, use and control over resources that are important for their livelihoods. In this line, livelihoods are not only activities to gain income, but also involve a wider range of activities, such as access to resources and opportunities, dealing with risks, negotiating social relations and managing social networks and institutions within households, communities and localities (Scoones, 1998; Tsikata, 2006). Furthermore, sustainable livelihood is based on actors' capacity and capability to deal with various vulnerable contexts, such as shocks and stresses because of internal and external factors. Meanwhile, Long (1997 in de Haan & Zoomers, 2005) points out that livelihoods constitute the idea of individuals or households to make a living, to struggle to meet their basic needs, to cope with uncertainties, to respond to new opportunities and to choose different value positions (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

Moreover, de Haan & Zoomers (2005) differentiate four categories of livelihood strategies, which are: (1) accumulation to establish a minimum resource base and to prepare asset accumulation for the future; (2) consolidation involving investment to stabilize the household's well-being and to improve quality in short term; (3) compensatory referring to capability of households to deal with a sudden shock, such as crop failure by selling asset or relying on family social security; (4) security strategy focusing on diversification by multi-cropping and multitasking, exploring off farm activities, etc. However, the author warns that these livelihoods strategies should not be taken for granted as they are not fixed, but flexible. It means that one can make other forms of livelihood strategies

based on the contexts and resources available. In addition, analyzing livelihood strategies focuses on micro level (individuals or households) to know how households under study adjust their life after airport development intervention and what they do to make a living. It is also operates at macro level to examine how the airport development policy has an effect on peasant livelihoods. Therefore, livelihood is not merely the things that people have, but the most important point is how people create access and control to those things.

In more critical position, Scoones (2009) proposes to apply livelihood perspectives in more macro and global contexts. He argues that livelihood is an analytical tool, which is not only focused on analyzing coping strategy and adaptation under economic shocks and stress, but should also incorporate the issue of power relation, global-political economics and agrarian changes influencing rural peasant livelihoods (Scoones, 2009). Furthermore, livelihoods framework is an integrated means of analyzing rural dynamics, contexts and changes caused by external and internal factors and it offers one way of thinking about rural changes in long-term. Therefore livelihood framework is not only about how people fulfill their needs under difficult circumstances, but more than that what capacity and capability is needed to deal with those conditions.

In this research, we interrogate the case of the international airport development project in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat province and assume that the project has an effect on changing livelihoods of peasant households living in the airport era. Thus, livelihood framework is relevant to be applied to understand how the dispossessed and displaced rural households affected by the airport project struggle for overcoming shocks and stresses and how they reconstruct a new living under difficult social and economic conditions. In this context, social and economic condition refers to the situation when the airport project cuts off access of those families to their land and at the same time they have to struggle to find new places to stay and to make a living. The point here is to analyze livelihood strategies developed by those households influenced by the airport project. Livelihood strategy analysis portrays the different activities and interactions which are emphasized by the diversity of ways that individuals or households perform to make a living and to improve well-being. In the livelihood framework guideline of DFID, livelihood strategy is defined as “a dynamic process in which individuals or households combine activities to meet their various needs in different times and places either seasonally or permanently” (Carney, 1998)

Therefore, livelihood framework is applied as the main concept of knowing upon what kind of resources (material and non-material things) that the households being studied use to make a living and how they struggle to materialize those kinds of things for their livelihoods (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). The things here are not only a matter of physical things, such as land resources, but also non-physical things, such as local institutions, norms and values that regulate access and control to resources (Ribot, 1998; Ribot & Peluso, 2003). Another important reason to apply a livelihood framework is its capability of dismantling structural constraints in development (Kaag, 2004).

2.1.2. Access and Property

Ribot and Peluso (2003) conceptualize access as a bundle of power to derive benefit from things and property as a bundle of rights to benefit from things. In this definition, the things are not merely material valuable objects, but include social and political institutions, symbols, persons and cultures which could be mobilized to generate benefit from resources. Access to things involves a wide range of social-political relationships that enable or constrain people to obtain benefit from them, while property is a relation between people about things, which is mediated by social and political legal institutions (Benda-Beckmann, Benda-Beckmann, & Wiber, 2006). Discussing property is often related to talking about rights and legal access to resources. In its definition, access is related to ability to have benefits from things. People might have no legal rights to a resource, but they might

have enough power to access the resource. Both concepts also have different focal points. Property is focused on having or missing rights, while access analysis pays attention to why people benefit and/or have access to certain resources, with and without rights (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

Analyzing property relations and access to resources is also questioning about power and authority (Sikor & Lund, 2009). Some people or institutions might have power to control access to resources while others have to maintain access by creating personal or institutional relations to those who have power to resources. The term a “bundle of power” is not only about the rights to control the resources, but it also includes the rights to exclude others from accessing the resources. Then, resource may become the object of contestation. In this point, different bundles of rights have an effect on the action that individuals make to have claimed to certain resources and the outcomes they want to achieve (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992). Furthermore, property is about social relations among actors concerning the objects existing at the level of laws and regulation, cultural norms and social values, social relationship and property practices by which people obtain control and maintain the rights and claims to resources (Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006).

Access is a critical element to conceptualize livelihoods as the viability of livelihoods is limited by access to resources (Bebbington, 1999). This idea sees that people’s livelihood might depend on how they build mechanism to access and to control resources. Furthermore, access analysis is critical in livelihood study. It is the process of identifying and mapping the mechanism by which access is gained, maintained and controlled. It includes identifying and mapping the flow of the particular benefit of interests; identifying the mechanism by which different actors involved gain and maintain the benefit flow and its distribution and analysis the relations of power underlying the mechanisms of access where benefits are derived (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). Moreover, resource and access relations are fluid and may change overtime depending on social contexts, individuals’ or groups’ position and power within various social relationships. They are also influenced by the position of the actor in a wide variety of social networks (Mehta et al., 1999).

Property relation and legitimizing social-political legal system are often presented as uncontested (Roth, 2009). It might be true when property relations are constructed by legal system. In Lombok, for instance, the adat law plays an important rule to define who inherits land resources. In this case, property is not only about valuable goods, but also about meaning, identity, power and competing rights and claims. It means that access to resources and property relations can be a source of livelihood conflicts, particularly when one party for instance state power or local authority grants rights to resources to certain actors while diminishing others. Moreover, property also relates to the cultures, social relations, symbols and material contexts within which things are recognized and collective identities are made (Hann, 1998). Thus, struggling over livelihood resources can be seen as struggling over social cultural values and meaning (Hann, 1998; Li, 1996) involving individual action and collective action through organized politics, alliances and movements (Scoones, 2009). However, livelihoods activities are not neutral processes, but they engender a process of social exclusion and inclusion, in which individuals monopolize certain opportunities to their own benefit (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

2.1.3. Institution and Power

There is a wide range of definitions of institutions proposed by various scholars. Institutions as “rules used by individuals for determining who and what is included in decision situations, how information is structured, what actions can be taken and in what sequence, and how individual actions will be aggregated by collective action” (Ostrom, 1990). In similar words, Cleaver defines institution as a set of rules or norms governing the behavior of individuals embedded in political, social and economic relations (Cleaver, 2002). From a different angle, Jentoft (2003) argues that institutions “consist of

cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior". In this definition, the author emphasizes on both the restrictive aspects and the qualities of institutions. Furthermore, institutions emerge as the arena of social interaction, negotiation and contestation involving various actors having different goals.

The diverse explanations of institution shows different point of view in understanding institutions. According to Jentoft (2003), institutions have several definitions and interpretations depending on what context we define and in what situation we use it. For instance, he defines institutions in terms of fisheries management. He conveys that institutions provide a range of options for effective intervention in the management system (Jentoft, 2004). Though there are several definitions of institutions presented, the main point is that it contains norms, relations, goals, spaces and actors. These elements produce different meanings of institutions based on the local context in which institutions are formulated and constructed. Institutions are complexes of norms and behaviors that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes, pursuing society's goals and managing themselves (Uphoff, 1986).

Institution is a critical element to be analyzed in livelihood study. Institutions, access and livelihoods are linked to each other. Institution shapes access to livelihoods opportunities and at the same time livelihoods reshapes institution (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). In this context, local norms or rules regulate how people have access to resources for their livelihoods. Following the idea of Ostrom (1999 cited in Cleaver, 2002), institutions as the collective action that people undertake to organize access to resources, but also the rules and norms that mediate this process of collective action. Therefore, institutions should not be seen as "the rule themselves, but as regularized patterns of behavior that emerge from underlying structure or sets of rules in use (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1999).

Social-political power relations are constructed within institutions. According to Long, power can be created through material things owned by actors and the degree of power is varied because different actors have different level of power in social relations (Long, 2001). The definition of power proposed by Long implies that power is constructed by material subjects and the level of power depends on how much property is owned by the actors. In this sense, the more property the actors have the higher their power is. In addition, power relation can also be analyzed by looking how actors perform their agency or knowledge within a particular context and network. Therefore, each actor has a different degree of power, meaning that one may only have power in a particular social role and position.

Investigating power relations in livelihood study is essential, since understanding power relation will help to identify the forms of livelihood inequality existing in the community because of class, caste, gender, and ethnicity. In addition, livelihood analyses should also pay attention to social-political structure and the diverse micro-macro political processes that define livelihood opportunities and constraints (Scoones, 2009). In order to examine power relations, Rowland (1997 cited in de Haan & Zoomers, 2005) proposes an analytical concept to investigate power relations, which are: (1) "power within" refers to individual changes and confidence and conciseness that actors experienced in shaping livelihoods; (2) "power to" that is to transform lives, to improve capability as skills, income and job access to improve livelihoods; (3) "power with" refers to social networks with others to challenge power relations; and (4) "power over" that means overcoming subjugation. This framework is used to understand how respondents being studied perform their knowledge and power relation in order to have access and claim to resources.

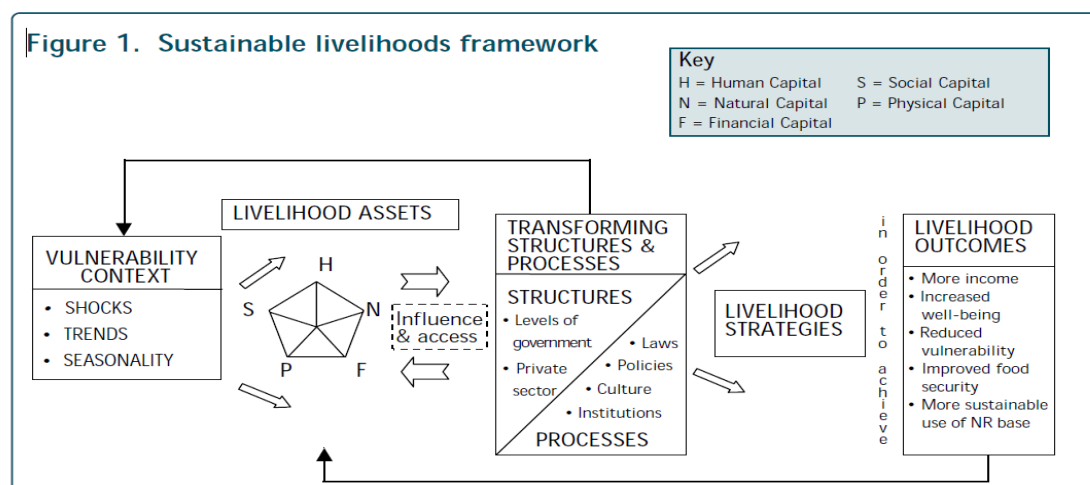
According to de Haan & Zoomers (2005), power relations are (re)constructed through a dynamic process of wielding and yielding to improve power positions. This means power is constructed when exercising through interaction among individuals or actors. This argument also sees that power does

not absolutely belong to one of them, but is the result of negotiation and cooperation among actors. From this point of view, analyzing various layers of power will help to understand the patterns of interactions, negotiations and social struggles that take place among actors in order to have access to livelihood resources. Therefore, paying attention to the actors, their roles, interests and position is essential to understand social life of development projects and to question phenomena from the perspective of local actors.

2.1.4. Analytical Framework

The following figure is the analytical framework adopted from Carney (1998) as the guideline of how the four concepts explained above are operated during the research. Livelihood is an umbrella concept that links holistically the other concepts within the contexts in which they are operated. This means when researching about livelihood issue, we would take into account the institutions and power relations that mediate peoples' access to resources. I expect that the approach is best fit into the context of the research due to the international airport development policy.

Figure 1. Analytical Framework



Source: Carney, 1998.

The figure shows that sustainable livelihood approaches are based on identifying and analyzing four basic elements, which are vulnerability contexts, the assets from which livelihood is constructed, the institutional and organizational settings that shape access to resources, and livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes (Scoones, 1998).

There are some elements, which frame vulnerable contexts, such as seasonality and trends, institutions (social norms, rules) and political institutions (policies, regulation (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Ellis, 2000). According to Ellis (2000) vulnerable contexts (shocks and stresses) of rural livelihoods occur due to economic shocks, such as harvesting failure, increasing cost of external inputs, price fluctuation, technological change; social shocks, such as discrimination by ethnicity, sex or gender; physical shocks, such as lack of public infrastructures; and political shocks, such as limited participation in decision making process, unequal power relations, etc. In addition, environment change is also important context to take into account as it is related to natural resources that rural households being studied belong to prior to the airport development project. As presented earlier, the international airport development project effects on diminishing access of peasant households to their land resources as the main means of production. As the result, the dispossessed households

might have to adjust their agricultural-based livelihoods to non-agricultural sector. Thus, in order to understand the implication of environmental change to rural livelihoods, the concept of institutions, access and power are employed to understand the ways those dispossessed households re(construct) their livelihoods in the post airport development project. Therefore, these vulnerable contexts might influence individuals' livelihood vulnerability, such as the capacity and capability to access resources in order to pursue livelihood strategies, the availability of social networks and institutions that mediate access to resources.

In this study, analyzing vulnerable is to understand shocks and stresses that respondents have to deal prior to and after the development of international airport and how they deal with vulnerable situation. In livelihood study, contexts is essential to take into account as livelihood is contextual and can only be understood in specific contexts (Hebinck & Bourdillon, 2001). Therefore, context changes overtime and it is the arena where livelihood is constructed, negotiated and (re)defined by actors.

The sustainable livelihood framework identifies 5 types of assets upon which individuals or households build their livelihoods (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998):

- Natural capital – the natural resource stocks (soil, land, water, genetics etc.) and environmental services. Water is fundamental for farming activities and cultivating crops; land is essential to produce crops for consumption;
- Financial capital - sources of income, valuable things which can be traded to get cash, savings, financial services, loans, and salaries which are essential to pursue any livelihoods strategy;
- Human capital – knowledge, skill, health, experiences etc. These types of assets can be mobilized to make money, therefore they sustain a living;
- Physical capital - house, schools, clinics, roads, livestock, agricultural tools, hand woven tools, irrigation infrastructures etc. These types of capital are essential for rural households to make a living and to create well-being;
- Social capital – local institutions and organization, local wisdoms, associations, networks, kinship, etc. These types of capital can be mobilized to have access to resources and pursue different livelihood strategies.

The categorization of assets as presented above indicates that livelihood assets are not only referring to material things, but they are also immaterial objects. In the words of Bebbington (1999) :

“A person's assets are not merely means through which he or she makes a living: they also give meaning to that person's world. Assets are not simply resources that people use in building livelihoods: they are assets that give them the capability to be and act. Assets should not be understood only as things that allow survival, adaptation and poverty alleviation: they are also the basis of agents' power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern control, use and transformation resources. Assets are vehicle for instrumental action to make a living, hermeneutic action to make a living meaningful, and emancipator action to challenge the structures under which one makes living”(Bebbington, 1999).

The term of assets is employed interchangeably with the term of resources and capitals. However, capitals are not simply resources that people use in constructing livelihoods, they are the assets giving capability to be and to act (Bebbington, 1999). Assets are the most critical resources to livelihood systems and they are basic building blocks upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labor markets, and participate in reciprocal exchanges with other households (Ellis, 2000). Assets can be described as stocks of capital that can be used directly, or indirectly as the means of households' survival and well-being (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Ellis, 2000). In addition,

the term of assets and resources can be contextualized. Assets can be converted into resources when necessary in a situation of crisis. An example is when livestock is kept for its values, it is an asset, but when it is used in agricultural activities, for instance to plough soil for food production or sold for household necessities, it is called a resource (Niehof & Price, 2001). From this point of view, assets can be seen as an insurance or saving that can be used when households are faced by household necessities (Ellis, 2000).

Livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of household survival (Ellis, 2000). Livelihood strategies mean consciously and coherently structured action aiming at achieving something in the future (Niehof, 2004). In addition, livelihood strategies are seen as multiple ways or processes of performing skills and capacities to utilize resources in order to generate a livelihoods (Niehof & Price, 2001). Another feature of livelihood approach is livelihood outcome, which is seen as the achievements after implementing livelihood activities or livelihood strategies. In this sense, livelihood outcome may not be limited to material achievements, but it may include the political representation and aspiration of households. Potential livelihood outcome includes conventional variables, such as more income, asset diversification, improved food security, reduced vulnerability, more sustainable resource management and increased well-being.

Some critical views towards the livelihoods perspectives.

I assume that there is no perfect conceptual framework. So, like other concepts livelihood framework also provides space for critical debates. Scoones (2009) assesses critically four recurrent failings of livelihoods perspectives. The first relates to the lack of engagement in macro and global-economic perspectives. According to Unsworth (2001 in Scoones, 2009), a long term and more strategic understanding of the social and political realities of power are essential in poverty reduction and a more historical and less technical way of looking at things provide a sense of perspective. He also conveys that enriching livelihood perspectives needs to be more concern on class, gender, and capitalist relation by addressing the theories of power and political economy to understand the process of marginalization, dispossession, accumulation and differentiation at another level.

The second failing relates to the lack of attention to power and politics and the failure to connect livelihoods and governance in development debates. Politics and powers should be a central issue of analysis in livelihood perspectives. In this sense, Scoones (2009) argues that development practitioners fail to link livelihoods with state politics, governance regime and the emergent discussion on agrarian and social movements. The third relates to the lack of rigorous attempts to deal with long term of environmental change. Although, the term of sustainability is integrated in the livelihood frameworks, it only refers to cope with immediate shocks and stresses rather than dealing with wider scale and dynamics of environmental change. Therefore, livelihoods framework should integrate local concerns and responses for long shocks and stresses due to climate change. Then, the fourth critique relate to the failing of livelihood approaches to deal with long terms shifts in rural economics and agrarian change.

Other critical views towards livelihood perspectives are voiced by De Haan and Zoomers (2005). According to the scholars, access to resources is the most essential element in livelihood approaches. Thus, the livelihood approaches also should paid attention to the issue of social and power relations, and institutions and organizations because these elements are essential to access capital. Moreover, livelihood approaches has to take into account the structural constraints within which the approach is operated (Kaag, 2004). Livelihoods approach is failing to address the issue of social relations in terms of gender, social class and ethnicity and it also cannot capture the complex dynamics of livelihood system involving complex interaction between components (Ellis, 2000) .

Although livelihood framework gains some critical remarks, it has been widely applied in different social context, time and place (Solesbury, 2003). For instance, it has been used to understand rural livelihoods and poverty in Africa (Ellis & Freeman, 2004). Besides, livelihood framework is people-oriented (Scoones, 2009). Thus, livelihood framework is still relevant to be applied to understand what people do to sustain their livelihoods within transitional contexts. Therefore, I expect that it is appropriate to address the objective and the questions of this study.

2.2. Methodology

2.2.1. Research Design

Research design is a fundamental part before starting collecting data and analyzing it. The function of research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguous as possible (De Vaus, 2001). This research is a case study, characterized by contextual information being collected about the case to gain understanding of the context of causal processes of objects being examined. This study is qualitative and descriptive. Qualitative study means it relates to the interpretation of people's experience (Vanderstope & Johnston, 2009) and descriptive means to answer questions about "what is going on" (De Vaus, 2001).

The design of this study is a case study. It concentrates on the time being of the case and draws specific attention to the questions of what can be learned from the case (Stake, 2000). In addition, a case study is explanatory research to answer questions that deal with operational links to be traced down overtime instead of frequencies and incidence. It can also examine a small number of cases that occur naturally (Green & Thorogood, 2009). In addition, a case study gives a description of natural phenomena instead of artificial phenomena and specifically concerns the context of the social phenomena being investigated. Therefore, the qualitative, descriptive and explanatory type of this study is useful to provide in-depth insights of livelihood dynamics of those dispossessed and resettled households and conflicts in the international airport development project.

2.2.2. Study Area

This study was conducted in two hamlets of Penujak village, namely Ketapang and Slanglet located in Central Lombok regency West Nusa Tenggara province Indonesia. The main consideration to choose Penujak village as the research site is purely based on the topic of this research which is related to livelihood changes due to the international airport development. These two sub villages are the most affected by airport development projects, because hundreds of rural households were dispossessed and displaced from their land. Therefore, I consider that the village is quite representative to grasp information related to the objective of this study. In addition, I assume that rural households in the two hamlets were actively involved in peasant movements to resist airport development policy that they know the process of the international airport development and the actors engaged in and power relation shaped among them.

Figure 2. Research Site



Source : www.google.com 2012.

2.2.3. Source of Information and Respondents

In order to answer the research questions, two sources of information were identified, which are primary and secondary. The primary information was derived from two sources: (1) research informants during interview and focus group discussions; and (2) observation of research area which is visualized in pictures. Secondary information was taken from NGOs and government institutions in the form of study reports, press release, video, local newspaper, clipping, websites, village monographs and statistic data.

In this research, the respondents involved various parties. The first party was rural households. As described in the section about research limitation, rural households worked outside the village during the fieldwork so it was quite difficult to apply random sampling to choose respondents while they were away from home. On basis of this, I decided to use the purposive sampling technique to decide which households should be interviewed. I also applied the convenience technique that refers to the situation when the researcher goes to the research site and meets one haphazardly and conducts the interview; the second party was local NGOs. I developed connections with NGOs which work on land issues during and after the development of the international airport, such as Serikat Petani Indonesia. The third party was government institutions at local level, such as BAPPEDA (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah or Regional Development Planning Board) and village officials. The last party in my research was local figures that have a good knowledge about the social and cultural practices and local institutions in Lombok.

2.2.4. Data Collection Techniques

This research combines various participatory techniques to collect data during the fieldwork, because it is a qualitative research focusing on the meaning and motivation that underlines personal experiences, social phenomena and on understanding social processes related to the topics being investigated. Thus, language plays pivotal roles instead of using numerical data to generate meaning beyond the case being investigated. Data and information obtained during fieldwork were collected through several techniques: rural households surveys, household observations, semi structured and

open-ended interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis of the issues being investigated. These methods of data collection were applied in order to have validity and reliability of research findings. I found it beneficial to apply several techniques in a qualitative study is fundamental to validate the empirical materials because those techniques complement to each other.

1. Rapid Household Survey

The aim of the rapid household survey was to map the general condition of the households being studied. Before conducting the survey, the village office was visited to gain information about the population size in the research sites. Subsequently, a numbers of households were opted to be examined. Before conducting the survey, I also met the village leader to ask permission and to discuss briefly the social and economic conditions of the communities in the villages. In the survey, a set of questions was developed consisting of a number of aspects: personal information of households including age, education, number of family, assets they have, and primary occupation (main source of income). Then, from all 50 surveyed households, 30 households selected as the primary source of information. However, this formula did not work well because those selected households had limited time to talk and some were not interested to participate. Furthermore I did not develop criteria which households could be used as the main source of information considering free time they need to have to be interviewed. Therefore, rapid household survey was important as the point of departure to create rapport with those households.

2. Household Observation

Observation was done together with the household survey. In the observation, the researcher noticed physical aspects, such as the physical condition of the house, material objects households have at home, and the body language and behavior of the interviewee during the survey. Field notes were prepared based on this day-to-day observation. I learned that observation was not only a matter of language, but it observed behaviors and the social settings of the objects (rural households, physical environment) being studied. Therefore, observation is an important method with which insights in the field of research can be obtained.

3. Semi-Structured Interview

A semi-structured interview is an interview where the researcher sets the agenda in terms of the topics covered during the interview, but the interviewee's responses determine the kind of information produced about the topics and the relative importance of each of them (Green & Thorogood, 2009). Semi-structured interviews were applied to government agencies who had information and knowledge related to the implementation of airport development policy in central Lombok regency. This technique was also used to interrogate other stakeholders, such as NGOs and the former members of team 11 and peasant organization who were involved during the process of social contestation in the airport area.

Open-ended interviews were also applied to develop respondents' accounts to the issue that are important according to them. Open-ended interviews were applied to provide an opportunity for the researcher to explore specific information related to the topic being investigated. In the processes of interviewing, a topic list and broad questions related to the themes being measured were provided. However, the interviews were not only based on the listed topics, but respondents were given a space to mention what were important issues according to them. Conversation with respondents was based on four main themes, namely perceptions on place, livelihood histories, coping strategies of securing livelihoods in transitions and conflicts. Respondents were asked to explain their own observations, opinions, and feelings related to the themes, and questions were probed to achieve

further details. Open-ended interviews were carried out in the forms of informal discussions or sharing opinions with the key informants (NGOs, rural households and local leaders). The interviews were conducted in natural settings, for instance when respondents were in the farm, or held in the “*berugak*”, a kind of porch with the roof made from straw placed in front of respondents’ house. Each interview was recorded and noted.

4. Focus Group Discussion

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was carried out to collect information about trends and changes including the diverse livelihoods activities and the participants’ perception of whether their life had improved or worsened over the last ten years. The FGD was conducted in natural settings instead of an artificial one. This means it was carried out on the spot, instead of arranging it in the village office. Participants were natural groups, meaning that they did already know each other. Natural groups will maximize the interaction between participants, as well as between researcher and participants (Green & Thorogood, 2009). In FGD, several participatory techniques were applied, (1) Ven diagram to identify institutions and its role and benefit for community and to identify actors involved in conflicts during the development of airport; and (2) trend and change analysis applied to examine livelihood changes. FGD was a useful technique to triangulate empirical information obtained from personal interviews and observations.

5. Document Analysis

Document analysis refers to the written source providing related information being studied. Document analysis was applied for the availability of data and information related to the topics of study. The secondary data were obtained from government agencies, NGOs, and peasant organizations to complement empirical findings, such as research report, policy documents, village monograph, clipping, video, data from websites, and the like. Therefore, document analysis was essential to understand the contextual background of study in terms of comprehending social changes occurring before and after the international airport development.

3. Livelihoods prior to the Airport Project

This chapter presents the livelihood histories of the interviewed respondents in the pre airport construction. It provides basic information for further understanding of the shifting of livelihoods due to the airport development project. Through this chapter I will describe the field of livelihood activities prior to the international airport construction including the role of local institution to livelihoods and the vulnerable contexts that respondents have to deal with.

3.1. Livelihoods Activities

Tracing down the livelihoods activities in the pre airport construction means I have to look at the stories of making a living that respondents experienced in the past. In this study, I decided to take the period of 1970s as the point of departure to understand the livelihoods histories of respondents. According to respondents in this period they drove their livelihoods from two main sectors, namely agriculture (in local term called “ngaro”) and rising livestock (in local term called “ngaret”).

3.1.1. Farming Activities (ngaro)

H.R⁴, 70 years old, was the first respondent interviewed about the livelihood stories in the past. I met him in a mosque in Slanglet hamlet in the middle of day. Together with his colleague, he was discussing something related to the village. Then, I got close to him, introduced myself and asked permission to interview him and no sooner another person engaged in the discussion. The village is not too far from the runway of the international airport, around 1 km, so while talking we sometimes barely hear each other because of noise from the airplanes crossing the village. When asking how people made a living in the past, he sang a local song:

*Embok-embok aik piko roronda; Senangin bandaliko turun ujan
Sebor eyak-eyak; Kanak beyak tumpah jején; Por per unin genter; Kecebul ulu dugul;
Anak embul umbak umbul.*

The interviewed respondents told that in certain time school-age children, but in fact they had no school, sang the song in the field at night during the moonlight. They went around the village pouring water to each other. That activity was done to pray for rain because the rainy season often came late in the past. Shortly, the meaning of the song is that the heavy rain would come soon accompanied by thunderbolt, and people started preparing their farming lands; seed poured everywhere and then it would grow well.

Flashing back to the past has brought many interviewed respondents to romanticize their life when there was no influence from outside in terms of agricultural technology. In the past, farming techniques were based on local knowledge and traditional farming methods were applied. In addition, the local variety of seed was produced from the field and there was no chemical pesticide used in farming activities. They just worked during the rainy season and spent most of the time of the dry season to raise buffalos. Moreover, it was very common that peasant households lived in the farm together with their relatives during the cultivating season. In their farm, they created a small compound in which simple houses were built and small ponds were constructed to store water for households' consumption. According to them, there were several reasons to live in the field. First,

⁴ Interview on 10 September 2012

to have closer access to their farming land, particularly in the cultivating season when a lot of things in the farm needed to be done, for instance cleaning weeds, controlling paddy from pest attacks, and planting vegetables. Second, to have access to consumable resources, such as vegetables, fishes and spices as those resources were mostly abundant in rainy season. Respondents argued that they mostly consumed what they produced in the farm and were less dependent on market goods.

Farming land from which people make a living called "*gumi paer*". According to Ahmad JD⁵, the concept of *gumi paer* is not limited to geographical areas, but it includes local practices and other resources within it. It is an integrated concept combining social, cultural, and economic meanings. In social aspect, *gumi paer* strengthens social entity and solidarity. This can be seen for instance in agricultural activities. In the past villagers utilized farming land as a social arena to interact and to help each other. The place was a playground to perform traditional games as refreshing during the dry season period and in the moonlight children went outside the village, played games and sang traditional songs to pray that rainy season will come soon. Moreover, *gumi paer* was integrated with cultural practices to appreciate every valuable things that has been provided by nature. In certain times, peasant households organized a cultural ceremony, for instance prior to the planting season when preparing seedling in order to have good crops production. It also organized after harvesting period to express gratitude to what nature has given for their living. In those ceremonies, food was shared to each other.

In agricultural activities, collective work was developed called "*besiru*"⁶. The reason to form this institution was to accelerate the process of preparing farming land. A respondent⁷ illustrated that when rainy season come it was the busiest time that a peasant had, such as preparing tools and equipment, seeds, making schedule to plow land. Peasant households shared the duties with their spouse, such as preparing paddy seed. However, for a bigger task sort of preparing rice field, more people are needed. This was the initial establishment of "*besiru group*". In addition, the *besiru* system was run based on mutual understanding and trust of each other. This system was applied to minimize cost in farming activities because none of the group members were paid and only consumption was provided for them. In addition, the principle of reciprocity was an essential aspect to take into consideration when one was involved in the *besiru group*. This means that the motivation of involving in the group was not merely helping each other, but also to minimize cost spent for labors. This system can be seen as a social asset concerning the quality of relationship among people and the extent to which one can count on support by the family or mutual assistance (Carney, 1998), but I think it was also a livelihood strategy that people applied to minimize household difficulty in term of farming costs. Likewise, the *besiru* system was performed in the whole process of paddy cultivation, such as preparing land, planting paddy, and clearing weeds. In this context, the process of making a living is not only about material objects that people want to gain to make a living, but also they share feeling of togetherness and connectedness to each other.

Moreover, women play an important role particularly to prepare the paddy seeds during the cultivating season. They were also in charge in leading the local ceremonies which were linked to farming activities. According to Prima⁸, the Rinjani mountain of Lombok and its resources have been considered by Lombok people as the central of the earth. Moreover, a local mythology of Dewii Anjani, the spirit of queen, is trusted by Lombok community guarded the Rinjani Mountain. It, then, strengthens local beliefs that women had power to maintain natural resources. This local belief

⁵ A cultural figure. Interview on 10 December 2012

⁶ It is a working group. The member of the group consists of 10-15 people. It was developed based on the location of the farm. It means that the farm of the members of the *besiru group* closed to each other. Women and men created a group separately. Plowing land was mostly carried out by men, while planting paddy was done by women groups.

⁷ Idem

⁸ A cultural figure in Lombok regency. Interview on 15 December 2012

generates local practices to honor and to respect natural resources and it was reinforced by a local expression “*gumi nine*”, which means women earth. From this point of view, women are active agents to make a living and their roles in managing *gumi paer* and managing natural resource are strongly rooted in social and cultural dimensions.

In 1970s downward, the main subsistence crop growing was the local variety of paddy, which could be harvested in a five month period. According to some interviewed respondents, in between planting and harvesting time was a difficult period faced by peasant households in terms of the availability of food stock at home. Food stock was often limited, because almost all paddy had been used for consumption during the preparation and cultivation activities. To overcome the problem, respondents sold their livestock if available, or proposed loan in the form of paddy from their neighbors or relatives who were better off. In this context, raising livestock is essential for peasant households to anticipate a difficult situation, such as drought or harvesting failures (Ellis, 2000, 2007). According to Martianto (2006), the cases of severe malnutrition occurred in the central Lombok regency due to drought and harvesting failure in 1960s and 1970s (Martianto, 2006). Some respondents experienced this hard period of time. A respondent⁹ confirmed:

“In 70s was horrible period in my life. No paddy stored at home because of harvesting failure. My parents and I sometimes with others went outside the village looking for corn and cassava. We brought plates, mats, hand woven or whatever material things at home to be exchanged by corn or cassava. We walked to the west part of Lombok where people planting corn or cassava. We didn’t back home unless be brought corn and cassava to secure food in my family”.

In addition, harvesting failures was the most vulnerable situation to be dealing with. In relation to this, peasant households accumulated certain valuable-material objects at home, such as hand woven, plates, and jewelry. Thus, the availability of those things can be seen as a strategy to undermine the risks. I observed during the household survey that respondents store a lot of plates, hand woven and pans which were placed in a cupboard. A woman¹⁰ explained that those kinds of physical things are purchased by women and are mostly bought after harvesting season when the production of crops was surplus. In the past those things were important resources to secure livelihoods, since they could be used to barter with food when harvesting failure. In the present time those things are mostly used when organizing social events in this village, for instance circumstances, marital ceremonies. Then, later on when a lady gets married, she would inherit those things.

In the 1970s, agricultural development issues were dominated by a rapidly increasing world population, and green revolution was the most obvious solution to increase food production to feed population as traditional farming system was considered low yield production (Conway; & Barbier, 1988). In relation to that issue, some development projects were introduced by the government of Indonesia to increase crop production including in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat province. The first was the green revolution program. It promoted agricultural intensification to increase crops production through applying external inputs, such as seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides. This technological innovation was considered as an engine to increase crops production. The introduction of high-yield variety seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides increased the yearly production of paddy (Parayil, 2003). In addition, traditional method of managing field, called “*ngaro*”, was also changed to the GORA (Gogo Rancan) system. In the latter method, peasants prepare their farming lands during the dry season and when the rainy season comes they just put the paddy seeds in a hole

⁹ A men, 58 years old, former leader of Ketapang village and a land broker. Interview on 12 November 2012.

¹⁰ A housewife, 42 years old, living in Ketapang village. Interview on 13 October 2012.

made in line. However, the GORA system needed a lot of human labor, particularly in the preparation process. More costs needed to be allocated to pay the labors.

Many respondents argued that green revolution technologies increased paddy production and provided seasonal job opportunities in rural areas, for instance, during the planting season they earned an additional income from daily paid work. A respondent said that *it is beneficial to apply external inputs because they increase paddy production. For instance before green revolution the production of paddy was maximal 2-3 ton per hectare and after green revolution project it increased to 4-5 ton per hectare. In addition, the variety of paddy cultivated could be harvested in short period around 3 months and after that we can grow beans in the field as an additional income. However, green revolution project increased farming cost. The price of those external inputs increased every year and sometimes I trap indebted. I ordered the inputs from businessmen and it was paid after harvesting season with higher price*".

The interviewed respondents felt that the green revolution program also brought some drawbacks for their livelihoods. First, the application of green revolution technologies diminished the local variety of paddy which was considered more resistant to diseases and pests in comparison to that of the new variety of paddy seeds from the green project. As the consequence was that they had to apply pesticides regularly. Chemical pesticides eradicated other important local resources for household consumption, such as catfish. Secondly, the green revolution project also terminated local skills and knowledge in agricultural activities. An example was the disappearance of local knowledge to prepare paddy seeds, which was mostly done by women. Thirdly, the green revolution project has incorporated the people into a market system for they have to purchase those external inputs. As a result, more cost is needed in farming activities. Fourthly, there was shifting role of the local institutions; for instance, collective work was not based on voluntarily work anymore, but it



Figure 3. Cultivating Water Mellon in the Brink of Batujai Dam

was based on daily payment. This also had an effect on the increasing cost in farming activities. Furthermore, although the green revolution program had an impressive achievement in increasing crops production, it generated significant effects on household and community level.

Then, it was no longer after introducing the green revolution project, the central government of Indonesia also constructed the Batujai Dam in central Lombok regency in 1977¹¹. The project was aimed to provide

ample irrigation water, particularly in the southern part of the regency, which is also well-known as the rain feed area. In the research area, some respondents I spoke to were affected by the dam development project. At least 84 peasant families were dispossessed by the dam project and around of 72 hectares of their farming lands were converted for the dam project. In this project, the government provided compensation Rp.2,600.000 (\$260) per hectare. They received the compensation from the local apparatus at the village office without preliminary negotiation. One respondent explained that no one had courage to argue about the compensation, because the military government of Soeharto would use a military approach to force them to release land for the dam. The regime would dismiss anything considered as anti-development or resisted development agenda set up by the regime (Heryanto & Lutz, 1998). However, respondents elucidated that in

¹¹ <http://pustaka.pu.go.id/new/infrastruktur-bendungan-detail.asp?id=190>

1970s farming lands in the area were broadly available. The dam construction had no significant effect as they re-invested the compensation to purchase new plots in the area where the international airport is located nowadays. The price of new plots was also affordable. A respondent¹² told that although he received land compensation from the dam project only Rp.2.500.000 (\$250) for his land of around 96 acres, he could use it to buy new plots of 150 acres.

In addition, in 1988 the local government of central Lombok offered the ex-land owners of farming land for the Batujai dam to do farm in the brink of the dam area. A family only had right to manage 25 acres. In addition, in order to keep working on the area, they had to pay tax every year to the Ketua¹³ (chief), a local person pointed by government to control the area. In this regard, the Ketua had right to expel those families who ignored the rules. According to some respondents, the tax increased every year. In 1990 they paid tax 100 kilos paddy and increased by 300 kilos in 2000. However, they had no control to whom the tax was delivered. For them, the most important point is to keep having access to work on the area in order to secure their livelihood.



Figure 4. Farming Activities in Brink of Batujai Dam area.

In addition, I observed during my fieldwork that the government places a lot of banners made of iron plat in farming land inside the dam areas. The banners state that *"Tanah Negara. Dilarang masuk / memanfaatkan. Ancaman pidana pasal 167 KUHP¹⁴ 9 bulan penjara. Pasal 389 KUHP diancam penjara 2 tahun 8 bulan. Pasal 551 KUHP dihukum denda"* (State land. Not allowed to enter or to utilize. Threat of punishment in jail for 9 months according to article 167 KUHP, 2 years 8 months according to article 389 KUHP and penalty according to article 551 KUHP). However, the law had no effect to limit access to the farming lands in

the dam territory. As some respondents explained, even though there is a regulation about the dam area, nobody has been sent to jail when working in the dam areas. In this sense, it seems that the regulation has a double standard. On one hand, it restricts people to work in the dam areas, but on the other hand people are permitted to manage the area under certain agreements. They have to provide annual tax, which is collected by Ketua and the farmers should also maintain trees in the dam area. In this regard, an access to farming land in the dam area is mediated by how good their relation with the Ketua. The relation is constructed and maintained by providing certain material objects. This is similar to what Long argues that power can be created through material things owned by actors and the degree of power is varied depending on the actors (Long, 2001).

3.1.2. Raising Livestock (*ngaret*)

Livestock (buffalos) was an essential resource to make a living in the past. According to many respondents, there were a number of reasons for having buffalos, (1) farming activities required animal power to plough farming land particularly during the preparing process of paddy cultivation; (2) it was a surviving strategy when facing a vulnerable situation, such as harvesting failure. In this sense, a buffalo was sold for emergency necessities; (3) it was also important in social and cultural events. When peasant households organized ceremonies, a buffalo was slaughtered for

¹² A men, 52 years old, working as farmer in the Batujai dam are. Interview on 15 December 2012.

¹³ Ketua (chief) is a villager working on the dam area. He is authorized by water agency at regency level to monitor the farming activity in the dam area. He also has rights to cut off one's access to the dam area.

¹⁴ Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Criminal Code).

consumption; and (4) buffalos were used to extend land resource. Many respondents gained access to land resource by selling their animals to rent or to purchase a piece of plot. Apart from those reasons, the availability of grazing areas was also another important consideration. As discussed earlier, the cultivating season only took place for around 5 months. After that, there were no on-farm activities in the field and then, and peasant households utilized the farming areas as a grazing location.

Considering the importance of having livestock, peasant households without buffalos still could have access to that resource through a local institution called “*ngadas*”. It is a result-based sharing system. In the system, one obtained responsibility to raise a buffalo for certain periods of time. During the period, if the buffalo had calves, then the first calve was for the owner and the second one was for the herder. This rule was also applied for the next calves. In addition, the herder also had responsibility to raise the calves belonging to the owner of buffalo. Some respondents informed that managing a relationship with the owner of the buffalos was an important issue to deal with. In this way, the herder provided human labor to their land lord during the cultivating season. However, raising buffalos could give some risks. The risks here could be seen as vulnerable contexts that people should deal with to sustain their livelihoods assets. In order to secure their buffalos from robbery, they developed a sharing cage (*kandang kolektif*) located within the village so they could easily control and monitor their buffalos during the night. A respondent¹⁵ expressed:

“The existence of collective cage is triggered by the limitation of individuals (households) to protect their own buffalos from the actions of animal-robbery, for the intensity of robbing is quite often in that time. The robbers come at the middle of night in a group (3-4 people). If they are successful of robbing buffalos, it is not possible to do “mensiat” (struggle to take buffalos back from the robbers through fighting using swords, lance), but when having a collective cage more people will battle with them. Therefore it minimizes the risk of losing our animals”.

The vulnerable situation in terms of animal security created a collective work (*gotong-royong*) to build the sharing cage. Each rancher contributes material things, such as bamboo to construct the cage. The sharing system also strengthens social solidarity among the livestock’s owners. The existence of the sharing cage can also function as the gathering place where the animal’s owners share their experience related to other activities, for instance in agricultural sector. This case shows that livelihood is not only about accessing resource for making a living, but also protecting livelihood resource that has already existed. From this point of view, the sharing cage fitted into social and physical assets. It was not merely to protect peasants’ livestock from robbery, but also to secure the livelihood asset.

3.2. Access to Resource and the Role of Local Institution

3.2.1. Access to Land Resource

There are several institutions which mediate access to land resource. The first is sharecropping, called “*nyakap*”. It is an institution through which land owner and the cropper share the harvested crops and input expenses. In the pre airport construction period, this system was an important mechanism to have access to farming land, particularly for those peasant households having no or limited plots. The sharecropping system was implemented under several general conditions, which are: (1) land owner and sharecropper know each other for a long time, and the land owner may have

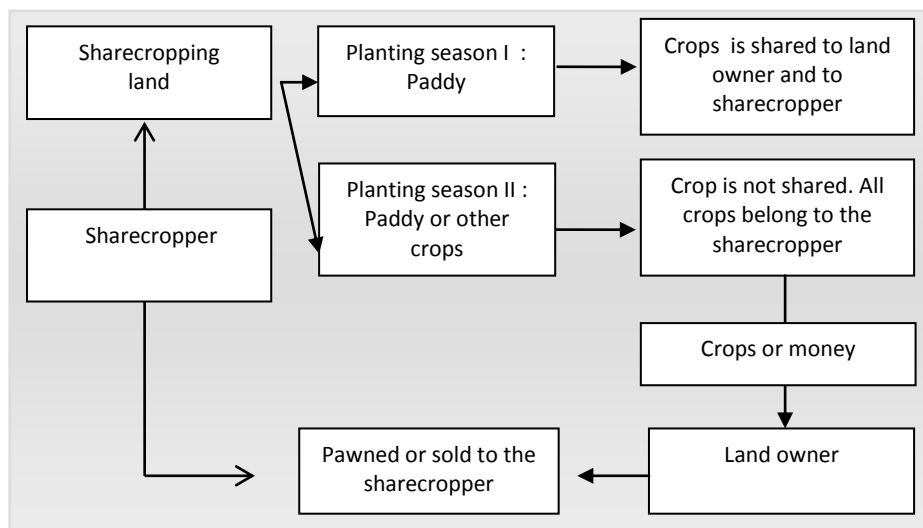
¹⁵ A men, 56 years old, living in Ketapang village. Interview on 23 September 2012.

observed the capacity and capability of the person who should manage the plots; for instance he is a diligent person who can produce good crops every year; (2) land owner and sharecropper are mostly relatives to each other. The sharecropping system is the way to help relatives who have limited plots; and (3) the cropper should be honest and accountable particularly in relation to the quantity of harvested crops. The sharecropper can be discharged of working in the cropping land if the land owner does not obtain advantages from him.

As some respondents argued that the general rule of sharecropping system is that the yielded crops are divided into two portions; 50% for the land owner and 50% for the cropper. In the case of farming expenses provided by the land owner, the total crop production is reduced by farming cost and after that the rest crops are divided for the land owner 50% and the sharecropper 50%. However, if the sharecropper covers all farming cost, the shared crops follow the first pattern. Here it seems that there is unequal power relation between both parties and the cropping system is just beneficial to the landlord (Hadar et al., 2008), but from what this study found is that a sharecropper actually gains a bundle of benefits when he grows other crops in the second cultivating season because the yields are not shared to the land owner anymore.

In addition, maintaining a relation is an important aspect in the sharecropping system. According to the respondents, the relation is not only measured by the croppers performing farming activities during the cropping period or how much crops they can produce during the cropping period, but it also involves social relations, and, when the relation among them is well-developed, it is the way the cropper perpetuates access to the cropping land. The relation is maintained through various ways, for instance the cropper can involve in preparing ceremonies and providing fire woods when the land owners held any social or cultural events. In some cases, under certain conditions the sharecropping system paves the way for a sharecropper to pawn the managing plot and later on he can also have opportunity to purchase it as his own property. An example related to this can be seen in box 1. Figure 5 shows the result of sharecropping used by the cropper to extend their rights to the land resource. It also presents that the crops for pawning the plot mostly come from the second cultivating season. The cropper uses his own crops from the first season for household consumption and to finance a second planting season. A respondent explained that having claimed land resources through sharecropping system took a long time, because the sharecroppers had to struggle to collect crops for the land owner and also for themselves.

Figure 5. Mechanism of Accessing Land Resources through Sharecropping System.



The following is the pawning contract. In this system a person is allowed to manage a piece of plot after giving a certain amount of paddy or money to the landlord. Then, the land owner regain the land back when the paddy or money has been returned to those pawning the land. According to some respondents, the duration of the pawning contract system is at least 2 years, but it is most often unlimited. The pawner keeps the rights to work on the farm as long as the land owner has not yet repaid the money to him. Moreover, like sharecropping system, the pawning contract model is also potential to provide opportunity for one to take over the plot as the private property. There are two ways of accessing land resources through the pawning system. The first is via direct access meaning that the land owner and the pawner have already known each other, so information about pawning land can be accessed directly. The other way is an indirect system. In this case, information about pawning land is provided by an informant. The informant is mostly a person who has a personal relation with the land owner. The informant mediates communication between the land owner and the pawner until the agreement is reached.

Box 1. Story of Having Land Property through Sharecropping

Mr.H (69 years old) lives in a compound together with his family. The compound is located quite far from the core village, around 4 kilometers. In the compound, around 20 families live in the area, mostly relatives of H. He already settled in the area since 1968. In 1981 he was trusted by an aristocrat family in Penujak village to manage a piece of plot of around 57 acres through sharecropping system. The land was located closely to his farm. He worked as sharecropper for three years and then from sharecropping he accumulated crops around 4 tons. In 1984, the landlord borrowed 2 tons paddy and cash around Rp. 2.000.000,. In the following year, the landowner again asked additional paddy, around 2,5 ton. Total paddy delivered to the land owner was 5,5 tons. Considering the amount of his paddy to the land owner, in 1986 he negotiated to landlord to pawn the land instead of working as sharecropper. The land owner agreed but Mr.H should provide additional paddy 1,5 ton. Since then H worked on the plot through pawning contract system (*sewa gadai*). Even so the land owner kept asking additional paddy every year. Then in 1989, he discussed with the land owner to purchase the land because the accumulation of his paddy, which was taken by the land owner was quite a lot, around 10 tons in total. He argued that land price in that time was around 2 quintals per acre. It meant that he only needed to give landlord around 1,4 ton paddy in order to acquire the land. The final decision was that the landlord asked additional paddy 2 tons to him. Then both parties signed a letter of purchasing agreement witnessed by head of hamlet and several old men in the village (interview on 29-October 2012).

The following mechanism is purchasing land. There are two methods of purchasing land. Firstly, purchasing land collectively. This system is employed when one cannot afford to buy land individually. Identifying partners with whom the land can be shared is essential. Peasant households applying this model mostly choose relatives to share the price considering they already know each other and they live in the same village. This is to avoid if something occurs in the later future.

Secondly, purchasing land by credit. In this system, the plot is paid by terms depending on the agreement between land owner and the buyer. At least the buyer pays minimal 50% of the land price. However, the buyer has no rights to work on the farm as long as the rest payment has not yet been completed. Interestingly, although the price is not completed yet, the buyer has rights to put the land title on his name. This system is not common unless the land owner and the buyer have a close social relationship to each other.

The last mechanism is the inheritance system. There are several legal systems concerning on land inheritance issues. The first is the adat inheritance law. It is a process of continuity of property objects from the heir to the heirs (Hadikusuma, 2003). In Lombok, the adat plays a dominant role to regulate the land inheritance system, which follows a patrilineal model. The adat specifies property holders and property objects. According to the adat, land is inherited based on the lineage of the

father, which means land is only inherited to men. In research area, women only have rights to material objects inside the house, such as hand woven, jewelry, and utensils. However, they have rights to those things after getting married. A respondent¹⁶ argued:

“In the case of inherited land, the adat law looks like unjust to women. However in the past those things were more precious than land itself. For instance in 1960s, the things like traditional weaving was a very rare item. One could change a few pieces of traditional weaving with a piece of plot. So only those better-off families could pursue those things”.

The adat law attaches certain meanings, identity and rights. It constitutes who has a “bundle of rights” to certain property objects. Thus, a “bundle of rights” is used to define local arrangement that refer to specific rights or ownership to certain property objects (Benda-Beckmann & Benda-Beckmann, 2012; Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006). Meanwhile, the Islamic law regulates women’s rights to inherited land. According to the law, inherited land should be divided into 1:2 (1 portion for female and 2 portions for male). For instance if a family has 75 acres inherited land, 25 acres should be granted to women and 50 acres for men. However, respondents have different interpretations on both legal systems. Some respondents argue that the adat inheritance system has already based on Islamic values, so it is not necessary to apply the inheritance land system according to Islamic law. So, as long as the adat law still there, the Islamic law will never be applied. The others argue that women have claimed to certain household properties that are equivalent to inheritance land. Only a few respondents say that women actually have rights to inherit land property. I noted from my interview that in the past it was still a taboo thing when married women demanded inherited land to her brother as if her husband was not responsible to fulfill household needs and those women would be considered embarrassing husband’s family. As a result, this culture has an effect on cutting access of women to the inherited land. In this context, local practices are often marginalized women from gaining access to livelihoods’ resources.

Meanwhile, the state Law No.7/1989 and Law No.50/2009 on religious court mediate legal rights for women to demand inherited land. According to Amiruddin¹⁷, in the last decade the cases of land inheritance in the Religious Court of central Lombok regency increased from 16 cases in 2005 to 39 cases in 2012. Moreover, 90% of inheritance cases in the court were initiated by women and most of the cases occurred in Praya Barat sub-district where the study was conducted. Furthermore, many property scholars argue that access to resources and property relations are not only mediated by social institutions, but also involve political legal institutions (Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006; Sikor & Lund, 2009). However, in this case they are conflicted each other. The adat law clearly defines who should inherit land. It constitutes power and the bundle of power that people have to claim over property also includes the rights to exclude others. For instance the adat rule limits women rights to claim land resources. Some respondents argue that although there are legal political institutions, as long as the adat rule still exists in the community, property relations on inherited land should be based on the local system. As a result, property may become the object of contestation. In this study, property institutions can be seen as sets of rules that define access, use, and exclusion and arbitration behavior of users with respect to specific resources.

In relation to conflicts over land property, Burhanuddin¹⁸ argues that the phenomena of overcoming land disputes through court are triggered by several factors, which are: (1) the existence of local institution, such as krama adat at community level is unable to cope with the problem. It is sometimes gender biased; the members of the krama adat are men that the decision made is likely

¹⁶ A men, 47 years old, a local figure, living Penujak village. Interview on 16 October 2102.

¹⁷ A registrar in the religious court in Praya Central Lombok. Interview on 26 October 2012.

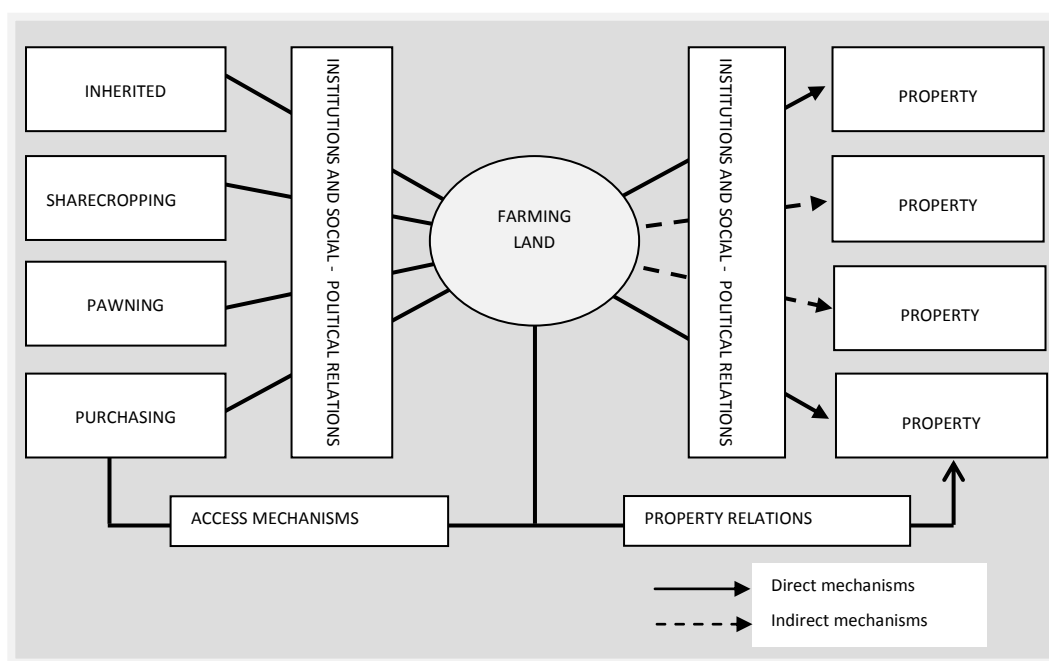
¹⁸ A lawyer in Central Lombok regency. Interview on 27 October 2012.

based on men interests; and (2) rural women are now well-educated so that they might understand formal legal law and use it to pursue their rights. In the post airport construction, land becomes a limited resource that competing claim over it is unavoidable. A respondent¹⁹ stated:

“Time is now different. In the past, access to farming land resources was easy, but now it is difficult. My husband works on a small plot. My children are schooling and I need money for that. I hear that women have rights to inherit land and I try to demand it from my brother. It is not much, around 5 acres. When I told about this he got angry, but I came again. I did not go to court, but finally I gained the compensation in the form of money”.

The way inherited land divided at the household level also contributes to conflict over land resources. In research area, the oldest brother plays a pivotal role to divide land inheritance, especially when a father has already passed away. He has the power and authority to distribute the inherited land to all younger brothers. Many respondents informed that in some cases the oldest gains a larger plot than the younger. In the past, this system was acceptable, for one should not argue to the oldest brother because he replaced the position of father. However, nowadays people have to challenge this kind of local institution, for it creates inequality. I noted from some interviewed respondents that some peasant households conflict to each other due to the inequality of land allocation system to all family members. From this case, some institutions existed at community level might also generated considerable effects on accessing livelihoods’ resources.

Figure 6. Process and Mechanism of Accessing Land Resource



The figure indicates that access to land resources is mediated by social-economic institutions and power relations (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). The relation among family members or relatives (bonding relation) is important to access resources. Peasant households under study employ kinship to have access and control to resources. Personal relationship between peasant households and friends or colleagues (bridging relation) could also facilitate access to resources. In the case of the sharecropping system, peasant households not only obtain responsibility to manage a piece of plot, but they also struggle to secure access to farming land by performing good work on farming

¹⁹ A women, 37 years old, a honorary teacher in the village. Interview 10 November 2012

activities. For instance the sharecropper should deliver a certain amount of crops to the land lord . In this sense, material object is critical to maintain an economic relation between the cropper and land owner. Moreover, the sharecropping relation is also connected to power relations, because it mostly occurs between well-off families and poor households. In some cases, sharecroppers are vulnerable to be excluded or included to access farming lands depending on how they perform tasks and responsibilities during the sharecropping period. Access to land resources also involves legal political systems, which are applied particularly when respondents have claimed land resource through the purchasing system.

Meanwhile, in social and cultural events rural households employ local institution, called “*banjar*” to have access to certain resources. Through this institution, they provide certain material contribution to help each other. In study area, social and religious events are very common. When organizing that event, the whole villagers participated in certain activities and the host family provided food for them. In some case, the host family could not afford to provide enough resource for that event. In this sense, relatives and neighbors provide material supports, such as rice, sugar, coconuts, firewood. However, we see here that the motivation of providing supports through the *baanjar* institution is not merely based on the spirit of building social solidarity among peasant households, but it is also securing strategy in case other households would organize such an event in the future, they have already had material assets when needed.

3.2.2. Access to Water Resource

Irrigation water is essential resource for rural livelihoods. In Lombok, the irrigation water system adopts the Balinese irrigation system, Subak. The Balinese Subak has variety functions, not only related to agricultural activities, but also to social, cultural and religious activities (Roth, 2009). However, the Subak in Lombok has limited functions to agricultural activities, such as constructing, repairing, operating and maintaining the irrigation channels, resolving conflicts among water users, and creating and enforcing of subak regulations and sanctions. In social and religious activities, the *banjar* groups play an important role. The difference of religious background between Balinese Hindu and Lomboknese Muslim might influence how local institution is practiced at community level.

The subak is led by a *pekaseh* who is responsible to distribute irrigation water to members of the subak (farmers). According to Mr.K²⁰, there are three patterns of distributing irrigation water, : (1) continuation system. It is applied when the water in the main canal is sufficient to be distributed to all water users, for instance during the rainy season; (2) turning system. In this system, each subak obtains the irrigation water for certain days depending on the area of subak; and (3) intermediate system. A water user receives irrigation water whenever available. For instance if a farmer has scheduled to obtain irrigation water for three days, but the water is only available for a day, then he will receive it in the other days.

The main principle in distributing irrigation water in Lombok is based on cultivating schedules. The irrigation water ends up in the field of users after traversing several canals. It first flows from the primary irrigation canal to the secondary canal. Then from here irrigation water is divided into several tertiary canals before flowing to the field. In order to arrange that water flows to the right place, the *pekaseh* together with the owner of the rice field receiving the irrigation water do controlling during the day and night.

²⁰ A men, 65 years old. He is a *pekaseh* in penujak village. Interview on 25 April 2013

A pekaseh obtains an economic incentive. In the past, a pekaseh worked on the pecatu land²¹. However, since 2009 a pekaseh receives a monthly salary from the local government instead of working on the pecatu land. This happened because the pecatu land is taken over by government for other purposes. In addition, a pekaseh gains paddy from water users (farmers) in the subak. Each farmer contributes 10-15 kg paddy for the pekaseh, which is given after harvesting season. Although providing paddy for the pekaseh is not an obligation, some respondents argued that it is the way to manage a social relation with the pakaseh.

In relation to water distribution, Mr.K conveys that competing claims over water resources often occur, particularly when water resource is limited in the main canal. In many cases, the farmers having their field close to the primary canal can directly access the irrigation water. They use a simple technology, called "*belimas*"²² or use a water pump. Others often block water in the canal to be channeled to their own field during the night. Blocking the canal and pumping water in the canal often creates conflicts of interest among water users because they eradicate access of downstream farmers to the irrigation water. In this case, limited resource (irrigation water) tends to induce conflict (Homer-Dixon, Boutwell, & Rathjens, 1993). Moreover, there was also traditional system to store water, called "*embung*". As discussed earlier, living in the farm was very common in the past. Peasant household lived in a small compound within which they built a small pond to store water and to trap fish during the rainy season. In the dry season, the water in the *embung* was used to watering spicy or other vegetable plants in the field so that peasant household still can get access to consumable goods for several months while waiting for the next rainy season. At least, the embung could sustain access to certain consumable goods.

3.2.3. Access to Agricultural Technology

Modernization and mechanization in the agricultural sector create highly dependency on external inputs, such as fertilizers, seeds, machines, etc. It obviously affects subsistent peasant households in rural areas due to the fact that the price of those inputs increase year by year. Sometimes, agricultural agency provides material supports for farmers, such as seeds, and subsidized fertilizer. However, accessing government programs in most cases are often complicated and one has to compete with other farmers unless one has a close relationship with government officers. In FGD with a farmer group of Ketapang Indah, Mr.Amr, the head of the group argued that establishing a farming group needs to be known by related government agents and the group needs to be registered. So, when a farming group is being developed, government officers need to be invited to participate in a meeting followed by registering the organization to the agricultural agency. When a group of farmer has been registered, it can obtain attention from related government agencies in terms of providing technical assistance and other material supports to peasant groups. In this case, formalization of farming organization is important to make resources more accessible. Like building organizational relations, having a personal connection with government officers is important aspect in order to compete with other farming groups. It is especially useful to obtain a quicker access of information related to government programs. In the pre airport construction period, government initiated to establish a KUD (Koperasi Unit Desa or village unit cooperative) to support green revolution program. Through the cooperative, government distributes external inputs, such fertilizers, pesticides and seeds. Then, peasants have to purchase those inputs from the cooperative. According to respondents, there was a cooperative, namely "*Tunggal Kayun*" in the village of

²¹ In the colonization period of Balinese in Lombok, pecatu land granted to Balinese peasants and reliable sasak people including pekaseh (van der Kraan, 1980).

²² In this system, a farmer develops a frame from bamboo in brink of the main canal. In the frame, a stick made from bamboo (3-4 meters) is place and in the point of it, a bucket is tied, then from here the water moves out from the canal.

Penujak. However, since 1989 it stopped working and indicated bankruptcy. Some interviewed respondents have skeptical views towards cooperative management. They pose a negative image saying that KUD means “*Ketua Untung Duluan*” (the chief gains benefit first). This statement implies that the management of the cooperative tends to benefit certain people within the organization.

The dependency on external inputs changes the way peasant purchasing external inputs. Instead of depending on the cooperative, they create new relation to the input suppliers from whom they purchase those inputs. They paid the inputs after harvesting season, although the price of them was higher than they should be. According to some respondents, they sometimes trap indebted because in certain condition they propose loan from money lenders in the village, called “*ijon*” to purchase external inputs. This case discloses that the introduction technology to peasant in some points generate negative impacts in terms of increasing cost in agricultural sector. This situation might also put peasant household at the vulnerable condition which in turn effect on livelihoods.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter looks at the livelihood histories of the respondents before the construction of the airport. The results of this study indicate that the respondents basically derive their livelihoods from farming activities as the main source of family income. The traditional farming system was applied, they used a local variety of paddy and there was an absence of external input. In addition, the farming system was integrated with raising livestock. This was an important asset to gain access to farming land and to cope with farming difficulties, for instance a harvest failure. However, the introduction of agricultural technologies has affected the existence of local knowledge and the local agricultural system. On the one hand, the program succeeded to increase crop production, but on the other hand the program burdened the peasant households due to the external input which increased their prices over the years. Another effect of the green project is that it eroded local knowledge and the social capital that used to exist in the community, such as local knowledge about preparing local seeds for the paddy and the existence of mutual aid groups. These no longer exist because farming labor is paid on a day-to-day basis. In this sense, the green revolution program to some extent changed the social relations at the community level.

The results of study show that in some points local institutions and organizations are fundamental-social capital in everyday life. Peasant households strengthen their social relations through local institutions/organizations within which values of togetherness and kinship are embedded. Local institutions also play a pivotal role in mediating access to resources for livelihoods, for instance: the access to farming land and other material things when rural households organize social and religious events. The involvement of rural households in various types of local institutions/organizations is actually a coping strategy to ensure the availability of resources at the household level. In other words, engaging in various local institutions/organizations helps to distribute risks and secures access to resources. However, the socio-legal institutions that existed in the community should not be romanticized because it created inequality. This study found that the *adat* law concerning the land inheritance system is only beneficial to men, while women have no rights to claim this resource. Therefore, the socio-legal system itself constructs power and a “bundle of rights” to exclude and include people’s rights to property based on gender. Such a system also induces a conflict of interest concerning the resources for livelihoods; it perpetuates male rights to land ownership and their own benefit and interest.

4. Conflicts in the Airport Development Project

Conflicts involving various actors and interests colorize the process of the development of the international airport in Lombok West Nusa Tenggara. In this chapter, I will examine the conflicts by focusing on identifying the causes of conflict, explaining the actors in the conflict including the relation among them, and presenting how government reduces the conflicts.

4.1. Land Acquisition for the International Airport

Land acquisition for the airport took place in 1995. The process of land acquisition was carried out by team 9. The team was established through the decree of the governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat province No.463/1993 and then was strengthened by the decree of the regent of central Lombok district No.593.S/401/01/1994. The team was responsible to procure the location for the airport. The members of the team consisted of various government officers, such as the head of regency, the head of land agency, the head of tax agency, the head of public works, the head of agricultural agency, the head of transportation agency, the head of the sub district, the head of the village and the regional secretary. This means that the local community was excluded from the process of defining what would be going on in their farming lands.

The process of land acquisition consisted of a number of processes. The first re-measured farming lands carried out in 1994. In relation to the objective of re-measuring the farming land, respondents presented different opinions. I noted that those respondents, who had a close relationship with the village officers, knew that the international airport would be built in the area. So, farming lands affected by the airport project should be re-measured in order to know the size and the owners of the land. In contrary, some respondents expressed that they did not receive any information related to the airport development project nor understand the objective of re-measuring their lands. Although they complained about this to the officers, they did not get clear answers.

"I asked the officers why they re-measured my farming land, they said they want to build irrigation canal, but in the other occasion if other people asked again they provided different answers. So, I had no information about the idea of international airport development and I just believed government planned to build irrigation canal and I thought it was a good idea"²³

The argumentation above indicates that access to information related to the airport development projects was monopolized by those people who had a relation with the local authority, such as village officers and head of hamlets. Meanwhile, ordinary people at grass root level were entertained as if irrigation water would be urgent in the area. The issue of irrigation water might be used to deceive the peasants, that the government had no plan to construct an international airport and it might also be a strategy applied by the state apparatus to minimize overreaction of the peasants. If they would have explained the airport development policy in advance, people might have reacted against it. In addition, when farming lands were measured, respondents also explained that military training was organized inside the airport area for several times. This was a quite strange event because it had never been conducted before. It may be important to notice that during the military regime of Soeharto, security forces were actively involved to guard the process of land

²³ Mur, 49 years old, living in Tanak Awu village. He is one of leaders of OTL Lauk Kawat. Interview on 12 January 2013.

acquisition for development. In this regard, I assume that the military training might be used by the regime as form of threatening in case the land owners would oppose the airport development policy.

The next process was meeting for negotiation. In 1995, several meetings were undertaken. The first meeting was held in May 1995 in Penujak village. In this meeting, all land owners from Penujak, Tanak Awu, Ketare, and Lajut village were invited. Many respondents argued that they were quite surprised when they knew that the meeting was for land negotiation. Local authority representatives (team 9) attended the meeting and informed the people about the government policy to develop an international airport. They offered Rp.150,000 (\$15) land compensation per acre. This meeting failed to meet an agreement because the participants totally opposed the airport development policy including the land compensation. A respondent illustrated:

"I was very much in panic and depressed after attending the meeting because I have to move from our village where I have already spent all my life with families and relatives for years. Then, soon after arriving at home, I informed my wife that we have to move from this village as soon as possible because government will develop an international airport. We were all worried about it. All old people gathered in the mosque to talk about this. We talked about where to move, what about our ancestors' grave, and our mosque. For several months, this issue became the main topic of talking in the village"

The airport development plan created social and economic shocks and stresses both at households and community level. It did not only have an effect on disappearing land resource on which those households' livelihoods highly depended, but it would also diminish social assets, such as mosques and graves which are deemed essential in rural life. We can see here that land is not merely a material object to make a living, but it is also a place that links to social practices. For instance, the existence of the mosque in the village is considered as a fundamental asset where villagers can strengthen social relationships. It functions as a social catalyst and a meeting place to conciliate villagers' interests. Furthermore, people attach certain meanings to the place where they live. The place also has an important role in developing and maintaining self-identity/group identity. Moreover, people may uphold a stronger meaning to a place compared to other places because of experiences, social and cultural practices and community relations (Davenport & Anderson, 2005).

The next meeting was organized in June 1995. Unlike the first meeting, the second meeting was conducted separately in each village. Some respondents noted that not all participants attended in the meeting were land owners, but they were deliberately mobilized by local elites²⁴ in the village. They were attended to say "agree" to the idea of the airport development project. In addition, the land owners invited in the meeting were speechless while the local figures, such as the head of hamlet were invited to attend the meeting separately in the regency office. It meant that local figures at community level might already have ordered them to keep silent in the meeting. In the meeting, respondents argued that the land compensation demanded should be higher than what already had been offered by the government in the previous meeting. They considered that the land price around the airport area increased significantly to more than Rp. 250.000,- (\$25) per acre. Furthermore, the land compensation which would be received could be used to purchase new plots at least as large as the land affected by the airport project. However, like the first meeting the second one was also ended up in deadlock because both parties (land owners and government) held out their own position.

²⁴ Elites here were associated with political figures from Golkar Party. In the time of the land negotiation, one of the house representative members came from Penujak village, namely H.Kirana. He was also a former Sedahan (tax collector) in the village. Elites also refer to village officials as they are also part of government apparatus.

The third meeting was carried out in July 1995. Since the second meeting, the government assumed that all land owners agreed to receive land compensation Rp.200.000,-(\$20). In fact, many landowners kept demanding that land compensation should be higher than Rp.250.000 (\$25). It might be frustrated by the attitude of some land owners who rejected the land compensation. Lalu Srigede, one of the team 9 members, threatened the land owners. A respondent²⁵ illustrated what Srigede said in the meeting.

“Land, water and air belong to the state and not only your land belong to us but also your neck, your head. They also said agree or not, we would take your land and those who opposed land compensation offered by government would never obtain their land compensation”.

In the basic law of the Republic of Indonesia, well-known as UUD 1945, it is stated in article 3c that “bumi, air dan kekayaan alam yang terkandung di dalamnya dikuasai oleh Negara dan dipergunakan sebesar-besarnya untuk kemakmuran rakyat” (earth, water and all resources within it are belong to state and they would be utilized to people’s prosperity). This legal rule is often used by the state apparatus as the source of power and they applied it as the weapon of acts to oppress the critical views which oppose development policy. Then, the intimidation and the threat forced land owners to receive land compensation. They were also compelled to sign a letter of agreement stated that they had already sold the land to PT.Angkasa Pura. A respondent²⁶ illustrated that when signing the letter of agreement and receiving the land compensation, armed forces stand behind them equipped with guns. Land owners did not receive the copy of the letter and if one did not come to take the compensation during the day, he was called to come to the office of the military rayon commando at sub district level to sign the letter.

The process of land acquisition shows how government institutions and political power were used by the regime as the instrument to intimidate people to not react against state policy (Bachriadi & Wiradi, 2011). In addition, although a room for negotiating the land compensation was provided by the state apparatus, but it was a camouflage to deceive people. In this context, the process of land acquisition can be said as the state formation (Sikor & Lund, 2009) because the government apparatus had a strong position to determine who had the rights to the land resources. At the end, what people would claim as their rights, would be ignored for development interests.

4.2. The Conflict-Driven Factors in the Airport Project

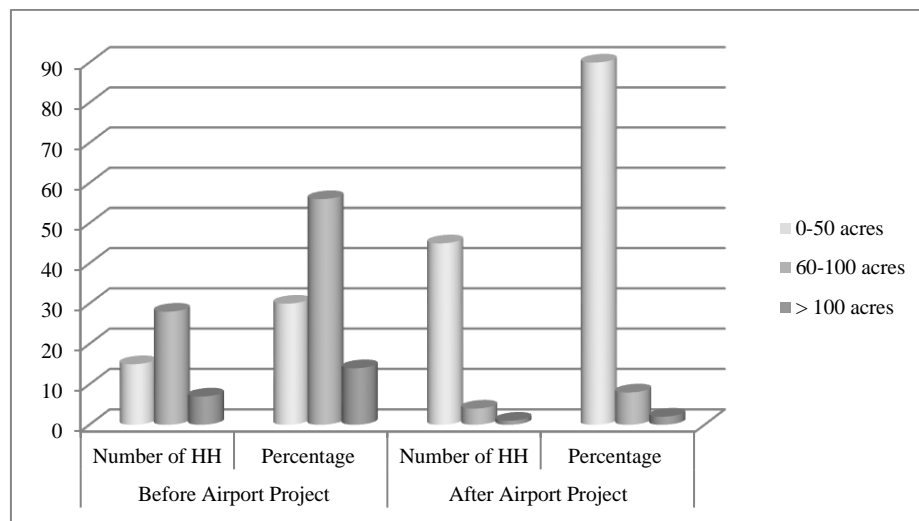
4.2.1. The Changes of Social and Economic Condition

The international airport project is situated in the farming lands of around 692 hectares encompassing four villages, respectively Penujak 222,38 hectares (35%), Tanak Awu 150.18 hectares (24%), Ketare 178.56 hectares (28%), Lajut 1.63 hectares (0,1%) and charity land (tanah wakaf) 76.292 hectares (12.25). The project dispossessed at least 722 peasant households from those villages, correspondingly 287 households in Penujak village, 190 households in Tanak Awu village, 293 households in Ketare village and 6 households in Lajut village (PT.AngkasaPura, 2009).

²⁵ A man, 45 years old. A former member of OTL. Interview on 23 September 2012

²⁶ A man, 42 years old; a youth figure in Slanglet village. When land acquisition took place, he was a student activists. In 2009, he tried to trace down the receipt of land compensation and the tax bill to land agency, but as he said there was no information about that any more. Interview on 28 October 2012.

Figure 7. Land Ownership Before and After Airport Development



Source: Fieldwork, 2012.

The figure shows that the airport project affects the decreasing household asset in terms of farming land, which was essential to make a living in rural areas (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 2009). As indicated in the chart, the majority of respondents worked on quite large farming land in the pre airport construction period. However, it significantly dropped to less than 10% after airport construction. In contrary, respondents who possessed farming land below 50 acres increased three times from 30% to 90% in post airport construction project. This tendency also occurs to those respondents having farming land more than 100 acres. At least, 14% respondents worked on land above one hectare in the pre airport construction. However, it jumped to less than 5% after the airport development project.

The decreasing amount of land resource might increase the level of vulnerability at the household level. In this regards, respondents' livelihoods and the availability of land assets are fundamentally affected due to the airport development policy, which creates economic shocks at the household level (Carney, 1998). Many respondents argued that the decreasing amount of land resources generated a number of consequences (a) the availability of food stocks (paddy) at household level is lower compared to the situation in the pre airport project; (b) seasonal working in agricultural sector is limited, resulting in surplus labor forces in rural areas. A research conducted by PT.Angkasa Pura²⁷ in 2007 found that 81% peasant households in those villages affected by the airport project are highly depended on the agricultural sector (PT.AngkasaPura, 2009). The airport project might also contribute in increasing numbers of unemployment in rural areas. The data shows that the number of working forces in central Lombok regency is around 447.462 people of which 72% is concentrated in rural areas (BPS, 2012). In this regard, when access to land resource is limited, those affected people might have to be competed to each other to gain new resources to secure their livelihoods.

²⁷ PT.Angkasa Pura is state company, which is responsible to manage international airport in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat province.

4.2.2. Lack of Clarity Concerning Land Compensation

Land compensation was a contested issue during and after land acquisition for the international airport project. It occurred because of some factors. The first was that the land compensation was not based on NJOP²⁸. According to many respondents, the NJOP of farming land was Rp.35.000 (\$3,5) per acre in 1993/4, but it suddenly decreased to Rp.20.000,-(\$2) in 1995. This issue prompted land owners to demand that land compensation should be based on NJOP. However, due to the repressive actions performed by the state forces, there was no resistance from land owners in that time and they had no choice of not taking the compensation. A respondent²⁹ stated:

"I remembered that in the second meeting Mamiq Wati, a tax collector (sedahan) in Penujak village whispered to me that the NJOP was Rp.35.000,-(\$3,5) per acre. However, I was really afraid of what the team said to us. I took the land compensation because I frightened of not gaining it".

The issue of land compensation also attracted attention from some local political figures. A respondent³⁰ told that two members of house of representative at provincial level, H.Taqiudin Mansyur from Nation Awakening Party, and H.Mudahir from Indonesia Democratic Party, informed that the land compensation for the international airport project was Rp.800.000 (\$80) per acre. But it seems that the issue of land compensation might just be a political commodity for those politicians, who had just been elected as the member of House of Representatives. They just liked to throw a stone in the water and their statement had no effect on changing the amount of land compensation. Another version of the land compensation was broadcasted by the national radio of Indonesia (Radio Republik Indonesia) explaining that the land compensation for the airport was Rp.2.000.000,-(\$200)³¹ per acre. The disparity of information on the land compensation indicated that the local authority did not provide enough information to the land owners. It means that access to information on land compensation was limited. As a result, at the community level the issue that local authority corrupted the money was unavoidable.

In contrary, Mr.LS³² explained that the process of the land acquisition was based on legal procedures. He referred to the process which took place in 1995 when the local government facilitated several meetings to negotiate the land compensation and in the meeting, 80% participants agreed to receive Rp. 200.000,-(\$20) per acre for the land compensation. This claim was based on the result of the second meeting for negotiation where the majority of participants approved to receive land compensation offered by the government. Meanwhile in relation to the NJOP, he mentioned that the NJOP of the farming lands for airport was different depending on the class of the land. The NJOP of the irrigated land was Rp.20.000 (\$2) per acre and non-irrigated land (rain feed areas) Rp.15.000 (\$1,5) per acre. Then, local authority decided to use the highest NJOP as the standard of determining the land compensation. However, information presented by the village officer was contrasted with what respondents said about it. The NJOP of farming lands for airport was Rp.35.000,. Unfortunately, some respondent argued that they could not proof this figure because a year before the land acquisition took place, the government did not release the tax bill. They did not have a strong position to defend the land compensation based on NJOP.

²⁸ NJOP is the shorten of Nilai Jual Object Pajak (object tax sale value). It is generally accepted as the standard of selling and buying of land in Indonesia

²⁹ A man, 56 years old, a religious figure. He, later on, become key person of OTL

³⁰ Idem

³¹ Idem with footnote 5.

³² The head of Penujak village. In the meantime of land acquisition he was a village secretary. Interviewed on 15 October 2012

4.2.3. Uncertainty of the Airport Development Plan

There are some examples of how development policy ends up in uncertainty in Lombok. In the introduction part, I have briefly explained a planned development policy in the tourism sector, which has been used to accumulate property of private companies rather than letting local people utilize their land for rural livelihoods. The conflicts between the companies often occur not only because of the land compensation, but they are also triggered by the fact that the company neglected the area for decades. For instance, until recently at least 6.000 hectares lands have been acquired by 20 tourism companies based in Jakarta and the companies do nothing in the area (Suara-NTB, 2010). I use this case as an example because later on it inspires the former land owners of the airport area to react to the airport development policy because PT.Angkasa Pura abandoned the airport area for decades.

The development policy to construct the international airport was hampered by the severe economic crisis in Indonesia in 1997. The crisis contributed to the collapse of the Indonesian rupiah currency, increased levels of foreign debt, threw millions into unemployment and saw a decline in living standard cross country (Fallon, 2001). PT.Angkasa Pura as the owner of the airport was also affected by the crisis and neglected the airport area for years. This situation was, of course, unexpected, but land owners considered that the government did not pay serious attention to the idea of international airport development. When taking over the farming lands for airport development they promised that the airport would be ready in 2000. For almost a decade however, there was no clarity about the airport development project and the company only territorialized the airport areas in 1996. This condition prompted the ex-land owners of the airport area to demand their lands back.

There were various issues emerging since the company overlooked the area. For instance, the airport would be hired by a private company as the location of jatropa plantation, tobacco plantation and cotton plantation. This situation induced the ex-land owners to occupy the airport area for farming activities. In addition, during the negotiation process the local authority³³ promised that the ex-land owners would have access to farm in the airport area as long as it had not been constructed yet. The respondent³⁴ I spoke with argued that it was clear that the agreement between the ex-land owners and the local authority was that the land acquisition was for the airport development and not for other purposes.

"I released my farming land for the airport. That was the point. They, the government officers and local elites, intimidated and threatened us to accept land compensation for the airport, but if they used the land for other purposes we have a reason to occupy our lands back".

The economic crisis affected political turmoil and instability which forced the new order regime of Soeharto to step down in May 1998. The economic and political crisis aggravated the uncertainty of the airport development project. This situation was utilized by local NGOs dealing with land issues to strengthen local movements to occupy airport areas grabbed by the new order regime of Soeharto. Moreover, the visibility of constructing an international airport in the regency was also questioned. In the period 2000 – 2005, a numbers of ministries visited the airport area, but there was no clarity about when it would be built. A respondent³⁵ said:

³³ In this context, local authority mainly refers to the team 9 which was responsible to acquisition land for airport.

³⁴ A man, 61 years old. One of village coordinators of OTL Lauk Kawat. Interview on 15 December 2012.

³⁵ Idem

"I together with other peasants followed a meeting in the office of Pujut sub district in 2005. I forget the date. I heard the ministry of agriculture and the ministry of transportation said that the proposed area for international airport was actually not visible, but local authorities here were quite intensive to lobby central government to approve the policy of developing international airport in central Lombok regency".

In his article "development of development", Heryanto (1998) depicts the nature of development practices during the new order regime of Soeharto. In this era, and also more recently, development was defined 'to construct physical infrastructures which did not exist before assuming that they contribute to stimulate local economic development'. Thus, establishing public infrastructures was the main concern of development policy. Meanwhile, government apparatus at the regional level had to execute the policy which had been decided at the national level. It is quite often that the numbers of public infrastructure are used as the symbol of the development achievements of ruling authority. They would be very proud if they could construct a mega development project in their region. As result, they struggled for materialize those infrastructures. Apart from this, development projects are also carried out to strengthen political power relation of ruling power and to control resources (Duffield, 2001) rather than to increase people's participation in development processes. Therefore, development policy is often used to perpetuate political interests.

4.2.4. The Actors in the Airport Conflict

1. Team 9 (*Tim Sembilan*)

Team 9³⁶ was established based on the decree of governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat province No.463/1993 on the establishment of land procurement committee for the development of international airport and the decree of regent of central Lombok district No.593.S/401/01/1994 on the approval of the location of the international airport development (PT.AngkasaPura, 2009). The team consisted of various actors, such as the head of regency, the head of land agency, the head of tax agency, the head of public works, the head of agricultural agency, the head of transportation agency, the head of sub district, the head of village, the regional secretary and security forces. The team was responsible to acquisition the farming lands for airport project including re-measuring the land for airport, organizing meetings for negotiation and distributing land compensation. The team was a super body to conduct the process of land acquisition for international airport. It was the team who had the rights to define how land acquisition should be done.

2. SERTA - Nusa Tenggara Barat

SERTA is the short name of Serikat Tani (Peasant Association). In its statutes, the organization aims at defending peasant rights on social, economics and politics to improve the living standard and well-being of peasant households. SERTA affiliates with SPI (Serikat Petani Indonesia or Indonesia Farmer Assosiation) based in Jakarta. It also has a relationship with international organizations, such as La Via Campesina. The SERTA's activists are mostly students from the law faculty at Mataram University Nusa Tenggara Barat. According to Mr.Wj³⁷, the new order regime local authority associated the organization with leftist movement. It means that they saw the organization identical to communist movements, and quite often SERTA's activists became the target of state forces. In the

³⁶ It was called team 9 because the members of the team were representations of nine institutions at provincial level, district level, sub district level and village level.

³⁷ The former secretary of SERTA NTB and since 2009, he is the leader of Serikat Petani Indonesia (Indonesia Farmer Association) of Nusa Tenggara Barat. Interview on 12 January 2013

case of conflicts in the tourism areas in Kuta and Tanjung A'an, SERTA also contributed by advocating land owners to reclaim LTDC' lands in Kuta and Tanjung A'an in 1999. It also formed OTL (Organisasi Tani Lokal or Local Peasant Organization), named "OTL-Badai Selatan".

In the airport issues, SERTA supported the peasants to increase their capacity and capability in their struggle for their rights of social, economic and political resources. Since 1996, SERTA was already involved in advocating peasants in the airport area. However, Wj argued that their movement was underground due to the strict control of the regime toward SERTA's activists and activities. The economic crisis in 1997, which was followed by increasing political tension in the following year, was seen by SERTA's activists as an opportunity to consolidate their movements at community level. The existence of SERTA contributed to strengthen peasants' awareness related to land rights. At community level, the organization organized trainings on civic education concerning the rights to land resources, agrarian law and organizational development. The peasant movements were advocated by SERTA which were used to challenge political structures to change the airport development policy. This organization played an essential role in fostering people awareness and knowledge, which could gradually lead to change policy process through negotiating the contexts or the issue they are dealing with (Pollar & Julius, 2007).

3. Organisasi Tani Lokal "Lauk Kawat"

OTL (Organisasi Tani Lokal or local peasant organization) is a peasant community organization based in Tanak Awu village. It was established in 1997. The development of OTL was facilitated by SERTA. Some respondents informed that SERTA's activists were well-accepted by the ex-land owners of the airport area since they promised reclaiming the land for airport. In this regard, SERTA brought optimism to help ex-land owners re-claim their land back. As a consequence, they were very enthusiastic to be involved in the organization's activities. Before OTL Lauk Kawat was established, they were invited several times by SERTA's activists to attend meetings in Mataram aiming to discuss the issue of airport development.

Then, after the regime of Soeharto toppled down in 1998, SERTA and OTL Lauk Kawat intensively organized protests and public hearings with the local representatives and the government of Nusa Tenggara Barat province. Through these actions they voiced that land compensation and the process of land acquisition was flawed because it was taken under pressure. The land should be renegotiated. Another demand was that the airport areas should be returned to ex-land owners to do farming activities. Wj elaborated that SERTA's activists and OTL used this momentum to pressurize local government to put the issue of the airport area on the table. A respondent³⁸ explained:

"In 1998 I followed the demonstration to the local authority at the district and provincial level in Mataram. We met Haji Azhar, the vice governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat. We explained our reasons why we kept struggling to work on the airport, for instance we needed the land for our livelihoods. Then, after several times demonstrations, Azhar agreed that the ex-land owners were allowed to do the farming activities in airport areas".

The implementation of the government policy, which permitted ex-land owners to work in the airport area, was translated differently by local authorities at regional and village level. They issued a regulation expecting not only the ex-land owners were allowed to work in the airport area, but also the other peasant households in the villages affected by the airport project. Village officers divided the airport area into 60 blocks and each peasant obtained at least 38 acres. Peasants were obliged to

³⁸ A man, 61 years old. One of village coordinators of OTL Lauk Kawat. Interview on 15 December 2012.

pay 100 kg paddy tax to the village office. The process of dividing the airport area was the domain of local authorities. They had the right to point out who worked on which plot. The ex-land owners saw that this policy was unfair because many people including village officers and local elites obtained irrigated land, while others had to work on non-irrigated lands. A respondent informed:

“Local officers authoritatively decided where we had to work. I had 1,2 hectares irrigated land before the airport development project started, but they asked me to work on non-irrigated land 38 acres. Government officers from agricultural agency and village officials also took part to work in the airport area. They grabbed larger plots than ex-land owners. They did not work, but asked other peasants (their relatives) to work and later on they shared the crops”.

It seems that the voracious mentality of bureaucratic apparatus contributed to aggravate tension in the airport area. A respondent said that *‘mereka tidak pernah menyemai benih, tetapi memetik hasilnya’* (they have never grown the seeds, but they suddenly harvest the crops). It means that they had no contribution to negotiate working opportunity in the airport area, but they abruptly held the power to gain benefits from the area. It should be the other way around. This situation, then, prompted the SERTA’s activists and OTL members to re-negotiate the system of managing the farming land in the airport area. The airport area was fully managed by land owners in 2000. No access was given to those who were not the ex-land owners. In this situation, the OTL did control those peasants working in the airport area and also provoked the peasants to stop giving tax to the village officials considering that there was no clear explanation why the tax should be allocated. The point here is that peasants, through the institution, made strong efforts to pursue optimal rights to their land resources by challenging political structures at local level. Therefore, confronting political policy is another way to overcome vulnerable context for sustaining livelihoods (Carney, 1998).

In the period of 2000-2005, the ex-land owners occupied the airport area to do farming activities. During the period, SERTA and OTL Lauk Kawat intensively organized local meetings at community level discussing what to do after peasants occupied their ex-lands. According to a respondent³⁹, occupying airport area for years cultivated hope that they could claim their land back. In addition, activists SERTA informed the ex-land owners that they have rights to attain the land back because the company neglected it for years. A respondent⁴⁰ said:

“When activists of SERTA organized meetings or discussions, they gave us hope that we could claim our lands back. They said that according to law, if a company purchased plot and it was abandoned for more than 5 years, then, the ex-land owner could claim it back. This argument motivated us to struggle for claiming our lands.

SERTA actively educated peasants’ rights to land resources. They envisaged that after having access to their land resources they could claim back their land. In addition, meetings and discussions were regularly conducted at community level. In order to support those activities, each member⁴¹ of OTL provided a voluntarily contribution in terms of paddy (60 kg a year). This kind of resource was among others used to hire transportation when the organizations organized a demonstration, dialog or public hearing. We can say here that the in-kind contribution of peasants was an incentive to strengthen the existence of the organization to mobilize opinions about the peasants’ rights to land resource. However, the abundant resource managed by OTL was a source of tension within the organization. Two years later, skeptical views towards SERTA and OTL came into existence. A

³⁹ A men, 43 years, The former member of OTL. Interviewed on 10 September 2102.

⁴⁰ Idem

⁴¹ Each interviewed respondent had no clear information how many members of the OTL was. They just informed that all ex-land owners were the members of OTL.

respondent⁴² I talked to suspected that the organizations took advantage of being involved in the issue.

"I observed that the issue of airport area was commoditized by SERTA in particular. The OTL leaders collected a lot of paddy, but where the paddy went and for whom. It was not clear. I thought for their own benefits. I also heard an issue that the organization obtained financial supports from Bali and fertilizer companies to perform its activities. Then, I advocated other peasants to stop giving paddy to the OTL".

The existence of SERTA and OTL was challenged by other peasants who mistrusted that the working spirit of the organization had changed. The organization was not purely to work for land rights anymore, but separate of it they mobilized the issue of land rights for other economic interests. It might be true for OTL control a lot of resources from which the leaders of OTL could accumulate resources, such as paddy. Some respondents I spoke with said that they were not critical enough to examine how OTL leaders used the collected resources, as they thought the organization had considerable merits to help them claiming their farming lands. In relation to the issue of financial support for the organization, it was quite difficult to gain information to proof the statement. However, if the issue was true, the international airport project might would threat the same business in Bali and also would diminish market share of Fertilizer Company because the airport decreased the farming lands in the area. The image of SERTA's activists as provocateurs agitating local community against development policy was also part of this critic. Another respondent said:

"The OTL Lauk Kawat coordinators in each village collected the paddy to finance meetings and other activities for OTL members and we believed it. They also said that they wanted to buy a car for the organization. However, they only purchased a motor bike, Yamaha RX King with the price of 15 tons paddy and it was only used by the head of the OTL Lauk Kawat, Mr.L.H⁴³ instead of using by the other members of the organization".

When access to the airport area was limited, the cooperation among OTL members seemed quite strong, but when resource control by the organization was abundant, it created fractured among OTL members. The critics were not only related to the organization itself, but also to the way the leaders of OTL managed the organizational assets. The OTL was also criticized because it was highly depended on SERTA. In fact, since the airport was constructed in 2007, SERTA's activists had limited contact to the OTL cadres and there was no assistance provided by the organization to support how the former members of OTL should deal with the issue of job opportunities in the post airport construction.

The fragmentation within OTL undermined the solidity of the organization. The issue of transparency in managing the organization assets divided the members of the organization into two blocks. The peasants still involved in OTL were considered as a contra group while others were called pro-airport group. The respondents which took position in the contra airport group argued that the contribution that they provided to the organization was equal to what the organization did for them. Without the assistance of an organization like SERTA they might have had no access to work in the airport area for years. Interestingly, the pro-airport group actually was associated to those peasants who did not actively participate in the organization activities or giving contribution. Pro-airport group was a name given by the contra airport. I noted that some respondents identified as pro-airport group were mostly the relatives of local figures, such as the head of hamlet, who had a close rapport with the village officials. Later on, the latter group blamed the organization, that they had agitated local community to oppose airport development policy.

⁴² A men, 41 years old, a youth figure in the village. Interview on 15 October 2012.

⁴³ A man, 39 years old, youth figure and former member of village committee of Penujak. Interview on 14 November 2012.

4. Team 11 (Tim Sebelas)

Team 11 was established in 2005. The team was created soon after Wiratmadja, a cadre of Golkar Party, took power as the new regent in the central Lombok regency in 2005. He replaced Suhaimi from the Development Unity Party. In the post Soeharto era, these security forces carefully acted to disband demonstrations or protests undertaken by individuals or groups. However, tension in the airport area increased after Wiratmadja ruled the regency. According to a respondent, during the political campaign he promised that if selected as the new regent, he would prioritize the development of the international airport. Then, no sooner after starting ruling the regency, he visited the airport area and declared the airport project would be constructed.

Hence, in order to accelerate the process of the airport construction, he ordered village officials to form “team 11⁴⁴”. It is important to note that in the post Soeharto regime, security forces carefully acted to disband demonstration or protest. The issue of human rights violation carried out by the military forces during the new order regime still attracted national concern, but Wiratmadja was quite astute to create an institution to reinforce the political decision to start constructing the airport project. So, instead of putting security forces in the front line, he exploited the team as the government backbone to accelerate the process of clearing airport areas from agricultural activities. Furthermore, the main function of the team was to force peasants to stop farming activities in the area and to secure the process of the airport clearance. A former member⁴⁵ of the team told researcher that he was pointed by the head of the village as one of the members of the team and Rp.300.000 (\$30) a week. He told that being a member of the team was actually dilemmatic because he had to fight with my relatives, but the money was the reason to be the team. This case indicates that different people have different interest in the airport area. Some people put themselves at risk in order to gain access to resources.

The team 11 was a powerful group because they were backed up by the state forces. The local authority employed the team to expel peasants working in the airport area. The team was like armed force using traditional custom in black. They also equipped themselves with sharp weapons like knives when charging to oppress peasants working in the airport area. However, the existence of the team sharpened the horizontal conflict, because the team did not only diminish farming activities, but they also destroyed the crops planted by the peasants. A respondent⁴⁶ explained:

“I was cultivating paddy when the team came and destroyed our paddy using tractors. They often came together with state apparatus. They also sprayed paddy with herbicide. Sometimes we planted paddy at night to avoid the team. But in the following days, they came again and demolished our paddy”.

More than that, inside the village the members of the team acted as the spy to monitor the activities of those people who opposed the airport project, particularly the members of OTL Lauk Kawat. They also supplied information and provided a recommendation for the state apparatus (policemen) to catch a person indicated as provocateur opposing the airport project. Furthermore, the intimidation of the OTL members was not only carried out by the state apparatus, but also by the members of team 11. A respondent⁴⁷ illustrated:

⁴⁴ The members of the team was recruited from 3 villages, which were Penujak, Tanak Awu and Ketara. Each village provided 11 people to be the members of the team and they should be invincible men.

⁴⁵ A men, 38 years old, working as security in the airport. Interview on 17 October 2012.

⁴⁶ A women, 42 years old. Interview on 17 October 2012.

⁴⁷ A man, 56 years old, a religious figure and one of key persons of local peasant organization (Organisasi Tani Lokal) “Lauk Kawat”. Interview on 28 November 2012

“I felt my life was threatened in that time. I always went to the farm in early morning, I went back home at night. When I was at home in the day, I just stayed inside even my sandals were hidden by my sons. They wanted to catch me. I did not understand what the reasons were. In this village, three people including my son were caught by policemen because of recommendation from the team 11. They were pulling out paddy seeds in the farm. They were brought to the police office and sent to jail for 3 months”

The ways the team worked to force people to stop farming in the airport area and to surveillance people's activities in the village created fractures within the community. The team acted arrogantly to fully support what was already ordered by the government without considering the effects of their actions at the community level. As the result, the social relationship between those groups indicated as pro and contra airport was prone to turn violent. In the airport area, the team felt uncontested because the state forces stood up behind them, but inside the village they were considered as the common enemy particularly by those opposing the airport project (OTL members). However, the government apparatus did not pay attention to the violent situation occurring at community level and they maybe also did not care about it as they already paid the team to work with them to secure the airport area. The result was that, when the conflict occurred among the groups, villagers created their own way to solve the problem.

In Slanglet hamlet, for instance, the vast majority of inhabitants were against the airport project, whilst the member of the team was the head of the hamlet. The case of arresting villagers increased the social tension among the two groups. The contra groups accused the head of the village victimizing his relatives by sending them to jail. Consequently, there was no social interaction and communication anymore among the two groups. The culmination of the conflict among the groups occurred in 2007. At that time, PT.Angkasa Pura was negotiating the land for the airport drainage. The farming lands affected by the drainage project belonged to the peasant families contesting the airport project. However, instead of helping his community to negotiate the compensation, the head of the hamlet started working as the contractor of the drainage project together with his cronies. The contra airport group reacted furiously and toppled down the head of the hamlet from his position as the leader. A respondent observed that the situation in the village was dangerous when both groups were face to face to fight. The house of the hamlet leader would have been burnt.

This case indicates how fragile the situation is within a community due to the political strategy of ruling power to employ villagers as the backbone of securing a development project. The existence of the team decreased the social cohesion within the community. Team 11 not only obtained economic benefits from the government, but they also created close relationship with the company to access job opportunities. In this regard, the institutional coalitions between the team, state apparatus and the company are essential political decisions about how people access resources and benefits (Sikor & Lund, 2009). We can say here that the team is a spoiled group which only pursues economic returns without taking into account familial relationships. But another problem here also relates to who controls resource. Here, the team had more access to gain certain resources in the airport area, while the contra group lost access to work in the airport area. So, the competition over vital livelihood resources induced conflict among the groups.

5. Pamswakarsa (Kelompok Pengamanan Swakarsa –Civil Security Forces)

Pamswakarsa is a community-based security group. The emergence of the Pamswakarsa became a new trend in the post Soeharto regime. In Lombok, for instance, anti-Christian unrest occurred in 17 January 2000, also well-known as “the case 171”, when the smallest non-Muslim minority groups were forced to flee their homes. Some churches were burnt and destroyed by the Muslim group

claiming to revenge the killing of Mollucan Muslim by Christians. The case of 171 was preceded by “the tabligh akbar” (general speech given by Islamic scholar) in Mataram involving various organizations, such as Islam Student Association, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah and Pamswakarsa “Ampibi”⁴⁸.

In the central Lombok regency, there are different types of the Pamswakarsa created either by a charismatic Islamic leader or community leader. The idea of developing civil security groups was widely accepted by community, for they play an important role to protect livestock of their members from burglary or robbery actions, and to find out the robbed livestock which quite often occurred in Lombok. In 1990-2000, violations and criminals harassed the Lombok people, particularly those having livestock. The poor economic condition is expected as one of the factors triggering the robbery actions in Lombok (Kompas, 2000 in Taquiuddin 2010). In the beginning, the existence of the pamswakarsa contributed to minimize robbery actions and the organization provided substitution if a member of the group lost his livestock. So it was not surprising that many people registered to be a member of the groups although they had to pay a registration fee and monthly contribution to the organization. When people got involved in the organization, they felt safe⁴⁹.

However, in the following years the groups obtained skeptical views for their actions to threaten people who are indicated as criminals. In many cases the security groups often performed sadistic ways to punish the robberies. They hunted and lynched criminals and had no doubt to kill the thieves when they found them. In some points, the Pamswakarsa did not bring more security for villagers, rather the pamswakarsa’s mutual struggles, violence and sometimes sadistic behavior spread fear across the island. On behalf of protecting and securing their members, they did not do an investigation before giving punishment to the people indicated as the robbery. In the post Soeharto regime, the civil security groups are more powerful than the state apparatus (policemen). This might occur since the state apparatus, such as policemen were considered incapable of protecting and securing people. Even when people reported the case of criminals to them, there was no following up. So, people thought that the role of the groups is more important than the security apparatus.

In addition, the members of the Pamswakarsa are often mobilized for political interests. The organization is often part of a political power. The leaders of the pamswakarsa affiliate with certain local political figures providing material supports for the pamswakarsa. When a local-political contest like a general election would be carried out the members of the groups would vote for those figures (MacDougall, 2007). In the case of conflict in the airport area, the members of the pamswakarsa were also mobilized by local authority to back up development policy (airport development) gaining resistance from the ex-land owners. The Pamswakarsa group played a significant role in intimidating and threatening those people refusing the development of international airport, the members of OTL in particular. I interviewed one of the most influencing

⁴⁸ The Pamswakarsa “Ampibi” is the first civil security group established in East Lombok in 1999. It was founded by a charismatic Islamic leader, Tuan Guru Haji Sibawaih Mutawalli. The members of Ampibi spread out in the whole regencies of Lombok and they are mostly the followers/the former students of the Tuan Guru. It is predicted that the Pamswakarsa Ampibi has hundred thousands of members spreading out in entire the Lombok island (<http://balitbangdiklat.kemenag.go.id/sinopsis-hasil-penelitian/kehidupan-beragama.html>). Until recently, there are 68 groups of pamswakarsa in Lombok. The numbers of their members are various. For instance Amphibi 210.000 people, Elang Merah 38.000 people, Ta'awun 30.000 people, Bujak 80.000 people, Gunung Pujut 30.000 people, Hisbullah 50.000 people, Hamzan Wadhi 30.000 people <http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0103/12/daerah/memu33.htm>.

⁴⁹ Kompas, 12 March 2001 (<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0103/12/daerah/memu33.htm>)

cadres of OTL Lauk Kawat living in a small compound outside the village of Penujak. The respondent⁵⁰ described:

"A group of people often came here at night. They screamed outside and threatened us to flee from this small village. I did not think that they were thieves. They just wanted us away from here. One night in 2005, we were attacked by a group of people bombarding stone to our houses. I was quite surprised. We thought they were a group of robbers, but it was not".

Furthermore, the contra airport group was not only challenging political structures, but they also had to address other repressive actors in the airport area, such as Team 11 and civil security group. Thus, the mobilization of the latter group also aggravated social tension in the airport area. Compared to the new order regime when state forces monopolized the security issue for development intervention (Avonius, 2004), the ruling power in the post Soeharto tended to decentralize the violent acts by incorporating other civil security elements to eradicate critical groups toward development policy. As the effect, horizontal conflicts were quite prominent in the post new order regime. The political transition from centralization to decentralization seemed to provide space for local groups to take a role in social and political process and most often they were clinging to local power and authority to gain more access to resources.

As explained earlier that the pamswakarsa engaged in the airport conflicts after Wiratmaja took power as the new regent of the central Lombok regency. He came from a noble family and had strong influence to the ordinary people in southern part of the central Lombok. He also had a close relationship with the leaders of some Pamswakarsa groups, such as "Buru Jejak", "Amphibi" and "YATOFA"⁵¹ because the leaders of the organizations were the cadres of the GOLKAR party. In addition, the involvement of the pamswakarsa in the airport conflicts was apparent. It could be seen, for instance, when the members of the OTL Lauk Kawat together with SERTA and SUAKA organized a protest to the regency office of central Lombok on 25 January 2006. At the same time and place, the local authority mobilized other civilian security forces to encounter the demonstration. A respondent⁵² described:

"When I arrived in the regency office, I saw another group of people already there. I felt happy because I thought they were our friends. A friend of mine said that they were members of pamswakarsa "Ampibi and YATOFA". They were organized by the head of the ruling party, Golkar. When our leader spoke, they also spoke, but they teased us by saying those contra airport were "stupid people" and other roughly words. We did not reactive to them, but then they abruptly assailed us with the stone. We all ran, and they chased us. In the incident, at least 18 of us were seriously injured and 2 people were hospitalized"

Moreover, political decentralization also contributes to decentralize violation at local level. It also produces a vulnerable situation for those dispossessed and resettled households struggling for rights to land resource for their livelihoods. The case presented above shows how local authority used their power to oppress the protesters. In addition, involvement of vigilant groups mobilized by the political elites tended to increase violent acts among community groups. In this context, challenging political power and authority is one of the ways gaining access to resources or property and to encourage policy changes (Bebbington, 1999; Sikor & Lund, 2009). However, it is also important to

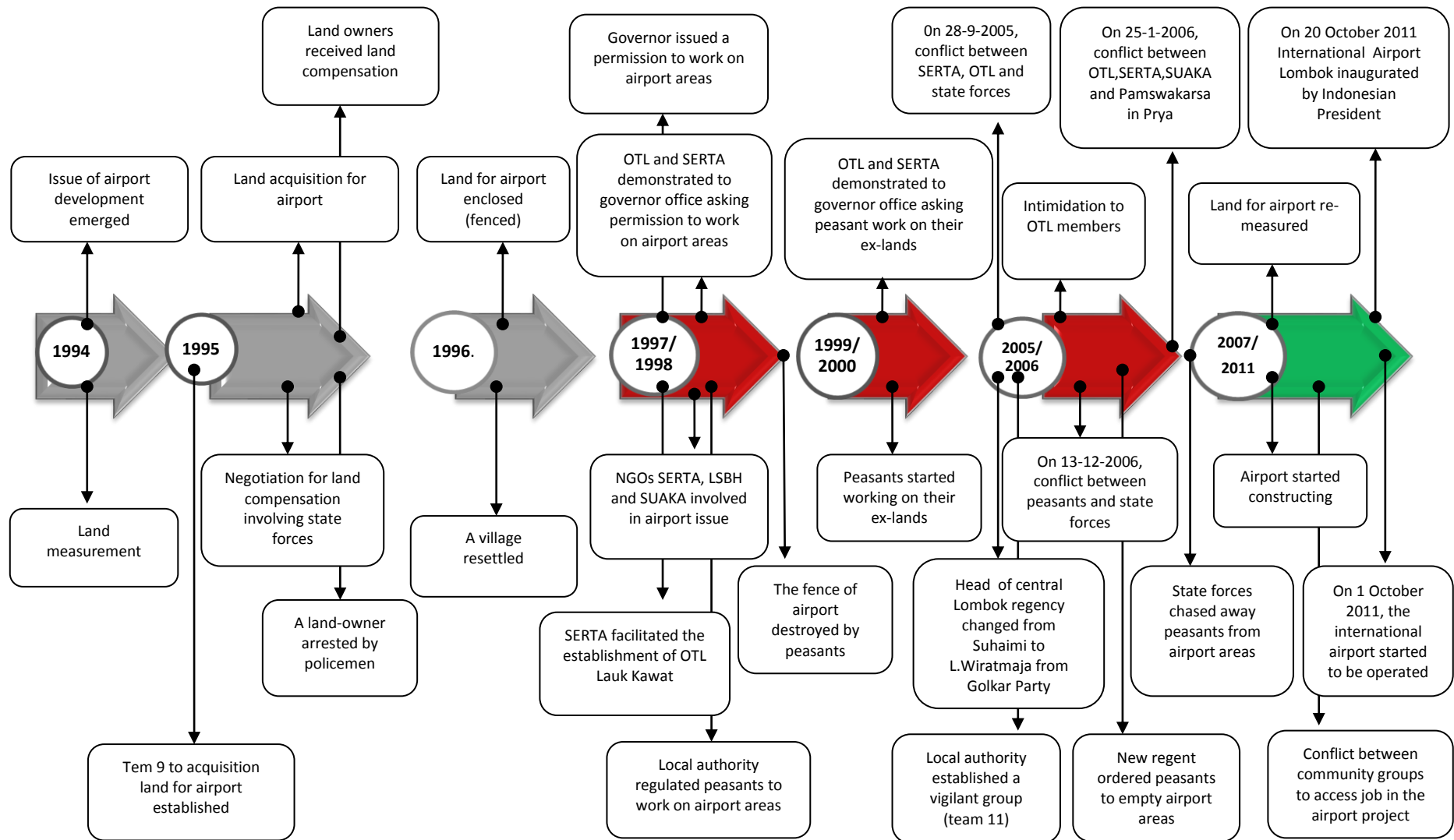
⁵⁰ A man, 65 years old. One of village coordinators of OTL Lauk Kawat. This respondent also described that one night in 2007 he lost five buffalos when he away for attending religious event in another village. He argued that this was also part of intimidation. Interview on 15 December 2012

⁵¹ It is one of foundations which conducts boarding school in Central Lombok regency. The leaders of the foundation are politically affiliated to GOLKAR Party in the regency.

⁵² A man, 48 years old, former members of OTL. Interview on 18 September 2012.

take into consideration that opposing government policy is not merely standing in the opposite site of government, but those protesters have to consolidate their power and network to strengthen their position and assertion.

Figure 8. Timeframe of Airport Development Project from 1994-2012



Source: Fieldwork, 2012

4.3. The Patterns of Conflicts in the Airport Project

4.3.1. The Conflicts in 1995-1996

The resistance towards airport development policy emerged after land acquisition in 1995. There were some reasons that prompted the ex-land owners to react to the airport development policy. The first contested issue was that local authority corrupted the land compensation. As presented earlier, information about land compensation was diverse, which encouraged the ex-land owners to require their rights. The issue of corruption was, of course, a sensitive topic to be discussed publicly during the new order regime of Soeharto, it was only a silent issue that might be discussed spoken within the households level only. The second was the process of negotiation of land compensation was only formalization as the decision had been made by the local authority (team 9). Respondents argued that the meetings for land negotiation were not really for negotiation because the local authority intimidated and pressured land owners to release their land for the airport project. Moreover, the meetings took place in a one way process and land owners had no room to maneuver. If one criticized the policy, the state apparatus (military forces) would arrest that man. In the first meeting, for instance, Mr.AY, a land owner from Penujak village mocked the name of ministry of communication, namely HARMOKO. The name of the ministry was the abbreviation of “Hari-hari Omong Kosong” (everyday nonsense talk). He presented an example, when the government acquired farming lands for the Batujai Dam in 1980s. The ministry said that the Batujai Dam would provide irrigational water for farming areas in the south - where the international airport is located nowadays. In fact, the dam had no effect on watering farming areas in the south; rather it is only beneficial for the farmers in the west. The military forces caught him, considering him as a “crazy” person.

Although the ex-land owners were not satisfied with the process of land acquisition and land compensation, the form of conflicts in this period was latent instead of manifest. The development practices during the military regime of Soeharto, in most cases, were colorized by repressive acts to extinguish critical thoughts from the community. In the new order era, development (pembangunan) was a salient keyword used as the source of authority and legitimacy of development practices. In addition, it was constructed as the way of perpetuating domination through establishing predatory networks of patronage, not only at national level but also at local level (Heryanto & Lutz, 1998). In the case of airport development, for instance, the regime employed a military approach to oppress those individuals or groups criticizing the development policy. As a result, skeptical views towards the development agenda were eradicated through threats and intimidations. A respondent⁵³ illustrated:

“I received the land compensation by force without questioning too much about it. I just followed what other did. Our life was in dangerous if talking too much, for state forces were everywhere. The land acquisition took place under pressure. We were villagers and they were armed forces. If you criticized the policy, they would catch us”.

It seems that in the oppressed situation the ex-land owners for the airport were so pessimistic to criticize the airport development project since the government used military approach to encounter critical opinions towards the development agenda. In addition, village apparatus also functioned as the watchdog of development at the lowest level that people had limited space to voice their rights over land resource. So, instead of arguing a lot about land compensation, keeping silence was the best choice to avoid the risks of struggling rights over land compensation.

⁵³ A man, 45 years old. He was part of pro-airport group. Interview on 19 September 2012.

The forms of oppression conducted by the regime were various, for instance those people who opposed the development policy would be labeled ‘communist followers’ or they would have sent to jail (Aritonang, 2004). Furthermore, challenging political structures for having access to resources was not beneficial in this time, because the state apparatus was a too strong power to be contested.

4.3.2. The Conflicts in 1997-1999

The increasing tension between the state apparatus and the ex-land owners manifested after the new order regime of Soeharto collapsed in 1998. The change of political power contributed to increase protest and demonstration, which were carried out massively both at national and local level. In relation to the airport development project, respondents were actively involved in the march arguing that the regime had grabbed the farming land for the international airport. The following was the involvement of local NGOs, such as SERTA. Later, the organization was actively engaged in providing trainings and civic education for the ex-land owners. Then, in order to strengthen peasant movements in the airport area, SERTA established OTL. In the following years, the institutional alliance between SERTA and OTL increased pressure to the local authority to (re)negotiate the option advocated by the organizations, which was that the airport area should be returned to the ex-land owners⁵⁴.

According to many respondents, it took months to against the local government both at regency and provincial level to give access to the farming land in the airport area, until provincial government allowed them to do farming activities in the area in 1998⁵⁵. The change of political attitude of provincial government to permit the ex-land owners working in the airport area was caused by the local political situation that was prone to violence. Respondents told that they were highly motivated to take part in the protests and were not afraid of fighting with the state apparatus. What we can see here was not only how institutions were mobilized to gain access to resources (Ribot & Peluso, 2003), but it was also used to challenge political structure to boost a policy change (Bebbington, 1999)

However, the successfulness of peasant movements to force provincial government to allow ex-land owners farming in the airport area was captured by local authority and elite at the village level⁵⁶ (Dasgupta & Beard, 2007). The elites took over the process of land distribution by dividing the airport area into around 60 blocks and they pointed out who worked on which plot. Besides that, local authority and village elites permitted non ex-land owners to work in the airport area. Moreover, the village officials also demanded 100 kg paddy tax to be delivered to village office. A respondent⁵⁷ explained:

“The village elites and agricultural officers took part to work in the airport area. They chose irrigated land around 10 hectare (equal to 1 block) to work on. My land for airport was irrigated land, but they let me working on non-irrigated land. Some of them were speculators. They took the land for other people and they shared the crops”.

⁵⁴ <http://www.spi.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/juliagustus2005.pdf>

⁵⁵ Respondents told that in the meeting with vice governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat, H.L.Azhar, in 1998, they conveyed that the main reason to demand their land back was that their living was quite difficult after limited access to land resources.

⁵⁶ Local elites are locally based individuals with disproportionate access to social, political or economic power. The term elite capture refers to the process by which these individuals dominate and corrupt community-level planning and governance (Dasgupta & Beard, 2007).

⁵⁷ A man, 49 years old. A former member of OTL. Interview on 27 November 2012

Accessing farming lands in the airport area evoked the conflicts of interests among various parties. It was not only those ex-land owners who had claimed the area, but also non ex-land owners including local elites utilizing this momentum to gain personal-economic interests in the area. It was unavoidable, that this condition generated tension among them. The government officials assumed that the airport area was an open access resource, which meant that well-defined property rights were absent in the airport area and the farming land (Feeny, Berkes, McCay, & Acheson, 1990). However, on the other side, the ex-land owners saw that open access policy was unequal, and they struggled to gain back their land. The limited amount of farming lands which was controlled and managed by the ex-land owners was another factor triggering conflict in the airport area. In this sense, the limited access to resources tended to generate conflict (Homer-Dixon et al., 1993). Thus, involvement of other parties to work in the airport area encouraged SERTA and OTL members to re-organize protests to the regional authority asking that non-land owners should move from airport areas. In 1999 they fully occupied their own land without being disturbed by local authority and village elites. They also stopped providing tax to the village office.

The conflict among the ex-land owners also occurred when they were fully occupied their ex-farming lands. The conflict was caused by the issue that OTL coordinators took advantage of collecting paddy from peasants working in the airport area. Some respondents who were actively involved in OTL's activities argued that collecting paddy for the organization was reasonable because it was needed to conduct various activities, such as meetings, trainings and demonstrations. They also claimed that without help of SERTA, access to work on the airport area might have been limited. In contrary, other respondents had skeptical views of the organization. They saw that the issue of airport areas was projected by the organizations. It meant that the organization took benefits for their interests. A respondent⁵⁸ explained:

"When local authority permitted peasants to work on the airport areas, we agreed to give a tax to the village. However, the policy was only implemented for a year. In the following years, OTL coordinators collected paddy from the peasants working in the airport area. I assumed that it was delivered to government. Later on, I knew that the paddy gathered from peasants only benefited the OTL leaders and might also to the activists of SERTA as well".

At this point, the conflict among ex-land owners was not only caused by the distrust over the organization, but I assume that the organization like OTL was not robust enough to consolidate their members at community level. For instance, it was not quite clear who were claimed as the members of the organization. According to the former OTL coordinators, all ex-land owners of the farming lands prior to airport development were identified as members, but some respondents argued that they participated in and contributed to the OTL activities because they would be stopped working in the airport area if not taking part in its events. As a consequence, many ex-land owners pretended to be members of OTL and engaged in certain activities held by the organization in order to keep gaining access to land resource. So, within the organization itself, there was a friction in the beginning that influenced the solidity of the organization. However, it is interesting to note here that the fragmentation between ex-land owners of the airport area occurred when they already had controlled their own farming lands and the contribution of the peasants was taken over by the OTL itself. We can assume here that OTL would control quite a lot of resource (paddy) that it might generate suspicion from others. Thus, the peasants who had cynical views of the organization stopped providing paddy to the OTL and as a result, the ex-land

⁵⁸ A man, 39 years old. A youth figure. Interview on 27 November 2012

owners were divided into two blocks. The ex-land owners still providing contribution to OTL claimed themselves as contra airport group while the other group was indicated as pro-airport project.

4.3.3. The Conflicts in 2005-2006

The social conflicts surrounding the development of the international airport escalated more in this time compared to the previous phases. There are some factors that influenced the escalation of conflicts in this period. The first was the implementation of decentralization policy aiming at promoting democracy and good governance to create transparency, accountability and participation in development policy making processes (Hadiz, 2004; WorldBank, 2003). However, the decentralization policy was not a guarantee that the state apparatus would not perform violent acts. Rather, it also contributed to decentralize conflicts at local level, and it became a new instrument to reinforce the political power of the regional government and to regulate and manage local resources for development purposes. For instance, the change of local political leader in the Lombok regency in 2005 contributed to escalation of the conflict in the airport area.

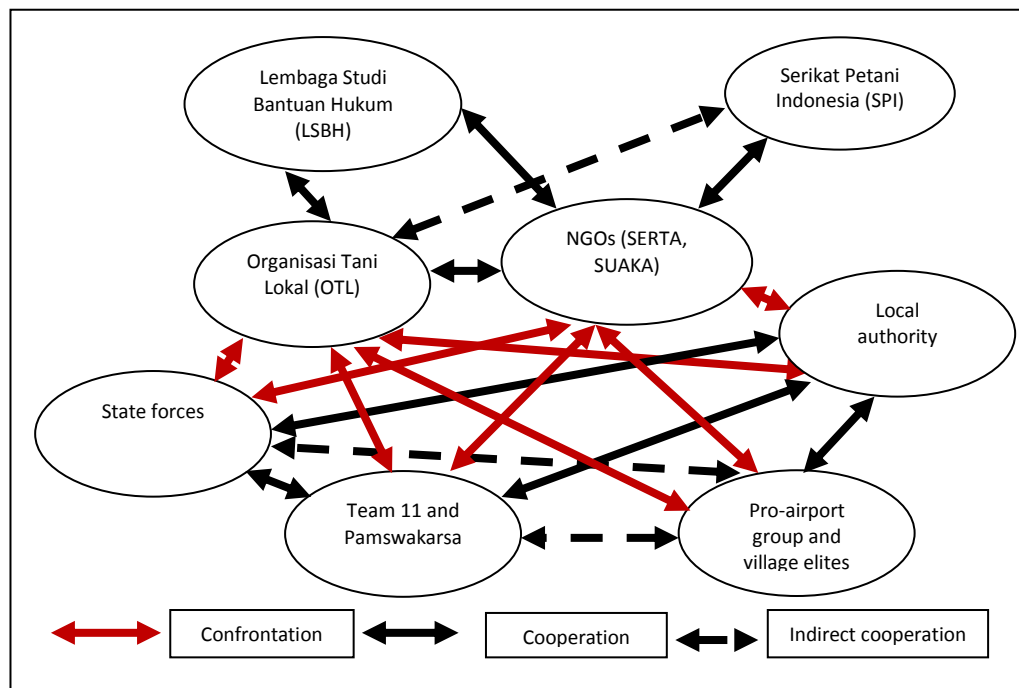
Another factor contributing to the violence in the airport area was the engagement of vigilant groups. The new ruling power mobilized some vigilant groups, such as Team 11 and the Pamswakarsa. The involvement of the vigilant groups had an effect on increasing social tension at community level. In addition, the recruitment of team 11 was not merely to encounter the peasant movements, but it was also used as a strategy to break up the power of the contra airport group. The local authority assumed that, since the OTL members and team 11 were relatives to each other, the contra airport group could be domesticated. However, the antagonistic relation between those groups aggravated social tension among them. In addition, other organizations also provided support to OTL, such as SUAKA and LSBH.

This period was the hardest situation faced by the contra airport group. Some respondents explained that the new ruling power also played various ways to eradicate peasants working in the airport area. During the day, they had to fight with the team 11 while at night they also obtained intimidation from the pamswakarsa. The vigilant groups were employed as the backbone of government policy to evict peasants conducting farming activities in the airport area. They also destroyed all plants existed in the area. A respondent⁵⁹ explained:

“When a bulldozer tried to clear my lands. I together with some peasants slept in the front of the machine aiming at protecting my plants. We also received terror and intimidation from the members of the pamswakarsa. They said they wanted to burn our village”.

⁵⁹ A men, 56 years old, OTL members living in Slanglet. Interview 26 October 2012.

Figure 9. Relation among Actors in the Airport Conflict



Source: Fieldwork, 2012

In the period of 2005-2006, there were several conflicts between state apparatus and contra airport groups. On 18 September 2005, SERTA organized a national peasant's meeting to celebrate the international peasant day in the airport area. The meeting involved various organizations. Among them were Organisasi Tani Lokal (OTL) from Lombok and Sumbawa Island, Federasi Serikat Petani Indonesia (FSPI), a national organization, and the representation of international organizations, such as La Via Campesina, Land Research Action Network, and FIAN International. It was predicted that the numbers of participants in the event was around 1000 people. The license of the meeting was issued by the police headquarters in Jakarta; letter No.Pol. SI/ANMIN/785/IX/2005/BAINTELKAM on 12 September 2005⁶⁰.

The local committee of the meeting sent the letter as proclamation to the head of regional police of West Nusa Tenggara in Mataram and also to the head of regional police of the Central Lombok regency in Praya⁶¹. Then, in a simple tent made from coconut leaves, the participants sat down on the ground close to each other. Men and women took place separately. The local committee of the meeting had just announced that participants from international organization were on the way to the area when around 700 policemen and armies with gun and water canon arrived. The commander of the police directly asked the local committee to stop the meeting. The police argued that the license of the meeting was already cancelled by the police headquarters in Jakarta. Thus, the meeting was illegal. The negotiation between the state security and the meeting committee took place, but it found a deadlock. The police kept demanding the committee to discontinue the event; however the local committee refused the order. One of committee members went to the stage gave a speech to the participants and motivated participants to keep sitting down while yelling "Allahhu Akbar (greatest god), Merdeka (freedom), Hidup Petani (peasant live)"⁶². After the negotiation ended in a deadlock, the policemen started

⁶⁰ SERTA's documents. Retrieved on 21 December 2012

⁶¹ Press released of SERTA NTB, 18 September 2005. Retrieved on 21 December 2012

⁶² The video of the conflict on 20 September 2005. Retrieved from SERTA NTB, 21 December 2012.

firing to the crowd. Participants, particularly women ran to save themselves, while men kept fighting with the policemen⁶³.



Figure 10. Conflict in the Airport Area on 18 September 2005

According to some respondents, the conflict should not occur if the state apparatus did not disseminate an issue that conflict would occur between pro and contra airport group. It was the reason that the peasant meeting should be stopped to prevent victims. However, a respondent⁶⁴ described that there was an indication that team 11 and the pamswakarsa were intentionally mobilized by the local authority to the area. This situation was reported by the local police to Jakarta that a horizontal conflict between pro and contra airport groups would occur in the airport area. It was the main reason that

the meeting was disbanded. This means the issue of horizontal conflict was politicized by the local government and state forces. The Mataram Mediation Centre indicated that in the conflict on September 2005, team 11 together with the brimob (mobile police brigades) the pamswakarsa "Sejukung" led by H.Abdul Haq and "Bujak" led by Amak Raisah were deployed at the behest of the government against peasants and NGO activists claiming land rights based on the Sasak concept known as "gumi paer"⁶⁵ (Tyson, 2013).

The violent act on 18 September 2005 was widely reported by local media. Pro and contra opinions emerged in a local newspaper accusing SERTA as the most responsible party in the conflict. According to the head of the Indonesian Youth National Committee, SERTA was a communist movement and even more dangerous than communist; therefore, it should be eradicated⁶⁶. The religious leaders in the central Lombok regency also condemned SERTA as the provocateurs of conflict and refused the existence of the organization in the central Lombok regency⁶⁷. Meanwhile, the local authority and political figures at local level also supported what had already been done by policemen to stop the meeting in the airport area, because it was an illegal meeting.

On 25 January 2006, violence between the state apparatus and the contra airport group exploded again when hundreds of OTL members together with activists of SERTA and SUAKA organized demonstrations in the office of the local representative. In this march, the protesters demanded the government apparatus and their crony to stop violating acts and threats to the peasants. However, at the same time and place, other civilian groups were mobilized by the local authority

⁶³In this case, 28 peasants were shot, 7 peasants punched by the police, 4 peasants (2 women and 2 men) were caught and a pregnant woman reported miscarriage. Meanwhile, the data published by regional police shows that the number of victims in the conflict was 15 people civilian and 46 policemen injured. The police also charged 11 members of OTL as the provocateurs of the conflict (Lombok Post, 13 October 2005).

⁶⁴H.Hanan (58 years old). OTL Coordinators. Interview on 21 November 2012.

⁶⁵According to Ahmad JD, one of cultural figure in Lombok, the concept of gumi paer is not limited to geographical areas, but it includes local practices, beliefs and other resources within it. In other words, it is an integrated concept combining social, cultural, and economic meanings. In social aspect, gumi paer strengthens social entity and solidarity. It was also integrated with social and cultural practices to respect what nature has already given to human and to keep managing that place and resources within it would always generate benefits for living in the future. Interview on 10 December 2012

⁶⁶Lombok Post, 23 September 2005.

⁶⁷Idem

and political elites to encounter the contra airport project. In this accident, 18 members of OTL injured and 2 people were hospitalized. The next conflict happened on 30 November 2006 when hundreds of peasants including women occupied an area of the airport, which would be used as the place of ground breaking of the international airport development. At that time the ministry of transportation was visiting the airport area. However, the peasants refused the attendance of the ministry and blocked the area. As a result, conflict between peasants and state apparatus was unavoidable. 7 peasants were caught and jailed⁶⁸.



Figure 11. SERTA and OTL Conducted a March On 26 January 2006

Pembaruan Tani in March 2006⁶⁹ reported that SERTA's activists and OTL leaders went to Jakarta to meet national-political figures. The meeting aimed at reporting violent actions performed by the state forces and the seriousness of central government to construct the international airport in Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat. The first meeting was conducted with KH.Abdurahman Wahid⁷⁰, well known as GUSDUR, the head of mass organization, namely "Nahdatul Ulama (NU)"⁷¹. A respondent involved in the meeting informed that GUSDUR supported what had already been done by the ex-land owners,

particularly to pursue the rights to land resources and peasants should not be afraid of repressive acts done by state forces. The second meeting was carried out with the members of the financial commission of the House of Representatives on 6 March 2006. The commission informed that the project had not been budgeted yet by central government. Furthermore, the meeting with national-political figures seemed to cultivate hopes that the idea of international airport development would not really be materialized. This situation increased the self-confidence of activists and SERTA and OTL members that international airport would not be developed in Lombok and they would obtain back their land. A respondent⁷² told:

I followed meetings with several political figures including the members of the House of Representatives in Jakarta. When we met them, they said that no budget was allocated to support airport development policy and it was not possible to construct a new international airport in Lombok Island because the location is near to Bali.

Another meeting was also conducted with the top leaders of police headquarters on 7 March 2006. In this meeting activists SERTA and OTL demanded to investigate the tragedy on 18 September 2005 where a numbers of people were seriously injured after being fired by state forces. On 19 September 2005, a meeting with the Human Rights Commission was also organized. Subsequently, 5 commissioners of the Human Rights National Commission (KOMNAS-HAM) investigated the case in October 2005 (KOMNAS-HAM, 2006). The Commission concluded : (1) there has been a violation towards human rights, particularly rights land resources due to the

⁶⁸ Press released of SERTA NTB in November 2006. Retrieved on 20 December 2012

⁶⁹ http://www.spi.or.id/?page_id=60

⁷⁰ The late of GUSDUR was well known as one of pro-democratic figures and the fifth president of republic of Indonesia (1999-2001). The meeting with GUSDUR took place on 28 February 2006

⁷¹ NU is the biggest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia. The members of the organization is more than 40 million and they are mostly rural-peasant households (<http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,static-s,detail-lang,id-ids,1-id,9-t,basis+pendukung-.phpx>)

⁷² A man, 65 years old. One of village coordinators of OTL Lauk Kawat. Interview on 15 December 2012

international airport development; (2) there was inequality in relation to land compensation because state apparatus provided the compensation far below NJOP; (3) there has been a violation towards the rights to organize a meeting and state apparatus using military approach to disband the meeting; and (4) there has been a violation towards the rights to feel safe and secure, because state forces have shot, kidnapped and dragged a pregnant women until miscarriage. The commission recommended: (1) government needs to fulfill the rights of the ex-land owners, particularly the amount of the land compensation must be reviewed; (2) government needs to fulfill the rights to health of the victims in the conflict; and (3) Human Rights Commission will investigate the conjuncture of torturing and kidnapping conducted by state forces.

The meeting with various political leaders at national level might a part of the strategy developed by SERTA to extend network and to allure public opinion that human rights violation occurred in the airport project. As the consequence, this issue of human right violation attracted attention from various national-political figures. Moreover, the conclusion provided by the Human Rights Commission, particularly point two proved that there was a problem related to land compensation. This finding might inspired the state apparatus to provide additional land compensation called “*tali asih*” in the post conflict.

4.3.4. The Conflicts in 2007-2012

The construction of the airport became a new arena of the conflicts of interests among community groups living around the airport area. The opportunity of accessing a job in the project was a contested issue as many workers from outside, particularly from Java, were mobilized to work in the airport project. The identity as local people and ex-land owners framed the ways people behave to gain job in the airport project. Local people and ex-land owners had specific rights and should get priority to work in the airport project, no matter if they were well-qualified or not.

The conflicts also happened among community groups, particularly from those villages affected by the airport project. They competed with each other to access job opportunity in the project. According to a respondent⁷³ a few community-based organizations were established, such as FORMASI (Forum Masyarakat Lingkar Bandara) in the Penujak village and KOPILOS (Kelompok Pengamanan Lombok Selatan) in the Ketara village and through these organizations, young people in those villages assembled to struggle for accessing a job in the airport project. The establishment of the organization was used to strengthen power in order to access resources in the airport project (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). However, it was quite often that unrest emerged among those groups due to the limited job chances. For instance, if a group gained a project from PT.Angkasa Pura, another group would threaten them and in most cases they asked for compensation of not being involved in the project. A respondent⁷⁴ explained:

“I worked as informal contractor in the airport. I was trusted by PT.Angkasa Pura to manage a small project to maintain the drainage of airport. When working in the project, a group of people from Ketara village came. They asked my workers to stop working by the reason that they wanted to work as well, but it was only the reason. The PT also often gave them a small project, but their work disappointed the company. When they got the project, they did not complete it. The group often made riots in the airport area”.

⁷³ A men, 42 years old. Working as security in the airport. interview on 15 December 2012

⁷⁴ A men, 49 years old. Former member of OTL. Interview on 27 October 2012.

The issue of employment was crucial during the airport construction. However, it was undeniable that lack of skill and qualification of villagers might effect on limited access and opportunities to take part in the airport project. So, when the development of the airport took place, they did not have the qualifications needed by the project, so they could not compete with other people. In this transitional period, they had to adjust their livelihoods by looking at other job opportunities in the project. Some people used illegal ways to access resource in the airport project as indicated in the case above. In addition, it is important to explain here that during the construction of the international airport and afterwards, the village officer played an important role to decide who will work in the airport area. The information about job vacancies in the airport was concentrated at the head of the village meaning that if the PT called for a worker, it should be through the village leader. A letter of recommendation from the head of the village was the most important asset to determine to whom the job would be given. Some respondents suspected that the village official only prioritized his family and cronies to work in the airport. This is indicated from my interview with two respondents working as informal contractor and security in the airport and both of them were the former members of team 11. In this context, they had developed good networking with the village officers during the engagement as the team. It means that those indicated as the contra airport group had limited access to work in the airport project. A respondent⁷⁵ explained:

"I still remembered when participating in a meeting held in the village office of Penujuk in 2007, the head of transportation agency said that if there is a job opportunity in airport, local people from the Penujuk village would be prioritized because they were the most affected by the airport project. In fact, the participation level of local people to gain a job in the airport is limited. For instance in the Slanglet hamlet where almost 70% of households (478 households) have been dispossessed by the airport, only 2 persons are now working in the airport. One is a security while the other one is cleaning service".

In relation to job opportunities, many respondents questioned what local government had promised to provide job for them. They argued that accessing job opportunities should be backed up by strong power relation with the village officers and often people needed to pay to get the letter of recommendation from the village official. Others needed to bribe him to get the job. One respondent told the researcher that his daughter failed to work as grounding staff in the airport because he demanded to provide quite a lot of money, around Rp.5.000.000,- (\$500) to get the job and another told that he had to pay Rp.3.000.000 (\$300) to work as a cleaning service. This was not the only case, because during the field work I heard that many young people in the village took a training program for a security job in the airport and had to pay a lot of money, but afterwards there was no position offered. Many respondents explained that collusion is the main rule to access a job in the airport area. In this case, social relation and networks are not the only important factors to gain access to job opportunities, but people should have another type of capital to secure their livelihoods.

4.4. Strategies to Reduce the Conflicts

4.4.1. Providing Additional Compensation

The conclusion of the investigation of the conflicts in September 2005 conducted by KOMNAS-HAM generated considerable effect to policy makers. As a response of the violence in 2005-2006,

⁷⁵ A men, 39 years old. A youth figure. Interview on 27 November 2012

the local authorities and PT.Angkasa Pura provided additional compensation for the ex-land owners, called “uang tali asih”, which literally means “money for peace”. The tali asih was shared between local authorities and PT.Angkasa Pura, respectively 40% from provincial government, 35% from the central Lombok regency and 25% from PT.Angkasa Pura. The amount of “tali asih” was Rp. 7.500.000,-(\$750) per hectare. It was paid in cash and was received in the village office⁷⁶. According to the head of the Penujak village, the provision of tali asih significantly reduced tension in community level. When obtaining “tali asih”, the ex-land owners signed a letter of agreement containing a few statements, which were: (1) they would fully support the process of international airport development; (2) the land acquisition in 1995 was now finalized and the ex-land owners would not demand material things in the future; and (3) the acceptance of the “tali asih” was considered as the part of community development for local people around the airport area.

However, the claim of the head of the village was refuted by the former leaders of OTL. They said that “the tali asih” did not solve the problem because not all ex-land owners, particularly the OTL members, took their “tali asih”. According to one of coordinators of OTL in Penujak village, at least 144 peasants have not received the tali asih yet, of which 80 peasants are from Penujak village and 64 peasants from Tanak Awu village. Total land they had prior to the airport project was 108 hectares and total “tali asih” which should be received would be Rp. 810.000.000,-(\$81.000)⁷⁷. There are some reasons why those peasants did not take their tali asih. First, they believed that there was a problem during the process of land acquisition. They argued that the report of investigation by KOMNAS HAM clearly stated that land compensation below NJOP. Thus, they demanded the real compensation and it should be based on the land price in 2005. Secondly, they perceived that receiving tali asih would hurt what they had already struggled for to get their lands back. And thirdly, if they received the “tali asih”, it would suppress their critical views towards the airport project. The respondents I talked to argued that the money of tali asih was to bribe the ex-land owners to support the airport project policy.

In some extent to which the attitude of the OTL members toward the tali asih was ambiguity. They resisted it in the past, but nowadays they are still demanding it. The coordinators of OTL often asked the local authorities where the money has gone. Local authority at regency level claimed that all the ex-land owners had already received it from the government apparatus at the village level. According to some respondents who have not received the tali asih yet, there was an indication that the village officials corrupted the money. It can be seen from the process of delivering the money which could be received by relatives instead of the land owners. So, it is possible that those 144 people have no right to demand the money anymore. When they questioned the data about this, both local apparatus in the village and in the regency did not provide it. In this case, those peasants accused the village official conspiring with their relatives to corrupt the money. Some respondents also argued that when the ex-land owners received the money, the village official decreased it by Rp.400.000 (\$30) per hectare. The village secretary also signed the letter of agreement of the tali asih on behalf of others who did not come to take the money. It is possible that the money also flowed to the pocket of the secretary.

The issue of corruption related to tali asih was quite difficult to be proven by OTL members, but the process of distributing the money indicated that there was something wrong with it. In this case, the village elites might have manipulated the data of tali asih recipients as if they have already received their money. On one side, provisioning the additional money was beneficial for some people. On the other side, it was not a panacea to extinguish the conflict; rather it

⁷⁶ A letter of the regent of the central Lombok regency to the governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat province no 972/98/PEM on 17 March 2006. Total amount of tali asih Rp. 5,4 milyar (\$540.000)

⁷⁷ Document OTL on 31 September 2011. Retrieved on 15 December 2012

cultivated new conflict at community level. Within OTL, the tali asih is still a sensitive issue among the members of the organization and they are still suspicious to each other. There was a rumor that the leader of OTL, Mr.H.H⁷⁸ already cooperated with the local government. It might be true because he had resigned as the leader after violation on 20 September 2005⁷⁹. Since then, the communication and coordination among OTL members were getting weak and nobody took responsibility to pursue the tali asih. Consequently, different opinions and mistrust still exist among the members in the village. When interviewing one of the former coordinators of OTL, he informed the researcher that if other members know that someone visited him today they would assume that he is receiving the tali asih.

4.4.2. Providing Social and Environmental Fund

The Social and Environmental Fund refers to a small grant offered by PT.Angkasa Pura to the local community around the airport area. The small fund is granted by the company since 2012 or a year after the airport operated in 2011. The company donates it to maintain social facilities like mosques. According to respondents, in order to receive the grant a proposal on behalf of a community group needs to be submitted to the company and it needs to be signed by the head of the village. Even so, it takes months to gain information whether the company approves the proposal or not and in most cases, they have to meet the manager of the company to clarify the status of their proposal. It is not easy to achieve the fund unless one has a close relationship with the manager of the company. For instance, in the Ketapang sub-village in which resettled families live, a small bridge to access the village was established using the fund from the company and it also received a small fund to renovate the mosque. According to some respondents, this social support was the only support the company provided to them.

Apart from providing small funds for the local community, the company also applies another strategy to calm those people who are contra airport. The company paid specific attention to the former leaders of OTL, for instance, in the Guling hamlet where the most influencing leader of OTL Lauk Kawat lives, the company constructed a path of around 700 meters to access the area and serviced free electricity for the community living in the compound. Besides that, the OTL coordinator also received Rp.10.000.000 (\$1.000) to build a new mosque in the area. He explained: “whatever I asked to the company, they response positively, but then it makes me loosen my critical opinions. But there is nothing to do now because the airport has already established. The things that I hope they can pay attention to the ex-land owners, for instance providing job for their children”.

The company also provided another form of a small grant, called “dana bina lingkungan”. The fund is allocated to improve public infrastructures, such as village roads or a bridge. However, the fund could not be accessed by local people; rather it was directly channeled to the head of the village. Then, the fund was disbursed to the hamlet. However, the process of disbursement of the fund was problematic. A respondent in the Slanglet hamlet informed that the head of the Penujak village received the environmental fund from the company of around Rp.90.000.000 (\$9.000) in 2012, but nobody knew where the money was allocated for and no public infrastructure was built

⁷⁸ Researcher interviewed H.H on 15 November 2012. In the interview he didn't allow researcher to record the interview and rejected to talk too much related to the process of airport development. He said that the airport has already there and no point to talk about the past including tali asih. According to H.H, the important thing nowadays is that people around the airport project have access to job and they can sustain their living. He also said that he has good communication with the general manager of the airport and now trying to get job for his son in the airport

⁷⁹ A men (57 years old), he is now the head of SPI (Serikat Petani Indonesia) in Tanak Awu Village. Respondent told that after conflict 18 September 2005 Mr.H.H send to jail for 7 months. After released he wrote a letter to resign as the leader of the organization. Interview on 12 January 2013.

in the hamlet. Accessing the information related to the fund is limited as the head of the village is not transparent enough to circulate the information. When the fieldwork was conducted, there was a political competition in the Penujak village. In relation to this there were rumors from some respondents that the money was used by the head of the village to get voters for the next election.

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described how the airport development policy triggered conflict; both vertically and horizontally. The results of this study show that the airport development project changed the function of farming lands, which were the main source of income for rural households. As a consequence, people's livelihoods were at risk due to loss of access to and control of their farming land. Thus, resistance to the airport project came from land owners who wanted to keep access to their land resources and therefore, to their livelihoods. In addition, the process of land acquisition for the airport also contributed to the conflict. Repressive acts, such as coercion, threats and intimidation performed by government officials cultivated the conflict at a grass roots level. This occurred because the government did not provide enough space for landowners to negotiate their demands for compensation which was actually crucial to their future livelihoods. In this case, there were unequal power relations in terms of the local people's right to benefit from their own property. Rather, government applied "a bundle of rights" to force people to settle for land compensation which was not based on existing rules. In this sense, the conflict was actually a response to the inequality that people experienced during the land acquisition process.

The commitment of the government to construct the international airport is also questioned by the former land owners because the airport area was abandoned for years. At the community level, people perceived the government to be not committed to building the airport and failing to fulfill its promises. The lack of explanation about this issue triggered the former land owners to try to re-claim their lands. Moreover, the engagement of external parties in the airport issue, such as local NGOs and vigilante groups significantly increased the intensity of the conflict. Following the decentralization, some local NGOs encouraged the peasant movement to put pressure on local governments by demanding the hand-over of farming land meant for the international airport to the people. As a result, the local authority employed vigilante groups to eradicate those people who rejected the airport project. Consequently, conflicts between community groups couldn't be avoided. Finally, the conflict about the airport project was also triggered by bad bureaucratic practices, particularly at the village level. Instead of helping their people in dealing with difficulties regarding their livelihoods during the process of the airport development, the village officers benefited themselves by manipulating certain rules for their own interests. For instance, they permitted people who had not the ex-land owners of the land for airport to do farming in the airport area. This situation aggravated conflict among community groups.

In the beginning of the decentralization era, the local government gave permission to the former owners of the farming lands to conduct agricultural activities in the airport area. This policy actually occurred because of increasing pressure exerted by the activists of NGOs and farmers' organizations. A series of demonstrations and negotiations, held and conducted by those organizations, forced the government to allow the former land owners to work on land in the airport area. Although this only happened for a few years, access to farm lands in the area had a positive impact on securing their livelihoods. However, the allocation of the airport area created a misunderstanding about the rights of the former land owners to their land. This situation led to

conflicts with state officers who had started to build the airport. As a result, the conflict between farmers and government officials, assisted by vigilante groups, became inevitable. Finally, the ongoing conflict in the airport area attracted concern from various parties at a national level. Activists of NGOs and peasant organizations attempted to build a network including various parties at the national level. Since then, the conflict and land rights became a national concern. Due to the pressure from various parties, local government provided additional compensation to settle the conflict in the airport area. Therefore, the conflict to some extent created new opportunities to gain access to local resources.

5. Reconstructing Livelihoods

After the construction of the airport, reconstructing livelihoods was a crucial thing to be tackled by the dispossessed and resettled families. In this chapter, I present how those families re-adjusted their livelihoods after having lost access to their farming lands. I will also look at how they gained access to land to settle, what livelihood activities they performed to sustain their living and how local institutions and organizations contributed to their livelihoods.

5.1. Rebuilding New Settlement

As discussed in chapter four, hundreds of peasant families resettled due to the international airport project. In the Slanglet sub-villages, 70% of all 396 households were evicted from their farming lands, and all 178 peasant families living in Dasan Baru sub-village were dispossessed and resettled in a new place, Ketapang. Early 1996, they were forced by the state apparatus to leave their village of origin because PT. Angkasa Pura had started to construct wire fences to territorialize the airport area. Territorializing means that those peasant households had no right to live in the area anymore. However, they kept living in the village until they found a new suitable place to live in. They were not interested in the governments' offer to migrate them to Sumbawa Island⁸⁰, although the government would provide at least 2 hectares of farming land to each household.

Reconstructing the settlements was not an easy thing to do. According to Mr. Ryn,⁸¹ the head of Ketapang hamlet, it took around three weeks to decide where to move. Then, the participants of the meeting, mostly elderly villagers, agreed to find a new place in the South considering that farming lands were still available in that area. The discussion took place in the mosque, an important type of social capital, where the villagers discuss issues and make decisions related to the problems in the community. Then, soon after the decision was made, a group of individuals started looking for new land to settle by asking friends and relatives outside the village if they had information about land for sale. The head of the village also helped the displaced households to find land for resettlement. It took around two months to search for a new area until they found a suitable area to live. The respondents argued that looking for a new place was not an easy thing to do because they had to deal with shocks and uncertainties. For instance, the land price, above Rp. 250.000 (\$25) per acre, was higher than the compensation they received from the government (Rp. 200.000 (\$20) per acre). The resettled households also faced pressure from the state apparatus to leave their village of origin. In this sense, the resettled respondents were not only shocked by losing their farming land, but they were also depressed by the way state apparatus threaten them to leave their village. As many respondents argued that government apparatus did not take into account the social and economic difficulties that people had to dealt with during the resettlement process. For resettled households, resettlement is not only about leaving the village, but it is also about leaving their life history.

Ketapang was chosen as the name of the new settlement. According to the head of the village, Ketapang is the short name for Kelompok Tanaman Pangan, which literally means the group of food crops. This name implies that the people cannot leave the agricultural sector as a way to make a living after the land acquisition phase. In the new village, people started constructing their houses using old materials from the old villages.

⁸⁰ Sumbawa is one of the main islands in West Nusa Tenggara province, Indonesia.

⁸¹ The head of Ketapang village. Interview on 10 October 2012.

“When moving to the new place, it looked like a refugee barrack. People lived in tents while waiting for new houses. We helped each other to carry old materials from the old village day by day. Then, we used them to build new simple houses. We imagined that moment how ruthless the airport project was. I want to cry if I remembered it”.

Some respondents informed me that there was no assistance either from the state apparatus or village officials to help them transport materials of old houses to the new place. The village leader only promised to arrange a land title for the new place, but until recently there has been no follow-up about that. Therefore, helping each other was the only way people could reconstruct their houses. In this context, gotong-royong (collective work) was a very important social asset, which was mobilized the villagers to re-construct the new settlement.

5.2. Reframing Livelihood activities

5.2.1. Establishing Small Scale Business

On the way to meet the head of Slanglet village to ask permission for this fieldwork, I walked over a small path made from cement to cross the village. I observed some cages on the left and the right side of the path in between the simple houses. The head of the village, Mr. M⁸², told me that developing small-scale businesses, like poultry husbandry, was a trend of the last five years. These are mostly managed by women while their husband goes to work outside the village and it is one of sources of family income. They utilize space they have, such as the back yard or front yard, to build the cage.

This kind of business started growing since 2006. It was the year after respondents lost access to farming lands in the airport area. In the beginning, only a few people pioneered the business and nowadays at least 30 households use it as the main source of family income. They created a group, namely “Kelompok Petani Peternak Ayam”. Through this organization, they share experiences with each other and problems related to the business, for instance, a disease attack on the hens. The head of the group would contact experts from the government and ask them to help out. A respondent⁸³ explained:

“Developing poultry business becomes important source of my family income since farming lands is limited. Nowadays, everything should be bought including rice and other consumable goods. I have paddy, but it is not enough to feed us along the year. This business is quite helpful to overcome our basic needs because we receive money every month”.

According to the respondents, there are some reasons for developing small scale poultry businesses, such as (1) the farming land is limited and women have a lot of free time at home. So, she can manage the business while his husband is away to work outside; (2) it isn't highly skilled work and also does not cost much time to control; (3) the hens can be sold in a short period of time, so it can generate money for household necessities; and (4) the availability of the market. Networking for this business is available; some buyers come to the village to purchase the hens. In other words, access to the market is relatively easy

⁸² Interview on 19 September 2012.

⁸³ A women, 45 years old. FGD on 15 November 2012

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)⁸⁴ with a women organization, namely “Inak Bersatu” in Slanglet sub villages also identified other types of small-scale businesses developed by women, such as basket trading (pedagang bakulan), and selling consumable goods, for instance cigarettes and coffee in the airport area. According to the head of the group, the organization was established in 2007 when a local Non-Government Organization (NGO), namely Yayasan Madina Mulia, implemented the Women Empowerment Program in the area for 3 years. The NGO provided technical assistance for small business development and organized several trainings for the group, such as organizational and financial management, business development and networking. It also facilitated the group to access financial capital from the bank. Each member of the group obtained a loan between Rp. 1.000.000 and Rp. 2.000.000 (\$100-200) depending on the business scale. Some used the loan to develop the poultry husbandry. The loan was paid by the bank for ten months with a rate of 2% a month. If the first loan had been paid completely, then a new loan could be proposed. However, before receiving the loan, a field officer of the NGO together with the local cadre assessed the business progress of the group, and then they would decide how much money each member of the group needed to support their business. Furthermore, in dealing with social and economic necessities after the construction of the airport, various strategies had been developed to secure livelihoods. A respondent⁸⁵ explained:

“There is plenty of time spending at home in the post airport construction compared to the prior airport development. In the past, women engaged in seasonal work in agriculture, but now we have to learn running a small business to buy rice. For me living now is little bit difficult than before”.

There is a tendency that the shifting function of farming land changed the type of work women engage in. As shown by the results of the study, women have more free time at home and it is utilized to manage small-scale productive businesses to sustain their livelihoods

Box 2. Developing Small-Scale Poultry Business

Mr.HI, 40 years old, started making chicken business since 2008. He explained: “I was in Mecca for three years working as a migrant labor and back to the village in 2004. By working as a migrant labor I could build a quite good house and renting small plot for farming activities. The yard of my house is quite large, so I decide to develop a cage in the back yard it. I have no experience to manage the business, so in the beginning, I just followed what others do. I tried raising 100 hens for the first time. However, the mortality was quite high reaching of 40%. So, I got lose and off course no advantage. In the third phase, I did better. Mortality rate decreased to 20%. In the second year, I extend the business to 500 hens. I cultivate 700 hens recently. I spend Rp.10.500.000 (\$1.500) in total to buy chicks, some vitamin, some materials for cage. In a year I harvest 10 times. From here I earned profit average Rp. 1.500.000 (\$150) each period depending on mortality rate. The less mortality to more profit. The year of 2011 was the worst time for the business. All breeders got lost. It was the first time the international airport landed by plane. I forgot the date. My chickens stressed and at least 10 chickens died every day. Off all 500, 200 lost due to stress. For several months, the business was not working, but it recovered again. We tried to make claim for the case, but no response from the company. In relation to market, it is not difficult now. I don’t need to bring the chicken to the market, because the buyers come to the village. The price might be better if I go selling them by myself, but I need transportation to bring them to the market. Something that is not possible for now (Interview on 29 September 2012)

⁸⁴ FGD was carried out on 15 November 2012.

⁸⁵ A women, 56 years old living in Slanglet village. She is a widow having 6 children (4 male and 2 female). The first son is working as migrant worker in Malaysia. She has small business at home making cake for schooling children. When telling her story this respondent crying imagined her efforts alone to take care of all children. Interview while conducting FGD on 15 November 2012

5.2.2. Herding Buffalos in the Airport

The way to make a living after the construction of the airport sometimes raised legal issues. In chapter three, we have illustrated how livestock, such as buffalos, contributed significantly to extending land resources after the construction of the airport. For some reasons, this is still deemed an essential asset to secure peasant livelihoods. It has multiple uses; enlarging farming land resources and generating income for other households' necessities. The shifting function of farming lands for the international airport by and large has destroyed the grazing area for the livestock. However, for some respondents, mainly in Ketapang village, the existence of the international airport is not a hindrance to raise buffalos; rather, they utilize the area to herd their livestock. I met a respondent guarding his livestock in the northern part of the airport area



(Figure 12) closed to the Batujai dam. I observed that some fences around the airport were open and used as the main gate for the livestock to go in and out of the area. He described:

"I have three buffalos and herded here since four years ago. In the first year, only a few herdsmen here and we were often expelled by the airport security several times, but then back again. I know we are not allowed to enter this area, but I see a huge part of the airport has no function and only grass grows well. Now more

herdsmen from another village come here. I think around 11 persons and we are getting stronger that no airport security forces out from this area. Our buffalos stay here in the day only and back to the village during the night".

This case indicates that in some ways respondents have to do something illegal to have access to certain resources. It might put them at risk because they act against the law, but cooperation among the herders might help them to strengthen their power to keep having access to the grazing area. Moreover, it is interesting to explain that those herders have known each other in the past. It means that social relations among them were created before the construction of the airport. Thus, solidarity among them is so robust that they keep each other's livestock in case one of them is not there. In the context of remaking livelihoods, this network seems important to secure assets of their livelihoods

The respondent explained that they gained two farm animals from the provincial government. To have access to such resources, they need a connection with a political figure, who helps them to negotiate government assistance. It may be important to explain that since 2009 the provincial government of Nusa Tenggara Barat launched a program to eradicate poverty, namely "Bumi Sejuta Sapi" (Lomboknews, 2012). In some areas, like the central Lombok regency, people were given buffalos instead of cows. In this sense, the way to make a living in the past, such as raising livestock, is re-practiced in the present time. This occurs not only due to the government support, which provides livestock to the poor, but I assume that raising buffalos is a more practical activity and it has a higher economic value compared to other animals. People, for instance, gain more money when selling buffalos compared to other animals.

⁸⁶ A men, 56 years old, living in the Ketapang hamlet and working as a herder. Interview on 26 December 2012.

5.2.3. Engaging in Paid Employment

Informal work refers to jobs that are daily or weekly salaried. It is the opposite of a formal job which is paid on a monthly basis. The limited amount of farming lands due to the international airport project decreased the number of informal jobs in the agricultural sector. This situation induced the dispossessed and resettled peasant households to find new ways of making a living. Some respondents were engaged in other informal jobs, for instance, brick working. They argued that they had no skills and no experience to perform this kind of job. However, the livelihood situation forced them to take part in it. As a consequence, they were paid less than skilled laborers. A highly skilled worker earned Rp. 75.000 (\$7.5) per day, while unskilled laborers earned a maximum of Rp. 50.000 (\$5) per day. Furthermore, the level of skills and experience determines the salary that people achieve.

Informal work was available during the process of the construction of the airport, but afterwards the job opportunities were limited and if it was available, people had to compete with each other or even had to bribe village officials in order to obtain a recommendation to work at the airport. During the fieldwork, many respondents called the airport “sawah baru” (new farming land). This might say that people expected it to provide a new source of income. So, they had high expectations for formal work at the airport. In fact, job opportunities at the airport are limited. As a result, many dispossessed and resettled families had to find another job and work outside the village instead of struggling for a job in the airport area. They left the village in the morning and came back in the afternoon. Sometimes, they spent a couple of days at the work site. According to respondents, the mobility of the people in the village increased after the airport was constructed. Prior to the airport development project, villagers only went to the field bringing a hoe and a chopper knife, but nowadays they work outside the village and they use a motorcycle and carry a backpack to their workplace. In order to sustain their living, people had to transform their skills and knowledge to gain access to resources.

To obtain an informal job outside the village, people also needed a network or a connection, called a “boss”. A boss is often a villager with a good network. He recruits villagers and brings them to their work outside the village. The boss works as an informal contractor in certain infrastructural projects. Because he has a good connection with the main leader of the project, he is responsible for controlling the project and paying salaries to the workers. I note that a boss in this sense is similar to a project broker. I interviewed a respondent, Mr. Imb, who is called a “boss”. During the airport construction, he worked as an informal contractor for small projects, such as the maintenance of the water channel in the airport area. He met some big contractors here and made a connection with them. After the construction of the airport, he utilized this channel to access new projects. In 2013, for instance, he had a project to maintain the village road. In this project he employed some of the villagers

Box 3 shows that a new skill has emerged after the construction of the airport. It is used to deal with the vulnerable situation at the household level. The emergence of the airport project not only changed the way people make a living, but it also affected the way of thinking. The social and economic needs were higher than in the past so that people had to struggle to fulfill all their household needs including their children’s education

Box 3. Working as Brick Worker for Children's Education

Mr. E, 49 years old, lives in Ketapang village. He only finished elementary school, while his wife received no education. He has 4 children, 2 girls and 2 boys. All his children are students. The eldest girl has already graduated from university last year and the other one is studying at a local university in the capital city of Mataram. The boys are students at junior high school. He told the researcher that when he lived in the old village, they thought that education was not so important and it was quite rare that villagers continued studying at a higher level.

"In the past, my parents said that there is no need to go to higher school; what you want to be; if you want to be a government officer, it has already been decided (?). However, the situation has now changed. I have to make strong efforts to find out additional income for education. I worked on a small renting plot around 40 acres. The crops produced are just enough for consumption. I do not care to live in a simple house, as long as my children can finish their study at university. It is not easy, but I must do it. If they do not have any skills and knowledge, how they can sustain their life. Farming lands may disappear one time and then only those who have skills survive. I imagine that time. So I have to work harder for that. In raining season, I work on the farm until harvesting season, for around 3 months. After that I work outside the village as a brick worker together with other villagers. I come back once a week usually on Friday. From this kind of job, I gain quite a good salary of Rp. 60.000 (\$6) a day and I earn at least Rp. 1.680.000 (\$168) even more in a month. At least it is enough to pay school fee and to procure consumable goods at home, such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, etc. I could also purchase two motorcycles several years ago. One is used by my daughter to go to school and the other one I use to go working outside the village. Of course we bought them by credit actually, but now I have already completed the payment" (interview on 21 October 2012).

Another type of informal paid employment found in the study area is land brokerage. I talked to a respondent in Ketapang hamlet working as a land broker. He shared his experience that after the airport project the village was ruined in 1995. He started working as a broker in 2000 together with someone from the village. Within the hamlet, the respondent is quite rich; at least my observations show that he has a good house equipped with a big television antenna and the house is full of ceramics. He told me that he had a good client from Japan, who purchased land around the airport in 2007. The Japanese man also bought land in the tourism area in Kuta and is now building a restaurant in the area where the respondent is trusted with the supervision of the construction of the restaurant. He said: "*Working as a brokerage produce quite good income. But, we have to be careful and honest working in this job. That is the way I maintain my relation with my client, the Japanese. I could build this house, bought a piece of plot around 75 acres and my first son has just finished his diploma, while the others still study in university*" (Interview on 12 November 2012).

5.2.4. Working as Migrant Labors

Working as a migrant labor is one of livelihood strategies chosen by the respondents in the research area. Since access to farming land is limited due to the airport project, many rural households secure their livelihoods by working as migrant labors. In both sub-villages where this study was carried out, some people, particularly young men or the head of the household, leave their village of origin to work as migrant laborers overseas for a couple of years, particularly in Malaysia. According to the head of Ketapang hamlet, in particular in the last ten years, people in the village have left their family to work as migrant laborer in Malaysia. The main motivation to work as migrant laborers is income and remittance. The money is mostly used to renovate houses and most often to pawn new plots. I talked to one respondent in Ketapang hamlet. He had just come back from Malaysia several months ago. He explained that working in seasonal farming in the village only generates enough income for consumption. If one wants to build a house, it takes

a long time to save money to purchase materials, except if you come from a rich family who has lots of plots, or people who become government officers, who can have loans from the bank to build a good house. The respondent said that he had worked on a palm oil plantation for three years. The remittance collected was used to renovate an old house and to rent a small plot of around 35 acres⁸⁷. In the village, one is considered successful working overseas when you can build a new house or at least renovate an old house and can afford to rent a plot. Therefore, working as migrant laborers is one of the living strategies to accumulate livelihood assets at the household level.

5.3. Local Institutions and their Role to Access Resource

5.3.1. Institutions and Access to Land Resource

After the airport project, looking for new plots was another thing to deal with in order to secure livelihoods. As presented earlier, after the land acquisition for the airport project, the land price around the airport significantly increased and it kept soaring in the following years. As a consequence, many dispossessed and resettled households could not afford to purchase new plots. Figure 9 in chapter two presents the changes to land assets of the respondents after the airport project. It also shows that the pawning contract system was mostly applied to gain access to new farming lands after the airport development project. Most respondents I talked to in Ketapang or in the Slanglet hamlet had chosen the pawning system to gain access to farming land. They mentioned a couple of reasons. First, applying the pawning system would mean people could obtain a larger piece of farming land. For example, in 1996, one hectare farming land could be pawned for a price of around Rp. 10.000.000 (\$1.000) whereas the land price was around Rp. 25.000.000 (\$2.500). Thus, the pawning system was considered more advantageous. Secondly, the number of members of rural households is quite big, with an average of 4-6 persons. Some respondents argued that having quite a large plot, at least 1 hectare, would provide enough crops for household consumption and other social needs, for instance school fees and health costs. Thirdly, it also fulfilled a social necessity. As discussed before, rural households were involved in various banjar groups in which they have to contribute a certain amount of material things, such as crops, sugar and money. In this sense, I assume that having access to a larger farming land was also a strategy to secure peasant livelihoods

Moreover, I also examined how land compensation was distributed at the household level after respondents received it. According to them, farming land around the airport was mostly inherited land. This meant that it was a collective property. As a collective asset, nobody had private rights to land compensation. It is important to explain that in the Lombok land inheritance system is based on the adat rule. It follows the patrilineal model, which means that land is inherited by men only. The consequence of the adat system is that women are considered to have no right to inherited land. In the case of land compensation, it was the right of the father to distribute it to his sons. Respondents argued that women obtained less land compensation than men. Here, the adat rule played a significant role in constructing people's rights to property. It spells out the rules and mechanisms for the appropriation and the transfer of rights to property

Each informant experienced different conditions after the land acquisition in 1995. Some respondents in the Ketapang village for instance still had other assets, such as buffalos, when they

⁸⁷ A man, 45 years old living in Ketapang hamlet. Interview on 14 November 2012.

were dispossessed by the airport project. Since the grazing area was limited due to the airport construction, they sold them to accumulate farming land.

Box 4. Extending Land Resource in the Post Airport Construction

Mr. S, 58 years old, lives in Ketapang village. He has 2 hectares inherited farming land affected by the airport project. He received land compensation of Rp. 40.000.000 (\$4.000). As much as Rp. 8.000.000 (\$800) was given to his sisters and the rest was used to purchase a new plot in Ungga village, around 15 km from the village. According to him, he decided to purchase a new plot outside the village because the price was lower than in the village. He purchased 1.9 hectares of new farming land with the price of Rp. 215.000 (\$20). He told that he received information about the land from his relatives in the village. Then, considering that the land was too far from the village, he sold the land at a price of Rp. 300.000 (\$30) per acre in 1999, receiving Rp. 60.000.000. In the same year, he purchased a plot of 2 hectares closer to the village. This land was shared with his brothers (4 persons). Each of them obtained 50 acres. When interviewed, this land is still considered inherited land. Mr. S. was also capable of purchasing a new plot in 2002. He sold his 10 buffalos and 5 tons of paddy to buy a 60-acre plot (interviewed on 24 September 2012).

The cases presented above are examples of how respondents struggled to have access to land resources after the airport development project. However; these cases cannot be used to generalize the livelihood conditions of all the dispossessed and resettled families after the construction of the airport. Many of them could only afford to rent a new plot instead of purchasing it, due to certain conditions at the household level. A dispossessed respondent⁸⁸ in Slanglet sub-village explained:

"I had just purchased the land before the airport project started, but the price was not fully paid. Then, after receiving land compensation Rp.14.000.000 (\$1.400), I used it to pay the land. The rest was only Rp.4.000.000. Rather than purchasing new plots with the higher price, a pawning contract system was more valuable. I managed 65 acres pawning land. However, the airport project had not only an effect on the land prices, but also on the pawning price, which increased year by year. I now work on a small pawning plot of around 35 acres".

Therefore, there is a tendency in the period after the construction of the airport that people's access to land resources are restricted by various factors, such as land price and the availability of other assets at the household level. In the two villages where the study was carried out, there was a different pattern of gaining access to land resources. In Ketapang, many respondents combined other resources and land compensation to purchase a new plot for to sustain their livelihoods. On the contrary, respondents in Slanglet tended to use their land compensations to pawn a new plot instead of buying it. This strategy may be caused by a different motivation. For instance, managing a large plot would provide more income compared to buying a small piece of plot. In conclusion, a larger diversity of livelihood assets decreased the risk for households.

5.3.2. Institution and Access to Agricultural Technology

In 2005, the agricultural agency issued a regulation to establish an institution, namely GAPOKTAN (*Gabungan Kelompok Tani* or Farming Group Union) on the village level. The members of GAPOKTAN are the farming groups within the village. The development of GAPOKTAN is motivated by the fact that farmers have limited access to business services, such as financial

⁸⁸ A men 49 years old. Working as brick worker. Interviewed on 14 September 2012

assistance, agricultural input, and other information (Syahyuti, 2007). Thus, the existence of the organization would help to eradicate farming problems at the community level. However, the establishment process of the organization was based on a top-down approach (blue print), so less attention was paid to the principal participants and the project orientation. The government tends to issue a uniform approach without considering the local context and other types of social capital (Syahyuti, 2007).

In the village where the fieldwork was conducted, I organized an FGD⁸⁹ with the farming group Ketapang Indah, which was developed in 2006. The participants informed me that their group had little communication with the GAPOKTAN in the village and had never been invited or participated in the establishment of the organization. According to the head of the group, his group might be a part of the GAPOKTAN because it had already registered with the agricultural agency. But in relation to the GAPOKTAN's activities, his group is less involved. In addition, the process of developing a GAPOKTAN is quite often project-oriented. It is responsible for obtaining the fertilizers and seeds needed by the peasants. In practice, however, the access to such information is often limited to the leaders of the organization, while the members on the ground have limited access to information related to government assistance. The GAPOKTAN mobilizes other farming groups for their interests. For instance, when the board members of the organization make a proposal for fertilizers or seed, they simply enter the data without consulting them and when they receive program assistance from government, only the leaders and their family members and relatives quite often benefit.

As a result, the farming group like Ketapang Indah tends to create a personal relationship with the government agencies instead of depending on GAPOKTAN. Amr, the head of the group, argues that when a farming group has been registered, it can gain attention from related government institutions in terms of providing technical assistance and other material support. In this case, formalization of the farming organization is important to make resources more accessible. In addition, besides organizational relations, personal relationships with government officers is a much more essential aspect, since there are so many farming groups which compete with each other for government support. He added that having good personal connections with government officers is essential to access information related to government programs. Thus, maintaining power relations with local authorities is a critical aspect that the group deals with. One of participants explained that the group will have little chance to gain government programs or support if there isn't a little bit of "generosity" towards those government agents. I did not deeply examine what they meant by generosity, but I assumed that power relations could be constructed and sustained through material objects. A respondent explained⁹⁰:

"One day in 2010, the group received information from the agricultural agency on district level telling that government had granted a hand tractor to the group. However, the group did not receive it. Then, he traced down where the tractor was sent to by calling agricultural agents in district and provincial level. He found that the tractor had already been sold by the agricultural extension staff at sub district level to a farmer in another village. He, then, threatened to report the case to the police if the officer did not return the tractor and we receive new tractor in a week".

This case indicates that with assistance from the government can be manipulated if one doesn't have a good relationship and networks inside the government institution. Therefore, networking

⁸⁹ FGD was conducted on 15 November 2012.

⁹⁰ A man, 45 years old. A former member of OTL. Interview on 23 September 2012

is not only essential to access information related to government projects in the village, but it is also important to secure material things that can be accessed through government institutions.

5.3.3. Institution and Access to Water Resources

Water is essential for sustaining livelihoods. Access to irrigation water after the airport project does not differ with the access before the airport construction. Pekaseh still plays an important role in arranging the process and distribution of irrigation water. The difference is found in the way people access water for household needs. In the old village, respondents informed me, drinking water was abundant in the well or in the pond during the rainy season, but it was limited in the dry season. Only a certain well had a spring and they had to wait to get access to the water. In the new hamlet, Ketapang, however, they could access water for household consumption from well throughout the year. A well is shared by two or three households. The availability of water resources might be caused by the location of the hamlet, which is close to the main irrigational canal. The abundant water resources affects the number of fruit trees, which are planted in the yards of rural houses, and has increased. I observed during the fieldwork that all the visited households cultivate some kind of fruit tree in the yard for consumption, such as mango, rose apple, and papaya.



Figure 13. Drinking Water Tanks in Slanglet hamlet.

Meanwhile, in the Slanglet sub-village, the conditions are slightly different. I observed there is a drinking water facility in the hamlet. According to the respondents, it was granted by TGB Center⁹¹. In the beginning, the water was available for a couple of years. The community could freely access clean water for drinking and cooking, but later, it was not channeled regularly. When conducting fieldwork, the facility to clean the water didn't function anymore since clean water is no longer supplied. The center promised to develop water treatment in the village, but it has taken no action so far.

I noted that all visited households gain access to clean water from a public company. However, they have to pay on monthly basis. This situation might affect their income. Therefore, access to natural resources, such as drinking water, has been available since the construction of the airport. Rural households in Ketapang enjoy clean water provided by nature and it also contributes to accessing other resources for households, such as fruit. Meanwhile, rural households in Slanglet have to allocate some funds to get access to clean water. The political relation with the ruling authority should be utilized to gain clean water; however, clean water may only be an important issue during the political campaign.

⁹¹ It is an institution established by the governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat province, Zainul Majdi, which led him to triumph in the election of 2008. He is also the leader of a mass organization, Nahdatul Wathan. The community in the hamlet affiliates with the organization. In the village, an institutional education is also established.

5.3.4. Institution in Social and Religious Practices

Local institutions/organizations are essential to rural life. Through the institutions, rural households maintain relationships with each other. It is also used to strengthen social solidarity among villagers. Local institutions, such as “*banjar*”⁹², are strongly rooted in social and religious practices. In the research site, the function of the banjar is not much different before and after the airport development project. It provides access to certain material things when a rural family organizes such an event. The banjar institution may be seen as a form of “*local insurance*”, for in the banjar the motivation for providing support to others is not merely based on the spirit of building social solidarity among peasant households, but it is a coping strategy in case a household organizes such an event in the future. Furthermore, involving in the banjar institution would minimize household risks. Looking at it this way, the local institution is actually an informal network used by individuals for collective action.

The form and the role of the institutions changes over time based on social contexts. In the research site, the banjar institution still existed at the community level and in certain situations, the institution is re-crafted. Crafting an institution refers to the idea of establishing a particular institution for specific purposes (Cleaver, 2002). In the research area, some respondents created an institution, called “*kelompok sekolah*”. Similar to banjar institution, it is a mutual aid institution where the members provide contributions in the form of money or paddy. The resource is used by the members for school fees for their children. Therefore, local institutions are mobilized to pursue different livelihood interests (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998).

An example of crafting an institution was presented by a respondent⁹³ in Slanglet village. She told the researcher that she has two children studying at a university in Kalimantan and one of them graduated last year. Together with other relatives (7 persons) she established “*kelompok sekolah*”. Each of them contributed 200 kg of paddy. She receives 1.4 ton paddy in total, which amounted to Rp. 4.500.000 (\$450). It paid not only the school fee, but she could attend the graduation ceremony of her son. This case shows that local institutions may be seen as a solution for a vulnerable situation faced by respondents. Therefore, local institutions are still a fundamental asset for sustaining livelihoods. In certain conditions, people look to local institutions to gain access to resources. It is framed and reframed based on its purpose. Mutual trust among rural households makes local institutions so robust, that it is helpful to tackle household difficulties; although it is for short period of time.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the livelihoods of the respondents after the construction of the airport. The results of study show that sources of income significantly changed due to limited access to and control of farming land resources. The activities regarding the livelihoods of the respondents became more diverse after the airport construction compared to the activities prior to the airport construction. The shifting function from farming land to airport grounds triggered respondents to find other sources for making a living. For instance, by working as a paid employee, and by developing small-scale productive businesses in their households. Some others started working as migrant laborers to generate income. The diversity of sources of income also

⁹² Banjar is a Balinese word which means a group of individuals having the same objective. The members of the banjar are mostly villagers living in the same village, for instance in a hamlet. It is established and re-established based on its purpose.

⁹³ A woman, 52 years old. FGD in Slanglet on 15 November 2012.

indicates that there is a change in terms of skills, knowledge and network. These types of capital are essential to creating new opportunities for making a living. In addition, networks and power relations with both government institutions and the private sector mediated access to local resources, such as the market network, technology, financial capital and other forms of government assistance. In addition, local institutions/organizations that existed at the community level still play an important role in gaining access to resources. In some circumstances, the peasant households gave new meaning to institutions. This is not only related to consumptive events, such as social and religious ceremonies, but also to a new function; strengthening human resources. For instance, material contributions to the institution are utilized for education. To sum up, the airport development policy is the main cause of changes to the livelihoods in the research area. It has a significant influence in terms of diminishing the natural capital, such as farming land, which is an essential asset to make a living. When dealing with this situation, people reconstruct their livelihoods by changing the way they make a living by assuming activities unrelated to farming.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has examined a case study; the international airport development in central Lombok region. It focuses on understanding the changes to livelihoods and the conflicts surrounding the airport project. I have tried to elaborate on the means of livelihoods with other concepts applied in this study, such as access and property, institution and power to gain a better understanding of the changes to livelihoods in the situation of conflict during the process of the airport development. In this chapter, I will provide some concluding remarks which refer to the research question *“How have livelihoods of the dispossessed and resettled households in the village of Penujak Lombok transformed due to the conflicts during the international airport development project?”*.

The international airport development project is fraught with difficulties, involving various actors, interests and positions. As shown by the results of the study, these factors have led to conflict, for instance, oppressive acts by the state apparatus during the process of land acquisition, forcing land owners to release their land resources for the airport project. Furthermore, the conflict during the airport project also concerned property rights, particularly the rights to land resources.

Chapter three shows that farming land is an essential asset for making a living. In relation to this, the respondents have employed several ways of accessing farming land for their livelihoods. However, the airport development policy considerably changed the access to and control over properties offering farming land resources. In the research area, farming land has more than just an economical significance. It is not only the main source of family income, but it is also related to social institutions and local practices through which peasant households strengthen their social relationship with each other. In other words, farming land encompasses both economic and social benefits. For instance, it closely links to social and cultural events, in the sense that it secures the households' resources when peasant households organize such events. This means that to some extent access to resources and property relations are embedded in local institutions and social practices. Having no access to land resources would therefore threaten people's livelihoods. Furthermore, conflicts during the airport project are not merely due to the repressive state apparatus, but are also connected to the changes to access and control of the property. The airport project not only limits access to natural capital – land resources on which rural households depend for their livelihoods – but it also threatens the existence of social capital in the community. Therefore, the conflict during the airport development project should be seen in the wider context of a struggle to preserve economic and social capital in order to secure livelihoods.

Nevertheless, the conflict during the airport project evolved from latent to manifest due to the changes to the social-political situation in Indonesia. In particular, the shifting power relations from the centralization era, also well-known as new order era, to the decentralization period. This contributed to a reinforcement of the peasant movement and its resistance to the airport development policy. The results of the study show that the fight of the peasant movement against the construction of the international airport began to consolidate itself and became visible after the new order regime broke down 1998. That means that the political transition by and large provided an opportunity to the people affected by the airport project in particular to voice their rights to land resources. In the decentralization period, the peasant movement became far more organized due to the involvement of local NGOs, which were involved in the issue of land rights. The alliance between farmers and the NGOs was essential to reclaim farming lands from the airport project which they considered to have been seized by the new order regime. The NGOs played a critical role in building awareness and knowledge among the former land owners and encouraged policy changes related to airport development project. They also brought the issue of land rights and the conflict in the airport area to the national level. As a consequence, it was no

longer just a problem at the local level but it became a national concern. This shows that means of livelihoods are not only about how people make a living, but also deals with how the development policy had an effect on people's livelihoods at a grass roots level. Following Scoones (2009), the socio-political structure is an important aspect to take into account to define opportunities and constraints of livelihoods. In relation to this, I have disclosed in chapter four that the process of challenging the socio-political structure created new opportunities to gain access to certain properties in order to secure livelihoods. For instance, the access to do farming in the airport area and additional compensation for former land owners.

This study found that the allocation of the farming lands in the airport area is interesting point to be discussed in this chapter. As explained in the previous paragraph; having access to farming land in the airport area involved collective actions to challenge policy makers. Those actions carried out by the former land owners together with NGOs successfully forced the local authorities to de-territorialize the airport area for farming activities. Although the allocation of the airport area was for temporary, I observed that it had benefits, particularly for the former land owners in the sense of securing livelihoods during the difficulties of the transitional period. So, challenging the socio-political structure can be seen as a window of opportunity that paves the way for accessing resources for livelihoods. It may also be important to explain that during the period of temporary allocation, skeptical views towards NGOs that they also benefited from the airport issue, were voiced. My fieldwork didn't examine in detail how the NGOs finance their actions and from whom they receive financial support. Therefore, I will put the involvement of the NGOs merely in the context of strengthening the network and building people's capacity to strive for their rights to land resources. From a perspective on livelihoods, those elements are essential capital to challenge development policy (Bebbington, 1999) that affect people's livelihoods. I conclude that the engagement of the NGOs in the airport issue provided a fundamental contribution to policy change. Therefore, struggling for access to resources of livelihoods should involve individuals and collective action through organized institutions, alliances and networks.

The results of the study also show that the pattern of conflict changed after the government issued a regulation concerning access to farms in the airport area. The conflict between the government apparatus and former land owners mostly occurred before the ex-land owners gained access to the airport area. On the other hand, conflicts among community groups took place afterwards. The conflict among the community groups occurred because various parties besides the former land owners tried to benefit from the airport area. As a consequence, competing over access to land resources in the area could not be avoided. In this case, the conflict happened not only because resources are limited (Homer-Dixon et al., 1993), but also due to bad institutional practices at the village level. On the one hand, the regulations clearly define that only former land owners had the right to work in the airport area, but on the other hand, the village officials manipulated the regulations by allowing other parties, including themselves, to benefit from the area. In this study, I identified that elite capture and bad governance practices at the village level also contributed to an increase of tension among community groups. Therefore, the livelihoods not only needed to cope with shocks and stresses, but it has to contend with the local political context in order to identify what constraints people should take into account to secure their access to resources.

To answer my research question, the international airport development project changed the people's livelihoods and it had an effect on transforming the way people make a living. This can be seen from the differences of livelihood activities before and after the airport project. Before the airport was constructed, the livelihoods of the respondents highly depended on farming activities as the main means of making a living. So, people made strong efforts to gain access to land resources in order to sustain their livelihoods. I noted from the interviews that there was a tendency among the respondents to be focused on accumulating natural capital to make a living.

Then, local institutions and social relations were utilized to gain access to land resources. We might have to take into account that context is an important aspect to define what kind of opportunities people have to make a living. Before the construction of the airport, for instance, the availability of land resources provided opportunities to intensify working in agricultural sector. Meanwhile, after the construction of the airport, the ways the people make a living are diversified due to limited access to farming lands. The limited access to land resources induced livelihood diversification and it led individuals to create new chances and opportunities by looking at other options to sustain a living. As disclosed by the results of this study, the respondents extended their networks and power relations to gain access to such resources or properties to make a living. I observed that sustainable livelihoods actually depend on how people utilize their social and political capital to attain economic benefits. For instance, institutions or organizations are utilized to access government assistance. This example reflects that the means of making a living is based on the individuals' capacity to deal with different livelihoods. Therefore, the ways people gain a living is a dynamic process involving various types of capital through which people frame and reframe their living situation according to contexts, opportunities and individuals' capabilities.

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