

STATE VIOLENCE IN PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

NATIONAL STRATEGY (PSN) REMPANG ECO CITY 2023-2025

THESIS



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ISLAM
INDONESIA**

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY PROGRAM

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SCIENCES

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No other material other than that contained in this work has been used. I have read and understand the university's regulations and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

Yogyakarta, July 10, 2025



Nurhayati

LIST OF CONTENTS

VALIDATION PAGE.....	iii
ACADEMIC INTEGRITY STATEMENT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF DIAGRAM.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Problem Formulation.....	7
1.3 Research Objectives.....	7
1.4 Research Scope.....	8
1.5 Literature Review.....	8
1.6 Framework of Thought.....	11
1.7 Temporary Arguments.....	14
1.8 Research Methods.....	15
1.8.1 Type of Research.....	15
1.8.2 Subjects and Objects of Research.....	16
1.8.3 Data Collection Methods.....	16
1.8.4 Research Process.....	16
1.9 Discussion Systematics.....	17
CHAPTER 2 DYNAMICS AND OPERATIONAL FEATURES OF THE REPRESSIVE DEVELOPMENTALIST REGIME IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC PROJECT (PSN) REMPANG ECO CITY.....	18
2.1 Dynamics of the PSN Rempang Eco City.....	18
2.2 Operational Features of the Repressive Developmentalist Regime in the PSN Rempang Eco City.....	22
2.2.1 Economic Growth.....	23
2.2.2 Political Repression.....	25
2.2.3 Statist and Developmentalist Ideology.....	26
2.2.4 Bureaucratic Streamlining and its Limits.....	28
2.2.5 Distinctive Forms of Restratisation (Typical Forms of Restratisation).....	30
CHAPTER 3 REPRESSIVE DEVELOPMENTALIST REGIME IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC PROJECT (PSN) REMPANG ECO CITY IN 2023–2025.....	32

3.1 Characteristic Targets of Repression.....33 3.1.1 Students as Targets of State
Repression..... 33 3.1.2 Workers as Targets of State
Repression.....35 3.1.3 Ethnic Groups as Targets of State
Repression.....37 3.2 Characteristic Forms of Repression.....39 3.2.1
Tight Surveillance as a Form of State
Repression..... 46 3.2.2
Preventive Detention as a Form of State
Repression..... 47 3.2.3 Torture
as a Form of State Repression.....49 3.3 Characteristic
Justification..... 51 3.3.1 Stability as a Justification for the
State.....51 3.3.2 Fast Development as a Justification for the State... 53
3.3.3 Catching Up as a State Justification55 **CHAPTER 4**
CLOSING.....57
4.1 Conclusion..... 57 4.2
Recommendations.....60
BIBLIOGRAPHY61

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Comparison of Agrarian Conflicts in the SBY and Jokowi Eras	3
Table 2. Types of Repressive Regimes in the Contemporary Third World	12
Table 3. Key Regulations and Articles in the Implementation of PSN	41
Table 4. Derivative Regulations of the Job Creation Law Related to National Strategic Projects	43
Table 5. Analysis Table of the Repressive Developmentalist Regime Theory	58

LIST OF DIAGRAM

Diagram 1. Trends in Countries of Origin of Foreign Direct Investment from 2020 to 2024	2
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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Distribution of PSN Projects and Investment	1
Value Figure 2. Location Map of Rempang Island in the Riau	19
Islands Figure 3. Development Zoning of Rempang	21
Island Figure 4. Clashes between Rempang Residents and Authorities on	36
September 7, 2023 Figure 5. Coordination Meeting of BP Batam with Korem	47
033 Wira Pratama Figure 6. Signing of the MoA between Xinyi International Investments Limited and PT Makmur Elok Graha	53

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG Network	: Artha Graha Network
SAFE	: Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago
AMAR-GB	: Rempang-Galang United Community Alliance
AMB	: Batam Student Alliance
Regional Budget	: Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget
State Budget	: State budget
APL	: Other Usage Areas
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Barelang	: Batam-Rempang-Galang
Investment Coordinating Board (BIP)	: Capital Investment Coordinating Board
BP Batam	: Batam Business Agency
DPR	: House of Representatives
Regional People's Representative Council	: Regional People's Representative Assembly
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
GMKI	: Indonesian Christian Student Movement
HGB	: Building rights
HPK	: Conversion Production Forest
HPL	: Land Management Rights
Presidential Instruction	: Presidential Instruction
Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment	: Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment
Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs: Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs	
Ministry of Environment and Forestry	: Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Military District Command	: Military District Command
KPIP	: Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision
KWTE	: Exclusive Integrated Tourism Area

OMSP	: Military Operations Other Than War
GDP	: Gross domestic product
PDIP	: Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
Coordinating Minister's Regulation	: Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs
Presidential Decree	: Presidential decree
PKS	: Prosperous Justice Party
PMA	: Foreign investment
PNB	: Gross National Product
Indonesian National Police	: Republic of Indonesia National Police
PP	: Government regulations
PPMAN	: Association of Indigenous Peoples Defenders of the Archipelago
PSN	: National Strategic Project
PT MEG	: PT Makmur Elok Graha
RPJMN	: National Medium-Term Development Plan
Indonesian National Army	: Indonesian national army
MSMEs	: Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises
Law	: Constitution

ABSTRACT

The development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) in 2023–2025 has given rise to conflict between the state and local communities due to the repressive approach used by the government in implementing the project. This study aims to analyze the project's state violence using Herbert Feith's ***repressive developmentalist regime*** framework.

The preliminary research argument states that state violence in the development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) occurred through direct and structural repression against three main groups: students, farmers/fishermen, and indigenous people who resisted relocation. This research used qualitative methods with secondary data from official documents, journals, and organizational reports. The results show that state violence is manifested in the form of criminalization, intimidation, and policies that facilitate community evictions for the benefit of foreign investment, particularly the Xinyi Group from China. The state also constructed a development narrative that emphasized economic growth and national stability as legitimacy for these repressive actions. These findings suggest that the development of the PSN with a repressive approach actually increases social inequality and violates the rights to land and living space of local communities.

Keywords: State Violence, Repressive Development, National Strategic Projects, Rempang Eco City

ABSTRACT

The development of the National Strategic Project (PSN) Rempang Eco City (2023–2025) has triggered conflict between the state and local communities due to the government's repressive approach to project implementation. This study aims to analyze state violence in the project using Herbert Feith's ***repressive developmentalist regime*** framework. The provisional argument states that state violence occurred through direct and structural repression against three main groups: students, farmers/fishers, and indigenous communities opposing relocation. This qualitative research relies on secondary data from official documents, academic journals, and civil society reports. The findings reveal that state violence manifested through criminalization, intimidation, and policies enabling the displacement of local populations to favor foreign investment, particularly by China's Xinyi Group. The state legitimizes its repressive actions by constructing a development narrative emphasizing economic growth and national stability. These findings indicate that PSN development is backed by repressive measures, exacerbating social inequality and violating the rights of local communities to land and living space.

Keywords: State Violence, Repressive Developmentalist, National Strategic Project, Rempang Eco City

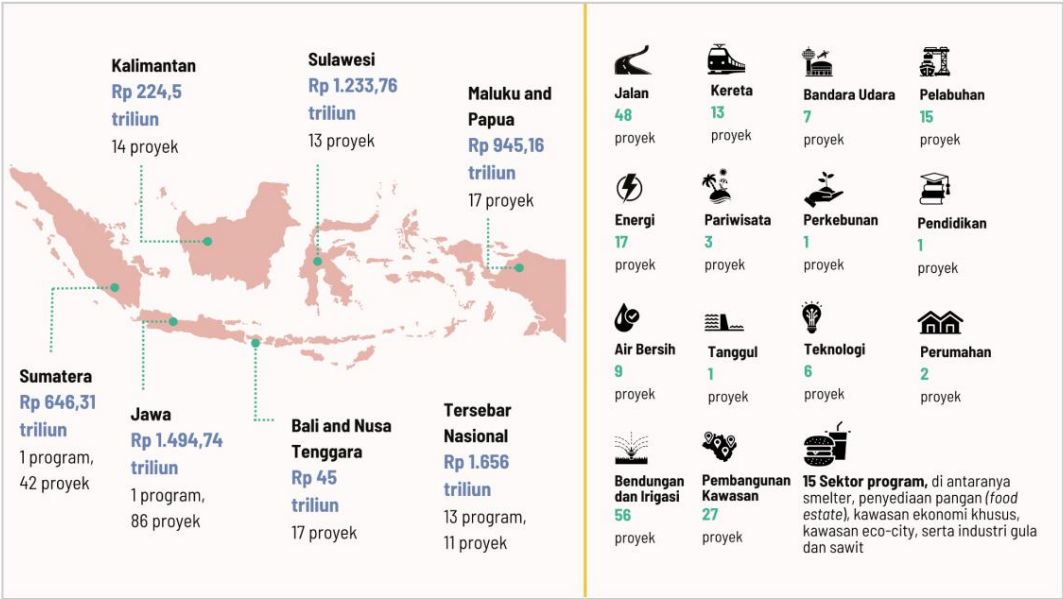
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

President Joko Widodo was awarded the title of Father of Indonesian Construction as a form of appreciation for his consistency in encouraging development infrastructure through the initiation of National Strategic Projects (PSN) as an agenda national development is stated in the Medium-Term Development Plan National Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015–2019 and 2020–2024 (Nurmutia 2024). Based on Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 3 of 2016 concerning Acceleration of Implementation PSN, this project includes programs implemented by government agencies and/or business entities that have strategic value in increasing economic growth, equitable development, and social welfare and regional development (Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights 2024, 1).

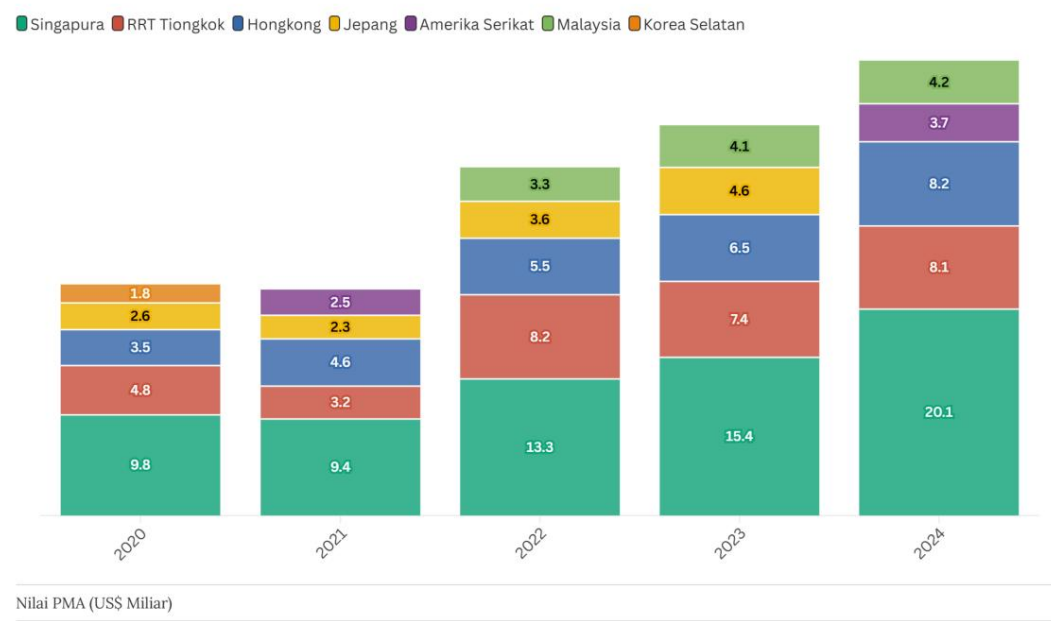
Figure 1. Distribution of PSN Projects and Investment Value



Source: Tempo (2024)

During President Jokowi's administration, 233 PSNs were recorded, consisting of: 218 projects and 15 programs spread across various regions with a total investment of reached Rp6,246 trillion (Rachman 2024). Infrastructure funding in Indonesia comes from the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN), the State Budget Regional Income and Expenditure (APBD), and other sources from the community, however domestic financing capacity is still limited to meet needs development that continues to increase. Therefore, Foreign Investment (PMA) is an important source of financing for PSN, with policies that allows foreign investors to invest up to 100% in the sector infrastructure (Lusiana and Suyatno 2024, 2438).

Diagram 1. Trends in Countries of Origin of Foreign Direct Investment from 2020 to 2024



Source: Ministry of Investment/BKPM (2025)

PMA plays a strategic role in accelerating development through job creation, increased productivity, infrastructure improvement, and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth (Rauf 2024, 108-109). Realization

Foreign direct investment (FDI) in the last five years reached Rp3,165.4 trillion. The sector processing and manufacturing industries received the largest investment with the highest increase of 21% in the 2023–2024 period. China and Hong Kong has consistently been among the top three sources of foreign investment in Indonesia. with total combined investment increasing from US\$8.3 billion in 2020 to US\$16.3 billion in 2024 (Ministry of Investment/BKPM 2025, 39-46).

The success of the investment is seen as a result of economic stability. and politics that encourage increased investor confidence (BKPM 2024).

Table 1. Comparison of Agrarian Conflicts in the SBY and Jokowi Eras

Agrarian Conflict	The Susilo Bambang Era Yudhoyono (2005–2014)	The Joko Widodo Era (2015–2023)
Total Area of Conflict	5.7 million hectares	6.3 million hectares
Total Conflict Eruption	1,520	2,939
Total number of affected families:	977,103	1,759,308
Total Victims	2,334	3,503
Criminalization	1,433	2,363
Abused	636	905
Shot	110	78
Killed	155	72

Source: KPA (2023)

Along with the ease of regulations provided to facilitate implementation of development and attracting investment, conflicts in the field actually increasingly rampant due to the involvement of security forces. From 2015 to 2023, violence and criminalization against land rights defenders has increased sharply (Saputra 2024). This conflict was triggered by a large-scale development project. especially PSN which often ignores human rights in the process

land acquisition. As of July 2024, 134 agrarian conflicts related to the National Strategic Project (PSN) were recorded.

covers an area of 571 thousand hectares and impacts 110 thousand families

(KPA 2024; Maulana and Lahay 2024). The majority of victims in this conflict

are farmers, indigenous peoples, and agrarian activists (KPA 2024).

Rempang Eco City in the Riau Islands is one of the PSNs that successful in attracting foreign investment, but also involved repressive measures in implementation. This project was officially designated as a National Strategic Project on August 28 2023 through the Regulation of the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Indonesia (Coordinating Ministerial Regulation) No. 7 of 2023. The central government through cooperation between the Batam Business Agency (BP Batam) and PT Makmur Elok Graha (MEG), a subsidiary of Artha Graha Network (AG Network) designed Rempang Eco City as an industrial, trade and tourism area integrated to increase Indonesia's competitiveness against Singapore and Malaysia (BP Batam 2023).

PSN Rempang Eco City received investment from Xinyi Group, a company from Hong Kong, China. A month before Rempang Eco City officially announced as PSN, President Jokowi and President Xi Jinping witnessed the signing of cooperation between PT MEG and Xinyi Group. In addition, an investment worth US\$11.6 billion (around Rp. 174 trillion) was also agreed upon. between Xinyi Group and the Ministry of Investment for the construction of the factory silica sand processing in the Rempang area. This project is planned to be Xinyi glass factory is the largest outside China with potential for energy absorption employs around 35,000 people (Cabinet Secretariat 2023).

PSN Rempang Eco City is designed as an integrated area that will developing an area of 7,572 hectares of land from the total area of 16,583 hectares of the island Rempang. The project implementation is scheduled to begin on September 2023. This project has a direct impact on the existence of residents in 16 Old Village planned for relocation. Resident relocation plan has been prepared from the start, even before this project was designated as a PSN. Since April 2023, BP Batam has been given the authority to carry out relocations against 2,632 families residing in the Rempang Island area (Sahputra 2024). This project is characterized by the use of a repressive approach towards the community. Rempang who rejected the relocation plan (Komnas HAM RI 2024, 3).

A major clash occurred on September 7, 2023, the National Army apparatus Indonesia (TNI), the Republic of Indonesia National Police (Polri), and the Police Unit Civil Service Officers (Satpol PP) forced the installation of land markers for the Rempang Eco PSN City, despite residents blocking roads in protest. Clashes resumed broke out on September 11, 2023, residents demonstrated at the BP Batam office demanding the eviction process and intimidatory actions were stopped. Both events This was responded to by the use of tear gas by security forces. As a result, as many as 43 Rempang residents were named as suspects (Muhid 2024). From September 2023 to December 2024, there were 44 people criminalized, 51 experienced violence, and one was shot (Muhid 2024).

Rejection of the eviction of the Rempang Eco City PSN project took place from the end of President Jokowi's term until he entered the government President Prabowo. Although not listed in the list of 77 National Strategic Projects (PSN) in Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2025 concerning the 2025–2029 RPJMN, this project is still mentioned in

Appendix IV as a development target for the Riau Islands. Its status remains the same. as a PSN because it is a **carry over** project (continuation) from the government previously and has never been officially revoked (Sahputra 2025). Presidential Decree This continues the policy direction of the 2020-2024 RPJMN without revoking determination of existing PSN (Anggrainy 2025). Sustainability of the project under President Prabowo's leadership, with the increasingly strengthening role of the military, increasing the potential for conflict in the Rempang customary area (IWGIA 2025, 215).

Based on this explanation, this research is relevant in the study international relations because it shows how countries are facilitated and influenced by foreign investors in determining the direction of development policy. The Rempang Eco City PSN shows that the state prioritizes investment from the Xinyi Group from China at the expense of community land rights Rempang. Project implementation under President Jokowi's administration, continued by President Prabowo, reflects a repressive development regime which encouraged industrialization under foreign domination and pushed aside balancing force. Therefore, the **repressive developmentalist** approach **regime** from Herbert Feith is used as an analytical framework for studying targets of repression, patterns of violence, and state legitimization strategies in this project.

Although Fuad and Kurniawan (2024) have discussed the case of PSN Rempang Eco City in the **Chapter** book using a similar approach, This research still presents aspects of novelty. The time scope of this research covers the period up to the reign of President Prabowo, while Fuad and Kurniawan only discussed the Jokowi era. In addition, this research only examines the Rempang Eco City project in depth, in contrast to

Fuad and Kurniawan's study, which discusses two projects simultaneously. This research also describes state violence using three characteristics of the regime *repressive developmentalist* which has not been explained in previous studies. Thus, this research is relevant and offers a greater contribution. focused and renewable.

1.2 Problem Formulation

How state violence against the Rempang community in development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project in 2023–2025?

1.3 Research Objectives

This study aims to systematically analyze state violence. in the development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) in 2023–2025. Focus The main objective of this research includes three aspects. First, identifying community groups that are the main targets of repressive actions the state in this development. Second, examine the patterns of violence that implemented by the state against target groups, either in the form of violence both direct and structural, and examine their impact on changes social structure experienced by the group. Third, tracing the strategies the state in building the legitimacy of repressive actions through narrative construction certain methods used to reduce resistance from community groups the.

1.4 Scope of research

This study analyzes state violence in the development of PSN Rempang Eco City in 2023-2025. This period was chosen because of the intensity the highest repression occurred at that time, both direct violence and violence structural. The time scope of this research covers two periods of government, namely the era of President Jokowi and President Prabowo's leadership. During the time of President Jokowi, the project was planned in 2004 but was delayed. This project then reactivated in 2023 along with the entry of investment from the Xinyi Group company and pushed for the establishment of Rempang as part of from PSN. This determination triggered a reaction of rejection from the community. opposed the relocation plan, this was responded to by the state through various means a form of repressive action. Despite the rejection, the project continued until 2025 under the administration of President Prabowo which shows continuity of development policies from the previous government.

1.5 Literature Review

As a basis for conducting research, a review is required. to previous research or scientific works as a reference. This step aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding and identifying **novelty**. Research on state violence in The development of the Rempang Eco City PSN is related to various previous research that is systematically analyzed and presented in the following literature review:

First, *the book A Quarter Century of Reform* written by Fuad and Kurniawan (2024) provides a critical analysis of repressive development in Indonesia, including the Rempang Eco City project. The use of the **repressive** concept Herbert Feith's **developmentalist regime** suggests that this project is more benefits national and foreign investors compared to local communities in the era President Jokowi. This is shown by the minimal public participation and deployment of security forces (Fuad and Kurniawan 2024). This research will deepen the study starting from the administration of President Jokowi to President Prabowo by analyzing the targets and patterns of repression that used by the state in the Rempang Eco City PSN as well as repressive mechanisms. This has an impact on the rights of the Rempang community.

Second, Syabilal and Triadi (2024) in *the Journal of Legal and Administrative Sciences* **The state** has conducted research into the repressive actions of law enforcement officers. law in agrarian conflicts on Rempang Island from a military law perspective. The journal explains the abuse of authority by officials. in dealing with conflicts and the legal limitations that should be applied (Syabilal and Triadi 2024). The focus of this research tends to discuss legal aspects related to repressive actions by the authorities, while this research will developing studies on state repression in the PSN project not only carried out by security forces, but also through systematic policies.

Third, Habiba et al. (2023) in *the Sehasen Law Journal* examined the case Rempang from the perspective of environmental law and human rights. Habiba et al. argued that the Rempang Eco City project had violated the community's rights on healthy land and environment, and highlighting the absence of mechanisms

protection for affected populations (Habiba et al. 2023). Meanwhile
The research focuses more on environmental regulations and Human Rights.
Human Rights (HAM). This research will focus more on the state process
building a narrative construction to justify the development of the Rempang PSN
Eco City.

Fourth, Octavyanida et al. (2023) in *the Scientific Journal of Publika*
highlights the communication aspect in resolving the Rempang conflict. In the journal
It was explained that there was a failure of communication between the government and the community.
Customs and BP Batam are the main factors in the escalation of the conflict. The research
emphasizes the need for participatory communication and multi-actor involvement in
conflict resolution (Octavyanida et al. 2023). Meanwhile, this study does not
not only highlight communication as a solution, but rather focus more on
the process of the state using repressive mechanisms either directly or indirectly
structural through development policies that impact society
Eccentric.

Based on various research sources that have been explained above.
It can be concluded that previous studies have not revealed
specifically the mechanisms of state repression. Fuad and Kurniawan (2024)
using **a repressive developmentalist regime** approach during the Presidential era
Jokowi, but has not yet discussed the characteristics of the targets, patterns of repression, and justification.
systematically. Other studies focus more on legal, environmental, or other aspects.
communication. Therefore, in order to fill this gap, research
This will use Herbert Feith's approach to analyze targets, patterns

repression, and state justification in the development of the Rempang Eco City PSN in the era of President Jokowi to President Prabowo (2023–2025).

1.6 Framework of Thought

To analyze state repressive actions in the development of PSN Rempang Eco City, will use the concept of **a repressive developmentalist regime** by Herbert Feith in his article “Repressive-Developmentalist Regimes in Asia” published in the journal ***Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*** in 2010. 1981. Feith analyzes the dynamics of international politics focusing on repressive regimes in Third World countries, especially in the Asian region. In his research, Feith (1981, 492) groups various types of regimes. repressive measures listed in table 2.

From this category, the concept of **a repressive developmentalist regime** becomes the main focus of this study. Feith highlights countries such as Brazil, Iran, and South Korea which experienced rapid economic growth under the regime single for more than 15 years as a prime example. As for Indonesia, The Philippines and Singapore are also said to have similar characteristics. At that time, not yet there is a concept that fully explains the phenomena of development and repression in various countries so that he introduced the term this regime (Feith 1981, 493).

Feith (1981, 493) describes **the repressive developmentalist regime** as a regime that encouraged capitalist growth and industrialization in the era of colonial domination transnational corporations. This regime supports transnational businesses but seeks to avoid excessive dependence. Politically, he dominates

power by eliminating or subduing the balancing force.

Its main ideologies consist of technocratic-developmental, nationalistic, and militaristic.

Table 2. Characteristics of Repressive Developmentalist Regimes

	Examples	Characteristic targets of repression	Characteristic forms of repression	Characteristic justification
B. Developmentalist	Shah's Iran, Brazil, South Korea	students, workers, some religious groups	tight surveillance, preventive detention, torture	stability, fast development, catching up

Source: Feith (1981, 492)

Repressive developmentalist regimes are formed from class coalitions that dominated by bourgeoisie or bureaucratic-professionals with more urban elements dominant compared to rural areas. This regime led to social restratification towards the lower and middle classes. In general, there are two main patterns in its emergence: first, through major conflicts with leftist groups and nationalism and the crisis of capital accumulation; second, it developed gradually through a series of small conflicts with popular forces (Feith 1981, 494).

The typical pattern of **a repressive developmentalist regime** is characterized by a combination between the ambition of economic development and tight political control, bureaucracy consolidated, as well as the dominance of elite groups. Feith (1981, 496) explains operationalization of this regime in Asia through five main features, namely: growth economics, political repression, leadership ideology that is oriented towards development, streamlining of bureaucracy and its boundaries, and forms distinctive restratification. In addition, Feith also emphasized three characteristics

The main features of this regime are as follows:

1. Characteristic Targets *of Repression*

Repressive developmentalist regimes are usually controlled by the bourgeois class, and urban bureaucrats who weakened the power of landowners and removing the lower classes from the political process even though sometimes the upper classes also suppressed. However, the fact remains that the most disadvantaged groups remain lower class because it is increasingly difficult to find work and they have no voice in politics. Students, workers, and religious and ethnic groups often become targets of repression because they are thought to be able to trigger large protests. These actions can spread to various groups and became a serious threat to the regime, especially if injustice is increasingly felt (Feith 1981, 493-500).

2. Characteristic *Forms of Repression*

Repressive developmentalist regimes use political repression as a prerequisites for economic expansion and government reorganization using character technocratic-developmental, nationalistic, and militaristic ideologies. Practices include strict surveillance, preventive detention, and torture, especially in poor and rural areas. This regime suppresses groups potential mass, strengthening the military, and implementing repression in response crises and routine patterns of power. These repressive actions are divided into two: direct repression in the form of conscious action against those who are considered threatening order, and structural repression through institutional arrangements which maintains the vulnerability of the people (Feith 1981, 492-500).

3. *Characteristic Justification* (Characteristics of Justification)

The **repressive developmentalist** regime is characterized by state power that strong and repressive in order to encourage rapid capitalist growth,

especially in the context of industrialization and openness to corporations transnational. The ideological justification of this regime is rooted in the state's moral claims to stability, discipline, and national unity. Although sometimes voiced inclusiveness, the main focus remains on the rapid Gross National Product (GNP) through centralized control and political exclusion. This regime was also fueled by the desire strong to catch up with developed countries through acceleration development (Feith 1981, 493-503).

In its application, this research comprehensively examines state violence in the ongoing construction of the Rempang Eco City PSN from the reign of President Jokowi to President Prabowo in the span of 2023 to 2025. Five operational features and three main characteristics of the **repressive developmentalist** regime is used as a conceptual basis as well as analytical framework that shapes the overall direction and structure of this research. This approach was chosen because it is able to explain the relationship between agendas. development and use of repression by the state.

1.7 Temporary Arguments

State violence in the development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project 2023–2025 can be analyzed through the framework of **the repressive developmentalist regime**. from Feith (1981). There were three main groups that were targeted for repression the country because it is considered to have a strong resistance position against the project this development. First, student activists who voiced the rights Rempang community. Second, farmers and fishermen whose livelihoods are threatened livelihood. Third, indigenous communities who have historical ties and

culture with the land of Rempang. All three have a strong resistance position could threaten the sustainability of the Rempang Eco City PSN development.

State repression occurs in the form of direct and structural violence.

Direct violence includes intimidation by authorities, arrests of activists, and physical clashes, including the use of tear gas. Meanwhile, violence structural changes emerged through policies such as Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1 In 2016, Presidential Decree No. 3 of 2016, and the Job Creation Law which provides facilitating project implementation but reinforcing structural inequalities and weaken the bargaining position of the Rempang community. This repression is legitimized by development narrative that emphasizes the importance of stability in order to attract investment, especially from foreign investors. This project is expected to encourage national economic growth through the creation of tens of thousands to hundreds of jobs employment. This narrative of accelerated development is also based on catch up with Singapore and Malaysia.

1.8 Research Methods

1.8.1 Type of Research

This research uses a qualitative method that focuses on analysis. in-depth study of social phenomena through an interpretive approach. Neuman (2014) emphasizes that this method allows exploration of processes, meanings, and social dynamics in a more contextual way, so that it is relevant in studying state violence in the development of the Rempang Eco City PSN.

1.8.2 Research Subjects and Objects

This research focuses on the role of the state, especially the government. Indonesia and related authorities as subjects involved in repressive actions both directly and structurally to facilitate implementation development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN). The object of this research is students, workers from among farmers and fishermen, and indigenous communities Rempang was the main target of repression.

1.8.3 Data Collection Methods

This study collected secondary data through literature studies from various official documents, including government documents, statements by actors politics, ministerial reports, and publications of non-governmental organizations. Source Additional sources include books, journals, scientific articles, and verified news. Data search was conducted via **Google Scholar** with the keywords "Violence" The State in the Development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project".

1.8.4 Research Process

This research begins with the data collection and filtering stage. secondary data to obtain more focused information. The data then arranged narratively according to the research framework. If necessary, data presentation is supported by visual elements such as tables, graphs, diagrams, images, or figures. Analysis of the data produces initial conclusions that will be strengthened with additional supporting data.

1.9 Discussion Systematics

This research consists of four main parts. **The first chapter** discusses background, problem formulation, research scope, research objectives, framework thoughts, literature review, tentative arguments, research methods, and systematic discussion. **The second chapter** describes the dynamics and five features operational repressive development regime in the Rempang Eco City PSN. **Chapter Third**, analyze state violence in the development of the Rempang Eco-Parking National Park (PSN) City 2023–2025 uses three *repressive* characteristics *developmentalist regime* from Herbert Feith. Finally, **the fourth chapter** contains conclusions and suggestions that summarize the research findings and provide recommendations as a reference for further research.

CHAPTER 2

DYNAMICS AND OPERATIONAL FEATURES OF THE REPRESSIVE REGIME

DEVELOPMENTALISTS IN STRATEGIC PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

NATIONAL (PSN) REMPANG ECO CITY

After the explanation in Chapter I regarding the background, problem formulation, and research methodology. Then, Chapter II is structured to provide an understanding in-depth context. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two parts: first, discussing the historical dynamics of the Rempang Eco City PSN development project the era of President Jokowi and President Prabowo to trace the continuity policies of the two governments; second, reviewing five operational features of the regime ***repressive developmentalist*** to understand how state power works in the development process. This presentation forms the analytical basis for the chapter Next, regarding the targets of repression, forms of repression, and state justification.

2.1 Dynamics of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project

Rempang Island is located in Galang District, Batam City, Batam Islands Riau covers an area of approximately 16,583 hectares or 165.83 km². This island has 16 Old Villages are spread across Rempang Cate and Sembulang Subdistricts. The number of population of around 7,512 people in 2021 (Wiyoga 2023). Its inhabitants consisting of the Malay, Land People, and Sea People tribes. JG Schot in ***Indische Gids*** (1882) noted the existence of an indigenous tribe called the Orang Darat or Orang Utan in the area. Rempang Island has been inhabited since 1834 (Chaerudin 2023, 385), shows settlement activity that has been passed down from generation to generation since the 12th century.

19th (Fuad and Kurniawan 2024, 148-149). However, indigenous peoples Rempang has not received recognition and protection since Indonesia's independence (Hidayat 2023). Land legalization applications are always rejected on the grounds of status *quo*. (Sahputra 2023).

Figure 2. Location Map of Rempang Island in the Riau Islands



Source: Tempo (2023)

This lack of legal recognition is what then becomes a crucial point. when the government, in the era of President Jokowi, revived the plan development of Rempang as an Exclusive Integrated Tourism Area (KWTE) After nearly two decades of delay, the legal status of the land occupied by the community customs were deemed invalid, thus opening the way for PT MEG, the Rights holder Building Use Rights (HGB) on Land Management Rights (HPL), to continue the project. Discussions on accelerating development then involved Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenko Marves)

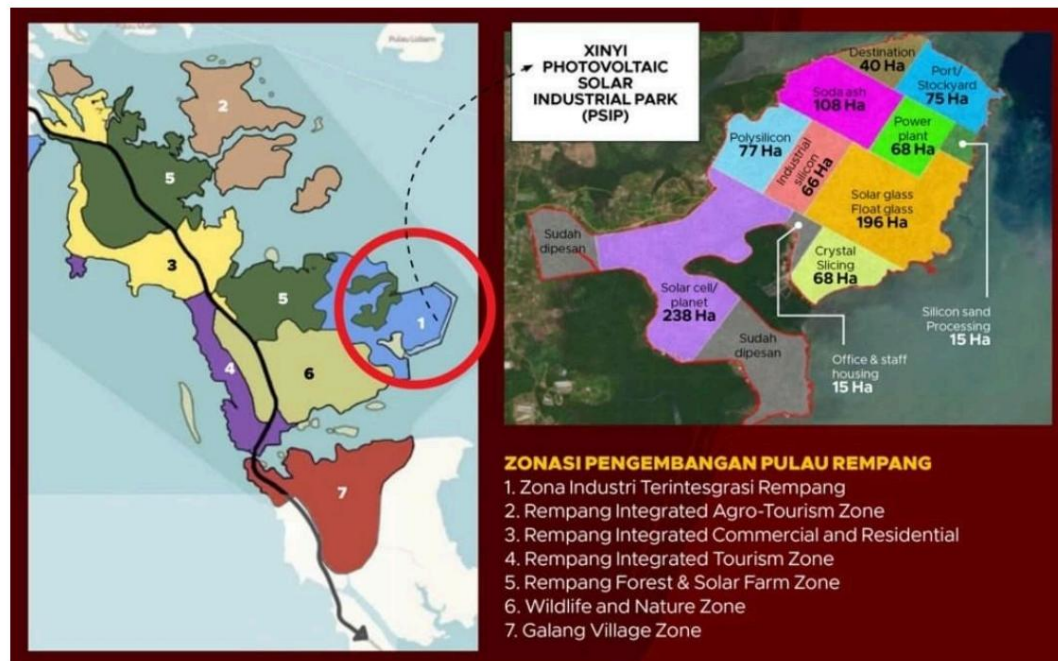
and the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (Kemenko Perekonomian), and attracting foreign investment from Xinyi Group (Seno 2023). On April 12 In 2023, Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga Hartarto officially launched Rempang Eco City program to develop industrial areas, trade, and integrated tourism to compete with Singapore and Malaysia (BP Batam 2023).

To accelerate the realization, Coordinating Minister for the Economy Airlangga sent letter to the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) on May 4, 2023 requested clarification of the land status. In response to this In addition, Hadi Tjahjanto in a letter dated May 26, 2023 emphasized that Rempang planned as an international tourist and industrial area, so that support the regional development by PT MEG. Hadi asked the company coordinate with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) regarding the release of forest areas (Ferdianto 2023). On the same day as the letter clarification of land status issued, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, with Tomy Winata to meet the CEO of Xinyi Group in China. A similar visit conducted by Bahlil Lahadalia, Minister of Investment/Head of the Coordinating Board Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM), on July 18, 2023.

Two days later, the Minister of Environment and Forestry, Siti Nurbaya Bakar, approved release of convertible production forest (HPK) on Rempang Island covering an area of 7,572 hectares. This release follows up on a request from BP Batam. submitted at the end of the previous year to change the status of HPK to other use areas (APL). Eight days later, on July 28, 2023, President Jokowi and President Xi Jinping witnessed the signing of the cooperation agreement

US\$11.6 billion investment between PT MEG and Xinyi Group for the development glass and solar panel factory (Ferdianto 2023).

Figure 3. Development Zoning of Rempang Island



Source: Tempo (2023)

On August 28, 2023, exactly one month after the signing investment agreement with Xinyi Group, Rempang Eco City project officially designated as a National Strategic Project through Coordinating Ministerial Regulation No. 7 of 2023. Realization The implementation of the Rempang Eco City PSN is scheduled to begin in September 2023 (Fuzain 2023, 1085). This project is planned to be built on land covering an area of 7,572 hectares which covers approximately 45.89 percent of the total 16,583 hectares Area of Rempang Island (CNN Indonesia 2023). BP Batam since April 2023 assigned to oversee investment realization and plan relocation the community that inhabits 16 Old Villages on Rempang Island.

In the first phase, this project will manage 2,370 hectares of land, with 2,000 hectares for industrial areas and 370 hectares for development

Rempang Tower (Antara Photo 2024). The government evicted approximately 700 families from 5 Old Villages, namely Pasir Panjang Village, Belongkeng, Pasir Merah, Sembulang Tanjung, and Sembulang Hulu (Fajriansyah 2025). Relocation plan received rejection from the community. Not long after the determination project becomes PSN, major clashes occurred on September 7 and 11, 2023 (Muhid 2024). The rejection has been going on since the end of President Muhammed's administration. Jokowi and continued until the beginning of President Prabowo's leadership.

President Prabowo's commitment to continuing the development agenda which has been pioneered by President Jokowi is reflected in the sustainability of the National Strategic Project (PSN) Rempang Eco City. This is proven by the existence of a local transmigration program under coordination of the Ministry of Transmigration. On February 26, 2025, the Minister Transmigration Muhammad Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanagara made a visit to Rempang area. During the visit, he emphasized to residents that reject the project that the government will not use a relocation approach, but will adopt a transmigration scheme that refers to the concept of the year 1946. This scheme included the complete relocation of the population with provision of housing, employment, educational services and facilities health (Sahputra 2025).

2.2 Operational Features of the Repressive Developmentalist Regime in PSN

Rempang Eco City

PSN Rempang Eco City reflects the typical pattern of a **repressive** regime **developmentalist**, where the state combines economic development ambitions with tight political control, consolidated bureaucracy, and dominance

elite groups. Feith (1981, 496) identifies five operational features of this regime: economic growth, political repression, state ideology and developmentalism, streamlining of bureaucracy and its boundaries, as well as forms of restratification distinctive. All of these elements are evident in the state's approach to Rempang Eco City National Park.

2.2.1 Economic Growth

In countries with **repressive developmentalist regimes**, companies transnational becomes the main driver of economic growth by providing capital, technology, and global market access, especially in the extractive and manufacturing. The state facilitates this process through infrastructure development, providing cheap labor, as well as creating attractive political stability for investors. This collaboration not only drives a surge in state revenue, but also accelerate the expansion of public services such as education, health, and urban facilities. Although national companies are growing, their position declined due to the dominance of state conglomerates and TNCs. GNP growth This height also becomes a narrative of legitimacy for the continuation of the regime (Feith, 1981, 496-497).

This pattern is clearly visible in the Rempang Eco City PSN project. President Jokowi and President Prabowo both showed strong commitment to facilitating the interests of foreign investors, especially from China. President Jokowi openly asked Chinese entrepreneurs convey the obstacles faced such as permits and land acquisition (Arkyasa 2023), while President Prabowo also confirmed his willingness support the smooth running of investment in the Indonesia-China business forum (Gayati)

2025). This proactive attitude shows how the country is trying to create stable investment climate for foreign investors.

Furthermore, the Rempang case shows that PT MEG as HGB holders on Rempang Island have experienced limitations for 80 years resources to build industrial and tourism areas independently.

This condition opens up space for the domination of foreign companies such as Xinyi Group. from China which has capital capacity, technology and market access which is much bigger. Xinyi Group is the main driver of the entire project PSN Rempang Eco City. With an investment value of approximately US\$11.6 billion, This company takes a leading role in the construction of glass factories and solar panels which are planned to be the second largest in the world (Walangare and Bahri 2023, 390), which is designed to process quartz sand which has been exported as raw materials (Shaidra 2023).

The state is trying to suppress citizen resistance in order to maintain stability. politics while ensuring the smooth flow of foreign investment. With the target Batam's economic growth is above 8% (Yaputra 2025), the government claims that this large-scale investment will drive accelerated growth economy by opening around 35 thousand new jobs, which is supported by accelerating licensing, land acquisition, and population relocation. President Prabowo even tasked the Ministry of Transmigration to offer relocation scheme based on the 1946 transmigration concept, with the promise of providing housing, employment, educational services, and health facilities in new location (Sahputra 2025).

2.2.2 Political Repression

Political repression went hand in hand with economic expansion, becoming a prerequisite as well as the results of foreign investment and state reorganization to spur rapid growth. This repression is multi-layered, starting with the dissolution of political parties politics, labor unions, farmers' organizations, ethnic associations, and even massacres mass. These measures destroy the potential for balancing power and ensure stability for foreign capital. Feith formulated three stages: first, crushing the opponent's strength; second, controlling the group supporters while expanding the role of the military; third, maintaining stability facing new social inequalities and foreign influences with repression increasingly selective and complex (Feith 1981, 497-498).

Political repression during the era of President Jokowi and President Prabowo can analyzed through Feith's (1981) framework, which refers to repression as part of of state reorganization to support economic growth. The first stage is to hit the opposing forces. President Jokowi formed a large coalition that leaving only PKS as the opposition (Hutabarat 2024), while President Prabowo controls 80 percent of the DPR seats with only PDIP outside government (CNN Indonesia 2025). This weakens the oversight function parliament, including the Rempang Eco City PSN (WALHI 2024). Only PKS and NasDem voiced criticism of President Jokowi (CNN Indonesia 2023). Meanwhile, during the Prabowo era, only PDIP was vocal. raise the issue in parliament (Rahayu 2025).

The second stage is seen from the supporting control and expansion of the role the military as a guardian of stability for the smooth running of development that supports

foreign investment interests. In the Jokowi era, active soldiers were placed in Civilian positions exceed the limits of the TNI Law (Dewi 2024), strengthened by the revision of the ASN Law and the drafting of the revised TNI Law without adequate public participation (Yaputra 2024). President Prabowo continues by adding military assignment agencies active from 10 to 18 through the ratification of the revised TNI Law (Fajri 2025). Military involved in the Rempang Eco City PSN, starting from the deployment of thousands of officers in the 2023 clash, BP Batam-Korem 033 coordination meeting, to the plan territorial battalion (Supriatma 2025).

The third stage emphasizes the importance of maintaining stability in the midst of social inequality and foreign influence through increasingly selective repression. PSN Rempang Eco City has sparked resistance from residents due to forced relocation and environmental threats. The government responded by deploying joint forces and the expansion of the military's role in territorial areas (Muhid 2024). Weak function Parliamentary oversight strengthens this repression. Political consolidation, domination military, and repression against citizens reflects the state's strategy in ensure stability for foreign investment in this project.

2.2.3 Statist and Developmentalist Ideology (State Ideology & Developmentalism)

According to Feith (1981, 501-502), the state ideology in a **repressive** regime **developmentalists** emphasize moral claims to stability, national discipline, and unity, while viewing popular politics as a source of division that slowing down development. Their nationalism is often associated with neo-traditionalist elements and respect for the military as guardians of the state. National development and technological progress are positioned as priorities

absolute, becomes the central agenda of the state which cannot be contested. With borrowing the discourse of American-style modernization, the regime justifies political silencing for the sake of development efficiency and catching up.

The application of the *statist-developmental* ideology as stated by Feith (1981) is clearly visible in the approach to development of the Indonesian regime during the administration of President Jokowi and continuing into the era of President Prabowo. This regime emphasized the importance of stability, national discipline, and unity. as the main moral requirement to encourage national development. Second The government has minimized the space for criticism by forming a grand coalition that relies on a narrative of unity, so that parliament too tends to be absent in its supervisory function towards the Rempang Eco City PSN (WALHI 2024). This is in line with Feith's view that popular politics considered to be an obstacle to development, so its role is limited.

Furthermore, the state's claim to justify the military's role in the sector non-defense as an instrument to ensure political stability and securing development projects (Dongoran 2025; Hernawan 2024) This shows a neo-traditionalist character, where the military is not only maintaining security, but also securing the relocation of residents and the smooth running of Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project investment project. At the same time, the discourse on modernization used as a tool of legitimacy, by citing the backwardness of other countries such as Singapore as a reason to attract foreign investment to accelerate development (JPNN 2023).

2.2.4 Bureaucratic Streamlining and its Limits

Feith (1981, 503-504) explains that a ***repressive*** regime ***developmentalists*** place technocrats, often graduates of developed countries, in important positions to streamline bureaucracy, increase centralization, and drive efficiency. These technocrats design policies, supervise, and development research, working closely with the military, private sector, and universities. However, its effectiveness is often hampered by the bureaucratic nature patrimonial, filled with patronage, corruption, and struggles for influence between factions, and political loyalty are prioritized over performance. Technocratic efforts often fail due to internal bureaucratic conflicts, nepotism practices, inertia, and consideration of maintaining regime stability.

In the Rempang Eco City PSN, the pattern of placement of technocrats is educated in developed countries is similar to what was seen when Airlangga Hartarto, Chairman Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision (KPPIP) who is also a graduate renowned universities abroad, leading the planning process up to the designation of this project as a National Strategic Project (PSN). Hartarto coordinated with the ministry strategic agencies such as ATR/BPN, LHK, to Investment/BKPM, with the authority centralized directly under the president. KPPIP itself is a cross-border institution ministry designed to cut the complexity of development procedures infrastructure and investment. Its main tasks include accelerating investment realization through project planning, land acquisition, funding, and changes to the layout space and conversion of forest areas (Permata 2025).

This centralization is reinforced by the practice of holding dual positions at BP Batam. With this dual position, the land acquisition process, relocation of residents, to

licensing becomes faster because decisions can be taken in one structure equal power. During President Jokowi's term, Batam Mayor Muhammad Rudi also serves as Head of BP Batam. In the era of President Prabowo, the pattern This is getting stronger, with Amsakar Achmad holding the position of Head of BP Batam and also the Mayor of Batam, while Li Claudia Chandra became Deputy Head BP Batam and Deputy Mayor of Batam (Sahputra 2025).

In addition, the **bureaucratic streamlining** character of the regime **developmentalist** is also seen in the use of military figures in key positions. important. The presence of this military figure confirms the pattern of collaboration between technocrats and the military as Feith (1981) stated, where the development sector strategic led by military figures to ensure stability and order, especially if public resistance arises. Minister of ATR/Head of BPN Hadi Tjahjanto and Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan in the Jokowi era is a retired TNI officer. Even President Prabowo himself has a military background military background, as well as the current Minister of Transmigration who was involved in PSN Rempang Eco City also comes from military circles (Nurani 2024).

Streamlining bureaucracy through centralized structures such as KPPIP in The Rempang Eco City case resulted in the determination of PSN status only requiring within 30 days after signing the cooperation agreement with Xinyi Group. The process This fast-paced development gives rise to public resistance and social conflict as a result. minimal participation of affected communities (Wicaksono 2023). This situation reflects the character of patrimonial bureaucracy, where political party loyalty towards the president, both President Jokowi and President Prabowo, contributed in the placement of political figures as ministers, especially in strategic positions

KPPIP. Appointment to this position is generally based on personal closeness and patronage patterns, not solely on the basis of professional performance.

2.2.5 Distinctive Forms of Restratisation

Typical)

In the ***repressive developmentalist regime***, social restatification is characterized with the emergence of new elite classes such as conglomerates, technocrats, officials, and military officers who are close to the state. They enjoy special access towards resources and development projects, while the lower class society The lower classes are increasingly marginalized and lose social protection. Inequality income gap widens, especially in cities, between the educated middle class and the working class. urban poor. In villages, small farmers are increasingly dependent on local elites due to the entry of agribusiness. This process creates new forms of dependency and inequality reinforced by an elitist and centralized direction of development (Feith 1981, 504-505).

Social restratification in the Rempang Eco City PSN is evident from the emergence of an elite class that benefits directly from development, such as PT MEG owned by Tomy Winata and Xinyi Group as foreign investors (BBC News Indonesia 2023). Their closeness to the state, which is facilitated by the central government through various ministries and local governments Batam which doubles as BP Batam, creating exclusive access to resources and project decisions. This process reflects the development that elitist and closed, where political and economic power is concentrated in a handful of actors who have strong relations with the state.

Meanwhile, the Rempang traditional community consists of 16 villages
Elderly people whose livelihoods have long depended on land and sea
experiencing marginalization (Bogiarto 2025). They face forced relocation,
their land rights are not recognized, and they are even criminalized when they refuse
project development (KPA 2024). Social inequality is also widening: the community
the bottom loses social protection, while the economic and political elite
increasingly dominant. The situation that occurred in the development of the Rempang Eco-Parking National Park (PSN)
The city reflects patterns of restratification in a ***repressive developmentalist regime***.

CHAPTER 3

REPRESSIVE DEVELOPMENTALIST REGIME IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL STRATEGIC PROJECT (PSN) REMPANG ECO CITY 2023–2025

In the previous chapter, we discussed in depth the dynamics PSN Rempang Eco City in the era of President Jokowi and President Prabowo and five operational features of the *repressive developmentalist* regime in such development. As a continuation of this discussion, Chapter III focuses on the analysis regarding state violence in the development of the Rempang Eco City PSN in 2023–2025. This analysis was prepared to answer the problem formulation with using the *repressive developmentalist regime* approach put forward by Herbert Feith.

The *repressive developmentalist* regime refers to a type of strong state regime. which combines capitalist economic growth and industrialization with repressive approach. This regime emerged through major conflicts or accumulation crises capital, as well as a series of small conflicts with the people's power that pushed consolidation of power by a coalition of the bourgeoisie and professional bureaucrats in urban areas. The coalition led the process of social restratification by suppressing the lower classes. grassroots and political balancing groups. Based on ideology technocratic-developmental, nationalistic, and militaristic, this regime focuses on power, eliminating the opposition, strengthening military control, and managing public dissatisfaction through symbolic participatory narratives in order to legitimize its dominance (Feith 1981, 493-503).

In his article entitled ***Repressive-Developmentalist Regimes in Asia*** published in the journal ***Alternatives: Global, Local, Political***, Herbert Feith put forward three main variables as indicators of repressive action patterns in the process of national development. The three variables are ***Characteristic Targets of Repression, Characteristic Forms of Repression, and Characteristics Justification***. Each of these variables is then described in sub-variables (Feith 1981, 492).

3.1 Characteristic *Targets of Repression*

In this section, the discussion is divided into three main parts which are: related to ***the Characteristic Targets of Repression***. First, the role of students as part of a group of students ***who*** participate in support the Rempang community's resistance movement. Second, the focus is directed in the farmer and fisherman groups as the dominant representation of the class workers who depend on the Rempang area for their livelihood. Third , examined the position of indigenous communities categorized into ethnic groups (***ethnic groups***) because of the strong cultural identity ties in the Rempang area.

3.1.1 Students as Targets of State Repression

Students are often the target of repression because of their outside position. power and dissatisfaction with government policies. Major universities in Cities became centers of resistance because they were difficult to control and support. academic staff with international connections. Illegal demonstrations were carried out Students often thrive on the support of urban masses and classes. middle class makes it difficult for the government to control (Feith 1981, 498).

Despite facing pressure, students tend to receive more favorable treatment.

soft and greater chances of being released than workers or farmers

(Feith 1981, 499).

Students play an active role in rejecting evictions due to PSN Rempang Eco City through demonstrations, public discussions, digital campaigns, and legal advocacy. This phenomenon is in line with Feith's (1981) view that stated that students were targets of repression because they were outside of their power and often criticize state policies. Universities in big cities become centers of resistance because it is difficult to control and get support from the community academic. This condition is seen in actions that are not only carried out by Batam Student Alliance (AMB), but also students from outside the region such as Trilogi University and the Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM-SI) who held a solidarity action (Pulungan 2024).

On September 15 2023, AMB submitted demands directly to Head of BP Batam and Chairman of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) of Batam City Batam, highlighting the repressiveness of the authorities, the lack of transparency in socialization, as well as the importance of legal protection for Kampung Tua. Students also criticized the concurrent position of Head of BP Batam as Mayor who is considered to have neglected society (Lubis 2023). At the national level, student actions were held by Trilogi University and BEM-SI on August 14, 2024 in front of the Embassy China, Jakarta (Pulungan 2024). A similar action was carried out on December 23, 2024 in front of the BP Batam office (Sahputra 2024).

Although not among the most structurally vulnerable groups, Students continue to play a strategic role in community resistance

against the Rempang Eco City PSN. Until early 2025, the rejection action
Student protests against the eviction of Rempang residents continue. The movement
Indonesian Christian Students (GMKI) Batam Branch expressed support
open through public discussions and screenings of documentaries about Rempang
on January 25, 2025 (Bani 2025). In addition, solidarity actions were also carried out by
BEM-SI Rakyat and AMB on February 5, 2025 in front of the DPRD Building,
with demands that conflict resolution be carried out fairly (Ashab 2025).

3.1.2 Workers as Targets of State Repression

There are different views on which group to be
the main target of the regime's repressive actions. Some believe the regime does not need
allocate a lot of resources to control the urban masses and farmers
due to unemployment and the provision of incentives to local elites. Although
Thus, concerns about potential resistance from workers' groups and
Certain farmers continue to push the regime to expand its oversight mechanisms
to rural areas and urban poor areas (Feith 1981, 499).

Fishermen and farmers represent about 90 percent of the working class.
who are affected by the Rempang Eco City PSN because they depend on
lives on access to land and sea. This project threatens the resources
their livelihoods thus encouraging resistance to relocation for the sake of
maintain their homes, land and cultural identity as fishermen
(Ishlahuddin 2024). Thus, this group has the potential for resistance.
strong. In line with Feith's opinion (1981), although the government can
quell resistance through incentives to local elites, the potential for conflict remains
thus triggering tighter surveillance efforts by the regime.

Figure 4. Clash between Rempang residents and authorities on September 7, 2023



Source: Tempo (2023)

The rejection of the Rempang community, most of whom work as fishermen emerged because the reclamation and sand dredging projects were damaging marine ecosystems, threatening coral reefs, and causing abrasion and intrusion sea water that disrupts their livelihoods (Saputra 2024). However, the Batam Fisheries Service still supports the project without clarity regarding the replacement **fishing ground** area (Sahputra 2024). In addition, the type of the jobs offered do not match the background of the residents most of the fishermen so they have difficulty adapting due to the lack of skills in the industrial sector (Walangare and Bahri 2023, 394).

Residents' rejection of the relocation was expressed through demonstrations, including symbolic action at sea on May 20, 2024, as resistance against government policies that ignore the rights of local communities (Sahputra 2024). Another demonstration also took place on August 14, 2024 as a form of protest against The involvement of foreign investors has led to intimidation. Fear of relocation

Forced labor and arrests after protests make fishermen reluctant to go to sea (Sahputra 2023). Farmers also experience similar things, losing focus on their work because of fear of the arrival of the authorities. This psychological impact reduces productivity, because they prefer to look after their homes and land rather than work so that it ultimately has an impact on decreasing income (Pulungan 2024).

3.1.3 Ethnic Groups as Targets of State Repression

Although Feith (1981, 498) does not explicitly list ethnic groups as one of the three main targets in the ***repressive*** regime ***developmentalist***, he shows that areas with high levels of high ethnic and/or religious sentiment is seen as a source of threat serious for the stability of the country. In the post-consolidation phase of power, the regime must facing new dissatisfactions arising from social change and economic restratification, including inequality that is perceived as not legitimate. Ethnic groups that are marginalized in this process often become the center of accumulation of tensions, and their territory is considered to have the potential to grow return to rebellion or armed resistance.

The case of PSN Rempang Eco City shows how ethnic tensions become a source of serious threat to the stability of the country. This region is inhabited by Indigenous communities consisting of various tribes such as Malays, Orang Darat, and The Sea People, who have lived in 16 Old Villages since 1834 (Chaerudin 2023, 385). Implementation of major development projects that consolidate power through the decision to relocate the villages gave rise to sharp social and economic restratification, especially the loss of land and livelihoods

the livelihoods of indigenous peoples who are strongly dependent on the sea, forests and simple farming (Irwanto 2023; Pratiwi 2025).

The determination of the ***clean and clear*** status of Rempang Island was carried out quickly, and without transparency, triggering strong resistance from indigenous communities. reject the eviction and relocation. This resistance developed into collective movements through advocacy platforms such as Indigenous Peoples' Kinship Local Community (KERAMAT) and the Rempang-Galang Indigenous Peoples Alliance Unite (AMAR-GB), which demands recognition of customary land rights, rejection evictions, and ending intimidation (BatamNow 2024; Wijaya 2023). In post-consolidation phase of power, as Feith (1981) explains, dissatisfaction resulting from social change and inequality that is seen as illegitimate fostering tensions that have the potential to shake the stability of the country.

The Rempang indigenous people's movement received widespread support from national advocacy organizations and community organizations that criticize the attitude a country that prioritizes foreign investment over the rights of indigenous peoples. The involvement of large groups such as the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) and the Association of Defenders of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (PPMAN) (Gunawan 2023). National Solidarity for Rempang, consisting of WALHI Riau, YLBHI, LBH Pekanbaru, KontraS, Amnesty International Indonesia, KPA, AJI, JATAM, and Trend Asia also voiced their rejection of evictions through advocacy public (Mubarok and Hariandja 2024; Pulungan 2024; Walangare and Bahri 2023). Muhammadiyah, Syarikat Islam, and Gusdurian also voiced criticism (CNN Indonesia 2023; Yulianto 2023).

3.2 Characteristic *Forms of Repression*

In this section, we will discuss *the Characteristic Forms of Repression* in

The context of the development of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN). The form of repression is analyzed.

through two main categories: structural violence and direct violence.

Structural violence refers to acts of repression that take place systematically.

systematic and institutionalized, and discussed narratively without division into

points. Meanwhile, direct violence refers to physical and

repressive measures that directly target the community. Therefore

The discussion is divided into three sub-variables to explain various

the forms of violence in more detail.

Structural violence in *repressive developmentalist* regimes is

a form of repression carried out through systems and institutions that are

systematically maintains the vulnerability of certain groups. The main victims are

those who appear in structural violence are those who are not targeted

directly, but are impacted by oppressive policies and social orders

in a hidden way. Some forms of repression are obvious to outside observers,

while others are only recognized by those who understand the context and

have sensitivity to social reality (Feith 1981, 499-500).

The Rempang community is the party most affected by development

PSN Rempang Eco City. Structural violence occurred first and

takes place systematically through laws, development policies, and institutions

a state that maintains injustice. Feith (1981) calls this violence

creates ongoing and often invisible powerlessness. One of

the form is that there is no state recognition of the land that has been occupied

the Rempang community for hundreds of years. This situation persisted until the emergence of PSN Rempang Eco City during the administration of President Jokowi and President Prabowo (2023–2025).

In President Jokowi's second term, structural violence against the Rempang community is becoming more organized. Instead of fulfilling campaign promises regarding land certification for indigenous peoples, the government is accelerating the project Rempang Eco City. The government claims the land in Rempang as state property and ignoring customary rights because the community does not have certificates. Project This is driven through inter-agency coordination: the Coordinating Minister for the Economy leads release of forest areas to the Minister of Environment and Forestry and clarification of land status to Minister of ATR/Head of BPN. Meanwhile, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment and Minister Investment/The Head of BKPM facilitated the investment from Xinyi Group. This process took place quickly, from the April 2023 launch to the designation as a PSN August 2023 (Ferdianto 2023).

After Rempang Eco City became a PSN, this project received privileges in the form of accelerated implementation through the support of a number of regulations as listed in Tables 3 and 4. Regulations derived from the Law Job Creation, accelerates land acquisition for the Rempang Eco City PSN because there is an expansion of the definition of public interest and the determination of regional priorities strategic industry. This support is reinforced by Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2016 and Presidential Decree No. 3 of 2016 which directs the central and regional governments to facilitating the Rempang Eco City PSN, including adjustments to spatial planning and status areas technocratically to meet investment needs (Permata 2025).

Table 3. Key Regulations and Articles in the Implementation of PSN

Regulation	Chapter	Article Sound	Information
Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2016 about Acceleration Implementation Project Strategic National	2 and 3	accelerating the National Strategic Project (PSN), Jokowi ordered government officials: (1) to resolve PSN problems and obstacles with discretion; (2) Improve, revoke and/ or replace statutory provisions; (3) Drafting the necessary legislation; (4) Issue technical instructions for government and regional government officials; (5) Take steps to mitigate social impacts; (6) Accelerate land acquisition with a minimum time limit; (7) Implementing accelerated procurement of goods/services.	- Eliminates meaningful public participation. - Does not fulfill the right to information, the right to participate, or the right to have one's opinion heard. - Triggering agrarian and natural resource conflicts.
Presidential Decree No. 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects (PSN)	3	Ministers/heads of institutions, governors, and regents/mayors provide permits and non-permits required for the implementation of PSN in accordance with their authority.	Orders to ministries/ institutions and regional apparatus are top-down in nature , considering that the decision regarding the determination of the National Strategic Plan itself lies in the hands of the president.
	20 verse (3)	PSN which was originally located in a location that was not a forest area but was later changed to a forest area, the implementation of the PSN can still be continued	- Potentially increases deforestation and displaces the living space of indigenous peoples. - Potentially violates MK decision No.

		granting of Forest Area Borrowing Permits.	35 Years 2013 which states that customary forests are not forests country.
	21 verse (4)	Land for PSN whose location has been determined by the governor cannot have its land rights transferred by the land owner to another party other than the National Land Agency.	- Eliminate land rights. - Contradicts the Basic Agrarian Law which protects and guarantees the protection of land rights inhabitant. - Contradicts Article 6 of the Human Rights Law which guarantees and protects rights to customary land.
Presidential Decree No. 109 of 2020 concerning the Third Amendment to Presidential Decree No. 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects (PSN)	2 verses (6)	Changes to the PSN list are determined by the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs as Chair of the Priority Infrastructure Acceleration Committee (KPPIP) after obtaining presidential approval.	Changes to the PSN list regulations are neither transparent nor accountable because they lack public consultation. Communities lack the space to design their own regional development.

Source: National Commission on Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (2024)

The regulation does provide legitimacy to overcome obstacles.

Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN). However, this actually expands state control.

on Rempang land for investment by diminishing the community's rights to

right **to defend**. The derivative regulations of the Job Creation Law make it easier

Land acquisition without regard for customary rights or ownership of citizens. Presidential Decree

No. 3 of 2016 and Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2016 reflect the approach

top-down approach that ignores public participation, the right to information, and the principles of environmental protection and human rights (Permata 2025).

Table 4. Derivative Regulations of the Job Creation Law Regarding National Strategic Projects (PSN)

Regulation	Contents/Description
Government Regulation No. 19 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Land Acquisition for Development in the Public Interest	Adding types of development for public interest, efforts to accelerate land acquisition, accelerating land acquisition (related to village treasury land, waqf land, and asset land), involvement of land institutions in assisting in the preparation of land acquisition planning documents, extending the time period for determining locations, and depositing compensation.
PP No. 43 of 2021 concerning Settlement of Discrepancies between Spatial Planning and Forest Areas, Permits and/or Land Rights	Settlement of discrepancies in spatial planning, forest areas, permits, concessions, land rights and management rights.
Government Regulation No. 39 of 2023 concerning the Implementation of Land Acquisition for Development in the Public Interest	- Facilitate the provision of land from the planning stage by the National Land Agency. - Priority land acquisition for PSN. - Oil and gas industrial areas, special economic zones, tourism, food estates are included in the public interest category.
Government Regulation No. 23 of 2021 concerning Forestry Management	Acceleration of forest land adaptation for PSN.
Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021 concerning Management Rights, Land Rights, Apartment Units, and Land Registration	- Confirmation of land that has not been certified as state land. - Establishment of types of land rights, namely management rights (HPL) as assets of the Land Bank Agency.

Source: National Commission on Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (2024)

In addition to the above regulations, Presidential Decree No. 78 of 2023 regulates the handling of social impact of land acquisition for the Rempang Eco City PSN. However, instead

replacing land rights, the regulation only provides "compensation" instead of fair compensation. This policy shows bias towards investors and legitimize evictions. The government offers compensation in the form of 500 m² of land, a type 45 house worth IDR 120 million, rental assistance of IDR 1.2 million and a living allowance of Rp. 1.2 million per person for 12 months. The scheme weaken the bargaining position of the Rempang community in defending their historical relationships, cultural values, and sources of livelihood (KPA 2024).

The relocation policy in Rempang risks exacerbating poverty local communities. Residents were forced to start life from scratch, even though they have a house and a livelihood as a fisherman and farmer (Bogiarto 2025). The relocation of residents from 16 Old Villages to Tanjung Banon has the potential triggering conflicts between fishermen due to the struggle for fishing space. Meanwhile, Farmers were only given 500 m² of land, including for houses, and had to lose the ability to farm. The government appears to favor investors without considering the needs of communities that depend on it for their livelihoods natural resources (Wicaksono 2025). Despite the promise of employment opportunities massive, the jobs offered do not match your background citizens making it difficult for them to compete (Walangare and Bahri 2023, 394).

Under the new government, the Rempang Eco City PSN will continue as part of President Jokowi's legacy. President Prabowo's administration benefit from previously established regulations so that project implementation will run more smoothly. Even though it is packaged with new approach as a transmigration program concept in 1946, this policy This still results in the relocation of residents. Even though Rempang is not a densely populated area

population so that this approach does not comply with the definition of transmigration (Rahayu 2025). Residents are still being evicted for the sake of downstream industries, without taking into account the social, cultural and economic aspects of the local community (Wicaksono 2025).

The lack of transparency and the absence of space for public participation makes Rempang community is not involved in decision making (BBC News) Indonesia 2023). Large investments that require large areas of land are often made without citizen consultation, triggering land disputes that are exacerbated by the approach liberals who ignore local interests (Izka, Hartati, and Rahayu 2024, 54-55). The narrative of national development is used to legitimize land acquisition so that residents reject eviction and defend their land rights They (Sahputra 2023). This approach leads to direct violence towards the Rempang community.

Direct violence in **repressive developmentalist** regimes is a form of repression carried out consciously against individuals or groups considered to threaten the established order. The main target of this violence are those who are directly targeted by repressive actions. Violence directly not only appears as a response to a crisis situation that is of a punitive, but also present as an inherent form of routine supervision in the power structure. This regime is actively expanding the reach of supervision, especially in rural areas and urban poor areas (Feith 1981, 499-500).

The Rempang Eco City PSN case reflects direct violence in **repressive developmentalist** regime . The state actively expands its control in

Rempang area in response to the massive rejection of evictions by local communities. Throughout 2023–2024, eight incidents of violence were recorded which resulted in 44 people being criminalized, 51 becoming victims of physical violence, and one person was shot (KPA 2024). The repression was not just a response to the crisis, but rather part of a social surveillance and control strategy systematic, as theorized by Feith (1981, 499-500).

3.2.1 Tight Surveillance as a Form of State Repression

In the case of the development of the Rempang Eco City PSN, the state implemented monitoring, intimidation and pressure on affected communities as part of a repressive strategy to control and limit mobilization resistance. After the September 7, 2023 incident, a security-based approach adopted and exacerbated fear among citizens. This was demonstrated when BP Batam took over the residents' security post and converted it into a The Integrated Team post is guarded by officers. Residents' efforts to retake the post on August 30, 2024, was responded to with the presence of joint officers from TNI, Polri, Satpol PP, and BP Batam Security Directorate (2024 Edition; Sahputra 2024).

Entering early 2025, the TNI's involvement in this project is increasingly intensive. This was marked by a coordination meeting between BP Batam and Korem 033 Wira Pratama to accelerate development and support infrastructure and a joint food security program with PT MEG (WALHI 2025). Although the TNI given the authority to support the government in Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP), this involvement goes beyond the limits of constitutional duties because it does not based on clear regulations, triggering fear in local and indigenous communities

who work as farmers and fishermen for activities, and have the potential

This situation contradicts the provisions of the TNI Law.

which emphasizes the role of the TNI as a national defense tool (2025 Edition).

Figure 5. BP Batam Coordination Meeting with Korem 033 Wira Pratama



Source: BP Batam (2025)

3.2.2 Preventive Detention as a Form of State Repression

Several residents affected by the construction of the Rempang Eco City PSN experiencing detention as a form of state repression to silence resistance. Since before the clashes on September 7, 2023, security forces has intimidated and criminalized the community. The accusations The charges filed include hindering investment, causing losses to the state, and encroaching on land. country, to the point of destroying coral reefs (YLBHI 2023). Before this project appointed as PSN, Gerisman Ahmad, Chairman of KERAMAT Rempang-Galang has been reported to the police on various charges, including extortion in coastal areas, coral reef destruction, and deforestation (Andika

2023). This reflects the existence of a systematic pattern of criminalization against parties who reject development projects (Sahputra 2023).

The residents' rejection of the eviction of this project resulted in arbitrary arrest, detention, and even criminal punishment. On 7 September 2023, clashes between residents and the Integrated Team during land marking resulted in eight residents being arrested and made suspects for seven days. months, before the investigation was finally stopped on April 9, 2024 (2024 Edition). A follow-up action on September 11, 2023 resulted in the guilty verdict of 34 demonstrators charged under Article 170 paragraph (1) of the Criminal Code (KUHP), after being found guilty of vandalism and resisting officers during the action in front of the Batam BP Office. The defendants were sentenced prison with a prison term varying between three and eight months (Sahputra 2024).

Iswandi M. Yakob, a Malay youth figure from Rempang and alumni of the Islamic Communication and Broadcasting Study Program (KPI), Faculty of Religion The Islamic University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) is one of the the defendant was sentenced to 6 months in prison for being the leader in action to defend customary land (Suara Muhammadiyah 2023). After he arrested, the Alumni Family of Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (KAUMY) also provide support through legal assistance by assigning a team of advocates to oversee the judicial process (Ahmad 2023).

After the major clash, residents were visited by the Integrated Team to clarify the land they occupy (Sultan 2023). Criminalization of residents continued until 2025. On January 18, 2025, the Barelang Police

named three Rempang residents, including a 67-year-old woman named Siti Hawa or Nenek Awe as a suspect for alleged violations Article 333 of the Criminal Code concerning deprivation of liberty. This case began with The incident of the destruction of the PSN protest banner by PT MEG officers ended in secured by residents and handed over to the police. However, instead of processing the report residents, the authorities instead named Nenek Awe and two other residents as suspect based on a counter report from the company (Sahputra 2025).

3.2.3 Torture as a Form of State Repression

Communities affected by the Rempang Eco City PSN project experienced various forms of violence carried out by security forces and PT MEG. This violence is not only aimed at punishing, but also at coercing intimidate citizens so that their right to feel safe is threatened. This action This repressive action is a manifestation of direct violence that results in injury physical and psychological trauma. Vulnerable groups in Rempang such as women, children and the elderly are not spared from becoming victims (Reffelsen 2024).

The peak of the escalation of violence occurred on September 7, 2023, when the government deploying 1,010 joint personnel from the TNI, Polri, BP Batam, and Satpol PP to stake out the land. Clashes broke out, and officers used tear gas excessive tear gas and rubber bullets. Tear gas even spread to the surrounding area. school causing ten students and one teacher to experience shortness of breath breath. A resident suffered a head injury and an eight-year-old baby months were seriously affected. Following the incident, student attendance at school decreased.

decline due to deep trauma (Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights 2024, 14; Sahputra 2023).

It didn't stop there, the intimidation continued on September 18, 2024, when dozens of people in plain clothes accompanied by police officers carried out violence against residents of Rempang Island. Three Rempang residents experienced injured, while dozens of others were victims of beatings. Advocacy Team National Solidarity for Rempang suspects that some of the perpetrators were dressed in The thugs are members of the TNI (WALHI Riau 2024).

The conflict heated up again on September 19, 2024. Clashes between Residents and PT MEG have split due to the company's efforts to manage the land. claimed as belonging to residents, without proof of legal management rights. This incident causing several residents to suffer injuries, including a woman Elderly, Siti Hawa is 66 years old who suffered a broken hand. Komnas HAM considers PT MEG's activities to be illegal because they do not have valid legal basis (Sahputra 2024).

Violations against Rempang residents continued on December 18, 2024. Eight residents were injured in the incident triggered by the vandalism. A banner rejecting the eviction of PT MEG workers. Residents took the initiative. hand over the perpetrator to the company on the condition that the PT worker MEG no longer enters the settlement. However, the deal fell through, and Instead, the company deployed about 30 workers to the site to attacked residents and forcibly took the perpetrator who had been secured by residents (Sahputra 2024).

3.3 Characteristic Justification (Characteristics of Justification)

The discussion in this section will focus on **Characteristics**

Justification for the repressive actions that occurred in the development of PSN Rempang Eco City. The analysis was conducted using three main sub-variables. First, the state justifies repressive measures by emphasizing the importance of maintaining national stability as a prerequisite for smooth project development. Second, the state builds legitimacy through the narrative of accelerating development. economic growth by highlighting this development as an opportunity to creating employment opportunities. Third, the state strengthens its legitimacy through arguments for the need for centralized control in project development as an effort to catch up with developed countries.

3.3.1 Stability as a Justification for the State

The repressive character inherent in the **repressive developmentalist** regime further strengthened by the use of ideological themes that support moral legitimacy of the state. These themes emphasize the importance of discipline national unity, national unity, and stability as the main conditions for success national development. In addition, this ideological narrative is also accompanied by the view that political activity is considered destructive and has the potential to divide split (Feith 1981, 501).

The narrative of national unity has become the main tool of the President's administration. Jokowi and President Prabowo to maintain political stability and facilitate policies, including the Rempang Eco City PSN, through a large coalition that weakening the legislative function as a supervisor (WALHI 2024). Parliamentary criticism very limited to some opposition factions. Both governments also

strengthening the role of the military in the civilian sector, expanding the placement of active soldiers in outside of defense duties, as well as ratifying the revision of the TNI Law which expands the role of military (Fajri 2025). TNI involvement in securing PSN projects has increased significant, such as the September 2023 clash and the planned formation of territorial battalion in the Military District Command (Kodim) (Supriatma 2025).

All of these strategies are based on the view that stability

The region is a major prerequisite for the success of foreign investment. Narrative which emphasizes the importance of a safe and conducive situation for supporting projects such as Rempang Eco City involving Xinyi Group with a value of US\$11.6 billion. Secretary of the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs and The Chairman of the BP Batam Supervisory Board emphasized this (Estherina 2024; Wiranata 2024). A similar view was expressed by the Minister of Investment/Head of BKPM, Bahlil Lahadalia, said that stability is the main requirement for investment. because regional development cannot fully depend on the APBD (BKPM 2023).

During the Prabowo Subianto administration, the Rempang Eco City project was...

Not being listed on the PSN list has caused controversy in society. However, Andre Rosiade, Chairman of Commission VI of the DPR and Chairman of the Supervisory Working Committee Batam Area Governance (BP Batam Working Committee) emphasized that the project still has PSN status and asks that the polemic be stopped in order to maintain investment climate. Andre Rosiade emphasized:

The narrative that Rempang Eco City is not a National Strategic Project (PSN) is a false statement. Development on Rempang Island is part of the Long-Term Development Plan aimed at advancing the Riau Islands region. Therefore, the debate must end, as it will be counterproductive and disrupt the current favorable investment climate.

Existing investors should not be distracted by unclear narratives.

(Anggrainy 2025).

3.3.2 Fast Development as a Justification for the State

The **repressive developmentalist** regime follows the global trend by highlighting the importance of equitable distribution, job creation, independence, and community participation. However, this emphasis is generally symbolic and not accompanied by real commitments. The regime's leaders remain believe that development can only be achieved through acceleration GNP growth, so they maintain strong centralized control and tends to exclude groups of people who are considered to be thinking traditional form of political involvement (Feith 1981, 503).

Figure 6. Signing of MoA between Xinyi International Investments

Limited and PT Makmur Elok Graha



Source: Tempo (2023)

From the start, the Rempang Eco City PSN was packaged in a development narrative inclusive with the statement that this project aims to encourage

economic growth, creating jobs, advancing MSMEs, and realizing equitable regional development (BP Batam 2023). Minister Investment/Head of BKPM, Bahlil Lahadalia, consistently emphasized the importance of the sustainability of this project for the benefit of the community, especially through job creation. The investment value is estimated to reach Rp. 381 trillion with the potential to absorb around 306 thousand people until 2080. Xinyi Group also contributed through an investment of US\$11.6 billion (around Rp. 174 trillion) which is estimated to create 35 thousands of jobs (CNN Indonesia 2023). This narrative is supported by the media pro-government such as Batamtimes.co and Batamnews.co (Nabila and An'anta 2024, 341–348).

However, as Feith (1981, 503) points out, this regime was indeed highlighting the importance of equitable distribution, job creation, independence, and symbolic community participation, but without commitment real. The slogan of job creation is basically irrelevant with the conditions of local communities who depend on the fisheries sector and agriculture (Ishlahuddin 2024). The narrative is purely symbolic and shows the absence of community involvement in the decision-making process decisions. From planning to eviction, this project was carried out in a **top-down** with central government dominance (Permata 2025). The role of the government The regions are also limited, only carrying out directives from the center. Meanwhile, the community local people are pushed aside, as if they are considered to have traditional views that not in line with the development narrative promoted by the state.

After Prabowo Subianto was elected as president, the approach
This symbolic meaning is refined by changing the term "relocation" to "transmigration"
modern". The government claims that the transmigration scheme will provide
housing, education, health facilities, and employment opportunities for the community
affected. Although it seems more humanistic, this approach to development
still under central control. Meeting between President Prabowo and the Head of BP
Batam in May 2025 reaffirmed the direction of development as a tool for
support macroeconomic targets in the RPJMN with growth targets
Batam's economy is above 8% (Yaputra 2025), in line with the minimum target
nationally every year (Hendranastiti and Salehudin 2025). Development orientation
in Batam including the Rempang Eco City PSN, it remains focused on aggregates
growth, not to meet the interests of local communities.

3.3.3 Catching Up as a State Justification

The ***repressive developmentalist*** regime emerged with an ideology that
emphasizes the importance of accelerating development as an effort to overcome
backwardness and catching up with developed countries.
The emergence of this regime was generally a defensive response to mobilization.
politics from the lower class group, and from the beginning showed a strong orientation
to create an attractive investment climate for foreign companies (Feith
1981, 502).

This approach has been seen since the era of President Soeharto's government,
when development is directed to take advantage of the strategic position of the region
certain areas, such as Rempang Island, in order to increase Indonesia's competitiveness
towards neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. This idea then

revived during President Jokowi's administration through PSN Rempang Eco City, which was continued by President Prabowo. This development projected to become a new economic driving force through development integrated industrial, commercial, residential and tourism areas, in order to strengthen Indonesia's position in the Southeast Asia region (BP Batam 2023; Grace 2023).

Pressure to accelerate projects for national competitiveness brings serious consequences. The hasty acceleration sparked resistance from residents and clashes with the authorities. Feith (1981, 502) assesses this kind of regime emphasizes economic growth and efficiency, but suppresses participation Community politics. Minister of Investment/Head of BKPM Bahlil Lahadalia emphasizes that speed and accuracy in attracting foreign investment is crucial in regional competition. Bahlil Lahadalia said:

We are competing, the largest **foreign direct investment** (FDI) destination country in ASEAN is currently Singapore in first place. Meanwhile, Indonesia, with a larger area, is in second place.

(JPNN 2023).

CHAPTER 4

CLOSING

4.1 Conclusion

This study analyzes the forms of state violence in development.

The Rempang Eco City PSN 2023–2025 uses a **repressive** approach

developmentalist regime from Herbert Feith. This research starts from the problem

the imbalance between national development interests and the protection of human rights

local communities. In the context of Rempang, the state is the main actor

in forcing development through repression against the community

to defend their customary lands. The violence that occurred was not only in the form of

physical, but also structural through policies that legitimize evictions.

In addition, this study also emphasizes the continuity of state violence from

the era of President Jokowi to President Prabowo.

The results of the analysis show that there are three main groups that

became targets of state repression: students and activists, farmers and fishermen, as well as

Rempang indigenous people. The state uses the power of its apparatus and regulations

repressive measures to suppress resistance from these groups. In addition

the use of physical force, the state also uses the narrative of development and

economic nationalism to justify its repressive actions. The form

This violence is in accordance with the characteristics of a **repressive developmentalist regime**,

namely the dominant power of the state, ignoring people's participation, and

oppressing groups that disrupt capitalist development projects.

This research has novelty because it provides analytical contributions.

comprehensive with coverage up to the term of the President's administration

Prabowo who has not been reached by previous studies. This research also

strengthens the argument that state violence is not incidental, but rather

part of a systemic strategy to facilitate foreign investment in projects

national strategic. By using Feith's framework, this research is able to

map sharply how the state constructs the legitimacy of power

repressive in order to support the logic of development, while also revealing

inequality and deprivation of the right to living space experienced by society

Rempang. The results of this research analysis are summarized in the following table:

Table 5. Analysis Table of Repressive Developmentalist Regime Theory

Variables	Sub Variables	Analysis Results in PSN Research Rempang Eco City (2023-2025)
<i>Characteristic Targets of Repression</i>	<i>Students , Workers , Ethnic Groups</i> (Ethnic Group)	Students, both in and outside Batam, represented student groups by voicing their opposition to the eviction of communities affected by the construction of the Rempang Eco City National Park (PSN). Farmers and fishermen represent the group of workers affected by the Rempang Eco City PSN because they will lose access to land and sea which are sources of livelihood and fear due to potential repressive actions. Indigenous communities with historical ties to the Rempang land are classified as ethnic groups because they consistently reject relocation for the Rempang Eco City PSN and receive support from various levels of society across classes.

Characteristic Forms of Repression	Violence Direct: Tight Surveillance (Supervision Strict), Preventive Detention (Detention Preventive), Torture (Torture) Violence Structural	The use of tear gas during the mass arrest of 43 residents and intimidation by authorities during the actions of September 7 and 11, 2023, demonstrate that violence is being used as an instrument to maintain order in the implementation of the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) development. Through the Job Creation Law, Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2016, and Presidential Regulation No. 3 of 2016, the state legitimized the seizure of living space in the name of “public interest” and strengthened the position of investors in the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN), while eliminating legal protection for indigenous communities in defending their land rights.
Characteristic Justification	Stability (Stability), Fast Development (Growth Fast), Catching Up (Chasing) (Lagging behind)	The government claims that military involvement in the process of evicting residents and consolidating political power within the governing coalition is necessary to ensure national stability in the implementation of development, such as the Rempang Eco City PSN project. The government emphasized that the Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) must be continued due to the Rp174 trillion foreign investment from the Xinyi Group, which is claimed to create 35,000 jobs and boost national economic growth. The Rempang Eco City National Strategic Project (PSN) is located in a strategic area and is claimed by the government as a form of accelerated development to catch up with neighboring countries, such as Singapore and Malaysia.

4.2 Recommendations

This research still has various limitations and cannot be concluded. said to be completely perfect. However, the results of this study can provide useful contributions to readers and other parties interested in similar studies. The research focus is also interesting to discuss in further research is regarding the development of the Rempang Eco City PSN post-2025 under President Prabowo's administration. This is important considering President Prabowo's commitment to continue the project development of President Jokowi's legacy, especially the National Strategic Projects (PSN). In addition, strong tendency to use military force in various agendas governance, including in non-defense sectors, is an aspect that relevant and interesting for further analysis in the context of development national future.

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