

## Strategic Issue Management in Opposing Land Grab, Environmental, and Humanitarian Violation of Super Premium Tourism Development

Janies Wijaya<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>LSPR Institute of Communication & Business, Jakarta, Indonesia

\*Corresponding Author: Janies Wijaya

E-mail: [janieswijaya@gmail.com](mailto:janieswijaya@gmail.com)



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### Abstract

The development of Indonesia's strategic national-scale project in turning Komodo National Park as a Super Premium Tourism Destination resulted agrarian issues, including local communities' land grab, environmental, and humanitarian issues. The government has violated so many aspects to accelerate the project delivery and has made the people of East Nusa Tenggara, specific to the people of Komodo, Labuan Bajo, and western Flores Island as the victim from the negative impacts of the development. Local communities have expressed their voice to the government, demanding fairness and basic rights to be fulfilled. Instead, they have to endure repressive actions and intimidation from the authorities, while the requested requirements met the dead end. The government has been ignoring the demand and never included the impacted local communities and activists in the discussion. Responding to this controversy, UNESCO also raised their concerns and requested the government to submit an Environmental Assessment report, and demand to stop the development until the requirements are met. This article proposes strategic action to National Committee on Agrarian Reform and other related entities in advocating this group and the ecosystem in the region in fighting to get their demand fulfilled by the government through an agrarian reform. As challenging as it is, direct lobby to the government has to be done. To strengthen the pressure, this communication strategy plan to acquire the power of the Indonesian Netizen by creating public sphere, through public opinion war and media scrutiny, to make the issue going viral and push the government for immediate agrarian reform.

## Introduction

This issue has been around since early 2018 even before the President of Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo has announced the government plan to transform the conservation area of Komodo National Park (Taman Nasional Komodo, shortened as TNK) into commercialized area as a super-premium tourism destination. The issue is still developing and not yet resolved until today but has not really reached its crisis point. The issue holds two opposing views between the objective of the government versus the expectations from the locals and NGOs concerns based on findings in the fields. According to the government, this transformation is aimed to optimize the potentials that Labuan Bajo - Flores (TNK) possess. There are seven President's main directions which includes the restructuring of the regions to improve public spaces as activity center for the people of Labuan Bajo; infrastructure improvements – expansions of the airport; human resources preparations, Small Medium Enterprises (SME) participations and strengthening local content; waste management; water availability; tourists' security and safety; and integrated promotion (Setiawati et al., 2023).

While the Indonesian government claims that National Tourism Strategic Regions (Kawasan Strategis Pariwisata Nasional, in short KSPN) and Strategic National Project (Proyek Strategis

Nasional, in short PSN) are the new economic development instruments, the opposing parties say otherwise. Walhi demands transparency from the government as the response of UNESCO finds about negative impact for Labuan Bajo ecosystem especially natural habitat of Komodo dragons due to lack of environmental assessment by the government for this project; water supply equality, hotels are believed to have more privilege accessing water supply compared to the people of Komodo and Labuan Bajo who have limitation to water supply; local fisherman has been blocked to access main fishing area while at the same time the tourist boats are able to visit the same location; government responsibility of massive coral reef damage impacted by the development; governance reform for main conservation zone that has been transformed into exploited zoning; for the President Joko Widodo to reevaluate and stopped PSN if ecosystem destruction is found (Idris et al., 2019).

Aligned with TNK conservation and tourism practitioners and activists (ASITA, ASKAWI, Fodmap, P3KOM, DOCK, Gahaswisri, Ganda Pemuda Komodo and SUNSPIRIT for Justice and Peace) demand the government to review the law released by The Ministry of Environmental and Forestry of The Republic of Indonesia (KLKH) about commercialization of national parks that is not suitable for TNK that needs special care and protection; to revoke permit for PT Flobamor for current development and its business monopoly; for a transparent and accountable planning; and few other demands (Permana, 2023).

The pros and cons of the issue have caused involvement of emotions. The locals have been distressed and feel powerless by how they were treated by the authorities and lied to by the government. On the other hand, more Indonesians showed their anger through social media posts and discussions. Meanwhile the government side does not recognize the mentioned voices from the locals. The Indonesian netizen has been provoked by a “komodo dragons vs construction truck” photo that has gone viral. Anger and disappointment have been voiced through social media and #SaveKomodo movements emerged as the reaction to the development of TNK as a super-premium tourism destination. Indonesia then questions the government plan and how they are able to conserve the endangered and endemic animal by doing destruction to their natural habitat (Kiwang & Arif, 2020).

Civilians have experienced repressive acts by the authorities during several protests i.e., land grabbing and forced eviction as the government action to accelerate the development of this PSN in the TNK area; and the entry fee price surge to TNK area were believed as to monopoly the commercialization of the location. Some protesters were arrested, intimidated and tortured by the authorities (Mubarak, 2023). During preparation for the 2023 ASEAN Summit back in April 25, in Labuan Bajo, Joko Widodo brought his well-known and loved-by-many grandson to meet the locals and was greeted with hysteria. This was believed as one of the tactics to neutralize TNK locals’ sentiment towards the Joko Widodo’s government. A couple of weeks after, Kontras reported another repression and intimidation acts towards protesters regarding alleged instigation crime.

Any decision on how the government takes action towards the issue will impact Labuan Bajo, Flores and Komodo people’s lives. The way of living of the Komodo people was always changing based on regulation towards TNK. They once were hunters then shifted into farmers and fishermen, and while updated TNK zoning governance was released, they were again shifted to rely their lives on tourism. This development of KSPN then impacted the lives of Komodo people - who rely on tourism - when the region was closed for development. Some were impacted by the land grabbing and forced eviction by the government to accelerate the project delivery. Gentrification problem might arise after the super-premium label is pinned for this region (Riswan & Susanti, 2022; Suraji et al., 2020).

This issue has been discussed publicly through coverage of mainstream media, both local and national and also discussed in social media. The discussion of the issue has been diverse between arguments against the government and those who support the super-premium tourism destination development plan in TNK. The opposing opinions lean towards their concerns of the risk of komodo dragon extinction, the ecosystem sustainability, and the just for locals whose land is forcefully taken. While others show their support for the project, the assumption that the government must have involved experts to handle every aspect in the project, and wished it to finish soon. A documentary movie, 'Dragon For Sale', has been launched nationwide and covered all the issues happening in Taman Nasional Komodo. While the public viewing in many cities faced police pressure to stop or cancel (Engge et al., 2024).

These issues might escalate to crisis if not addressed properly, especially now when social media holds stronger power than before. Government must eliminate any misconduct in handling KPSN and PSN since it will meet humanitarian and environmental aspects, not only for TNK but also for all the 5 New Balis. The participation of the local society should be implemented as the triggers mostly coming from the rally from local societies.

The actualization of the Indonesian Government's plan to transform the national park zone into super premium tourism destination has impacted not only thousand lives of people in Labuan Bajo and Komodo National Park (Taman Nasional Komodo, shortened as TNK), but also the sustainability of the ecosystem – especially the risk of lives and population of endangered Komodo dragon might be at critical point. Aside from the zoning transformation, the government is believed to have done violations such as land grabbing and repressive and excessive force to accelerate the development process of this super-premium tourism destination. This issue initially sparks since 2018 with #SaveKomodo movements emerged as a reaction to this government's plan, started by giving away permits to private-owned businesses to develop their facilities in the conservation area. The discussion ignited and spread to a wider audience since the photo of 'Komodo dragon blocking the construction truck' has gone viral.

The core of the issue is pretty complex which simplified to these points: (a) Komodo National Park zoning transitions from only core and wilderness zones into tourism and business development zones which directly impact on endangered species of komodo dragon, its natural habitat, indigenous people, local communities (fishermen and micro and small medium businesses in tourism sectors); (b) Impact of acceleration of development of super-premium tourism destination in Labuan Bajo and other areas in Flores Island and nearby islands in Komodo National Park; (c) Repression and intimidation of people protesting the issues by the authorities; (d) Water access discrimination, hotels and businesses believed to have more access to water, while locals find it very limited; (d) Lack of Environmental Assessment found by UNESCO.

This issue has turned into a challenge for the organization because it is affecting many civil communities in the area as a result of the government's ambitions and aggressive actions for the development. This issue is also special because it involves a unique conservation area where endangered endemic species live only in this specific area in the world. This is not the first time the government handled the situation with misdemeanors, unethical and excessive forces when it comes to "make order" related to societies. The lack of environmental assessment found by UNESCO quite pictures how the project is mishandled.

As the issue is developing, it will impact the organization to help assist in advocating for the people in TNK, to do more research, to campaign for the reform of the policy, and to voice the demand of the people, gaining nationwide awareness and support, in reaching justice and peace

for the people of TNK and for the environment. The worst-case scenario is that the effort in protecting the environment of komodo dragons and the local communities in TNK has the risk of failing, and the government will ignore these issues and continue the development. Extinction of komodo dragons, destruction of the natural environment, and local communities will be victimized and suffered. And this practice will become the blueprint of success in terms of transforming conservation regions into commercialized areas, especially for other regions aimed to be the new five or ten New Balis.

### Issue Lifecycle Graphic



Original / Potential    Emerging / Current / Resolution Amplification Organization / Dormant


Figure 1. Issue Lifecycle Graphic

### News Analysis of The Issue




Issue: Land Grab, Environmental, and Humanitarian Issues of Super Premium Tourism Development in Komodo National Park


Position: Opposing to the Government



Table 1. Opposing to the Government


Title / Source	Size of Audience	Tone of Coverage	Visual Image	Summary	Comment / Implication
<p><i>Dragon for Sale, Film Dokumenter Kupas Sisi Lain Pembangunan Pariwisata di Labuan Bajo</i></p> <p>Dragon for Sale, a Documentary Film Unveiling the Other Side of Tourism Development in Labuan Bajo (Marvela, 2023)</p>	17-19 Mio visitors / month	Positive		Dragon for Sale is a documentary web series by Dandhy Laksono, capturing the beauty of Komodo Island and the terror it faces since it received "10 New Balis" label. This documentary highlights people concern of the megaproject that transforming Komodo National Park to be super premium tourism spots. Amongst them are society rights denial, beaches privatization, water source exploitation and other environmental issues.	This article is promoting the documentary films and inviting more people to watch them. This article holds major role in spreading the message on Komodo Islander to wider range of Indonesian audience.

<p><i>Dukung Wisata Premium Taman Nasional Komodo, Pulau Rinca Kini Dilengkapi Komodo Information Center</i></p> <p>Supports Premium Tourism Komodo National Park, Rinca Island Now Equipped with Komodo Information Center (Henry, 2023).</p>	<p>47-54 mio visitors / month</p>	<p>Negative</p>		<p>Minister of Environment and Forestry, Siti Nurbaya visited Rinca Island in February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2023 to launch Wisata Alam Loh Buaya Facility for education, interpretation and research. Nade “niang Komodo” this facility equipped with elevated deck; home stay for ranger, guide, and researcher; and reservoir.</p> <p>Nurbaya mentioned that this has been a collaboration of many parties including government, society, local figures and tourism companies to pursue on nature preservation in conservation areas.</p> <p>Plan to increased entrance fee to IDR 1.75 mio has been cancelled. Sandiaga Uno, Tourism Minister said that Labuan Bajo targeted 1.4 billion of annual local visitors and up to 7.4 million international visitors. In the other hand, government is plan to implement carrying capacity to limit load of visitor to the site.</p>	<p>Cancellation of raise of entrance ticket price to Komodo National Park may create varied reaction. It might increase public interest to plan their visit to the national park and a sign for local economic recovery.</p> <p>Rhetorical comments from the government representatives weren’t really address public concerns and problem raised regarding the development. This article is too tendentious, and leaning towards government side. A balance point of view from other parties might complete this news piece.</p>
<p><i>Pariwisata Super Premium Labuan Bajo dan Pembungkaman Protes Warga</i></p> <p>Super Premium Tourism Labuan Bajo and the Silencing of Dissent (Hasiman, 2022).</p>	<p>120-120 mio visitors / month</p>	<p>Positive</p>	 	<p>Labuan Bajo, Padar Island, and Komodo Island are the magnet of tourist to visit Komodo National Park. It has been the main source of local economy, especially for micro and small enterprises. The news of government has raised the status (and the entrance fees) to this tourism spot impacted in the decrement of visitors, around 10.000 local and international tourist has cancelled their travel plan to Komodo NP. There was series of rally to protest this policy, while the authorities were taking repressive actions to silencing the people.</p>	<p>This article captured the real problem that Komodo Islanders were facing. The government obsession in developing super premium tourism in Komodo National Park solely for business and never intended to include societal welfare aspect. The development plan must be as ethical possible by considering environment and involving locals that heavily impacted by this megaproject.</p>

<p><i>Labuan Bajo, sepetak surga dan konflik agraria atas nama pembangunan pariwisata premium kelas dunia</i></p> <p>Labuan Bajo, a piece of paradise and agrarian conflict in the name of world class premium tourism development (Sholihah, 2022).</p>	<p>3-5 mio visitors / month</p>	<p>Positive</p>		<p>Local resident, called as Komunitas Rancang Buka, gathered and chanted traditional songs to fight land grab and forced eviction by government to pave a road in the Bosowie forest, Labuan Bajo, Flores. Rancang Buka community is the third group to be impacted by the project. Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) condemning this action and pushed President Joko Widodo to reevaluate this project and stop land grab practice for the sake of development. KPA has recorded 40 agrarian conflicts in 2021 alone caused by national strategic project.</p>	<p>This project has been repressing communities in Komodo National Park. The people have lost their land and source of economy due to land grabbing and forced eviction. While authorities were handling the peace rally as if they handle riots. These communities fight for their possession while the government rob their rights and accelerate the development unilaterally.</p>
<p><i>Hentikan Perampasan Tanah Atas Nama Pembangunan Kawasan Wisata Premium Labuan Bajo</i></p> <p>Stop Land Grab in the Name of Premium Tourism Development in Labuan Bajo (Pembaruan, 2022).</p>	<p>4-7k visitors / month</p>	<p>Positive</p>		<p>Joined force of police and soldiers guarded the land grab by government and private corporations to develop road and access to super premium tourism location in Bosowie Forest, Labuan Bajo. Communities in the impacted location demanded the government to conduct open dialogue with the people, and yet the government ignored the demand.</p> <p>The people have been occupying 150 hectares of land since 1990 and have appealed for land rights ever since but received no response. The government unilaterally develop 400 hectares of Bosowie forest to destructions. This megaproject threatens public water source, deforestation and Flores endemic birds and other fauna existence.</p>	<p>The intimidation and land grab practice must be stopped. The people must be involved in the dialogue prior to the development. The government must reevaluate their plan and consider the sustainability of the people and the environment as their upmost priorities. The rise of number of conflicts since 2020 is a sign on how alarming government actions towards these ambitious projects are.</p>
<p>Development and Conservation Clash at Indonesia's Komodo National Park (Milko, 2021).</p>	<p>1.4 mio visitors / month</p>	<p>Positive</p>		<p>The development of natural island in Komodo National Park have sparks anger of residents and environmental activist who feared the harm of endangered Komodo</p>	<p>This article subtly explains the ignorance of Indonesian Government regarding this issue. They ignored concerns and recommendation from UNESCO, Local and International NGO and scientist, and keep continuing the development projects. This article once again imply</p>

				<p>and its natural habitat. The Komodo National Park has received world heritage site status from UNESCO in 1991. Indonesian government plan to make this area as 10 New Balis for tourism concentration. Some NGO consider the development in the conservation area will impact on local people or the environment or both. This plan also resulting UNESCO to express their concerns and recommend to reduce project area. UNESCO also requested the government to submit more information about the project and continued to request Indonesia to not proceed with any tourism infrastructure project. Satellite image shows the project still continued after mentioned UNESCO request.</p>	<p>evidence that the Government will not backing down, the local and the environment aspects is not at their utmost priorities.</p>
<p><i>Komodo dan peringatan UNESCO: Mengapa pegiat khawatir dampak pariwisata di Taman Nasional Komodo?</i></p> <p>Komodo and UNESCO warning: Why activists worry about the consequence of tourism in Komodo National Park (Kaehler &amp; Ketty, 2021).</p>	<p>480 – 520 mio visitors / month</p>	<p>Positive</p>		<p>UNESCO has issued warning and requested to stop the development in the conservation area. While a representative from The Ministry of Environmental and Forestry (KLKH) argued – that the development many activists against – was meant to conserve Komodo. UNESCO warned that the project will impact on Outstanding Universal Value, OUV, a criterion to the establishment of the world heritage status and demanded environmental assessment report to be reviewed by International Union for Conservation on Nature, IUCN. KLKH denied that it will impact on OUV and will not disturb Komodo population as well as its food source, the savanna and the mangrove area.</p>	<p>This article covers multiple point-of-views and statements from each party –which will help to form public opinion without forcing it. UNESCO intervention to this issue has escalated the urgency for the grand plan reform, yet still being ignored by the government and continue the development. The article also highlighted the negative impact caused by the project directly to the Komodo population, its food chain and the habitat. This article should have included the local communities’ point of view and cover what are their expectations and demands. The government has been invading natural conservation for business and major investment, ignoring local residents’ rights for years. The action from impacted parties must be escalated and supported by many more Indonesian and international citizens.</p>

				<p>KLKH mentioned they are conducting revision on EA to meet IUCN requirements.</p> <p>In the other hand, a local based NGO, Sunspirit for Justice and Peace, demanded the government to revisit their grand design for the national park development. And KLKH statement 'to only rejuvenate the facility' is reducing the real problem.</p>	
<p><i>Proyek Wisata Premium Pulau Komodo Tuai Kontroversi</i></p> <p>Komodo Island Premium Tourism Project Become a Controversy (Fadila, 2020).</p>	7-8 Mio visitors / month	Positive		<p>The people of Komodo Island against the government plan to develop super premium tourism in Komodo National Park. They were afraid this conversion plan – from geopark to corporate-backed tourism spot – will result more negative impacts to their life and to the environment, such as land grabbing, limitation to farming and fishing, mass extinctions for Komodo.</p>	<p>Conversation around these issues resurface in September 2020 when the first look of Jurassic Park design for Rinca Island spreads. This article was one of the prominent pieces that voice Komodo Islanders concerns clearly. It was pointing out how the project is problematic and highlight how the Komodo Island people questions the government plan. This article implied what are the real expectations from the people and how they have suffered from the unclarity of the project so they demanded to be involved in planning process.</p>
<p>Komodo dragon's 'Tiananmen moment' sparks concern over prime tourism project (Aqil, 2020).</p>	1 mio visitors / month	Positive		<p>Undated and uncredited pictures of Komodo dragon facing off a construction truck has gone viral. The photo was initially posted on Instagram and liked over 280k times and becoming internet discussion. It was thought to be taken in the development of premium tourist facilities in Rinca Island, the home for Komodo in East Nusa Tenggara. This photo was concerning since activists mostly against the government plan to develop the geopark to be tourism attractions, running the risk of damaging natural ecosystem. Altering Komodo natural habitat could endanger them. The Rinca Island project will cost IDR69.96 billion from total of IDR902.47 billion in turning Labuan Bajo</p>	<p>This kind of photo and coverage help getting national and international awareness of what was really happening in Komodo National Park. It may trigger public anger and discussion so the audience would easily attach to the issue and hopefully taking actions. This article has been posted by Twitter user @jakpost and received 49 Reposts, 11 Quotes and 135 Likes</p>

				into a strategic national tourism project.	
<i>Wisata Super Premium Pulau Komodo untuk Pariwisata Berkelanjutan? Super Premium Travel to Komodo Island for Sustainable Tourism (Khairunnisa &amp; Cahya, 2020).</i>	120-120 mio visitors / month	Negative		Head of Labuan Bajo Flores Tourism Authority Body, Shana Fatina explained the exclusivism of Komodo Island is to reach sustainable tourism and to boost tourism income. According to Fatina, it wasn't meant to limit visitors but to implement membership program and fundraising, just like Jurassic Park movie. There will be separation area between member to exclusive spots and for the one with cheaper ticket price.	Quoted from <a href="https://sdgs.un.org">sdgs.un.org</a> , The World Tourism Organization defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities". Looking at what happened towards Komodo National Park communities, the repressive actions from authorities, illegal practice in land grabbing and forced eviction, unmet UNESCO regarding EA, etc, this development project still far from definition of sustainable tourism. Indonesian government needs a serious learning regarding sustainability and how to conserve environment and the natural aspect of the country. At current state, the government use the jargon as a deception and to make it appear as real.

According to following lifecycle graphic and news logbook, the issue is on the Current or Organization phase. It shown a highest spike during September to November 2020 and there were ups and downs until September 2023. It means that the issues have not yet resolve, developing over the time and have a potential for an outburst to finally shift into crisis. The spikes on the graph shown the same issue coverage from various news media.

The issue was started to spread since 2018 when #SaveKomodo movements sparks due to private owned business facility development permit issued from the government. In the same year President Joko Widodo formed Tourism Authority Body (BOP) for Labuan Bajo-Flores, and the Governor of East Nusa Tenggara announced the plan for areal closure and resident relocation. In 2019, directors for BOP were inaugurated and the plan to transform Komodo National Park (TNK) as super-priority tourism destination has been announced by President. Joko Widodo supported the plan to close TNK for tourist. In the other hand, public rejection of the plan started to emerge as the reaction of government decision.

The acceleration of super premium tourism development in TNK has started in 2020 and created a lot of problem. The discussion ignited and get heated since the photo of 'Komodo dragon blocking the construction truck' has gone viral, and get wide-scale Indonesian netizens' attention. Environmental activists loudly voice their concerns of bad impact from developing infrastructure on natural reserves. While the local communities facing the land-grabbing and force eviction from the authorities to accelerate this development, activists also found humanitarian violations in the development. The government has been ignoring the demand and never include the impacted local communities and activists in the discussion. Responding to this controversy, UNESCO also raised their concerns and requested the government to submit Environmental Assessment report, and demand to stop the development until the requirements are met.

The purpose of this research is to propose strategy for non-profit/government organization in pushing The Indonesian Government on Agrarian Reform for Komodo National Park through a strategic issue management, by (i) increasing the number of social media discussions about

the dark side of Super Premium Tourism Development in Labuan Bajo; (ii) growing nationwide media coverage regarding the issue; (iii) reaching wide group of supporters to sign online petition.

The worst-case scenario is that the effort in protecting the environment of Komodo dragons and the local communities in TNK has the risk of failing, and the government will ignore these issues and continue the development. Extinction of Komodo dragons, destruction of the natural environment, and local communities will be victimized and suffered. And this practice will become the blueprint of success in terms of transforming conservation regions into commercialized areas, especially for other regions aimed to be the new five or ten New Balis.

Table 2. Situation Analysis

<b>Politic</b>	<b>Economic</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The project is one of reigning president’s and ruling party’s ambitious national projects</li> <li>2. Prone to corruptions</li> <li>3. 2023-2024 is the Indonesian presidential election period, which can be ridden and/or funded by opposing parties’ political campaigns.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local economic disturbance and void during development</li> <li>2. Not yet recovered from pandemic phase</li> <li>3. Reduced tourist volume estimated after implementation due to target market shift to upper class only</li> <li>4. New investment source for Indonesia</li> <li>5. The development (if done in the right ethical way) will explore untapped potentials.</li> </ol>
<b>Social</b>	<b>Technology</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. High poverty rate in the region</li> <li>2. Low education quality</li> <li>3. Challenges on food availability and water access</li> <li>4. Consists of diverse ethnic groups which rely on traditional values and norms</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Internet use penetration is being improved by the government</li> <li>2. Only 35-55% have cell phones; 30-56% have accessed the internet; 5-13% used a computer (BPS NTT, 2022)</li> </ol>
<b>Environment</b>	<b>Legal</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Komodo dragon is endangered species, endemic to the region</li> <li>2. Wildfire, illegal poaching, still happening</li> <li>3. Poor waste and water management</li> <li>4. Wildlife and conservation area made fit for tourism business</li> <li>5. Environmental Assessment for the development is not met UNESCO requirements</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Land security rights is not existed for Komodo People</li> <li>2. Agrarian conflict between the people (of TNK, Labuan Bajo, Flores) against the government</li> <li>3. Legal violation by government regarding land grabbing practice and repressive actions</li> </ol>

## Methods

This research aims to identify, analyze, and manage strategic issues that arise in response to land grabs, environmental violations, and humanitarian violations related to super premium tourism development in East Nusa Tenggara. The research methodology is designed to provide an in-depth understanding of the challenges and effective issue management strategies in this context (Badara, 2015). This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method to deeply understand the phenomena occurring in the field. The case study will focus on several areas affected by super premium tourism development in East Nusa Tenggara. The data

collection methods in this research involve in-depth interviews with participants such as local communities, environmental activists, NGOs, local government officials, and tourism developers to gather their views, experiences, and perceptions regarding land grabs, environmental violations, and humanitarian violations (Gunawan, 2017). Documentation and document analysis will also be conducted using sources from government documents, NGO reports, news articles, and academic publications related to tourism development in East Nusa Tenggara to obtain additional data and other perspectives that can enrich the analysis. Data from interviews, observations, and documents will be analyzed using thematic analysis to identify the main themes that emerge related to land grabs, environmental violations, and humanitarian violations (Sugiyono, 2017).

## Results and Discussion

### Proposed Actions / Activities

Following activities were designed to attract key audience attention and not only to put in their awareness of the happening issue, but also to make the issue more relevant and closer to their heart. It is more challenging to communicate about an issue that is not close to Jakarta. Jakartans, as the people of the capital city of Indonesia, is a key audience to penetrate as the issue will spread wider and faster if it is being discussed by Jakartans and Jakarta based SMI and/or content creators. Lately we have seen many major issues that can move the government if it's gone viral, so we adopt this strategy to create a public sphere to pressure the government to take actions and reform the policies (Davis, in Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). All key aspects in previous theories are aimed to be cover within followings activities, such as: (a) Sender: source must be trustworthy, in other words are—credible, reliable and appealing; (b) Message: must gain attention, easily understood, accepted, retained and acted upon; (c) Receiver: will effectively receive persuasion messages if—two opposing arguments are presented, solid arguments presented in the opening or closing while weaker ones in the middle of the message, and (c) employ moderate fear appeals (Seiter, in Littlejohn & Foss, 2009); (d) Media: The press helps to distribute the information to a wider audience group, especially to those who are non-digital natives. Press can be a perfect medium to frame the events, the sufferings from the victims, which can persuade the audience and join the movement. Press, eventually, will pick up the issue and viral social media topics, and help add pressure to the government (Weiss, in Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

Table 3. Objective

Objective 1	Objective 2	Objective 3
<p><b>Strategy:</b> Creating public sphere and igniting discussion through public opinion war through social media by presenting opposing arguments.</p>	<p><b>Strategy:</b> Amplifying discussion through mass media by organizing on ground activation and providing independent information to journalists.</p>	<p><b>Strategy:</b> Communicating demands through petition</p>
<p><b>Tactics 1</b> Conduct Research</p> <p><b>Tactic 2</b> Igniting Social Media Discussion</p>	<p><b>Tactics 1</b> Organizing Peace Rally and Nonviolence Activism</p> <p><b>Tactic 2</b> Establish Independent TNK Media Center</p>	<p><b>Tactics 1</b> Influencer Campaign</p> <p><b>Tactic 2</b> Display and Placement: Online ads &amp; Out Of Home Media</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Phase 1: Enlightenment</li> <li>● Phase 2: Opinion War</li> <li>● Phase 3: Voice The Truth</li> </ul> <p><b>Tactic 3</b> Discuss the Demand with Regulators on Social Platforms</p>	<p><b>Tactic 3</b> Media Interviews: Celebrity, Public Figure and Activist</p>	<p><b>Tactic 3</b> Riding on other activities</p>
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Table 4. Key Messages

Key message for Objective 1	Key message for Objective 2	Key message for Objective 3
Problematic! Our government put “Komodo on Sale”? #SaveKomodo	Indonesian netizen and Celebrities join #SaveKomodo strike: Full of violations and mistrust.	Help Komodo keep their home. Sign this petition to #SaveKomodo

Table 5. Key Stakeholders Analysis

Main Stakeholder	Importance of Stakeholders	Description
<b>Objective 1 (Key)</b>		
Indonesian Netizen (internet user)	Dangerous stakeholder	Indonesian netizens hold the power to give pressure to the government to demand changes, even for public policies Targeting those who are outspoken with critical thinking; care about social, humanitarian, and environmental issues; aware with activism that demand changes to the government; opposing government; care about fairness and justice for all the people Including key opinion leader within social media space: influencers, content creators, online-based media
<b>Objective 2 (Key)</b>		
Press (Local, National)	Dominant stakeholder	Press is a medium to spread message and awareness to a wider group of audience.
<b>Objective 2 (Supporting, to attract key stakeholder)</b>		
<b>Komite Nasional Pembaruan Agraria</b> (National Committee on Agrarian Reform); <b>Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria</b> (Consortium on Agrarian Reform)	Definitive stakeholder	The association of Civil Society Organization, Non-Governmental Organization and local forums and communities that focus on advocacies and defending impacted civilians from conflicts, repression, land grabbing, intimidation, etc.
<b>Tourism Micro and Small Medium Enterprises and</b>	Dangerous stakeholder	These groups of stakeholders are directly impacted by the issue and demand to be actively involved in the discussion and planning process of the project as

<b>Individuals</b> in Labuan Bajo, Flores (West Manggarai), TNK		their businesses and lives are at the core of interconnected aspects of Labuan Bajo, Flores and Komodo National Park, especially in the tourism and economic sector.
<b>Civilians and local communities, farmers and fishermen</b> in Labuan Bajo, Flores (West Manggarai), TNK	Dangerous stakeholder	
<b>Objective 3 (Key)</b>		
Indonesian Netizen (internet user)	Dangerous stakeholder	Indonesian netizens hold the power to give pressure to the government to demand changes, even for public policies
<b>Objective 3 (Stakeholder target to pressure for agrarian reform)</b>		
President of RI, the Cabinet Secretariat of RI	Definitive stakeholder	This is one of the President's prestigious Strategic National Projects. Joko Widodo has been promoting Labuan Bajo and Komodo National Park to the world through some international event. The President has been focusing on utilizing Indonesian resources as a major international investment aspect believed as another instrument to improve the economy in Indonesia. Jokowi holds the critical key to the success of the implementation of this project. He is very well-loved by the people nationwide and his influence is considered massive. He listens to the people and he should also give special attention to the people in Komodo National Park by closely monitoring what was actually happening on the grassroot, knowing the problem and providing solutions.

Table 6. Tactic Proposal

<b>Objective 1</b>		
<b>Tactics 1</b> Conduct Research	<b>Tactic 2</b> Igniting Social Media Discussion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Phase 1: Enlightenment</li> <li>● Phase 2: Opinion War</li> <li>● Phase 3: Voice The Truth</li> </ul>	<b>Tactic 3</b> Discuss the Demand with Regulators on Social Platforms
To back a data-driven campaign Message crafted based on facts and findings from the research The report then to be published openly to the	Trigger conversation by open an opinion war in public sphere within the social media utilizing Social Media Influencers (SMI) and Content Creators through TikTok and Twitter	Push Regulator to discuss the issue through big (YouTube) podcasts channels and ask their opinion regarding the demand Get sound bites, repost them through anonymous buzzer

public. Element to cover: Economic threats to the locals, environmental problems, human rights issues, danger threats for Komodo, potentials problems in the future Actor mapping to identify prominent figures within the communities.	Talking points consisting of facts and findings from the research, will be provided.	account on TikTok, Twitter and Instagram - to sparks another more heated discussion and adding push to the government Vox Pop by news portal-based social media accounts related to the issue, especially to react to the statement from the officials.
<b>Detail of Tactic 2</b>		
Phase 1 <b>Enlightenment</b>  To be started in more neutral tone, SMI and Creators directed to provide seemingly updated information, rich with facts, about what happened in the TNK SMI and Creators to be categorized to each topic.	Phase 2 <b>Opinion War</b>  Presenting creators with opposing views that supporting government and to counter Phase 1 contents Riding on 2024 presidential election discussion Intensify discussion through (YouTube) podcasts to reach wider audience and voice the demand for agrarian reform.	Phase 3 <b>Voice the Truth</b>  Presenting opinion and pain points from impacted local communities Experts joining the conversation by providing credible opinion Both opposing SMI and Creators react/stitch posts from locals and experts, agreeing these points through their own tonality and manner.

Table 8. #SaveKomodo Campaign Strategy and Tactics

<b>Objective 2</b>		
<b>Tactics 1</b>	<b>Tactic 2</b>	<b>Tactic 3</b>
Organizing Peace Rally and Nonviolence Activism	Establish Independent TNK Media Center	Media Interviews: Celebrity, Public Figure and Activist
Organizing massive protest in Labuan Bajo, Bali and Jakarta To hold a series of Creative Nonviolence protest through art installation and exhibition in public spaces Proclaim and Register National Komodo Day Join “Kamisian Action” silent protest for human rights victims in front of presidential palace in Jakarta.	Establish independent media center in TNK/Labuan Bajo area to strengthen media relations Providing regular independent research data through press releases, whitepapers, and infographics Live In Program for press and researchers in local community residential, to strengthen emotional attachment between locals and media audience through the eye of journalists Regular Media Visits Program to TNK Media Center Partnering with media to add Special Coverage Channel for TNK.	Organizing Celebrities, public figures, experts and activists’ declaration to support on #SaveKomodo movements Press conference, Door Stop interviews, press release Organizing benefit concert to fundraise impacted Labuan Bajo-TNK-Flores communities and environmental.

Table 4. Campaign Strategy and Tactics to Achieve Objective 3

<b>Objective 3</b>		
<b>Tactics 1</b> Influencer Campaign	<b>Tactic 2</b> Display and Placement: Online ads & Out of Home Media	<b>Tactic 3</b> Riding on other activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The petition is to be initiated by one of the influencer / content creators</li> <li>• They must be credible and their regular content must be related to the issue</li> <li>• As one of the talking points from each tactic on objective 1 and objective 2 as call to action (CTA).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Online display &amp; social ad placement directing traffic to the petition page</li> <li>• Posters on public places, public transportations, billboards - and creative placement such as in water bottle, food packaging, etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inserted as one of talking points on each event</li> <li>• Sign petition CTA on protest placards</li> <li>• Intersectionality strategy and network strengthening by joining other activities from other organizing-NGO within both similar and intersectional issues.</li> </ul>

Table 5. Evaluation

<b>Objective 1</b> To increase the number of social media discussions (about the dark side of Super Premium Tourism Development in Labuan Bajo) by minimum 100% growth (compared to 2023's share of voice) in 2024.		
<b>Tactics 1</b> Conduct Research	<b>Tactic 2</b> Igniting Social Media Discussion	<b>Tactic 3</b> Discuss the Demand with Regulators on Social Platforms
<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Report release time</li> </ul>	<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total posts</li> <li>• Total Reach / Impression / Viewers</li> <li>• Total Engagement</li> <li>• Total Generated Discussions (organic)</li> <li>• Total Media story pick-up and News Value</li> </ul>	<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total posts</li> <li>• Total Reach / Impression / Viewers</li> <li>• Total Engagement</li> <li>• Total Generated Discussions (organic)</li> <li>• Total Media story pick-up and News Value</li> </ul>

Table 6. Strategy to Increase National Media Coverage of Issues with a Minimum of 150 Additional News Articles by the End of 2024

<b>Objective 2</b> To grow nationwide media coverage regarding the issue by minimum 150 additional prominent news articles (compared to 2023 result) by the end of 2024		
<b>Tactics 1</b> Organizing Peace Rally and Nonviolence Activism	<b>Tactic 2</b> Establish Independent TNK Media Center	<b>Tactic 3</b> Media Interviews: Celebrity, Public Figure and Activist
<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Number of people joining</li> <li>• Total News Article / Coverage</li> </ul>	<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Number of report release</li> </ul>	<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total News Article / Coverage</li> <li>• News Value</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● News Value</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Total News Article / Coverage / quoting produced information</li> <li>● News Value</li> </ul>	
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Table 7. Strategy and Measurement Metrics for the 2024 Petition Campaign

<b>Objective 3</b> To reach minimum 800k supporters to sign a petition related to the issue in change.org by the end of 2024		
<b>Tactics 1</b> Influencer Campaign	<b>Tactic 2</b> Display and Placement: Online ads & Out of Home Media	<b>Tactic 3</b> Riding on other activities
<b>Measurement Metrics:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Social media engagement</li> <li>● Number of petition share</li> <li>● Number of link click / QR Scan / Petition Page visits</li> <li>● Number of petition sign</li> </ul>		

### Conclusion

This research reveals various strategic issues that arise in response to land grabs, environmental violations, and humanitarian violations occurring in the context of super premium tourism development in East Nusa Tenggara. The main findings of the study indicate that local communities are often not involved in decision-making processes related to tourism development projects, leading to dissatisfaction and resistance to the projects; increasing community participation in the planning and implementation of projects is crucial to reducing conflicts. Super premium tourism development often fails to consider the long-term environmental impacts, resulting in damage to local ecosystems and loss of biodiversity; therefore, stricter enforcement of environmental regulations and effective monitoring are needed to ensure environmental sustainability. Land grabs and forced relocations have led to human rights violations and social injustices, necessitating a fairer and more transparent approach in land acquisition processes and adequate compensation for affected communities. Effective issue management strategies involve early identification of potential issues, transparent communication with all stakeholders, and policy adaptation based on feedback from the field; tourism developers and the government need to work together proactively to manage these issues and avoid conflict escalation.

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