



Research Article

Island Capitalization and Coastal Community Resistance in Fighting for Environmental Sustainability Against Corporate Domination in Pari Island Jakarta

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Abstract

This study examines the resistance of the Pari Island community in fighting for the preservation of the Pari Island Nature Reserve, "Kepulauan Seribu" Regency, Jakarta Province. The coastal community is fighting against illegal reclamation and privatization that threaten their habitat and the natural preservation of the Pari Island Cluster. The study uses James C. Scott's resistance theory, which distinguishes between open resistance (public transcript) and hidden resistance (hidden transcript). Ethnographic research methods are used to understand the culture of community resistance in depth. The results show two forms of resistance with different characteristics. Open resistance is characterized by spontaneous and irregular, carried out individually for personal economic interests, and has a small impact, such as refusing basic food assistance from the company. Meanwhile, hidden resistance is more organized and effective. This form gave birth to the Pari Island Care Forum (Forum Peduli Pulau Pari/FPPP) in collaboration with WALHI Jakarta. This resistance is systematic and collective, using rational strategies for collective safety, including collecting evidence of environmental damage to sue the company. This movement is also emancipatory by spreading the narrative of the Right to Living Space through social media and murals to build public awareness of the Pari Island community when faced with incidental or repeated corporate practices.

Keywords: Coastal Community, Resistance, Environmental, Sustainability, Island Capitalization

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Introduction

Island reclamation activities cause serious damage to marine ecosystems which are the backbone of coastal communities' lives ([Alfan et al., 2021](#); [Arif et al., 2025](#); [Wijayanti et al., 2022](#)). Basically, the coastal community generation has the fundamental right to enjoy and utilize the wealth of maritime resources ([Nurahmani, 2024](#)). The dominance of capital interests has prevented coastal communities from experiencing the prosperity they should obtain from these resources ([Nurahmani, 2024](#); [Putro, 2016](#)). This phenomenon occurs when the authorities attempt to create artificial beauty at the expense of natural beauty through reclamation projects and privatization policies. These actions ultimately pose a worrying threat to the sustainability of the island's environment and the living spaces of local communities who have traditionally managed the area. When communities' ecological rights are threatened, this triggers the emergence of a movement to preserve nature at the local community level. This struggle takes place amidst conditions of systematic and ongoing environmental injustice ([Blythe et al., 2023](#); [Putri & Mayrudin, 2025](#)).

The *Seribu Islands (Kepulauan Seribu)* present an interesting study object for in-depth exploration, particularly the dynamics occurring on *Pari Island* and *Tengah Island (Pulau Tengah)*, which form a single geographical unit within the administrative area of *Pari Island Village, South Seribu Islands (Kepulauan Seribu Selatan)* District, Seribu Islands Administrative Regency. Pari Island maintains its geographical consistency with a recorded administrative area of 41.32 hectares. In contrast, Tengah Island has undergone a dramatic spatial transformation, where the island's configuration originally covered only around 8 hectares in 2009 expanded to 20 hectares in 2020 ([Ambari, 2023](#)). The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) revealed that Tengah Island's geographical metamorphosis is the result of massive reclamation intervention. This environmental engineering process involved dredging 14 hectares of seabed and reclamation along the

littoral zone covering 15 hectares, which fundamentally changed the ecological and geomorphological characteristics of the island. Administrative data recorded in 2017 shows that Tengah Island, also known as Pulau H, is under the ownership of one company, with an area that has grown to approximately 15.5 hectares, reflects an intermediate stage in the ongoing spatial transformation process ([Aminullah, 2023](#)).

The illegal privatization and reclamation of Tengah Island has had a significant impact on the mobility of Pari Island fishermen, with the existence of regional barriers through chains in the operational area for the reclamation development of Tengah Island. Restricted access to the Pari Island fishing area for activities to catch fish, shrimp and crabs behind the central island. The increasing extent of this illegal reclamation has resulted in fishermen being afraid to catch fish, due to intimidation by Central Island officers to arrest these fishermen with long-barreled weapons. The injustice experienced by the people of Pari Island gave rise to anger over the seizure and elimination of space for the community's economic resources and gave rise to resistance in the community ([Ambari, 2023](#)).

The ecological dimension of this problem is no less significant, where illegal reclamation activities have resulted in systematic degradation of the maritime ecosystem. The dispersion of reclamation sediment distributed through the dynamics of ocean currents has resulted in the deterioration of critical habitats such as coral reef formations and seagrass beds which function as nursery grounds for various fish species. Empirical investigations carried out by researchers revealed concrete evidence of environmental damage through observations of damaged seagrass debris floating in the waters around Tengah Island. This finding is strengthened by systematic documentation carried out by the Association for Community Empowerment and Nature Conservation Education (YAPEKA), which succeeded in identifying the phenomenon of coral bleaching or the bleaching of coral reefs which indicates physiological stress

conditions in these organisms, indicating a serious disturbance to the balance of the marine ecosystem in this area.

The people of Pari Island expressed their deep concern in the form of resistance as a community response to environmental damage in the seaweed cultivation and tourism sectors which are the main sources of livelihood for the local community; in addition, the community's access to utilize marine resources is also threatened with loss due to the illegal reclamation. The context of the community's struggle has in fact been going on for a long time, starting with the initial case, namely a land dispute between the people of Pari Island and a company, where this company made a unilateral claim that 90% of the Pari Island area was owned by the company. Corporate privatization with domination practices by criminalizing vocal resistance figures in the community such as Mustaqfirin, Khatur, and Edi Priyadi.

The coastal communities struggle with various dimensions of problems, including land disputes, the seizure of economic resources, and the threat of a climate crisis ([Maulana, 2024](#)), particularly over island capitalization. Residents of Pari Island experience concrete evidence of global climate degradation, reflected in the tidal flooding that has hit several island areas; such as the western part of the island, namely Bintang Beach. Flooding that has consumed the coastline due to abrasion from the flood occurred from 2019 to 2021 ([Clara & Feby, 2023](#)). In response to concerns about losing their homes due to the threat of a climate crisis, residents of Pari Island and the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) Jakarta filed a lawsuit against Global Holcim, a contributor to the company's global mission, which has accelerated the climate crisis, which has had direct implications for the intensification of tidal flooding on Pari Island ([Nurfaizah, 2023](#)).

The community's struggle to uphold environmental justice is represented by the collective struggle of the community represented in the Pari Island Care Forum (FPPP) as a community forum to form a consolidative force to protect the

integrity of the Pari Island cluster ecosystem and the environmental injustice experienced by the community. The FPPP as a local entity that is vocal in fighting for the sustainability of Pari Island, is not a spontaneous phenomenon, but rather the result of an organizational process that has been ongoing systematically over a substantial period of time. Strategic alliances with various civil society organizations aimed at external support networks, such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI Jakarta), the People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA/ *Koalisi Rakyat untuk Keadilan Perikanan*), and the Indonesian Traditional Fishermen's Group (KNTI/ *Kelompok Nelayan Tradisional Indonesia*); strengthen the momentum of resistance of the Pari Island community in fighting for ecosystem preservation and environmental justice (Shanty & Priambodo, 2023).

The phenomenon of environmental damage as a structural problem experienced by the people of Pari Island, Pulau Tengah, which historically served as the basis for socio-economic management for the people of Pari Island, has experienced systematic degradation due to the hegemonic practices of the authorities manifested through illegal reclamation activities and privatization processes. This condition results in an existential threat to the community's livelihood space while creating restrictions on access to traditional resources vital to the community's sustainability. The dynamics of community resistance in maintaining ecosystem integrity and upholding environmental justice amidst the pressure of capital domination on Pari Island presents a phenomenon that attracts academic attention for comprehensive study.

Literature Review

Researchers gained insight into their research topics through several previous studies with similar topics. Therefore, it was necessary to differentiate between perspectives, research focus, theories, research methods, and so on to determine the relevance and differences of the current research study. Researchers found

of power domination both from gender and infrastructure development that threaten the living space of local communities ([Azi et al., 2024](#); [Gulo et al., 2024](#); [Rahmawati et al., 2021](#); [Yanti & Dewi, 2023](#)).

The VOSviewer visualization results clearly show clusters of several significant topics that tend to be raised in research, such as "resistance" and "food." However, several second clusters emerged that raised the issue of resistance, namely "environment," "community resilience," and "community behavior," which are interesting for researchers to address. There are especially relationships in the rarely discussed cluster, namely "coastal communities," which have become a reference for researchers regarding resistance carried out by coastal communities. Findings from previous studies of the practice of environmental injustice threatening local communities, especially the appropriation of community living space, thus creating resistance through resistance demonstrated by the existence of local community resistance ([Blythe et al., 2023](#); [Gonzalez, 2021](#); [Vine & Greenwood, 2022](#)).

Based on the four previous studies that are relevant and different from this paper, there are several things that differentiate this research from existing research. The similarity will be the topic of the struggle of local communities for the preservation of their surrounding nature, to maintain the continuity of life within it. However, the difference found is in the locus and focus of the research that the author aimed at the struggle of the people of Pari Island to fight for the preservation of Pari Island from illegal privatization and reclamation. Although there are similarities in involving local communities in resistance, but in this study the pattern of community struggle activities is joined in a local community group, namely the Pari Island Care Forum as a form of representation of the struggle for the rights of the Pari Island Community.

Methods

This study uses a qualitative research method with an ethnographic approach. As [Spradley \(1996\)](#) explains qualitative methods as an anthropological approach when used with an ethnographic approach are aimed at uncovering a culture. This approach can understand the perspectives held by indigenous people through their daily lives regarding what events occur. In line with the focus of this research, the researchers focused on studying community activities regarding the resistance carried out daily by the people of Pari Island in fighting for the preservation of Pari Island's nature. Furthermore, Spradley's ethnography is synonymous with "studying society and learning from society," where researchers are positioned not only to observe but also to learn directly from the community, by getting close and mingling directly with the community.

The informants selected by the researchers were intended to meet the data requirements for the study. As Spradley stated, in selecting informants, researchers needed community members who were fully enculturated or who had a long-standing understanding of the local culture ([Spradley, 2006](#)). The first informant was Mustaqfirin, the head of the Pari Island Care Forum. He is a community leader on Pari Island and also the forum's leader, who actively advocates for the interests and rights of the Pari Island community. The second key informant was three members of the Pari Island Care Forum, consisting of a forum secretary and two members. The researcher also identified the Pari Island Women's Group as a supporting informant because this group collaborates with the Pari Island Care Forum in advocating for the community. The involvement of the Pari Island sub-district as a research informant is crucial for the research, as it represents stakeholders within the Pari Island community. The supporting informants were WALHI Jakarta and the People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice

(KIARA), NGOs working to address issues faced by traditional and maritime fishermen.

Analysis as conceptualized by Spradley leads to analysis of findings in the field that is carried out in depth and systematically where after obtaining data or findings, the parts are sorted, correlated to each other, and the result of the combined correlation of the parts to form a coherent whole picture (Spradley, 1996). More clearly, Spradley emphasizes that ethnographic analysis is a comprehensive investigation of the parts of the findings in the field as described by the people of Pari Island. Because the patterns of behavior/language/values that have been interpreted as foreign by the researcher's mind have become cultural knowledge that is deeply owned by the community. The researcher's task is to find out the findings in the sense of being able to interpret these parts that are still hidden.

Results and Discussion

Corporate Domination Practices Spark Resistance

Scott's conceptualization of domination outlines three manifestations of hegemonic power (Scott, 1990): first, material domination manifested in the expropriation of resources by ruling elites; second, status domination which is manifested through discriminatory practices, degradation of dignity, and intimidating actions against marginalized groups; third, ideological domination that operates through the legitimization of structures of oppression such as slavery, caste stratification, and exclusive privilege. The empirical findings of the research reveal that corporations implement these three dimensions of dominance in the context of Pari Island. Material dominance is reflected through the appropriation of maritime ecosystems, status dominance is actualized in environmental injustice following the reclamation process, which is detrimental to

local communities, while ideological dominance is manifested in the justificatory narrative of privatization which legitimizes corporate ownership of public space.

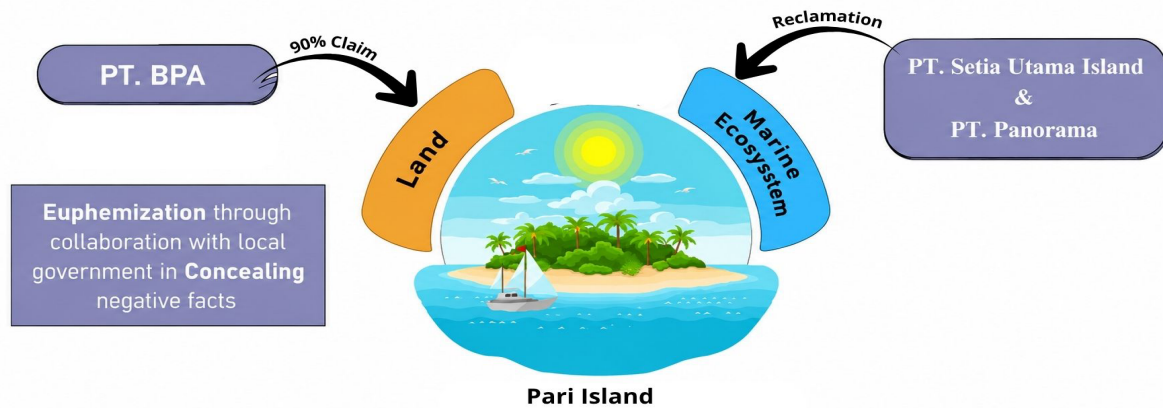


Figure 2. Dominant Practices of Companies on Pari Island

(Source: illustrated by the authors, 2026)

The illustration above shows that material domination on Pari Island is realized through the systematic seizure of natural resources and community living space, which began with the unilateral claim of PT. Bumi Pari Asri covers 90% of the island area of Pari Island (Fitriana, 2019). Corporations exploit administrative weaknesses in local government bureaucracies to claim land, thereby depriving indigenous communities of their right to residence. Analysis using Scott's perspective shows that the practice of privatization is a strategy for corporate material domination through exploiting the natural beauty of the island while erasing people's territorial rights through bureaucratic mechanisms that appear legitimate.

The dominance of materials is getting stronger due to the damage to the ecosystem of the Pari Island group due to the reclamation of Tengah Island by PT. Setia Utama Island and PT. Panorama. The wealth of maritime biodiversity which functions as ecological resilience is used by the community for seaweed cultivation and community fishing activities are being disposed of through illegal reclamation with the promise of monetary compensation. However, the

remuneration received by the community in the form of one carton of instant noodles reflects the extreme disparity between actual losses and nominal compensation, eliminating their alternative economic resources in a deliberative manner.

This illustrates the dominance of corporate status, which is manifested in the Pari Island community, articulated through the criminalization of several residents as a systematic strategy to erode the community's fundamental rights. This phenomenon is reflected in the criminalization process against figures such as Edi Priyadi, Khatir Sulaiman, and Mustaqfirin. From Scott's perspective, the arrest of community leaders is a corporate theatricality to degrade the social dignity of resistance agents by manipulating legal instruments. The climate of intimidation that overshadows the journey of the collective struggle is reflected in the threat of "don't come home with only your name," which constructs the psychological degradation of the community from a sovereign entity to a terrorized subject.

The strategy of threatening dismissal against residents who work as village officials or workers on the Pulau Tengah reclamation project—due to family members' involvement in the resistance movement—becomes a control mechanism for the hegemonic group that exploits the economic status of the community, which is oriented towards meeting the family's subsistence needs. This practice converges with Scott's concept of status domination regarding the elimination of community privileges, where in this context, community rights are eliminated through the cultivation of an atmosphere of fear among some residents of Pari Island, which then triggers polarization during the community's social structure. The dichotomy that divides the community into camps of solidarity fighters versus groups inclined to corporate interests results in the fragmentation of subordinate group identities in resistance, creating a strategic gap for corporations to facilitate horizontal conflicts that do not require direct intervention

of corporate status. The following is an illustration of the strategies and techniques of domination of companies over the residents of Pari Island.

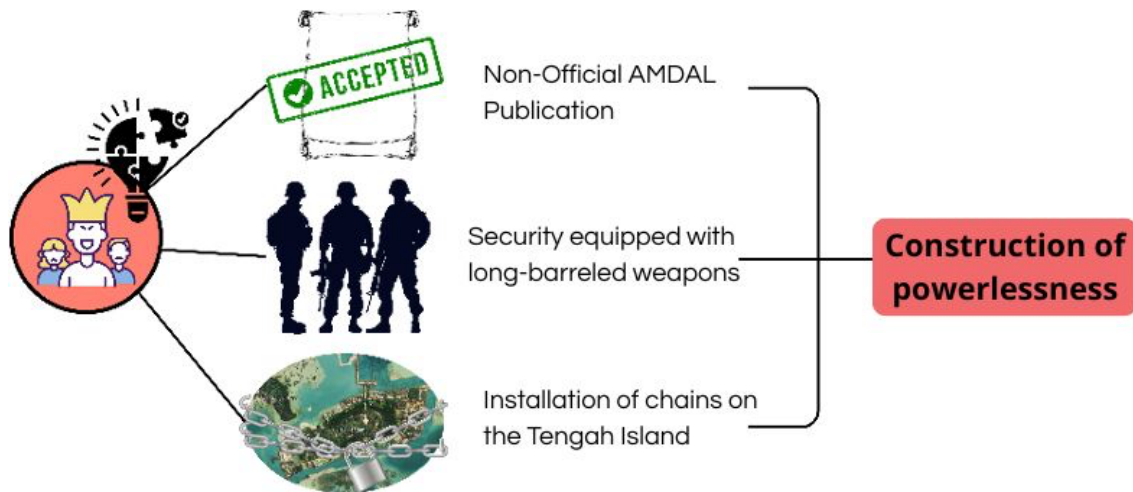


Figure 3. The companies' Strategies of Domination over the Residents of Pari Island

(Source: illustrated by the authors, 2026)

The illustration above depicts the manifestation of ideological domination practices over the Pari Island community, manifested through various corporate justifications for destroying the natural ecosystem of the Pari archipelago. The legitimization process of the Tengah Island reclamation began with the instrumentalization of a falsified AMDAL produced by an academic institution, not through LIPI as a non-ministerial government research institution focused on developing the Pari Island ecosystem. Another manifestation of domination is articulated in the corporate spectacle through the presence of Tengah Island security personnel armed with long-barreled weapons and the installation of chain barriers in the area. Corporate hegemony, realized by blocking fishermen's mobility routes using chain barricades, creates access barriers from Tengah Island, implicitly indicating how corporate entities construct a narrative of the undeniable legitimacy of the reclamation. The existence of corporate hegemonic power on Tengah Island is strengthened through strategic collaboration with the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), creating instruments of legitimacy for corporate power over the reclaimed territory by

utilizing the symbolism of state authority through the presence of 'armed apparatus' as a representation of sovereignty.

The Hidden Transcript Resistance of the Pari Island Community

The concept of Hidden Transcript or can be interpreted as open transcript resistance or hidden resistance, Scott explains that this form of resistance is carried out off-stage in other words, a form of resistance carried out outside the supervision of the authorities (Scott, 1990). The resistance carried out hidden is the community's response to oppression or injustice from the dominant group in power. The origins of hidden resistance are also found in the research of Zainuddin and Ahmad (2021), Nurdin and Ubaddul (2021) and Shadiqin (2021), which revealed the existence of hidden resistance due to the dominance of the authorities who eliminated the role of the community in accessing forest resources. In the context of the resistance of the Pari Island community, the researcher's observations identified that the resistance that community had been going on for quite a long time, especially in the case of the claim of 90% of the territory of Pari Island by a corporate entity. This case became the origin of the collective struggle of the Pari Island community, when the community was confronted with criminalization from the privatization process implemented by PT. Bumi Pari Asri (Fitriana, 2019). Based on the heterogeneity of corporate domination practices, a diversity of hidden transcript resistance is manifested which Scott elaborates through several dimensions of hidden transcripts: sporadic, unsystematic resistance, individualistic, and minimal direct transformation.

The *first* aspect is sporadic dimension can be interpreted as temporary and unpredictable resistance, triggered by certain events that elicit spontaneous reactions from the community or subordinate groups to resist. Researchers' findings from observations of residents gathering at night while playing *Cekih* are

a common and routine cultural practice, but this game arena sometimes transforms into a space for sharing information about community disappointments with corporate actions. Conversations that take place among residents while playing *Cekih* include calls of "*Cekih!*" to create enthusiasm for the card game, accompanied by expressions of residents' feelings about disappointment or joy over the fish catch, which then spontaneously shift into informal discussion topics. The spontaneity of resistance manifested in recreational spaces becomes an ideal camouflage, namely by utilizing traditions formed within the community as routines to facilitate the safe articulation of aspirations. The implementation of Scott's concept is reflected in the hidden resistance that exists within the community through the ideological domination carried out by one of the forum members to build collective awareness.

The *second* aspect is unsystematic organization. Scott argues that the absence of a formal organizational structure provides flexibility for resistance and minimizes the risk of intimidation or oppression, as reflected in the history of the Pari Island community, when before a formal group was formed, each resident could individually consolidate collective aspirations. Instead, the community was confronted with a polarization that formed within the community, divided into two factions: the 'western faction' and the 'eastern faction'. The western faction was identified with the community affiliated with the corporation, consisting of RT 04, 03, and some residents of RT 02. Meanwhile, the eastern faction was characterized as a community committed to the struggle, including RT 01, located to the east of Pari Island. The spontaneity of hidden resistance demonstrated by the Pari Island community as a manifestation of non-organized resistance was reflected in the initial case when the community was faced with reclamation on Tengah Island. Residents were aware of the development plans and the potential risks of the massive reclamation project by PT. Setia Utama Island.

The community's response was realized through joint discussions with the fishing community which at that time had not been coordinated by FPPP, but was limited to interactions with seaweed cultivation fishermen, which reflected the initial stage of community mobilization which took place naturally through informal networks based on professions and shared economic interests. Even though the community shows hidden resistance through exchanging views with affected fishermen as a resistance strategy, power is still held by the practice of dominating PT's corporate status. Setia Utama Island and PT. A successful panorama combines structural and symbolic forces to suppress people's aspirations. In the context of this unequal power relationship, society ultimately experiences defeat—it is forced to accept environmental injustice as an unavoidable reality. As a result, reclamation infrastructure for Central Island (Pulau H) was built as a concrete manifestation of the victory of corporate domination over community resistance. This phenomenon illustrates how hidden resistance, even though it has the potential for change, can experience deadlock when faced with a systematic and organized combination of dominant forces.

The *third* aspect is individualistic resistance. This type of resistance is characterized by personal or hidden resistance and is an individual strategy for maintaining survival. In the context of Pari Island, resistance practices were found to manifest through opposition to planting or cultivation activities. The Pari Island community, who work as seaweed fishermen, experienced a boom in seaweed cultivation, with cultivation sites in the Tengah and Kongsu Island clusters. Despite ecosystem damage in the area, the community continued to cultivate seaweed, but these efforts failed due to damage to the marine ecosystem caused by sedimentation from reclamation activities. Furthermore, floating net cage fishermen continued to cultivate fragile fish, cultivating fragile fry but failed due to persistent disease. This is a subtle form of resistance carried out covertly, demonstrating the community's refusal to accept the imposed limitations. The

defiance of the fishermen strongly demonstrated their rejection of reclamation by defending their cultivation areas.

The *fourth* aspect is the lack of direct impact. The resistance carried out by the community does not have an immediate effect at that time, but rather slowly shows resistance against the domination of the authorities. This concept is found in research findings ([Adi et al., 2024](#)), revealing the actions of residents' rejection of transactional politics in the village head election in Malang Regency, with the awareness of resisting even though it must sacrifice immediate benefits, but the community prefers long-term benefits for the welfare of residents. A similar practice in the researcher's observations among the Pari Island community is the rejection of some residents of basic food aid as an anticipatory measure against corporate manipulation that uses population data to obtain approval for sustainable reclamation in the future. This reclamation activity is not limited to Tengah Island, but Biawak Island, managed by PT. Central Pari Sejahtera, has also recently carried out reclamation. The distribution of basic food by the corporation is not directly by the corporation but by 'Sahrul's gang' as a party pro-company.

The Public Transcript Resistance of Pari Island Community

The conceptual framework ([Scott, 1990](#)) of public transcripts can be understood as a performance arena where marginalized groups openly express their resistance to ongoing power domination. This dynamic emerges in response to dominating practices systematically perpetuated by the ruling elite through structured mechanisms of power consolidation. Empirical investigations conducted ([Blythe et al., 2023](#)), successfully uncovered concrete practices of such domination, particularly through the implementation of *euphemization* strategies that function as camouflage instruments for the destructive realities of various forms of ecological inequality; operating by rhetorically domesticating the processes of struggle for natural resources and the commodification of maritime areas, which

are then reframed within the narrative of sustainable development under the umbrella of the Blue Economy policy. The practice of corporate crime is proven by the diversity of corporate domination, becoming a separate anger and becoming the potential for an explosion of hidden resistance to become open and the existence of several aspects that describe public transcript resistance in the community, consisting of aspects of organized resistance, systematic and collaborative resistance, rational-collective, and emancipatory.

The *first* aspect is organized resistance. This resistance manifests itself through polarization, which then forms structural consolidation. This means that the resistance carried out by each individual citizen develops into a crystallized resistance that leads to open resistance. Scott also illustrates this through the example of Mrs. Poyser, who argues that hidden resistance can transform into open resistance when subordinate groups reach the limit of their patience (Scott, 1990). This occurred in the Pari Island community, which demonstrated a crucial moment when the "hidden transcript" began to surface in the public sphere through the formation of a resistance institution, the Pari Island Care Forum. The establishment of the Pari Island Care Forum (FPPP) in 2013 marked the beginning of the transformation of resistance, from a subtle form of resistance to an organized public movement. This forum serves not merely as a coordinating platform but also as an arena for transformative political education for residents and fishermen who previously had little formal organizational experience. Below is an illustration of the Transformation Phase of Community Resistance:



Figure 4. The Transformation Phase of Community Resistance
(Source: illustrated by the authors, 2026)

The spiritual-symbolic element of this structured resistance movement is also manifested through the appropriation of informal communal spaces—such as the residence of the neighborhood head of neighborhood unit 01 and the prayer room (*musholla*)—as alternative coordination nexus. The Pari Island Care Forum plays a significant role in social consolidation among affected communities, particularly fishermen, in uniting collective resistance movements. The negative reciprocity of this mass mobilization, as elaborated in Scott's theoretical framework, gave rise to the phenomenon of "open transcripts" by the authorities, namely the practice of domination by the authorities through the mechanism of power affirmation—where the dominant group openly demonstrates the strength of its power to subordinate groups who resist or disobey. This form of power affirmation was seen when the community held a demonstration on Tengah Island to protest the reclamation activities. However, the community instead received threats in the form of dismissal at the village level or laborers working on the reclamation project, as well as intimidation through the presence of armed personnel on standby on Tengah Island.

The *second* aspect is the systematic implementation and collaboration. This is reflected in the capability to build a strategic collaborative network, where the synergy between the Pari Island Care Forum (FPPP) and the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) Jakarta demonstrates the local community's ability to form tactical alliances that strengthen the advocacy capacity of the Pari Island community. Structured and methodological technical support is reflected in WALHI Jakarta's response to reports submitted by the Pari Island community. This process includes empirical data-based analysis, systematic identification of ongoing problems, intensive collaboration with the community in in-depth data exploration, and advocacy with the local or provincial government and coordination with the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) as a follow-up to legal protection or environmental justice for the community's struggle. The systematic character of

the community resistance movement is reflected in the mobilization of the action to reject the reclamation of Tengah Island, which began with the consolidation of affected fishermen in a public space, namely *Pasir Perawan* Beach. Despite facing information leaks marked by the presence of security forces during the first demonstration on Tengah Island as the initial resistance, the community's resilience in resisting remained strong and reconciliation with FPPP was tighter and more rigid. This demonstration by subordinate groups aligns with Scott's elaboration on the inherent consequences faced when marginalized communities transform hidden resistance into open confrontation against structures of domination.

The manifestation of public transcript resistance articulated by the community and FPPP against the dominance of dominant groups was actualized through the democratic momentum of the neighborhood unit (RT) and community unit (RW) elections. Researchers observed field findings and discovered a resistance strategy that utilized local electoral contests as an instrument of domination by formal institutions, through the Pari Island Care Forum and the community members involved in the struggle. This phenomenon, when analyzed through Scott's matrix of domination and resistance, represents a strategic maneuver to confront material domination and demonstrate the community's capacity to seize control over resources. FPPP demonstrated its dominant political power by nominating certain figures for neighborhood unit (RT) and community unit (RW) positions based on the forum's choice, accompanied by the mobilization of its mass base to consolidate electoral supremacy. Despite facing defeat in the contest, this did not deter them from fighting for Pari Island. Paradoxically, the Forum has succeeded in crystallizing the dominant influence within the neighborhood association (RT) structure, creating an effective defense barrier to neutralize the material domination exerted by corporations.

Furthermore, the gender collaboration in resistance, as reflected in the Pari Island Women's Group, has a specific focus on gender and environmental issues. One example of resistance is "Pari Island Women Plant to Fight (*Perempuan Pulau Pari Menanam untuk Melawan*)," which demonstrates a strategy of resistance through productive gardening. The systematic aspect of resistance is reflected in the organization of gardening activities with a regular schedule (every 5 p.m.), the allocation of garden plots for corn, the development of hydroponic technology through greenhouses, and a mangrove education program for tourists that creates a sustainable source of funding. The collaborative dimension of resistance is evident in the collective management of the gardens by local women, the post-garden "*ngerumpi bareng*" ritual that serves as a space for consolidating and spreading collective awareness, and the integration of economic activities (group funds) with political resistance.

The *third* aspect is collective rational resistance. In this aspect, the resistance of the Pari Island community is evident in their ability to develop reasoned, evidence-based arguments to counter the views propagated by the company and the government. From Scott's perspective, this demonstrates that public responses do not merely express anger or disappointment but also form strategic resistance without endangering the safety of oppressed groups in their struggle. The crystallization of rational argumentation is manifested through the FPPP methodology, which constructs an advocacy narrative based on the systematic identification of procedural and substantive violations committed by the company to perpetuate the reclamation. Critical attitudes toward the legitimacy of the reclamation project, which is based on the Marine Spatial Utilization Activity Conformity Agreement (PKKPRL), as well as interrogation of published Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) not sourced from credible institutions such as the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), indicate a disregard for scientific studies and procedural provisions in implementing reclamation, which has

resulted in environmental damage. The accumulated evidence of violations by the Tengah Island management, combined with the local knowledge of Pari Island fishermen, forms a powerful advocacy tool for the Pari Island community to demonstrate the environmental degradation occurring in their archipelago's ecosystem.

The *fourth* aspect is emancipatory. The manifestation of open transcript resistance produces transformative implications for the structure of corporate domination, which is articulated using social media platforms as an instrument for disseminating information to the public about community demonstrations against illegal corporate reclamation. The strategy of digitizing resistance through the publication of articles and dissemination of content on social media resulted in a concrete institutional response—the direct intervention of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) at the Pari Island conflict locus to investigate illegal reclamation practices. The phenomenon of resistance through social media is part of the resistance to gain public and government attention. When analyzed through Scott's theoretical framework, it reflects the maneuvers of subordinate groups in resisting ideological domination propagated by corporations. The researcher's observations identified that the commitment through the narrative of upholding justice: "The Right to Living Space" transformed into a driving force for the community in defending the justice of the spatial rights of the Pari Island community. In addition, it questions the legitimacy and responsiveness of the government from the local to the national level in carrying out its function of protecting its citizens.

Researchers observed that an emancipatory vision is also evident in the community's efforts to build critical awareness not only within their community but also among tourists and the wider public. The use of murals along tourist routes demonstrates an educational strategy to inform the public about the conflicts hidden behind the beauty of Pari Island tourism. This visual medium transforms

public space into a place of dialogue between the experiences of local communities and the perspectives of outside visitors. This strategy reflects the understanding that emancipation cannot be achieved solely through local resistance but requires a broader shift in awareness about the relationship between tourism, the environment, and social justice. The murals serve as a medium to convey criticism of exploitative practices while also inviting tourists to understand their position within the dynamics of tourism that can harm local communities.

Conclusion

This research reveals that the resistance of the Pari Island community to coastal reclamation and privatization projects represents a dynamic transformation from hidden resistance to an organized movement capable of articulating a counter-narrative against corporate domination. Empirical validation of James C. Scott's theoretical framework demonstrates how the Pari Island Care Forum successfully crystallized the community's collective aspirations through a multi-dimensional strategy that included collaboration with civil society organizations, the use of social media, and community-based productive activities. The struggle for the "Right to Living Space" championed by the Pari Island community is not merely a reactive response to environmental injustice, but rather a fundamental reconceptualization of the relationship between humans, nature, and development that challenges the extractive logic of maritime capitalism.

The implications of this research call for a fundamental reorientation in the approach to coastal and small island development that places substantive local community participation as an absolute prerequisite for development policy. The state needs to transform its role from a mere investment facilitator to an active mediator that ensures a balance between economic interests, ecological sustainability, and social justice. The case of Pari Island illustrates that the future of

Indonesia's maritime development must be built on a foundation of recognizing the inherent rights of coastal communities as guardians of marine ecosystems, not as passive subjects of externally imposed development projects. Strengthening the organizational and legal capacity of coastal communities is key to ensuring their voices have decisive power in every decision-making process that affects their living space.

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