



Legitimacy and Directions of Student Movement in the Intervention of Hill Land Function Transfer in the City of Bandar Lampung

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Abstract. Bandar Lampung City has experienced an increasingly major modernization touch over the past ten years. Unfortunately, this transformation has significantly contributed to the disintegration of the spatial plan agreed with stakeholders. The hill land has now absolutely vanished and changed its use as a city landmark. The government of Lampung Province and The government of Bandar Lampung City has made numerous attempts to stop the exploitation of hill land, however there are still problems and difficulties. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), on the other hand, do not have much influence in advocating and defending the hill land. The particular goals of this study are to: 1) determine the legitimacy and direction of the elite movement of students from external campus organizations that intervene in hill land conversion cases in Bandar Lampung City; and 2) identify the challenges that elite movement of students from external campus organizations encounters when trying to intervene in hill land conversion cases in Bandar Lampung City. The researcher employed a descriptive qualitative approach, which included movement analysis and advocacy, to help the study's goals be met. Furthermore, the informants of this study are from the elite students of the external campus organization such as The Islamic Student Association (HMI), the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM), the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), and the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI). The findings of this study indicate that in an ideal world, students play a significant role in neighborhood associations. They are a group of well-educated individuals that read dynamics regularly, debate ideas, and take positions in the pursuit of the truth. Unfortunately, the student movement is at the moment paralyzed by internal issues. The intersections of groups mixed with various interests have poisoned the values of the movement. Even today, students are trapped in a personal circle and comfort zone. Likewise, in the effort to intervene in the conversion of hill land, students have minimally conducted academic studies and debated the ecological value of urban development. The current movement at the campus external organizational level has not been able to encourage change or suppress the practice of hill land conversion, so that the current practice of using hilly land is increasingly intensive and massive.

Keywords: Legitimacy and Direction Student Movement · Bandar Lampung City Hill Land Exploitation · Campus External Organizations

1 Introduction

During the last 10 years, various studies have been carried out by a number of scholars in dissecting the problem of environmental damage in Bandar Lampung City, starting from the floods issues [1–10]. Landslide Disaster Problems [11, 12]. The problem of increasing waste generation in Bakung TPA and a number of City rivers [13–15].

The city of Bandar Lampung is also stuck with classic problems such as extreme population density and slums in the city's buffer zones such as rivers, hills, and the city's coast [16–19]. Narrowing/silting in several sections of large and small rivers [8, 20]. Until the public awareness of Bandar Lampung City is low in protecting the environment [21, 22].

One of the most crucial issues mentioned above is the findings and analysis WALHI Lampung Province which shows a change in land cover related to the area/space that has been designated as a Green Open Space (RTH) for the City of Bandar Lampung. A total of 102.43 ha, or 29.76% of Bandar Lampung City's RTH, had a change in designation or change in land use. The amount of RTH has significantly decreased as a result of this change in land use. The results of WALHI's analysis found the fact that currently the condition of the RTH of Bandar Lampung City which was originally an area of 344.156 ha have been converted and only 241.82 ha remain due to land conversion. WALHI identified 5 (five) RTH that experienced the biggest changes in infographics, namely Way Kandis, Kemiling, Gunung Sulah, Sukabumi, and Labuhan Ratu areas (Fig. 1).

The exploitation of the hill/mountain area in Bandar Lampung City is one of the factors contributing to the decrease in the availability of green open space. Previously, the hill area in the city of Bandar Lampung is a natural landscape that functions to maintain the ecosystem of the urban environment. But unfortunately, the relation and function of this environment are frequently discarded and turned into a development and economic commodity. Since 1990, these hills have begun to be exploited massively. According to records, the amount of damage to the hills in Bandar Lampung City reached more than 80% up till 2019. The damage ranged from mild to heavy.

The practice of land conversion on hill or mountain objects in the city of Bandar Lampung is identified as four main activities of exploitation, such as: mining, housing, tourism and settlement activities. Only a minor portion of this exploitation activity



Fig. 1. The Largest Locations for the Transfer of RTH Functions in Bandar Lampung 2011–2020

is carried out by the local community; the majority is done by businesses or single entrepreneurs. So far, the practice of exploiting hill land is still happening till now.

Deep concern has been raised by the hill area's expanding widespread exploitation in Bandar Lampung City. The government as the main actor, has a central role in unraveling these public problems. Various things have been done, including establishing a Regional Regulation (PERDA).

Based on the results of previous studies, the concentration of WALHI can be seen as follows (Table 1).

Unfortunately, the WALHI and Mitra Bentala's current advocacy is insufficient to stop exploitation and land reform in the hill area of Bandar Lampung City. Therefore, considering other political forces in exerting influence and intervention is very necessary in order to unravel the problem of hill land change in Bandar Lampung City.

Table 1. Concentration of NGO Advocacy on the Conversion of Hill Land

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)	Advocacy Concentration
Vehicle Environment Life (WALHI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Maintaining the remaining hills in Bandar Lampung City and conducting a moratorium on extractive permits in the hill areas in Bandar Lampung City and maintaining them in accordance with the mandate of the Bandar Lampung City RTRW Regional Regulation. b. Increase the Quality and Quantity of RTH in Bandar Lampung City and maintain the existing RTH with various schemes and policies so that Bandar Lampung can meet the target of RTH of at least 30% according to the mandate of the legislation. c. Stop granting permits to planned activities that are land use change that will change the protection function and/or conservation function in the Bandar Lampung City area. d. Doingenforcementlaw and provide strict sanctions against corporations and/or industries that commit violation of the environment,
Bentala Partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. All Bukit objects in Bandar Lampung City can be purchased and become local government assets that can provide benefits to all, not only individual ownership, or certain groups. b. In addition, the NGO Mitra Bentala also opened a space for socialization and education to the community regarding the importance of the ecological function of the hills. c. And finally, rejecting the transfer of functions of Bukit Bandar Lampung and (advocacy --- Rejecting Lampung Bay reclamation using Camang Hill)

Source: WALHI research data and Bentala Partners

The legitimacy and direction of the student movement is one of the alternative political forces in Indonesia. Various political and social actions carried out by students have been proven to be able to find a way out of the impasse of the government. Consider it the largest student protest against the New Order's authority in 1998. Student initiatives have shown to be effective at improving the performance of the public and private sectors throughout the reform era.

This study builds a hypothesis that it is needed to consider student power as part of balancing other political forces to influence a policy that is made. Students as one of the intellectual actors have been forged with a number of academic and non-academic activities. In addition, students's personal skills are also explored in student organizations, both internally and externally. That way students will learn a lot about leadership issues, personal management, groups, conflict, self-confidence, good communication skills and social and political sensitivity.

In the case of hill land transform in Bandar Lampung City, students as agents of change and agents of control can play an important role in criticizing or rejecting movements that are represented in writing or demonstrations through organizational forums against government policies. Therefore, based on the explanation above, this study aims to see the reality of the legitimacy and direction of the elite student movement of external organizations campus in hill land change intervention in Bandar Lampung City.

2 Literature Review

A. *Legitimacy Concept*

1) *Overview of Legitimacy*

The idea of legitimacy is an invention in modern thought, which is well represented in Rousseau's promise in the Social Contract, which shows how a political authority can be called legitimate. The idea of legitimacy further developed by Weber in the perspective of modern theory that there is an assumption that legitimacy must have a relationship of authoritative characteristics, law, binding feelings or truth attached to an order; a government or state is considered legitimate if it has the right to govern. According to this view rights can be accepted as beliefs in conformity with the existing order and the right to rule. There are objective standards that are external or universal to represent truth based on natural law. Theory of legitimacy is one of the most widely mentioned theories in accounting, social, and environmental fields [23].

2) *How to Get Legitimacy*

Meanwhile, according to Eman Hermawan, obtaining legitimacy can be accomplished in one of the following three ways: a) Symbolic, which involves using symbols to manipulate moral inclinations, feelings, customs, beliefs, and general cultural norms. b) Procedural, by holding general elections to choose the president, members of high state institutions, and representatives of the people, or a referendum to ratify broad policies. c) Material, by promising and providing the community with material welfare, such as making sure that necessities, medical facilities, and educational opportunities are available.

B. *Direction of Student Social Movement*

Macionis define a social movement is an organized activity that aims to promote or obstruct a social change. According to Macionis' definition of a social movement, there are two main criteria to keep in mind: the existence of organized actions and the existence of objectives that relate to societal change.

Social groups are currently believed to be a sign of a democracy's expansion and development in a nation. Their presence aims to bring about positive social change and meet the needs of the citizens. The student movement is one of them, and it has frequently led the way for social change.

The student movement is identical to a movement that is so massive and plays a major role in correcting social and political disorientation. This student movement is usually on the side of the people and defends the interests of the people. The student's defense usually revolves around oppression and is based on the value of justice which is ideally held by students. This context is the main trigger for the strength of the social movement and the identity of the movement in the student movement so that it can be a balancing force in the process of change that occurs in society. History records that at least the student movement contributed greatly to several processes and dynamics of the transition in Indonesia [24].

In the Gramscian perspective, student movement organization concepts can also be categorized as an organized civil society. That concept is based on an analysis of conflictual and dialectic interests or unity in the difference between the State and Civil Society. Civil society consists of various forms of voluntary society and also become the main political world, where everything is in dynamic ideological and intellectual activity as well as hegemonic construction. Civil society is the setting in which one first becomes politically aware and engages in action. Thus, civil society is an aggregation of many interests in which particular interests are expanded into a larger global perspective and then utilised or modified. Gramsci defined civil society in this context as a place where citizens influence change and make history.

C. *Research Indicators Regarding the Legitimacy and Student Movement:*

- Ideology Cadreization and Consolidation
- Orientation student movement
- Forms/methods action and movement (mass action and intellectual action)
- Organized forces and networks and external support

3 Research Methods

A. *Research Methods*

The research method used in this research is descriptive to: (1) Identify the direction of extra-campus student movement in intervening in the case of hill land conversion in Bandar Lampung City; and (2) Analyze the obstacles faced by the extra-campus student organization movement in intervening in the case of hill land conversion in Bandar Lampung City.

B. *Data Collection Technique*

There are various materials in the form of qualitative data sources used, namely:

1) *Observation*

Data collection through observation is carried out to observe directly what is happening in the field. Through observation the analyst can see on what is actually being done, observation is obtained through the first few channels; field observations by looking directly at the condition of the hills in Bandar Lampung City, especially related to land exploitation and land use changes that have occurred; second, through news information both offline and online related to public complaints, as well as the direction of student movements to inhibit and stop the exploitation of hill land in Bandar Lampung City; The results of these observations are used as primary data.

2) *Interview*

The information gathered from the informants must be recorded and investigated. Using interviewing methods, the data search was conducted. An interview is a direct conversation with established objectives which follows a format of questions and answers. The interview technique used is an unstructured interview technique, namely the researcher is guided by the outline of the problem to be asked [25]. The selected informants are those who know for sure and are directly involved in the activities, as well as interviews with several informants who are considered important in this study. Furthermore, the informants of this study are from the elite students of the external campus organization such as The Islamic Student Association (HMI), the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM), the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), and the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI).

Literature review is an initial study, in order to obtain written information by collecting and studying several references. Literature study is a data collection method that is directed at searching for data and information through documents, both written documents, photographs, pictures, and electronic documents that can support the writing process. or existing academic and artistic writings [26]. In this study, the use of library research is to find data through references, both written data in the form of books, research reports, articles, manuscripts, magazines, and newspapers related to the concept of student social movements.

3) *Documentation*

The data in qualitative research are mostly obtained from human resources, through observation and interviews. However, there are also non-human resources, including documents, photos and statistical materials. According to Sugiyono document study is a complement to the use of observation and interview methods in qualitative research. Even the credibility of qualitative research results will be higher if it involves/uses document studies in its qualitative research methods. Qualitative methods use several forms of data collection such as open interview transcripts, descriptions of observations, document analysis and other artifacts.

C. *Data Analysis Technique*

The observations that have been obtained, which starts from data collection, namely identifying and mapping the hill area of Bandar Lampung City. Furthermore, many efforts that have been made by the government of Lampung Province and Bandar Lampung City to suppress the exploitation of this hill land, such as: (1) Lampung Province Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2010 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) of Lampung Province for the 2009–2029 period; (2) Lampung Province Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2006 concerning Management of Natural Resources and the Environment; (3) Bandar Lampung City Regional Regulation Number 10 of 2006 2011 concerning the 2011–2030 Regional Spatial Plan; and (4) identify the direction of student movement in intervening in the case of hill land conversion in Bandar Lampung City.

4 Discussion

Urban and spatial areas in Indonesia have been impacted by the dynamics of economic expansion. A land use crisis has resulted from the combination of urban land usage as a corporate product and population increase. In various areas, the ease of investment, concessions in licensing, and weak supervision by the government have caused many areas that were originally designated as RTH and urban buffer zones to have massively converted into commercial housing, mining and other business areas. The impact can now be seen where some of these areas have routinely felt the impact of ecological disasters.

According to Walhi’s records, Bandar Lampung City has 33 hills or mountains that serve as urban buffers. Unfortunately, the hilly area is now problematic. The hill is beginning to be owned by individuals and investment organizations, which is a sign of the contestation over land tenure. Investors can easily secure land tenure through a variety of modalities, such as political modalities and economic modalities, while those without access to these modalities will be excluded from the contestations for the land. The harm done to the hills in Bandar Lampung’s city may be seen as a result of this land tenure practice. Walhi Lampung reported that 20 hills were moderately and severely damaged, indicating that 61% of them were moderately and severely damaged (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Diagram 33 hills or mountains of Bandar Lampung City

Table 2. Conversion of Hilly Land

No	Transfer Area	Form Transfer
1	Mulyajaya Village Hill, Karangmaritim, Panjang District	Dredginghills into plots of land
2	Camang Hill, Tanjung Karang Timur	Mining of rock and sand
3	Kunyit Hill, Teluk Betung Selatan	Mining of rock and sand
4	Balau Hill, Campang Raya	Mining of rock and sand
5	Sukamenanti Hill, Kedaton	Mining of rock and sand
6	Klutum Hill, Tanjung Karang Timur	Mining of rock and sand
7	Perahu/Onta Hill, Kedaton	Rock Mining
8	Tamin Hill, Tanjung Karang Pusat	Land dredging
9	Randu Hill, Tanjung Karang Timur	Hospitality/restaurant.

Source: WALHI Lampung 2021

Based on the data above, land conversion is dominated by mining and the rest has been used as residential land and also business or hotel areas. Based on data from Walhi Lampung, there are at least three companies that have permits to exploit the hills: CV Budi Wirya, PT Ganda Pahala Tara Perkasa, and CV Sari Karya. The others done it illegally (Table 2).

In fact, various environmental protection and mitigation efforts have been carried out by local governments, stated in Regional Regulation (PERDA) Number 10 of 2011 on concerning Regional Spatial Plans for 2011 – 2030. As well as the revision, Regional Regulation (PERDA) Number 4 of 2021 on concerning Regional Spatial Planning for 2021–2041. Unfortunately, the current regulations were unable to preserve the hills and achieve the fulfillment of the required amount of green open space. The present amount of green open space does not meet the goal outlined in the City RTRW. According to some reports, the new rules are more friendly toward investors.

Students are an important part of community groups. They are a line of educated groups who are in the process of reading dynamics every day, debating concepts and taking a stand in the search for truth. The critical spirit of students can often be seen from various movements directly through demonstrations to audience movements and academic studies. This movement is expected to lead to changes that favor the interests of the people.

The fall of New Order regime and changed to reform regime provide a glimpse into the peak of the Indonesian student movement. In fact, this student movement has added a new chapter to Indonesia's history books. As a result of their activism and criticism to the dictatorship, one of Indonesia's political groups has gained new legitimacy. However,

the student movement and legitimacy are not as powerful as they once were in the current reform era. The movement's value has been tainted by the inclusion of different interest groups. Even today, students are trapped in a personal circle and comfort zone. Let alone bringing a good change impact for the Indonesian state, for changes in students themselves it is difficult to recognize.

Nowdays, various cases can be taken to see how weak the bargaining position of student movement in policy changes is. As an illustration, consider how the protracted protests by employees and students oppose the provisions of the Job Creation Law, which eliminates the element of justice for workers and the environment while containing the interests of ease of investment. Not to mention the protests calling for lower pricing on essentials like fuel and other necessities, to which the government paid little attention. The student movement was at its weakest due to several factors, including intimidation on campus and the aggression of the military and police in detaining activist groups.

In the context of the intervention of hill land conversion in Bandar Lampung City, this study tries to see the extent of the legitimacy and student movement within the Lampung Province, especially student elites who come from external campus organizations such as: Islamic Student Association (HMI), Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM), Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), and the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI).

Ideology is a very fundamental concept, point of view, or way of thinking. Particularly in the student movement, ideology becomes the fundamental foundation for forming consensus perspectives and mass movements. In the meantime, Kaderisasi is a component of regeneration in an effort to keep up the organization's ideological values. In order to continue reviving a critical climate and anticipate the demise of the student movement, kaderisasi and stabilization of ideology is an important agenda. This is contained in excerpts from interviews with informants who emphasized the importance of ideology and regeneration in the elements of the movement. According to M. Irfan Arrafii (Vice Chairman 1 PC PMII Bandar Lampung) one of the things that distinguishes students from other community groups is how the students think and act. Students must be concerned with cases related to environmental degradation. Therefore, the organization's ideology is an important basis for strengthening the struggle and student movement to defend the truth. PMII has strong ideological values which are contained in the basic values of the PMII movement, namely the values of monotheism, *hablumminallah*,

Meanwhile, according to Febi Satria (Head of Regional Development Participation of HMI Bandar Lampung Branch), HMI is well known for having two commitments, namely a national commitment and a community commitment. These two commitments are described as the two initial purposes of the creation of HMI. Specifically, to maintain independence and enhance the lives of Indonesians, also disseminate the Islamic symbols. The HMI student kader' standing in the organization is based on these two commitments.

On the other hand, IMM was described in a variety of thoughts and movements by M. Tahta Rona Yakub S.H., the chairman of the IMM Bandar Lampung Branch. First, the vision: to create a culture of thought and an intellectual tradition through intellectual enlightenment and intellectual enrichment. IMM's approach strategy involves maximizing the capacity for collective and individual awareness, which enables the development

of a scientific community. Second, value is an effort to sharpen conscience through inculcating religious moral values so that thoughts and concepts are built that get justification from the Qur'an.

Third, courage in carrying out program actualization, for example in advocating for community problems and taking sides in community empowerment. And finally the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) which is a fusion of the previous 3 (three) student organizations, namely the Free Student Movement, the Marhaenis Student Movement and the Indonesian Democratic Student Movement, all of which are based on Marhaenism. The fusion process does not change marhaenism as its struggle ideology.

The influence of ideology and student regeneration in each campus external organization has helped maintain student activity in responding to social problems in the community. However, the ideological values and ongoing regeneration have not been able to encourage a significant increase in student activity in discussing important issues, especially those that favor the people. So far, students need to encourage a massive movement in terms of supervision related to existing regulations in Bandar Lampung City. To encourage this, students should as often as possible conduct academic studies on urban ecology as well as emerging cases, especially land conversion. Additionally, it is critical to involve students in planning and policy-making processes. This is due to the fact that student participation can encourage policies to follow the proper path and prevent the practice of conflicts of interest amongst groups. Therefore, the most relevant action to take is to consult the Bandar Lampung City Government before any drafts of regional policy are released.

5 Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that ideally students are an important part of community groups. They are a line of educated groups who are in the process of reading dynamics every day, debating concepts and taking a stand in the search for truth. Unfortunately, the student movement is currently stuck in personal problems. The intersections of groups mixed with various interests have poisoned the values of the movement. Even today, students are trapped in a personal circle and comfort zone. Likewise, in the effort to intervene in the conversion of hill land, students have minimally conducted academic studies and debated the ecological value of urban development. The movement that emerged today at the level of campus external organizations has not been able to encourage change or suppress the practice of hill land conversion, so that the practice of exploiting hill land is currently increasingly intensive and massive.

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