

EXPERIENCE OF COMMUNICATION IN LAND ACQUISITION OF WEST SUMATRA TOLL ROAD DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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A B S T R A C T

The West Sumatra toll road project that connects the city of Padang with Pekanbaru is not running smoothly. The project, which commenced construction in 2020, is experiencing serious problems in land acquisition because it will eliminate productive lands and settlements. People whose lands are intended to be used as toll road bodies refuse for various reasons, including the amount of compensation that is considered not commensurate with their losses. This research is focus about communication between the Government as the party responsible for land acquisition and the community. The research was conducted inductively with a phenomenological approach. The analysis begins by gathering the experience of community communication with the Government in land acquisition and project work. The experience is reduced to three phenomenological reductions: epoche, eidetic, and transcendental. The results of this study are 1) communication between government agencies responsible for land acquisition and the community is at the lowest level, 2) government agencies reduce community resistance due to low compensation even though on the community side the problem is much more complex because it involves the sustainability of economic activities based on agriculture, the obligation to maintain heritage and cultural identity.

INTRODUCTION

Conflicts related to infrastructure development, particularly public road construction projects, have been a recurring issue in West Sumatra. In 1988, when the Padang City Government acquired land for the construction of the Padang-Bypass road, the Government made arrangements for the control and use of land affected by road construction. Compensation is set only for buildings and plants that must undergo cleaning.

In a long-time scenario, the Government can break resistance and reduce the dissatisfaction of the land-owning community.

However, in 2012 when the Government continued the project to expand the Bypass road from two lanes to four lanes with a length of 25.1 kilometers, resistance from the community resurfaced against land acquisition efforts. People began to mention that the land consolidation issue in 1990 had not been completed, such as compensation which was only for buildings and plants affected by development projects (Rama, 2018; Andria 2018).

The same problem in road construction, namely the lack of smooth community land acquisition efforts will still occur until 2021,

when the Central Government organizes the Padang-Pekanbaru toll road construction project. Cases of land acquisition due to the absence of a common understanding and agreement between the landowner community and the Government caused the toll road project to experience serious problems and was eventually suspended for the time being.

At the theoretical level communication should be able to reduce the risk (Fakhrudin, et al. 2020) of failure of infrastructure projects, because with good communication people can arrive at the same point of view and understanding which then transforms into cooperation. Therefore, communication plays a very important role in the effort to achieve the success of infrastructure development projects -- in this case the construction of the West Sumatra toll road.

Chatra (2020) in his research on the dynamics of contractor and public communication, describes the ability of contractors to communicate effectively which determines the success of infrastructure projects. Incorrect communication and information result in poor performance and construction projects which in general, greatly affect the environment of the community around the landowner in infrastructure development.

At the national level, the communication factor is also a problem that is closely related to the quality of infrastructure. In early 2019 the World Bank issued a statement that the quality of Indonesia's infrastructure was of low quality. The CNN reporter (2019) reports that the World Bank believes that the government and stakeholders do not have good coordination (in infrastructure development) thus creating confusion for investors. "They are not sure who to communicate with and who will ensure the government's commitment to mobilizing infrastructure project funds."

Although it is well realized that communication plays an important role in infrastructure projects, academic studies that are seriously carried out by communication science students related to this issue are very minimal. To overcome this scarcity, in the last two years ago the researcher and several communication science students have conducted studies to study in detail the processes, characteristics, power relations and causes of the stagnation of

infrastructure development projects in West Sumatra from the perspective of communication science, more specifically: Public Relations studies.

Public Relations has the task of managing a large domain, namely persuasive communication with the public as the public. Within this domain are several segments of praxis such as government relations, media relations, community relations, government affairs, industrial relations, employee/member relations which emphasizes that communication plays a very important role in efforts to achieve successful project work.

Efforts to explore and narrate community experiences and analyze potential domains to get an idea of how communication occurs in project implementation is a continuation of previous studies. From previous studies, researchers have been able to build thinking constructions about what infrastructure project managers should do so that conflicts do not occur that hinder the achievement of project goals. With this construction, the researcher is of the view that ideally the Government is the party that plays the main role in the use of persuasive communication to various parties involved in project implementation, both to contractors and to communities who are directly or indirectly affected by the development project.

Communication in the perspective of Public Relations is a power to turn resistance into support, but in practice supported by credible data from previous research, it is known that communication can often lead to stronger resistance because it does not use the right strategy. By using such a perspective, the stagnation of the West Sumatra toll road construction can give birth to the assumption that communication between the government and the community has not succeeded in reducing resistance and conflict. The success of the project implementing contractor in completing the Duku – Kasang section, Padang Pariaman Regency does not prove the success of the Government's communication with the community because the first is very short compared to the target to be achieved. Second, the researcher also obtained data on the involvement of armed forces in carrying out

repressive actions that forced the community to give up their productive land.

In this study, the researchers focused their attention on the experience of community communication with the government as a land provider for toll projects. The communication experience contains a transcendent meaning that has an important contribution to the way of thinking, feeling and understanding the phenomenon that is the object of the experience. Even the experience of communication can be a trigger for several subjective actions that cause social problems. This understanding of the experience of communication is used by researchers as a starting point for reaching conclusions that are useful for practical activities.

In accordance with the thoughts above, the main question of this research is 'how is the communication experience of the people affected by the West Sumatra toll road project with the government so that it creates resistance which causes the project to slow down and be stopped'?

Literature Review

Alphan's research (2018) in Erdemli, Turkey proves that the opening of new roads causes agricultural activities to develop very quickly. On the other hand, the opening of new roads can have a negative impact on environmental ecosystems and even climate change, as happened in the Amazon (Perz et al, 2008). With the new roads, people have greater access to locations where natural resources can be exploited, causing extensive environmental damage.

For West Sumatra, the opening of new roads connecting rural areas with urban areas shows a significant impact on agricultural activities. Farmers can sell their products to various cities and even to other provinces. Since the beginning of independence, perhaps even earlier, until now agricultural products such as rice, coconut, vegetables are the main commodities of West Sumatran farmers flowing to the provinces of Riau, Jambi, Bengkulu, etc. The same line of thought is also used in the context of the construction of the West Sumatra – Riau toll road. The government hopes that the toll road can boost the competitiveness of products in Riau and West Sumatra. The

government also hopes that logistics and community mobility can increase (Rizky, 2021).

Theoretically, toll roads will also benefit from the development side of the tourism industry. Smooth transportation is very influential on tourist visits in Nigeria (Musa & Ndawayo, 2011). Kanwala et al (2020) research on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) also proves that toll roads can increase tourism activities in both China and Pakistan.

METHOD

This research is an inductive qualitative method with a phenomenological approach based on Edmund Husserl's framework. Through this approach, the researcher makes the experience of the subject as the main data which is then reduced according to the phenomenological reduction framework (epoche, eidetic and transcendental). The results of the research are in the form of the most meaningful thought domains from the subject's awareness, which can be used by the Government to organize the concept of communication with the community so that the construction of toll roads gets maximum support from the community.

The research involves three primary subject groups. The first group consist of community landowners who are involved as a community that is converted as an agency or part of the toll road agency. The second group comprises community leaders from areas affected by the toll road project. The third group includes government officials responsible for the planning and execution of the West Sumatra–Riau toll road construction project.

The location of this research is in the area where the West Sumatra toll road development project has passed, starting from Km 0 in Padang Pariaman Regency (Nagari Kasang) to the end point of the West Sumatra toll road construction area bordering Riau (Nagari Koto Baru Simalanggang, Koto Tangah Simalanggang, Taeh Baruah, Lubuak Batingkok and Harau) in Limapuluh Kota regency.

The researcher used a semi-structured interview technique: the researcher asked the subjects questions that were not too tied to the interview guide without losing the focus of the research. This type of interview gives freedom to researchers to explore information and

subject experiences related to communication in the case of land acquisition for the West Sumatra toll road construction project. In accordance with the phenomenological approach, the researcher applies the bracketing principle to knowledge and prejudice (Ashworth, 1999; Chan et al, 2013; Amal, 2019; Dörfler & Stierand, 2020) so that communication experience data containing essential awareness of the subject can flow without being polluted by the researcher's beliefs. Husserl (in Moustakas, 1994) calls bracketing the term *epoche*.

There are two types of interviews conducted. First, direct interviews were conducted with community landowners, village guardians, and community leaders. The two written interviews were conducted to obtain data from the officials responsible for toll road land acquisition.

In addition, researchers also conducted field observations, observing directly the toll road project in Nagari Kasang which had been completed. When the researchers observed the development activities had stopped because the Ministry of PUPR had decided to postpone the project implementation.

The narrative of the subject's communication experience was analyzed with three stages of Husserl's phenomenological reduction, namely *epoche*, *eidetic* and *transcendental reduction*. (Moustakas, 1994; Smith, J. A. et al, 2009; Alase, 2017)). *Epoche* reduction or bracketing is an attempt to purify data from various elements that are considered irrelevant, including the assumptions and beliefs of the researcher. In *eidetic* reduction, analysis is carried out to obtain various important concepts hidden in the subject's communication experience. With *transcendental reduction*, the researcher further interprets the various concepts found and determines the level of meaning of these concepts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the government's rhetoric, toll roads have a very important role for the survival of the community; The toll road is a freeway that will later support the economy of the community around the road location. In West Sumatra the toll road construction project has been running since 2019 but the land acquisition process,

which is the main factor that has stalled the construction of toll roads until the end of 2021, has not been completed. The most prominent problem in land acquisition is that the land price measured by the Appraisal Team is too small, causing conflict between the Government and the people whose land is occupied. In addition, the landowners did not entirely agree to land acquisition even though they were given compensation. The government's rhetoric cannot smooth the land acquisition effort.

1) Chronology of Land Acquisition Conflict for West Sumatra Toll Project

Infrastructure development is one of the main national development programs of the Central government. Planning for this development program is regulated in Presidential Regulation Number 58 of 2017, concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects. This regulation describes 248 national strategic infrastructure projects, which are spread throughout Indonesia. One of these projects is the construction of toll roads in several parts of Indonesia.

The Padang-Pekanbaru toll road project is a toll road construction that connects two provinces: West Sumatra and Riau. This project is called the West Sumatra toll road project because its zero point is located in Padang Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra. The end point lies on the border of the two provinces.

This development has undergone several alignment changes. The changes are detailed in the report of the Committee for the Acceleration of Priority Infrastructure Provision (KPPIP) Semester 2 of 2018 which explains the decrees of the Governor of West Sumatra as the legal basis for the changes. The decrees consist of, first, the Decree of the Governor of West Sumatra No. 620-831-2017 concerning the location of the 27 km Padang-Sicincin route. Second, Decree No. 620-80- 2018 Governor of West Sumatra regarding the determination of the location for land acquisition for the construction of the Padang-Sicincin toll road.

The Governor's Decrees became the basis for determining the location of the land acquisition phase 1 along the 4.2 km Sta 0+000 s/d 4+200, while the Sta 4+200 - 28+00 route is currently being drafted. Third, the determination of the location for the second phase of 32.4 km

Sta 4+200 - 36+600 as stated in the West Sumatra Governor's Decree Number 620-256-2020 concerning the determination of the location for land acquisition for the Kapalo Hilalang - Sicincin - Lubuk Alung - Padang toll road section.

The construction of the Padang-Pekanbaru toll road is one of the stages of development, in the plan for the construction of the Trans Sumatra Toll Road (JTTS). This project is planned to stretch from north to south of Sumatra Island, connecting all provinces on the island of Sumatra, starting from Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province and ending in Lampung Province. The Padang-Pekanbaru toll road is one of the segments, which is a priority for development. This is stated in the Letter of the Minister of PUPR KU.09.01-Mn/784 which states that there are three additional sections, namely (1) Medan-Banda Aceh, (2) Padang-Pekanbaru, and (3) Tebing Tinggi-Parapat. The 240 km Padang-Pekanbaru Toll Road is divided into two toll roads. The construction consists of several stages, namely the Pekanbaru-Bangkinang-Payakumbuh-Bukittinggi Toll Road (185 km) and the Bukittinggi-Padang Panjang-Lubuk Alung-Padang Toll Road (80 km).

The construction process of the 244 km Padang-Pekanbaru toll road is targeted to be completed in 2023. The start of the construction of the first toll road in West Sumatra was marked by the declaration of the construction of Section I of the 28 km Padang-Sicincin segment by President Joko Widodo in Padang Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra. The investment required to build the Padang-Pekanbaru toll road is Rp. 78.09 trillion with a completion target of five years (2018-2023). The high investment cost is due to the long distance and five tunnels will be built with a total length of 8.95 km that penetrate the Bukit Barisan mountains.

The Padang-Pekanbaru toll road as a whole will consist of 5 sections: Section 1 Padang-Sicincin (28 km) at a cost of Rp. 4.88 trillion, Section 2 Sicincin-Payakumbuh (78 km) at a cost of Rp. 32.93 trillion, Section 3 Payakumbuh-Bakalan (45 km) at a cost of Rp. 15.47 trillion, Section 4 Pangkalan-Bangkinang (56 km) at a cost of Rp. 18.86 trillion and

Section 5 Bangkinang-Pekanbaru (37 km) at a cost of Rp. 5.95 trillion.

The Padang - Bukittinggi - Pekanbaru toll road is included in the National Strategic Project and is part of the 24 Trans Sumatra Toll Road sections implemented through the Government's assignment to PT Hutama Karya as stipulated in Presidential Regulation Number 117 of 2015 concerning amendments to Presidential Regulation Number 100 of 2014 concerning Acceleration of Toll Road Development in Sumatra. The Padang - Sicincin toll road section will pass through 5 sub-districts and 15 Nagari in the Padang Pariaman Regency area. In the process of constructing the Padang-Sicincin toll road section, it will be divided into two stages, namely stage 1 along the 0-4.2 km and stage 2 along the 4.2-36 km.

Three years after it was inaugurated by President Joko Widodo on February 9, 2018, the implementation of the construction of the Padang-Sicincin toll road section has not shown maximum results due to disagreements between the community and the toll road operator. Some of the problems that trigger tensions relate to compensation and the determination of toll road routes that will have an impact on customary land, productive land, and community settlements.

2) Experience of Community Communication with Government as Project Operator

a. Phenomenon 1: Nagari Kasang, Padang Pariaman Regency

Initially, the research team interviewed the Head (Wali) Nagari Kasang, Batang Anai District, Padang Pariaman Regency. Through Wali Nagari Kasang, the team learned that there were complicated problems in the case of the West Sumatra toll road construction. Kasang is the village where the construction of the West Sumatra toll road began. In the following, the results of the epoche reduction carried out on transcripts of interviews with research subjects in Nagari Kasang are presented.

The current Wali Nagari Kasang, Dasman, is a one who has only been inaugurated a few months. Previously he was an employee at the Batang Anai sub-district office. He was appointed wali nagari to replace the previous wali nagari who died without an election. The problem is, there is not a single resident of

Nagari Kasang who has run to replace the dead nagari guardian. Because he has just taken office, of course, the toll road problem has arisen since Dasman has not served as Wali Nagari Kasang.

According to Dasman, the problems related to this toll road include land acquisition which is not based on a clear agreement with the community who owns the land. While the land used is productive land for agriculture. The construction of toll roads in these productive areas also raises new unresolved problems: the lack of drainage channels to control waterlogging around the toll roads and the possibility of contamination of rice fields directly adjacent to the toll road. These problems were confirmed by the Wali Nagari Kasang himself. According to him, the area that is now prone to flooding previously had a low topography, so it has the potential to become a place for puddles to form.

Wali Nagari Kasang said that the irrigation canals built around the toll road were very small and not sufficient to manage the flow of water flowing from hilly areas. The current irrigation canals are not built in the right places, where water is prone to puddles. When it rains for a long time, the rice fields located between the hills and the toll road will be flooded like a lake. As a result, the rice fields can no longer be planted by farmers. We calculated using a Google Map that the area that was inundated and could no longer be used was not less than 2 x 1 km or 200 hectares.

During his tenure as *wali nagari*, Dasman has never met and communicated with either the Government (in this case the Department of Public Works and Spatial Planning of the Province of West Sumatra), contractors (PT Hutama Karya [Persero]) or other parties related to the construction of toll roads. He was only ever visited by someone who claimed to be a project consultant to ask for a signature on a file, but he was not willing to fulfill the request because he did not understand and was afraid that he would accept certain risks if the file was signed.

From Wali Nagari Dasman, the researcher received information about complaints from members of the Kasang Customary Density (KAN) who also never communicated with the toll road project manager. In fact, there is a lot

of land that is used as a toll road with the status of communal land, and therefore land acquisition should be discussed with the *niniak mamak* who are gathered in the KAN organization.

This is in accordance with the results of interviews with several residents around the Nagari Kasang toll road construction area; Musrida (pseudo name) is one of the residents who lives near the toll road that has been built, female, 58 years old. According to Musrida, the construction of the toll road has caused the rice fields around the toll road to no longer be harvested properly. He himself lost his field and he had never received compensation of Rp 45,000/m². Musrida confirmed that the toll road section in Kasang itself was built on the residents' productive land in the form of rice fields. The construction of the toll road also causes residents who want to go to the fields to have to pass a longer road than before the construction of the toll road. When the research team came to Musrida's residence, which is close to one of the toll roads, there were toll construction materials such as piles of concrete blocks. It can be seen that the toll road section near Musrida's residence will still be continued but is experiencing problems. Regarding this, Musrida said as follows:

"I'm the one who forbids it to continue. Land has not been paid..... land here will only be paid Rp. 45,000 per meter.... too cheap compared to the value of my land."

Musrida also said that during the construction of the toll road he also had to feel the contamination of his home environment by dust and sand from the construction as well as the noise and strong vibrations caused by the backfilling process and the erection of piles near his house. Meanwhile, he felt that the compensation promised by the toll road builder was not commensurate with the impact he received from the construction.

Musrida also said that the previous nagari mayor did not accommodate the aspirations of the people affected by the toll road construction. He once protested to the wali nagari, but got an answer that made him emotional. Musrida suspected that the nagari guardian had conspired with the road builder. The start of construction of the toll road near Musrida's house made the rice fields and *parak* (gardens) around his house

leveled. According to Musrida, at that time the action on his land was accompanied by the arrival of hundreds of Brimob members. Musrida never spoke to the 'commander' (in charge of implementation) of the project. He only talked to project workers who claimed to be just doing their job. Who was the 'commander' he meant he couldn't even explain.

Another subject in this study is a Muslim (pseudo name), a 46 year old male, a resident near a toll road construction area that is prone to flooding. According to Muslim, if it rains heavily, the area where he lives can experience severe flooding.

"I am one of the victims affected by the toll road construction near here. The area around my house is more prone to flooding,"

Muslim explained that before the toll road was built, his house area was quite often flooded, especially when it rained heavily and for a long time. However, the flood level has never been higher than an adult's calf. Since the toll road crosses not far from his house, the floods can reach the waists of adults and even higher. Certain parts of his residence suffered heavy damage due to the strong impact of the water.

Not only Muslim homes and other homes in the area were damaged by the high floods, but also schools and community shops. People, according to Muslims, complain a lot about the situation but they don't know who to complain to. He has never met the party responsible for the toll road project. In our observations in the field, there were signs of flooding in various buildings. Some of the houses appear to have been deliberately abandoned by their occupants and have been badly damaged.

b. Phenomenon 2: Nagari - Nagari in Limapuluh Kota Regency

One of the plans for the construction of the Padang-Pekanbaru toll road section 4 will cross five villages in the Limapuluh Kota Regency, namely Nagari Koto Baru Simalanggang, Koto Tengah Simalanggang, Taeh Baruah, Lubuak Batingkok, and Gurun. Because it will cross a residential area, 539 houses will be affected, including traditional houses. It is estimated that more than 2,000 residents will accept the risk. In these nagari, at least 15 *pasukuan* (tribal-based communities)

are threatened with loss of *pusako* (heritage) land in the form of rice fields, fields and graveyards (*pandam*), namely:

1. 6 *pasukuan* in Nagari Lubuak Batingkok
2. 4 *pasukuan* in Nagari Koto Baru Simalanggang
3. 2 *pasukuan* in Nagari Koto Tengah Simalanggang
4. 2 *pasukuan* in Nagari Taeh Baruah
5. 1 *pasukuan* in Nagari Gurun

In order to respond to the planned toll road construction in their area, a number of local community activists formed a forum for deliberation for the nagari children called the *Forum Masyarakat Terdampak Pembangunan Tol* (Forum for the Affected Community of Toll Development, abbreviated FORMAT). Through FORMAT, the community asked the Limapuluh Kota Regency government to transfer the Padang-Pekanbaru toll road construction route to the Payakumbuh-Pangkalan section. The same request was also conveyed by the nagari guardians from the five nagari.

We obtained research data for the five nagari from subjects who are mayors of the nagari, heads of KAN (Nagari Customary Council) and community leaders or activists. In a different narrative, basically everything we interviewed said that the people of the five nagari did not reject the construction of toll roads because the construction was under the authority of the government. The path that will cross their nagari is not the only route available and planned. There are still other paths that do not pass through settlements, one of which is the path that circles the waist of Mount Sago.

FORMAT Secretary, Ezi Fitriana said that the impact that will be felt by the community due to the construction of the toll road is quite large because it sacrifices a lot of productive land owned by residents. In accordance with the interview excerpt with Ezi as follows:

"The five nagari agreed to refuse if the toll road construction was continued on the *pusako* land, because it would not only have an economic impact but also on cultural identity. *Pusako* shows who we are. If we lose it, our identity will also be lost."

Ezi also said that FORMAT had recorded residents in five villages affected by the toll

road construction who rejected the construction of the Payakumbuh-Pangkalan section of the toll road passing through their area. On the other hand, FORMAT has tried to build communication with the Provincial Government of West Sumatra and Limapuluh Kota Regency so that people's productive lands are not sacrificed for the construction of toll roads. However, all the steps taken have not been able to produce a decision that is in accordance with the aspirations of the community.

The socialization of the toll road construction to the people of the five nagari was carried out in 2019 and 2020 by officials of the Limapuluh Kota Regency. The public immediately objected. However, the minutes of the socialization activities were hidden by the organizers so that the public did not know how the organizers reported to their superiors.

On the initiative of Walhi, which is the companion of FORMAT, in September 2020, a hearing was held between the project manager, the 'community' and the West Sumatra DPRD. According to Ezi, the hearing was strange because what was presented were residents who accepted the plan for a toll road passing through the five nagari, and these residents were actually not natives. They are immigrants who do have a house in one of the villages. Ezi himself as a FORMAT delegate was not introduced to the hearing, but was finally able to enter as a passive participant with the help of Walhi. Ezi did not know who represented the 'community representatives' who actually did not deserve to represent the indigenous people of the five nagari. According to Ezi,

“It seems that the community is deliberately playing against one another so that they don't have one voice. We have warned residents not to accept any gifts with the aim of changing the deal.”

In October 2020, the Fourth Commission of the House of Representatives of the West Sumatera (DPRD Sumatera Barat) came and gathered people from Nagari Koto Baru Simalanggang. The meeting was attended by officials of the Toll Road Business Entity (BUJT), Bina Marga, Walhi and consultants PT Hutama Karya (Persero). During the meeting, the Nagari community again requested that the route be transferred.

According to the research subjects, objections to the project plan across the five nagari did not only come from the community. One of the construction companies involved in the construction of the Payakumbuh-Pangkalan toll road has conducted an assessment of the soil structure and said that the route that passes through the five nagari will eventually pass through an active fault around Harau, so there is a risk of causing a hazard if the construction of the toll road in the route continues, because Active fault areas have a high chance of causing earthquakes. However, the Limapuluh Kota Regency Government insisted on choosing a route that crossed the five nagari.

Efforts by FORMAT and the nagari guardian groups from the five nagari to establish communication with the District Head of Limapuluh Kota Regency have not yielded encouraging results at all. The regent is closed and is not willing to communicate directly. The nagari guardians have twice written to the Regent, asking for a meeting to be held, but have received no response. Disappointment with the Regent's attitude caused the nagari guardians to threaten to file a complaint with the Ombudsman.

3) Eidetic Reduction: Outstanding Thought Points

The eidetic reduction is the 'second stage screening' which is carried out after the epoche reduction has been carried out. The aim of eidetic reduction is to discover important concepts from the subject's experience of communication with the Government. Thus, the output of eidetic reduction is a list of concepts that will be analyzed again in the transcendental reduction stage. The concepts that researchers can explore from the experience of the subject are as follows: Disclaimer, Manipulation, Fighting, Compensation, and Zero Communication

4) The Transcendental Meaning of Toll Roads for the Community

Transcendental reduction is the last phenomenological reduction that researchers do to the experience of the subject. Transcendental reduction is the researcher's interpretation of the concepts that have been found in eidetic

reduction, to get the most meaningful concepts from the experience of the research subject.

Compensation is indeed an important part of the subject's communication experience with the Government as the project owner. In fact, the amount of compensation was not determined through deliberation to reach consensus, causing most of the residents whose land was taken to feel that they were not given the opportunity to express their aspirations. Some feel that the compensation is too small, compared to the productivity of the land they have. With little compensation they can no longer buy land for farming.

However, the question of compensation is not the most meaningful concept of the subject's communication experience. The most meaningful concept is the absence of communication (zero communication). The government does not provide sufficient space for deliberation and negotiation with the community, even though the issue of land acquisition is not only a matter of compensation. Land acquisition also means destroying identity if the land is *pusako* land which is a marker of tribal existence. Without the *pusako* land, the *sako* also loses its meaning, because the *sako* functions as an instrument to manage the *pusako*.

CONCLUSIONS

The construction of the trans-Sumatra toll road is currently one of the largest development projects in West Sumatra. This project had various problems during the construction of the toll road project, ranging from land acquisition to the stagnation of the construction of the toll road project itself. The complexity is difficult to overcome because communication between the Government in charge of providing land with the land-owning communities does not run smoothly and effectively. Communication in this process is expected to lead to common understanding and views, which will later be transformed into good cooperation. The communication process plays a very important role in achieving success in the construction of the West Sumatra toll road project.

The Government Public Relations does not show its role in the implementation of the West Sumatra toll road development project, even though it is this institution that should be able to

In our transcendental analysis the concept of lack of communication is the most important or most meaningful concept of the subject's communication experience. The meaning of the absence of communication is not just the absence of exchange of messages between the communicator and the communicant so that there is no mutual understanding and understanding, let alone cooperation. Moreover, the lack of communication hides the desire of one party not to shift from the ideas they have. It is feared that communication will cause pressure to change one's mind, and that change has certain risks to the interests of one of the parties.

With the ineffectiveness of the subject's communication with the government, various suspicions were born that could strengthen resistance to toll road development policies. The suspicions are related to, among other things, a conflict of interest by government officials who are rumored to own land in a certain trace, which is of great benefit if the land is acquired. People suspect that the desire to get big profits is what drives the official to insist on choosing a certain route and build negative narratives against other routes so that they don't become an option.

handle communication problems; disseminate information and hold open dialogues not only with land owners but also with involved and affected communities around the project environment, such as housing residents who are threatened with flooding, exposed to dust, disturbed by sounds etc. The Government Public Relations should also be able to become a liaison between the community and contractors, so that the communication process between the two can run well. In this context, the Government Public Relations acts as a mediator to overcome issues and crises that arise as a result of project implementation.

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