

MARGINALIZATION OF FISHERMEN FROM UTILIZING COASTAL AREA AFTER RECLAMATION AT SERANGAN SUBDISTRICT, DENPASAR, BALI

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ABSTRACT

Geographically, Serangan Subdistrict, South Denpasar District, Bali Province, used to be separated from the Bali's mainland. However, now it is not isolated any longer after a bridge was constructed and reclamation was conducted by the Bali Turtle Island (abbreviated to BTID) in 1996. At that time 379 hectares of the coastal areas were victimized. The investor's existence and the other businesses utilizing the coastal areas as their operating areas physically changed them, which were entirely coastal. It was this which was directly and indirectly responsible for marginalizing the fishermen. In relation to that, how the fishermen at Serangan subdistrict were marginalized from utilizing the coastal areas after being reclaimed was the focus of the present study. Qualitative method and the approach of cultural studies were used in the present study. The data were collected through observation, in-depth interview, and documentary study. The data were descriptively, qualitatively and interpretatively analyzed.

To sum up, the present study showed that there were several forms of marginalization undergone by the fishermen at Serangan Subdistrict after reclamation; they were marginalized from utilizing the coastal environment; economic difficulty resulting from the fact that the sources of fish were getting scarce causing their income to go down; and their powerlessness in overcoming the problem they encountered to improve their standard of living.

Keywords: marginalization, fishermen, utilization of the coastal areas, after reclamation.

INTRODUCTION

The globalization era which is triggered by the progress in science and technology has caused cultures to spread from one country to another rapidly. Appadurai (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2011: 598) state that globalization is characterized by ethnoscape, technoscape, mediascape, finanscape, and ideoscape.

Bali, as one of the international tourist destinations, cannot be avoided from globalization. As a result, Bali has transformed from the agriculture-based primary economic culture to services-oriented tertiary economic culture especially tourism (Pitana, 1994: 96). The glorification of the culture of money as the impact of global capitalism can be observed from the comodification taking place in every aspect of life, including the utilization of coastal areas for various interests.

The existence of Serangan subdistrict, which used to be separated from the mainland of Bali, is not isolated any longer after it was reclaimed and after the bridge which connects the two islands was constructed by PT Bali Turtle Island Development (BTID). The reclamation,

which was intended to develop tourist area, has caused Serangan Island to be four times wider than before; it used to be 112 hectares wide but now it is 450 hectares wide (Suparta, 1998: 163). The existence of BTID, as the investor, has caused the physical condition of Serangan Subdistrict, which used to be entirely coastal, to change. As a comparison, it can be stated that before it was reclaimed the fishermen totaled 1017 (BPS, 1990). Now they only total 94 and spread in several groups of fishermen named *Cipta Mana Karya* and *Karya Segera*. The reclamation has also been responsible for the decrease in the amount of the coastal area by 379 hectares which has supported their livelihood (Bali Post, 9 September 2012: p. 1, column 4). The decrease in the sources of fish in the coastal area resulting from the reclamation has caused the fishermen to be marginalized.

Based on the background described above, the problem in the present study is how the marginalization of the fishermen after the reclamation was like. The present study was intended to understand in depth the marginalization of the fishermen after the coastal area of Serangan Subdistrict was utilized for different interests. It was expected that the result of the present study would widen the scientific insight into the community of fishermen from the perspective cultural studies. It was also expected that the present study would give critical understanding of the phenomenon related to the functional shift of the coastal area to the public.

RESEARCH METHOD

This present study was aimed at giving understanding of why the fishermen were marginalized. The study was conducted at Serangan Subdistrict, South Denpasar District, Denpasar City, Bali. The reason why the study was conducted here was that many fishermen had changed their profession. They were marginalized from utilizing the coastal area; in addition, there was a high mobility of people who intended to utilize the coastal area for various interests.

The informants were purposively determined, meaning that the subject of the study was selected based on particular requirements. One of the requirements was that the selected informants should be knowledgeable of and experienced in the things related to the title of the study (Zuriah, 2005: 124). The main instrument in the present study was the researcher himself equipped with a guide of interview. In addition, a digital camera, a tape recorder, and some writing equipment were also used. The data were collected through observation, in-depth interview and documentary study. The in-depth interview was held by questioning and answering between the interviewer and the informants with or without interview guide (Bungin,

2010: 108). The documentary study was used to obtain the secondary data by tracing various types of information from journals, magazines, books, internets, and other sources.

The data were analyzed by systematically composing various results of observations, interviews and documents. The data were descriptively and qualitatively analyzed while the study was being conducted through the following steps; the data were reduced, presented, and interpreted and then conclusions were drawn.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The developmental process which was only intended to acquire economic growth and which was anthropocentrically oriented was responsible for any environmental damage. The anthropocentric opinion that human beings might exploit environment as they liked contributed to such a condition (Keraf, 2002: 33).

The fact that there were particular parties which intended to utilize the coastal area for the interests which were not in accordance with what it should have been used for caused the environment to be degraded and the fishermen to be marginalized from their activities. The area of the mangrove forest decreased and the fishermen found it difficult to earn their living from the coastal area. It was difficult for the fishermen to find places where they could anchor their canoes as such places were also used by the other parties for the businesses they ran such as the cultivation of fish using floating 'karamba', water sports, dolphin show, and other activities. The places where the fishermen usually anchored their canoes were also used as the places where other types of sea transport were anchored.

After the reclamation various businesses were run, making Serangan not only a tourist destination for domestic tourists but also for foreign tourists. This caused the fishermen to be getting marginalized. In relation to that, Bourdieu (in Harker, 2009: 13) stated that a competition in capital among individuals and groups who utilized the coastal area caused the community of fishermen to be marginalized. The fishermen, with the habitus they had and the life experience inherited from generation to generation, had a clear concept that the beach was theirs. With respect to the economic, social and capital capitals they had, they were extremely poor as could be observed from the fish catching equipment and the means of transport they used. From the point of view of human resources, most of them graduated from elementary school; further, some never went to school. As a consequence, the social network with a wider access to any political or governmental institution was extremely limited.

They were different from the investors who already had sufficient sources of capital for fighting for the natural resources available at Serangan Subdistrict. Their way of thinking was

different from the fishermen's way of thinking as to how to treat the beach. According to the investors, the beach had a promising economic potential which could be developed as a tourist attraction. The powerlessness in the competition caused the coastal community which was dominated by the fishermen to be getting more marginalized.

Historically, the BTID, as the investor, entered Serangan in 1996 with its reclamation project. The project tended to physically change what Serangan looked like; as a result, it also affected the coastal community especially the fishermen. The reclamation, which was done by scraping and burying the coastal area caused many parts of the mangrove forest and the ridge of rock exposed at low tide '*terumbu karang*' to get extinct, which, in fact, played important roles as the sources of fish for the community of fishermen. As a consequence, the sources of their income declined as it was getting more difficult to catch fish to support their livelihood (Suryawan, 2013: 118). In relation to that, the fishermen were forced to sail across the ocean to catch fish as fish was getting scarce in the coastal area.

Bourdieu (in Fashri, 2007: 27) stated that capital played an important role in determining the social position of any community. The capital might be economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Such types of capital could be exchanged for one another; as a result, those who had more types of capital would be dominant in the community. According to Satria (2009: 340), such a condition would be in accordance with the materialism which described that a community was made up of the components of infrastructure and suprastructure. As far as the domain of fishermen is concerned, infrastructure refers to the ownership of production tools, and suprastructure refers to the socio-political aspect. Then such infrastructure will affect or determine the existing suprastructure; however, the vice versa does not work. This means that the only economic strength which will determine the social life of a community.

The life of the community of fishermen at Serangan Subdistrict was still far from what was expected, especially if viewed from the limited economic, social and cultural capitals they had. Such a limitation did not allow them to compete against the other parties which had bigger capitals. Such a condition affected the groups of the fishermen as could be observed from their powerlessness in overcoming the difficulties their members had. They were highly dependent on the other parties that gave them assistance in the forms of facilities and so forth. Such dependence could inflict them, as the assistance given by the other parties was intended to dominate the fishermen.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

The marginalization the fishermen at *Serangan* Subdistrict faced related to the utilization of the coastal area after the reclamation included the marginalization in the utilization of the coastal environment, the economic difficulty as the sources of fish were getting scarce, and their powerlessness in overcoming the difficulties they underwent.

As a phenomenon, it is suggested that the practices applied by the parties that utilized the coastal area which could inflict the community of fishermen should be further explored. In addition, it was expected that the result of the present study could motivate the fishermen to behave critically towards any decision which will utilize the coastal area so that it will not inflict themselves and environment.

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