

## TRANSFORMATION OF FISHERMEN'S CULTURE POST RECLAMATION OF PT. BTID IN SERANGAN, DENPASAR

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### ABSTRACT

Serangan island fishermen were known as great sailors. They sailed outside Bali and were known as fresh fish producers. They could produce fresh fish only around the island. The catch, usually sold by women in traditional markets and door to door. But since PT. BTID conducted reclamation in the 1990s, the life of Serangan fishermen was not like its heyday. Fish-seeking areas are narrow because of damage to marine ecosystem. Even parking the boat has been limited because some beaches previously owned by Serangan people now belong to PT. BTID is not permitted to enter. As a result, they parked boats anywhere and are now looking for fish around Sanur or Nusa Dua. The sea is no longer the main source of life. Many young people are no longer fishermen, their parents switch professions, become parking and security guards, and sell seaweed and shellfish. But the new profession does not guarantee their lives. Cultural transformation is being experienced by fishermen, to change their perspective of sea. Making Serangan as a departure dock for tourists to Lembongan or Lombok and Turtle Park as a tourist icon are some of the results of cultural transformation in the lives of Serangan community.

Keywords: Cultural transformation, Serangan Fishermen, BTID.

### INTRODUCTION

In an oral story that is often heard from generation to generation, Serangan has a folk story is posted as a vomit of a golden Garuda bird, so this small island is also often called Pulo Mas which inspired Dang Hyang Nirartha to establish the very famous Sakenan Temple. But there are also several other stories. For example, this island is located in a sloping or *nyirang* area so it is called *sirangan*. Considering its location, some people who are first on the island are believed to be experiencing spatial disorientation. The island is called Serangan also because of the sad story that accompanies it. As a small island that seems isolated from the city of Denpasar, only about 3 km apart from a small strait, many people who see it from a distance feel compassion. In Balinese language it is stated with *siraangen* or anyone who will pity. Over time the word *sira angen* became Serangan as it is known today.

In addition to the story and myth above, Serangan is also known as Pulau Penyu or The Turtle Island, not only because of its shape that resembles the body of a turtle but along its coast it is the best place for turtles to lay their eggs. As a result, turtles had become a commodity that was traded, consumed and used for ceremonial purposes. For decades until the 2000s, Serangan fishermen were also known to carry out turtle hunting. With the issuance of Circular Number: 526/Men-Kp/VIII/2015 Regarding the Implementation of Protection of Turtles, Eggs, Body Parts, and/or Derivative Products by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, illegal hunting of turtles is no longer carried out.

The main attraction of Serangan which used to be around 80 hectares was that the island was surrounded by sea with white sand along the coast which stretches from north, east to south of the island. The western part is filled with lush mangrove trees. Considering the small size of this island, when the tide at full moon arrives, when viewed from neighboring areas, such as Mertasari, Sanur or Tanjung Benoa, Serangan seems to be drowning. But this is precisely the uniqueness of Serangan Island which used to be very crowded by tourists using a *jukung* or an outrigger boat built by *bidak* or a sail. It is said that from the crowds of tourists

through this sea route, the term Sanur-Serangan-Nusa Dua as a golden triangle emerged as a marine tourism destination.

The introduction above is a romantic nostalgia, as Bali's exotic and premature past was portrayed by foreign researchers (Picard, 2006). Now the dramatic atmosphere has changed completely. The face of Serangan is not as beautiful as in the past. The 1990s were the beginning of this massive change with the entry of PT. Bali Turtle Island Development (BTID) as an investor reclaims the Eastern, Southern and Western parts of Serangan Island to more than 400 ha. With its master plan, PT. BTID is now in complete control of the beach which was once the pride of the people of Serangan, whereas based on the provisions of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2014 concerning Amendment to Law Number 27 of 2007 concerning Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands. The crucial problem is that the megaproject development plan has not been able to run for almost 30 years, and this has become a serious problem faced by the Serangan community.

As a result of the special reclamation to fishermen, it is not only material but also immaterial which drives cultural transformation, including the future of themselves, their grandchildren, and their perspective on the sea. This article wants to review how fishermen will deal with their new environment, similar to studies of the lives of fishermen who generally emphasize poverty and economic uncertainty, because of the life difficulties faced by fishermen and their families (Kusnadi 2000; Pretty et al. 2003; Widodo 2011 in Helmi and Satria, 2012: 68). This situation is caused by the relationship between the fishermen and their environment (coastal and sea) which is covered by a situation of uncertainty.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Post-Reclamation of Serangan Fishermen

The direct impact experienced by fishermen after the reclamation of Serangan is no longer a free place for small fishermen who depend their main source of life on the coast, something that is unique found in many reclaimed areas. Even on the coast, the people of Serangan while bathing in the sea returned home to bring fish, at least for daily cooking. Now there are not many stories that are so easy to "take" the fish on the edge of the sea. The cultures of *nyundih*, *nyaring*, *nyadeng*, *nyala* and *ngiid* no longer exist. Fishermen who sail to the sea now also can not get a satisfactory catch. Whereas fishermen, according to the Fisheries Act Number 45 of 2009 are people whose livelihood is fishing.

Whereas small fishermen are people whose livelihoods do fishing to meet the daily needs of life that use fishing vessels with the largest size of five gross tons (5GT). This limit indicates that the lives of fishermen depend directly on sea products (Mulyadi, 2007 in Helmi and Satria, 2012: 68-69). The results of the Adile's research, et al (n.d) in Wenang Village also showed that the socio-economic changes of fishermen families after reclamation had decreased compared to before the reclamation. The factor of change in the coastal environment is the main driver of the socio-economic changes of the fishing families. Damage to coral reefs that occur on the coast due to reclamation is felt by small fishermen, because as research by Puspitasari et al (n.d) the income of small fishermen can be greatly reduced if coral reefs are damaged (see the same thing Wagiu, 2011).

Mina Cipta Karya Village Unit Cooperative which has been a connector for the needs of fishermen has stagnated, the circulation of savings and credit were stuck, many members of the cooperative are inactive and stopped. Even though in Serangan there are at least 8 groups of fishermen, each group consisting of 30-40 fishermen. Informant I Nyoman Wirata, in the Mina Cipta Karya II Fishermen group that he leads now, there are only 20 fishermen who are still active out of 37 members. According to him, other fishing groups also suffered the same fate so they could no longer support the cooperative. However, fishermen have unique interaction characteristics in improving their welfare, for example through client patrons, middlemen or dependence on units such as cooperatives. Fargomeli (2014) in his research also found that fishermen in Tewil Village, East Halmahera cannot prosper if they do not have

capital to go to sea (see also Anwar, 2013; Syafrini, 2014; Juliantono and Munandar, 2016).

Wirata informant also said, due to the east coast to the south controlled by PT. BTID, fishermen are no longer able to park their *jukung* neatly, as seen in the Northern part of Serangan which is full of *jukung* of various sizes so that it seems irregular. The situation became more complicated when the mouth of the canal which penetrated in the north was opened so that there were no more beaches to park the *jukung* of fishermen, even though the opening of the canal had experienced resistance from residents. In addition to reclamation, Serangan was also "separated" by a canal that seemed to separate the Serangan Customary Village from the PT. BTID. As a result of the impact of this prolonged reclamation, the community, especially the Serangan fishermen, must also play an active and creative cultural strategy in order to survive, even switch professions even if they do. However, they must be able to adapt to this ecological change (see Helmi and Satria, 2012) again.

The Serangan Society did not become a passive and vacuum society, but instead continued to be active and creative. It seems they are responding to their past as a dialogue of life to meet their daily needs. When reclamation might be a disaster that makes it hopeless, but they continue to try to get up, even though their lives are not like before reclamation. There is a space of production, reproduction and transformation that they do. This is in line with Bakhtin (in Rudyansjah, 2009: 42) who views life (existence) as a process of dialogue between the actor and himself and "the other" in the broad sense which includes not only other people, but also culture, history and the environment around it.

### **Cultural Transformation: Sustainability in Change**

In the concept of anthropology, cultural transformation can be interpreted as a change in the world of idea, action, human work and encompasses the systems of adaptation, cognition, structure and symbol produced and reproduced by humans. However, in anthropology it is also explained that culture has a structure that is sometimes not easily swayed. All of these concepts are used to re-read how the Serangan fishermen transformed at once as well as what kept them from surviving the impact of the reclamation. In many cases, fishermen will usually face a lot of problems that make them have to adapt. Hurmain's and Puriana's study (2013) shows how fishermen on the Bengkalis Islands coast must transform due to shifting patterns of social interaction, religion, fishing gear and especially ecosystem changes.

After PT. BTID undertook massive reclamation, Serangan fishermen were unable to do anything, moreover the project showed no signs of continuing with various developments as planned by investors. Had they and everyone of Serangan thought, PT. BTID will provide decent work guarantees, especially to their children and grandchildren. Over a very long period of time, reclamation and its effects have changed their way of life and way of thinking, but basically, they have no choice. During life, the sea is the main life. At sea they designed the future of their family and grandchildren. Their lives can never be separated by the blowing of the sea breeze, the sound of waves, *jukung*, *kantih*, *olah*, *bidak*, fish and everything related to the sea. World view of nature, especially the sea has become a cultural structure that cannot change, and they tend to maintain.

To fulfill their daily needs, they cannot be passive. Some local entrepreneurs have begun to set up various marine businesses, both sea transportation and restaurant services. They and the children of the Serangan fishermen eventually had to choose a profession but were not far from the maritime culture and the typical coastal people. Some of the professions they choose now are renting boats for anglers, introducing anglers to the high seas, introducing surfers, repairing outboard engines, repairing boats and ships, selling oil for ships, restaurant employees, and becoming speedboat crews.

The development of Serangan as a liaison to the tourist area is also done by building a fairly representative dock and is always crowded from dawn to dusk to bring tourists to Nusa Penida, Lembongan, to Gili Trawangan, Lombok. This pier has become a competitor that is quite calculated from the existing pier in Sanur or Tanjung Bena. Large buses began arriving

and filled the parking lot. This is also an opportunity for fishermen who are no longer active as parking guards and security services. They also earn a fortune by selling food, drinks to the typical craft knacks.

The presence of a bridge built in the 2000s connecting Denpasar and Serangan must be recognized as changing the face of Serangan which was once stigmatized by isolated poor villages. Cultural transfer, modernization, and lifestyle have offered many changes. Considering that in Serangan there are only elementary and junior high schools, fishermen's children have now begun to get a higher education and work in the service sector in Denpasar, even though it is still very little. They are still loyal to work with a profession that is still associated with the scent of the sea. They leave the future to the sea, even though they don't have to be fishermen, as informant I Nyoman Wirata said maybe in the next 4-5 years, the children of fishermen would not be fishermen to continue the profession of their parents. Yet according to research by Primyastanto, et al (2012: 12), one of the factors that influence fishermen's poverty is the age of fishermen, education, and experience of fishing. Increasing the age of fishermen will increase the chances of poverty, but the increasing factor of fishermen's education and experience of going to sea will reduce the chance of poverty in a fisherman's household.



Figure 1: Serangan's dock built on the north coast which is always crowded with tourists going to Lembongan and Lombok (Source: taken with a drone by I Made Sukarya, 2018).

### **New Icon: Culinary and Turtle Conservation**

Almost along the left and right of the bridge to Serangan is now full of culinary efforts. If on Saturday and Sunday, food stalls with a main menu of grilled fish are very crowded with visitors from the outside of Serangan. The presence of this culinary business becomes a new land for fishermen to continue to look for opportunities to sustain life by not wanting to stay away from sea products. If the fresh fish are produced by large fishermen, small fishermen whose numbers are very large and directly affected by reclamation supply additional snacks which are also very well known from Serangan. They are looking for various types of seaweed, such as *bulungboni*, white and green *bulung sangu*, seagrass, *toro-toro*, as well as a variety of *klejat* and *kencing* crackers. This work is mostly done by women fishermen and provides enough income for their families. However, fisher-women also have a large contribution in the household and the lives of their children. Listiyandra, et al (2016) found the role and major contribution of fisher-woman like this in Muara Angke, North Jakarta.

The mushrooming of culinary businesses, although not yet arranged with good management, however, has given hope to the fishermen to survive. In addition to being a number of stall owners, supplementary food providers, they also work at these stalls. If this culinary business gets the attention of the local government, especially the city government, Serangan can really be developed as a culinary center in Denpasar that is not inferior to other regions, especially in Southern Bali, such as Kedonangan and Jimbaran. *Bendesa Adat* Kendongan, I Wayan Merta, for example, had admitted that the tuna (*tongkol* fish) from Serangan were considered the best because their habitat was in the vicinity of Serangan sea

water, in addition to certain additional Serangan typical food that could not be found in other areas.

In addition to the culinary mushrooming, currently the management of the customary village has collaborated with the village of Serangan since 2006 also has developed the Turtle Conservation and Education Center (TCEC). This place has become an icon for the Serangan community to consciously protect sea turtles, and as a comprehensive strategy to eradicate the illegal turtle trade which was often carried out by Serangan and Tanjung Benoa fishermen. The long-term impact of hunting and trading of sea turtles is not only in Bali but also disrupts the ecosystem in Indonesia, so that TCEC also conserves up to the coast in Java, even eggs found on the coast of Java are also hatched at TCEC.

Harteti, et al (2014: 146; see also Musthofa, 2014; Priyono, 1989) describe all types of turtles included in the red list on the IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) and CITES Appendix I (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). This means that the existence of turtles in nature has been threatened with extinction, so that all forms of utilization and distribution must be controlled. In this connection, various policies were made by the Government of Indonesia, including establishing turtles as protected animals through Government Regulation (PP) No. 7 of 1999 and established several turtle nesting habitats as conservation areas. Therefore, Harteti, et al (2014) stated the need for all parties to be actively involved in the management of turtle conservation areas, including the community.

Based on these data, Informant I Made Sukanta explained that now the community, especially the Serangan fishermen, have also begun to be educated if they find turtle eggs on the beach, they will bring them to TCEC to be cared for hatching. Conservation of turtle eggs at TCEC is also made as natural as possible to ensure the eggs can hatch properly. However, environmental aspects as in the research of Langinan, et al (2017) are very influential on the success of turtle life. After hatching and hatchling after 3 days, the TCEC team will release it to the beach every day, usually from May to September. This turtle release and captive breeding event is also a very interesting tourist destination (see the same thing in Alfinda, 2017; Srimulyaningsih, et al., 2010). With TCEC growing rapidly, it has also become a new livelihood for fishermen's children. There are at least 17 employees and a number of souvenir craftsmen who came from Serangan to serve tourist visits both foreign and domestic, which until June 2019 had reached 18.969 people. The foreign volunteers who work at TCEC come from seven countries (Italy, Germany, Austria, France, Portugal, Switzerland and USA). "For 2019, TCEC will also welcome around 66 students from seven tertiary institutions throughout Indonesia who study turtle conservation," said an informant, Made Sukanta.



Figure 2: TCEC Turtle Sculpture as a new icon on Serangan Island (Source: author's photo, 2019).

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Serangan has experienced many changes, especially when PT. BTID investors came to reclaim the island. Fishermen are communities that receive the impact of the reclamation directly. There are very sharp differences before and after the reclamation. What was most felt was the loss of their main source of livelihood which resulted in a decline in their welfare. Another impact is their shifting to other jobs, although it is still not far from maritime nuances. As a result, they also have to adapt to the new environment, including their perspective of the sea, their main world since time immemorial. This condition forced them to continue to be active and creative, so that their "new world" was discovered, for example, sea transportation, culinary transportation, and now the conservation of sea turtles which became an icon to restore Serangan as Turtle Island. They continue to live in cultural transformation. Now the service sector and industry are waiting for that change.

Some progress due to the responsiveness and adaptation of the community began to be felt, what happened in Serangan must still receive special attention, especially to the Denpasar city government for the *first*, need guarantees to fishermen to continue to earn a fortune provided free by the sea by providing coastal land as public area for their activities. No less important is also providing capital and equipment to go to sea. *Second*, managing the environment and all supporting infrastructure to encourage Serangan as a community-based tourism area. For example, parking tourist and culinary vehicles that require modern management. *Third*, TCEC needs to get more serious attention because it has become an icon and a new tourist destination, not only in Denpasar but also in Bali in general.

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