Governance of Nemberala Coastal Natural Resources in Rote District Ndao

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Abstract

This study focuses on the governance of non-extractive natural resources on the Nemberala coast. More specifically, this study aims to trace the access mechanism and power relations of foreign capitalists and the government in the development of resorts, villas and cafes in the Nemberala coastal area, Rote Ndao Regency as a means of supporting tourism and what the implications are for local communities. This study uses two access mechanism approaches, Nency Peluso's Access theory (1992) and Nanang's (2021) elements of political analysis of natural resources as units of analysis. This study uses a single case study strategy with a qualitative inductive research approach. This study found that discourse and material power can change the composition of power and values in an area in the form of domination as an exercise of power. Apart from that, this study found that material power operates at a closed spatial level so that in the land acquisition process on the Nemberala coast unconstitutional practices occur. The study of natural resource governance shows that there are three key actors in the governance of Nemberala's coastal natural resources, namely the government, foreign capitalists and land-owning communities. On the other hand, capitalization, privatization and commodification arise due to the globalization of the tourism market or the internationalization of tourism. Placing tourism in the capitalist space means that natural resource management will discuss who gets what, where it gets it, and how it gets it.

Keywords: *Resource Governance, Tourism, Capitalization, Privatization, Commodification.*

A. INTRODUCTION

The coast is one of the most strategic non-extractive natural resources because it is a transition area between land and sea ecosystems, and has very rich potential for natural resources and environmental services Clark (1996). Therefore, nowadays coastal natural resources are increasingly recognized as having quite promising potential as an economic base. The consequence of this potential is that exploration of coastal natural resources has now become a market-driven field of economic activity, resulting in the privatization and capitalization of coastal areas on a fairly large scale and intensity. Worse yet, in natural resource management activities, actors who carry out exploration and exploitation of natural resources often ignore the impact on ecology and local communities.

Nemberala Beach is located in Nemberala Village, North West Rote sub-district and is one of the most famous marine tourism destinations in Rote Ndao Regency and even abroad. One of the attractions of Nemberala beach lies in the beauty of the beach and the height of the waves. Because it has a promising tourist attraction, local, national and foreign investors have invested in Nemberala Beach by acquiring land

from local communities along the coast of Nemberala Beach to build tourism facilities such as resorts, villas, cafes, and so on.

Natural resources are one of the economic bases for the country, so they are often explored and even exploited on a very large scale. Not infrequently, the exploration and exploitation process often has negative impacts on the ecology and local communities living around these resource areas. This is in line with a study conducted by Tania Lie (2007) The will to improve: Governmentality, Development and the practice of Politics. In his study, Li tries to describe the organizational practices carried out by corporate institutions, both national and international, to encourage marginalized groups to develop themselves systematically through development interventions. By taking the case in Central Sulawesi, Li tries to analyze the tension that occurred due to the opening of the Lore Lindu national park project in 1982 which marginalized indigenous communities. The project pushed them out of the national park area, eliminating their livelihoods and ultimately they had to grow crops and garden in less fertile areas in Nanang (2021). A study conducted by Lie in Central Sulawesi explains that the process of natural resource governance will then shape the relationship between the state and capitalists in natural resource governance, but on the other hand, the relationship formed between capitalists and the state will then marginalize local communities so that they have no power in their own land.

Studies on natural resource governance are currently increasingly being carried out by the discipline of political science as a framework for analyzing the power of political regimes both globally, sub-nationally and locally. Several studies that have been carried out so far have found that natural resource management is closely related to the political interests of the state and capitalists and even individual actors, so that it is not uncommon for research that has been carried out to find that access to natural resources has become a private sphere. In research conducted by Peluso (1992) entitled Rich Forests: Resource control and resistance in Java. In his research, Peluso asked several important questions to analyze state and corporate power in the governance of Java's natural forest resources, several questions relating to; what is the character of state and corporate power in managing resources, then what are the material interests of states and agents in efforts to control resources, and finally how power operates. Through this research, Peluso tries to explain the strong interconnection between aspects of state ideology, state political control over land and forest resources and local community resistance. From the research conducted by Peluso, it is clear that natural resource management has become a private sphere which has a negative impact on local communities.

Natural resources as a gift and a disaster (the curse of natural resources) have been widely studied by economic and political scientists. Nugenta (2018) with his work entitled "Does oil really affect democracy? Long-term time series analysis of 127 countries". In his work, Nugenta firmly rejects the existence of a natural resource curse through long-term time series analysis, he found it by using democratic measures: Polity, Polcon, Civil Liberties, or Political Rights during the period 1974-2012. He rejects the view that institutional changes can influence fluctuations in the value of

resources in a country that can create internal conflict. Nugenta took an example from a study conducted by Alexeev and Conrad (2009) on the experiences of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union. These three countries have similarities in terms of economic, institutional and structural heritage, but have major differences in terms of natural resource wealth. he considered that Russia, with the best natural resources of the three countries, would have the worst institutions if the natural resource curse existed.

The study conducted by Casseli (2006) in his work entitled The Struggle for Power and Natural Resources, sufficiently shows the increasingly strong political intensity when Nigeria experienced eight coups since independence. This incident certainly contradicts Nugenta's opinion which rejects the curse of natural resources. The important idea that Casseli emphasizes is that natural resources are easier for the ruling elite to take over than other sources of wealth. Cassseli explained that coups such as in Nigeria occurred as a result of the struggle for natural resources (oil) where to get them, they (challengers) had to first assume power. This is due to potential challengers to the government having a stronger incentive to seek a replacement for the government through a coup. Meanwhile, he considered that it was inappropriate to reduce challenger incentives because it would give the ruling elite an advantage in terms of changing power. Casseli argues that the ruling elite is the gateway to the curse of natural resources itself. Thus, Casseli shows that the character of the leadership (ruling elite) is quite influential in the struggle for natural resources (oil) which can cause chaos.

Most of the literature presents natural resources as physical objects that have the most meaningful exchange value. In contrast to social exchange as the most appropriate example of the issue of rationality (Ritzer, 2012), Peluso (2003) in his work entitled Access Theory emphasizes the benefits of natural resources as objects of exchange in order to gain and control access. He explained that commodities (results or production of natural resources) are provided by lower actors as an effort to control several people who have control rights. However, Peluso further sharpens the analysis of how actors gain access through several mechanisms that he has explained. In his work Peluso seeks to explain who and how actors obtain and then control access to natural resources for (individual) profit. In this way, Peluso (2003) seems to want to connect Gaventa (Halim, 2014) to discover how closed spaces are formed and what relationships occur in the spaces in question.

The privatization of natural resource areas has found a more elegant reason after looking at the work of Peluso (2003). The struggle for natural resources has almost abandoned the old ways (coups, wars). Natural resources are contested through access that arises from a social relationship or the consequences of a strong social relationship (Peluso, 2003). Privatization may be one way for some actors or ruling elites to protect themselves from other access that could interfere with the control of access to natural resources.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Access Theory

Jesse C. Ribot and Nancy Lee Peluso (1992) in their writing in Rural Sociology (2003) argue that access is different from property in various ways. They define access as the ability to benefit from something; including material objects, individuals, institutions and symbols. By focusing on capabilities rather than rights as in property theory, this formulation of access will provide wider space for social relations that can enable people to benefit from resources without focusing on property.

Peluso and Ribot (1992) define access as the ability to generate profits from something, including material objects, individuals, institutions and symbols. By focusing on capabilities compared to ownership in property theory. This formulation draws attention to a broader area of pressing social relations and allows people to profit from resources without focusing on property relations alone.

Peluso and Ribot saw that there was some kind of access network arrangement. Their attention allows experts and others to map process changes and access relationships with resources. The concept of access here is placed in the analysis of who actually benefits from something and through what processes they carry out. Access empirically focuses on who gets what, in what ways, and when to benefit from resources. This power consists of material, cultural and economic-political forces with ties and networks of power that structure access to resources.

Access categories according to Ribot and Peluso are ownership based on legal and illegal access. Firstly, legal access is the ability to gain benefits from something that comes from ownership granted by law, custom or convention. The meaning of ownership based on access is that it implies the involvement of a community, state or government which claims that a law, custom or convention causes a legitimacy of ownership of something. However, on the other hand, there is an ambiguity that occurs between law, customs and conventions. This ambiguity occurs when the three legal instruments both legitimize the same item so that what happens is they claim each other. Second, illegal access refers to the enjoyment of benefits from something that is not sanctioned in any way by society or the State. Illegal access operates through violence, and covertly, forms of relationships to obtain, control and regulate access, structural and relational mechanisms of access.

2. Key Elements in Resource Governance Analysis

The study of natural resources seeks to explore and analyze the political dynamics associated with discursive and material struggles over natural resources. Nanang (2022) To analyze the dynamics that occur in the governance of coastal natural resources in Nemberala, four key elements in analyzing natural resource governance are one of the shorthand used. These elements are as follows;

First, the materiality element really determines the actors involved, the forms of relationships between actors, political networks and the impact on resource governance. Studies in analyzing aspects of materiality in resource politics will help identify the power relations that operate in certain communities. The materiality

character of different natural resource commodities will form different political relations. Second, Institutional Elements, where studies of natural resources also emphasize the importance of analysis of political institutions. Observation of institutional aspects can also play an important role in identifying why in one country the presence of resources is a source of economic prosperity and important capital for democratic political consolidation, whereas in other countries the presence of resources actually opens up problems of conflict, deepening the problem of poverty and strengthening authoritarianism (Amundsen 2014) in Nanang (2021).

Third, discourse and knowledge elements in studies of natural resources also need to pay attention to how actors construct justifications for actions. Knowledge production and discourse have played an important role in natural resource conflicts. As emphasized by Bryant (1998), power relations are illustrated through conflicting perceptions, discourses and knowledge claims regarding development and management of natural resources. There are three important elements in discourse and knowledge elements, first is text analysis. At this stage how to describe the text and knowledge that appears related to natural resources. The second explores the discursive practices carried out by actors in the resource arena. At this level analyzes the process and interpretation of texts and knowledge by paying attention to how texts are produced and consumed. Third, understand the socio-political practices of how discourse about natural resources develops, so it is necessary to carry out social analysis related to the context of the working text.

Fourth, elements of space and scale, namely analyzing power, often works through multiscalar processes. Through multiscalar processes, what is called local, regional and global are seen as dynamic in nature. For example, exploration and exploitation of natural resources needs to be observed whether it is of local, regional or global interest.

C. METHOD

This study uses a single case study strategy with a qualitative inductive research approach. A case study was conducted on the governance of the Nemberala coast, Rote Ndao district, NTT. This research strategy and approach was chosen based on several considerations. First, this study wants to look at power relations in the governance of non-extractive natural resources, in this case the coast as a material political basis. These two studies want to explain how access to coastal resources works, and thirdly how the process of power works in resource governance. Therefore, this research has the need to obtain information, investigate in depth the processes and relationships that are formed, and provide explanations of complex situations. and not visible on the surface (Denscombe, 2007).

D. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Nemberala Coastal Area

Nembrala Beach is a natural attraction located in Nembrala Village, West Rote District, East Nusa Tenggara Province. This destination is approximately ± 30 km from

the city of Ba'a. Nembrala Village has existed since 1967, bordering Sedaoen Village to the north, south to Oenggaut Village, Bo'a Village to the east and the western border to the sea. The population of Nembrala village consists of several tribes; including the Sabu tribe, Rote tribe, Sumba tribe, Helong tribe which is spread across 5 community units and 10 neighborhood areas with the largest religion being Protestant Christianity followed by Catholicism and Islam. The majority of the people of Nembrala Village work as seaweed farmers and fishermen.

The land along Nembrala Beach is an area owned by several families in Nembrala village. This beach area began to be managed in 1991 with the construction of several lopos, toilets and one of the crossing piers to Ndao Island. Nembrala beach tourism is not only managed by the community but some are also managed by private parties which are equipped with resorts, villas and cafes.

2. Material Power and Negotiations in Closed Space Levels as a Form of Access Mechanism for Nemberala Coastal Land

Nemberala Coastal resources are understood as the basis for the flow of profits in the political context of natural resource governance so that they become an entry point to examine how foreign capitalist actors access and acquire local community lands along the Nemberala Coast to be used as resorts, villas and cafes and how they control natural resources as a basis for capital accumulation. For this reason, this section seeks to explain the mechanism of access to Neberala's coastal resources and the implications for the distribution of access for capitalist actors.

The mechanism for foreign capitalist access to the natural resources of the Nemberala coast is carried out using two patterns, firstly the land contract mechanism using a cooperation model with Indonesians. The cooperation pattern is one way for foreign capitalists to control land on the Nemberala coast. This kind of mechanism is also a pattern in several regions in Indonesia. By using the identity of the Indonesian people, the process of acquiring land becomes easier. Second, the pattern of land access on the Nemberala coast is by marrying a local person in Nemeberala village and living as an Indonesian citizen (WNI) in Nemeberala village, then buying land using the name of the wife you have married to make into a resort and villa and then renting it out to visitors. The land acquisition model using the name of an Indonesian citizen is a form of conflict with the law, the use of nominees is expressly prohibited in share ownership according to law number 25 of 2007 concerning capital investment and also law number 40 of 2007 concerning limited liability companies. If we look at Law Number 25 of 2007 concerning investment, Nominee agreements or borrowing names in share ownership are prohibited as stated in Article 33 paragraph (1) of the Investment Law.

However, the practice of land acquisition by foreign capitalists using the identity of Indonesian citizens still continues, such as on the Nemberala coast. This explains that the mechanism for access to land on the coast of Neberala reflects negotiations at a closed spatial level. The negotiation model opening up space for the ruling elite to carry out unconstitutional work or space for interest groups to form

relations with the ruling elite. Apart from gaining individual profits, capitalization, privatization and commodification of the Nemberala coastal area are efforts by the authorities to minimize conflict and competition for natural resources.

The success of foreign capitalists in accessing land on the Nemberala Coast cannot be separated from the operation of material power as a way of controlling and controlling the resources of the Nemberala coast. The above access mechanism is operated using material power in the land acquisition process along the Nemberala coast. Capitalist access to land on the Nemberala coast is supported by the strategic discourse of the Rote Ndao district government regarding the tourism development model so that the mechanism for access to land on the Nemberala coast appears as a structural configuration that conditions actors to easily gain access to land on the Nemberala coast.

3. Actor Power Relations in the Frame of Modernization of Nemberala Coastal Tourism Discourse

This section explains the configuration of the relationship between the Government, foreign capitalists and land owners to gain profits from the Nemberala coast. Therefore, the structural and relational dimensions of Neberala's coastal resources have implications for the distribution of access for actors seeking benefits from the Nemberala coastline, explained in this discussion. These aspects are configurations of access to capital, authority, and social identity which are then explained simultaneously.

The worldwide attraction of Nemberala beach has had an impact on increasing tourist visits, both local, national and foreign. The increase in tourist visits to Nemberala beach then shapes the perspective of the government, capitalists and land owners in viewing the potential of Nemberala's coastal natural resources. Firstly, the district government views the Nemberala coast as the main commodity in the tourism sector in Rote Ndao. There needs to be development or modernization of tourism so that it has an impact on the economic growth of Rote Ndao district and creates jobs specifically in Nemberala village. Therefore, the Nemberala Coast needs to be capitalized and commodified so that it can provide economic benefits to the Rote Ndao district. Second, capitalists view the Nemberala coastal area as a base for capital accumulation that needs to be controlled and controlled, so they need to acquire land belonging to local communities along the Nemberala coast. The third perspective is that land owners view the Nemberala coast as a negotiation space to gain profits from their land in the Nemberala coastal area.

This perspective then creates a pattern of relations between the government, capitalists and land owners in the management of Nemberala's coastal natural resources. In the particular case of the Nemberala coast, the power relations that are created are contingent even though they are formed by power structures that have been condensed temporally. Power relations in the Nemberala coastal context will continue continuously as an effort to obtain a flow of benefits from Nemberala's coastal resources.

In general, the Nemberala coast has a very central position in the government's tourism program in Rote Ndao Regency so that the commodification of Nemberala beach tourism is placed in the context of capitalism, meaning that development towards the modernization of Nemberala beach tourism relies on the capital of capitalist actors. These factors will place society in a marginalized position from the power relations formed between actors. Unfortunately, the configuration of power that works in the case of the Nemberala coast will continue in an effort to obtain a flow of profits from the natural resources of the Nemberala coast.

In general, the Nemberala coast has a very central position in the government's tourism program in Rote Ndao Regency so that the capitalization and commodification of land on the Nemberala coast is positioned as a space of contestation for capitalist actors. This shows the relational aspect of the power structure that operates from actors at various levels. This will continue continuously so that efforts to gain access to Nemberala's coastal resources are something that never settles and is relational in nature according to the existing power configuration.

4. Implications of Nemebrala Coastal natural resource management for society

In general, the Nemberala coast has a very central position in the government's tourism program in Rote Ndao Regency, therefore Nemberala beach tourism needs to be developed with the concept of modernization, but on the other hand, capital, technology and knowledge are factors that hinder the discourse on modernizing tourism on the Nemberala beach because Therefore, the commodification of Nemberala beach tourism is placed in the context of capitalism, meaning that development towards the modernization of Nemberala beach tourism relies on the capital of capitalist actors.

The relationship that is formed then provides material benefits for both foreign capitalist actors, the government and land owners. However, for local communities, profits are only concentrated in the hands of land owners who rent them out to capitalists. The discourse of job growth from the construction of resorts, villas and cafes is not realized evenly for local communities in Nemberala village even though there are people who work in resorts, villas and cafes on the Nemberala coast, but this is obtained from the results of initial negotiations between capitalists and land owners, so that the people who work in these places are only the children or family of the land owners. Unfortunately, the power relations that were formed between the actors then closed the negotiation space for the local community in Nemberala Village to gain direct benefits from the construction of resorts, villas and cafes along the Nemberala Pantan Coast. It is difficult for the discourse brought by the community to gain a significant position, this is because there are no village regulations that specifically discuss or regulate the priorities of local communities in getting jobs at every resort, villa and cafe built by foreign capitalists.

The implications of Nemberala coastal governance place local communities as marginalized groups from unequal power relations, even communities are mobilized into negotiation processes that are always unprofitable, for example local

communities need to maintain the privatization of visitors who use resorts and villas, as a result of the culture and traditions of wedding thanksgiving events. as well as several other events must be limited by non-free time. Specifically, capitalization, privatization and commodification of the Nemberala coast only provide benefits to capitalist actors, the government and land owners. This happens because these actors have power, capital and land.

E. CONCLUSION

This article shows how discourse and material power become determining factors in the contestation of various foreign capitalist actors, the government and other social forces to dominate and control or transform the state's strategic selectivity structure in order to enable them to gain access to Nemberala's coastal resources as a flow of profits. Relationships and access mechanisms in natural resource management will always put local communities in a disadvantageous position, both in terms of welfare and cultural aspects. Even in resource management, less harmonious social relations will be created between the community structure itself and the local (village) government. This was later discovered in the case of capitalization and privatization of the Nemberala coast.

There are several factors that then encourage the creation of social structure disharmony in Nemberla village; First, the employment aspect is concentrated in certain communities from the process of negotiating contracts and buying and selling land on the Nemebrala coast so that only a small number of people get jobs directly at resorts, villas and cafes, this is exacerbated by the absence of village regulations that require resort, villa and café owners to prioritize local communities as employees. Second, social prejudice will emerge against village officials who only want personal profits from the construction of resorts, villas and cafes along the coast of Nenemberala. Social prejudice arises due to the absence of regulations made at the village level that benefit local communities from the process of capitalizing the Nemeberala coastline into a number of resorts, villas and cafes. Third, the entry of western culture into Nemberala village means that eastern culture is beginning to fade. What's worse, local people need to prioritize aspects of privatizing western culture so that cultural aspects of local people in Nemberala village have to be sacrificed.

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