Inclusive Urban Coastal Development in Ampenan and Jerowaru, West Nusa Tenggara

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Abstract—Indonesia is the largest archipelagic state and has the second longest coastline in the world. The majority of people who live in Indonesia’s coastal cities are fishermen. Most are poor and live in a recurring cycle of poverty. They lack adequate education, health insurance, and adequate housing. There are many disadvantaged fishermen in Ampenan and Jerowaru, West Nusa Tenggara province. During the colonial era, Ampenan was a well-known harbor town where foreign vessels landed to trade. However, since the end of the colonial era, Ampenan has not maintained its role as a harbor town due to high tides and sand tsunami disasters. Moreover, coastal abrasion causes the shoreline to shift. Therefore, Ampenan fishermen no longer have space to dock their boats or produce their steamed fish. Fishermen in Jerowaru face similar conditions. There, neighborhoods suffer flooding at high tides and living and working space for fishing families are hard to come by. Combined threats from high tides, sand tsunamis, flooding, coastal abrasion, and robbery like of the other difficulties facing the fishermen are environmental have caused extreme vulnerability among fishermen. The purpose of this research is to understand the development of an inclusive urban space in Ampenan and Jerowaru, where the local government has made efforts to engage disadvantaged citizens in the urban development agenda. This research used a qualitative approach consisting of in-depth interviews and participant observation. The research found that the inclusive urban space development program initiated by the local government of Ampenan provides affordable housing for fishermen without enforced eviction from illegal and vulnerable slum settlements. The local government in Jerowaru has implemented the inclusive urban space development, which provides affordable housing for vulnerable immigrant fishermen. This government agenda makes resettlement in better housing accessible to poor fishermen. Inclusive urban space development highlights the differences between coastal and inland urban developments in Indonesia. In the past, development has marginalized poor fishermen. This development model is an example for other coastal cities in Indonesia. However, bureaucratic obstacles remain, as demonstrated by the regional administration case of Jerowaru, where fishermen are unable to occupy their new accommodation.

Keywords—inclusive space development, coastal city, fishermen, vulnerability

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a sea state sprinkled with islands (Lapian, 1980). As much as two-thirds of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia is made up of water (ocean), and with a vast sea area, Indonesia has the potential for fisheries and other high marine resources. Therefore, development must be reoriented from a terrestrial to a maritime focus. Indonesia is made up of approximately 17,508 islands and has 98,000 km of coastline. There are more than 41 coastal cities, including 32 that are vulnerable to flooding, 29 that are vulnerable to tsunamis, and 15 that are vulnerable to tidal waves (BNPB, 2010). Due to these multiple and overlapping threats, in the process of rehabilitating coastal cities from disaster, developing an understanding of coastal Spatial Planning and inclusive infrastructure development are mandated in Law No. 26/2007. Articles 6, 28, 35, and 21, and PP No. 15/2010 are concerned with the implementation of spatial planning.

Those who live in Indonesia’s coastal areas are vulnerable to poverty. The Director of Coastal and Business Development Community Empowerment, at the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Ryanto Basuki, has said that the number of coastal people living in poverty is 32.14% of the total population nationally. This poverty is due to a gap in the price of basic commodities for people who live in urban areas, and those who live in coastal areas. The price of fuel is higher and basic commodities are 30%–40% more expensive in coastal areas than in urban areas, these price gaps are due to greater ease of access in urban areas (Sulaiman: 2015).

In general, coastal areas are at the center of economic agglomeration. They are surrounded by ports, trade centers, industry, tourism. Coastal cities initially developed around ports and then became centers of trade and city governments. Most coastal cities in Indonesia are nodes along the routes and gateways of international trade and are hubs of national cultural exchange and, thus, play an important role in the economy, society, and culture of the country. Coastal areas are coastal areas in rural and urban areas, but coastal urban areas are coastal areas in urban areas. However, coastal urban areas are also highly vulnerable to disasters, such as climate change, high tides, strong winds, tidal flooding, and coastal erosion and abrasion (Warsilah, 2016).

Indonesian coastal areas also face geologically-derived threats. Indonesia, situated on the Pacific Ring of Fire, is subject to frequent earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Therefore, from both environmental and climate change perspectives, Indonesian cities play a key role in both causing and being affected by climate change and other disasters. In addition, poverty in coastal urban areas increases human vulnerability to disasters. Disaster-related losses have become a big challenge for the government, which must care for flood victims, and bear the physical, social, and economic costs. The vision of the future city must divert focus away from only pro-economic development.

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Social development and inclusive development paradigms must be included within an overall framework of sustainable urban development. This requires inclusive and pro-environmental creative economic growth, namely, the creation of a green economy.

A. Inclusive Urban Space Development in Coastal Cities

According to the International Disability and Development Consortium, inclusive development is a process that ensures the inclusion of all marginalized groups in the development process. The concept seeks to ensure the rights of marginalized groups/people to contribute to the development process (Warsilah et al., 2017). Most countries and, in particular, developing countries, follow exclusively economic-centered paths to development. This form of development underestimates the importance of non-economic elements such as socio-cultural development, and relies on economic growth indicators, such as GDP, to measure success. An emphasis on increasing GDP and foreign investment as measures of success lead to poverty, social deprivation, and social exclusion. Social exclusion is a process that leads to a decline in community participation and solidarity and reflects inadequate social integration. At the individual level, social exclusion is the inability to participate in social activities and build social relations (Gordon, 2000). The challenge, therefore, is to redefine and reconceptualize the concept of development to incorporate sustainable social improvements that will enhance social systems and human life.

The process of social inclusion, marginalized individuals and communities are “invited back” into the development process. Inclusive development is an approach to building and developing an open environment. It opens up to and engages with people with different backgrounds, characteristics, abilities, status, conditions, ethnicity, culture, and so on. An inclusive environment is one where people can live, work, acquire education, and participate in activities, safe and secure in the enactment of their rights and obligations. Thus, an inclusive environment is an open, friendly, and obstacle-free social environment. Without exception, people respect each other and embrace differences (Lenoir, 1974). See analysis framework below:

![Analysis Framework](image)

The framework is similar to the National Planning and Development Agency (Bappenas, 2017) programs aimed at reducing urban inequality and building safe, comfortable, habitable cities that fulfill urban services standards. In addition, urban development should be inclusive of people with disabilities, women, children, the elderly, and people of diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds, and it should include integrated security and policing services and emergency (health and disaster) services.

B. Inclusive Urban Space Development in Ampenan and Jerowaru

The research was conducted in West Nusa Tenggara, a province made up of the two islands, Lombok and Sumbawa. Lombok is home to 70% of the West Nusa Tenggara population. Mataram, the provincial capital, is located in Lombok. Mataram has six districts, one of which is Ampenan, located in the west of the city, bordering the Lombok Strait. Ampenan covers an area of 9.46 km² and has a population of 87,746. With a population density of 9275 people per km², it is the most densely populated district in Mataram (BPS, 2016). West Nusa Tenggara has a Human Development Index ranking of 65.19, which is below the HDI of 69.55 for Indonesia as a whole.

![Fig 1. Contemporary photos of Old Ampenan. Source: Photos by author, 2017](image)
Figure 1 shows the old port and old town of Ampenan. It was once a cosmopolitan city inhabited by many different ethnic groups. Kampongs, or areas within the district, were segregated by ethnicity and race. There were, for example, Arab kampong, Malay kampong (which was further divided into Bangsal Malay, Central Malay, and South Malay, consisting of Palembang and Padang ethnic groups), China kampong, Banjar kampong (an ethnic group from South Kalimantan), Bugis kampong (an ethnic group from South Sulawesi). The Balinese lived outside the Ampenan district, in their own kampong, called Cakra city. Cakra city became a Hindu center with many Hindu temples and a very different atmosphere and economy to that of the Ampenan port district. Most of the Balinese were businessmen in the hospitality industry. Meanwhile, the local ethnic group, Sasak, blended among the other local ethnic kampongs and this group was the most populous in urban kampongs.

**Port City Residents**

**Ampenan**

1st Qtr
2nd Qtr
3rd Qtr
4th Qtr

Fig. 2. Historic composition of the population of Ampenan

In the past, Ampenan port district was composed of (1) indigenous Malays (particularly Palembang, Sasak, and Banjar/south Kalimantan ethnic groups), (2) Arabic ethnic immigrants who spread religion and traded in holy books, (3) Chinese traders, (4) European entrepot traders and sailor/explorers. Each maintained exclusive and close social relations within their own groups.

**Fig. 3. Contemporary composition of the population of Ampenan**

Inclusive social relations dominate in Ampenan, with some exceptions. Mixed marriage is rare and endogamous marriage is practiced within the Arabic and Chinese communities. According to Lefebvre (2000), “there is no ideal production of social space within the city space, because space itself in modern capitalist society is a battlefield that will never be finished. Those with interests will continue to dominate the use of the social space and to ensure the production of knowledge that maintains their hegemony” (Lefebvre, 2000). Those who control social space within the city have power over that space.

Because of the social barriers between the ethnicities and races living in the old port district of Ampenan, social interaction does not always run smoothly. Only in the field of economic activity, in the buying and selling of commodities, do barrier-free interactions occur. Arabic and Chinese settlements in the district tend toward exclusivity, where closed ancestral culture is maintained. Communication and social interaction are focused inwards to clans and ethnic groups, so that mixed marriage is rare. Arabs marry other Arabs according to their position within the hierarchy of Arab society. Likewise, endogamy is the dominant marriage pattern among the Chinese population of the district, due to the limitations of religious and cultural barriers. Mixed marriages are more likely to occur among local Indonesian ethnicities. For example, mixed marriages occur between individuals of Sasak and Palembang origin, Sasak and Java, or Java and Banjar.

The West Nusa Tenggara province government is composed of district heads and vice district heads in a hierarchy from the mayor to the regent head, and the head of the sub-district, village, and neighborhood. Members belong to the regional House of Representatives or to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that support the policies of the incumbent mayor. These members are challenged by other NGOs, regional house representatives, citizens, and the mass media, not in support of government policies.

**Fig. 4. Government, contender and member & challenger pyramid**

Governance of Ampenan and Jerowaru is the responsibility of each district mayor, who carries out bureaucratic reform within the local government. Mayors attempt to influence the bureaucratic structure through constraining and enabling actions. Innovative or novel policies are put in place when bureaucratic obstacles are faced by members or challengers. These policies aim to be comprehensive, inclusive, and open to access. For example, in Ampenan, the combination of high tides, wave action, and coastal abrasion is leading to the slow disappearance of the illegally built houses of poor fishermen. The mayor of Ampenan has taken innovative action to build “Rusunawa” (flats) to accommodate these fishermen. While awaiting the completion of the “Rusunawa,” the local government rented houses throughout the district to house the fishermen.
Instead, of evicting fishermen from their illegal homes, the government arranged for the fishermen to move to “Rusunawas.” The aim of this new policy was to correct previous policies regarding the illegal boundaries of vulnerable fishing settlements.

The role of inclusive leadership in areas vulnerable to disasters helps to highlight the limitations of existing regulations in order to bring about swift reform. According to Giddens’s first proposition (1995), a structure is not an obstacle, even though resources are limited and regulations are many, so long as there is the will to increase the bureaucratic ability to remove those limitations. For example, innovative policies, devised by the mayor and the local government, allowed for new disaster regulations regarding vulnerable settlements. These policies were in the form of building Rental Flats and fishermen’s housing, as well as efforts to temporarily house fishermen who were at risk while awaiting the completion of permanent accommodation. The second proposition of Giddens regarding the actions of agents (actors) to influence structures (in the form of: policies, regulations, and systems), which are different from other actions, is a form of self-expression. (Giddens’s second proposition regards the actions of agents (actors) to influence structures (policies, regulations, and systems), distinctive or different from other actions, is the form of self-expression). In the area of inclusive development, this is known as the expression of identity of agents of reform and the power, and expression of that power, by those agents. From this perspective, local government reform agents (at the city and city district level) appear to have the power to resist mainstream bureaucracy or to change established habits or patterns of action. This condition is an embodiment of inclusive development access variables.

The development of the old district of Ampenan as an area of maritime tourism is an example of urban governance reform carried out by the mayor of Mataram. Out of an abandoned port with slums and non-functioning services has arisen a highly attractive center of maritime tourism. This transformation is not merely the gentrification of the port into an eco-cultural city. It has also provided new jobs and increased income for fishermen and their families. The actions of the city manager, as an agent for change, can be categorized as visionary, as they are a response to future needs based on the importance of nature conservation to minimize disaster. The actions of government agents, in the form of populist inclusive policies, are also socially sustainable.

C. Inclusive Urban Space Development in Ampenan and Jerowaru

Public participation is at the core of the concept of inclusive development. Participation comes from community willingness and desire to be involved in the development process with the aim of transforming a government driven, hegemonic top–down approach to development. Willingness to participate and be involved in the development process increases a community’s bargaining position and changes the perception that development must be from top to bottom, rather than from the bottom up. As Mikkelsen (1996) noted, in this latter form of development, participation is initiated and managed by the community, with the aim of encouraging community members to play an active role in the development process.

Chamber (1983, 1996) argued there are different types of participation, each with different outcomes. These include:

1. Cosmetic Label, or participation designed to attract the attention of donor or government agencies.
2. Co-Opting Practice, or participation used to mobilize local personnel, with the aim of assisting in the implementation of externally funded development projects.
3. Empowering Process, or participation that empowers local communities, entrusting decision-making and responsibilities to those communities.

The most common form of participation in urban areas is the practice of co-opting and mobilizing local communities in order to ensure the successful implementation of development projects. The second form that participation takes is in community empowerment in the fields of economic, physical, social, and skills development.

According to Arnstein (1969), there are several levels of community participation. These range from citizen control, delegated power, partnership, placation, consultation, informing, therapy, and manipulation. These are illustrated below (Fig. 7)

Participation that has a power equivalent can be developed into a form of citizen power in the form of citizen control, delegated power, and partnership. When urban residents acquire such control, they can form delegations and act as government partners in the urban development process. In Mataram, one inclusive development policy planned by Bapeda is the transformation of the old port area into a site of maritime tourism, with direct views of the beach, where visitors can experience the famously beautiful and exotic Ampenan sunset. In addition, seating is provided for tourists, with coffee and cake vendors ready to satisfy visitors’ needs.
D. Policy on Road, Home, and Disaster Mitigation
Infrastructure Development

The Mataram City government inclusive development plan is closely related to the development of the infrastructure of the regional network system in Mataram City. The inclusive development plan was formulated based on a policy to develop an integrated urban network and infrastructure across regions within the Mataram urban region, and West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province. Citizen participation in development can also be seen in “Musrenbang,” the group participation process. In Mataram City, this is a conceptual derivation of regional development participatory planning and takes the bottom-up approach mentioned above. Community participation starts at the hamlet level through “Hamlet Deliberation.” The hamlet, in this case, is an administrative area that supervises several rural RTs. Within the local government, hamlets are at the neighborhood level in urban areas. According to one speaker who served as the Head of Poton Bako Hamlet, Jero Waru Village, Jero Waru Sub-district, village meetings are held every year throughout East Lombok. Proposals submitted in hamlet deliberations are predominantly related to physical development, such as alley opening, slum renovation, and the construction of public toilets.

However, according to an individual from the Neighborhood Association (RT) head, few proposals can be realized, and hamlet-meeting proposals are often failed proposals from previous years. Procedurally, all proposals formulated at hamlet meetings are proposed in the Development Plan Deliberation (Musrenbang) at the village level, and ideally, the formulation becomes the basis for village level development planning. In fact, Musrenbang at the village level only selects and adjusts village development programs that have passed the hamlet consultations phase and been passed by the local government through the sub-district (Kecamatan).

There are many potential problems facing the provision of basic services and maintaining sustainable livelihoods in coastal areas. Due to climate change and the increasing severity of natural disasters, the very existence of urban coastal areas is under threat. Coastal areas are often adversely affected by the effects of extreme climate change, with high rainfall for much of the year. Such extreme weather can lead to a 60%–70% reduction in the production of food crops. In addition, the quantity of agricultural land has the potential to decrease due to land conversion for non-agricultural purposes combined with seawater intrusion into coastal areas. Under the Regional Disaster Management Agency, the regional government carries out disaster management planning. In Ampenan, for example, this manifests in the movement of vulnerable residents away from the coast. Because the very poor do not have the finances to build new homes away from the danger zones, the government rents houses for these families until such a time as they can be transferred to local government-built flats. In addition, because the port of Ampenan was considered a danger to shipping and passenger safety, the port was closed, and all facilities moved to West Lombok. To decrease the impact of high waves and sand tsunamis, high sea walls have been built and wave-breaking stones placed at the port entrance.

II. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

An inclusive development plan for Ampenan was carried out to preserve the old port area under zoning Law No. 11 of 2010 (Ministry of National Education: 2010). This law is concerned with the preservation of Cultural Heritage Objects, which it defines as follows: preservation is a dynamic effort to maintain the existence of Cultural Heritage and its value by protecting, developing, and utilizing it. Some of the benefits of the efforts to conserve parts of the old urban landscape will help to maintain among the inhabitants a sense of place, self-identity, and a sense of a place set apart. Old cities and neighborhoods are among the biggest assets of national and international tourism, and efforts to preserve and conserve the places convey a valuable heritage to future generations.

Inclusive city governance approaches spatial and socio-cultural economic problems in the historical area by relying on the empowerment of local communities. The Ampenan example is a model for inclusive development in coastal cities and ports. Restructuring of the historic region is based on public participation and the maintenance of the original character of the area. The concept of preserving the old area of the city is aimed at future interests. Development through revitalization and/or conservation preserve local knowledge through a conservation strategy that synergizes economic, social, and cultural activities, restores the image and quality of the region, and helps the region play an important cultural and economic role nationally and internationally.

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