

CONTESTED SPACE IN COASTAL CITY A Case of Conservation, Community and Tourism Development in Manado – Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The growth of coastal cities has experienced a shift and brings changes in the space value of production to the consumption in coastal areas. The capitalist mode of production spread evenly in areas previously held by various traditional modes of economic and social exchange. The role of tourism and market development strongly determined the changes that often lead to contradictions and conflicts of spatial function. This paper explores the reasons for spatial competition and the possibility to make more just spaces on the coast by seeking a spatial balance between traditional and modern ones, capital space and indigenous as well. Using a multilayered approach in the case study research, this paper revealed the phenomenon of contested space, particularly on the power relation framework on the specific sites using by different groups of interests: Littoral fishermen, recreation and tourism, and private company. Paper attracts attention to the capitalist policies that are the main reason for spatial tension that produced domination and resistance in the modern coastal space. Architects and planners should regularly evaluate the spatial equity of public goods such as coastal resources because deep comprehension fluctuation of public resource distribution can help to decide on the balanced fairly public good provision.

Keywords: *spatial contestation, spatial justice, development policy, Manado*

INTRODUCTION

The coastal area is a specific area which contains important natural resource and rich environmental services. Recently, the coastal zone is growing rapidly for many interests, as it has good economic value. Market principles have extended their reach into most corners of the coastal space. Shifting economic gravity to the coastal area associated to a considerable extent with tourism accompanied by capital relation of

production and consumption in both rural and urban areas.

As a capital city of North Sulawesi, Manado is a medium city lies on 20 km long of coastal lines, need to be designed based on careful attention of its fragile environmental conditions. (Prijadi et al, 2014, Sangkertadi & Syafriny R, 2016, 2014).

The most developed area Malalayang and Kalasey as locations of the study are two districts adjacent located in the coastal zone, 12 km far from Manado city center. Before the declaration of Bunaken Marine National Park, both were rural areas where residents lived in their livelihoods as farmers and fishers. After the invasion of travelers to the region for two decades, the contrasting vision of conservation and development has been played out and influenced the spatial uses, especially in the seaside area. As the area and number of protected areas continue rapid growth, the tension between local livelihood needs and the tourism agenda grows as well. The study examines natural resource use patterns as proposed and practiced by three groups: (1) local residents who utilize the seaside area as livelihood space; (2) local residents who utilize it seeking pleasure and leisure space and (3) tourists and the tourist industry admiring and valuing aesthetic of underwater scenery with the eye towards preservation of biodiversity space. High tension occurred during the period 2003-2011 when the construction of new land extends to the sea for the benefits of the third group.

The purpose of the research is to reveal spatial contestation between users as a consequence of marine tourism development in Manado bay for the last two decades. Competition in spatial utilization on the shore leads to repetitive conflicts and resistance sporadic especially from the marginalized group of poor people. All of this is closely related to the spatial arrangement and management of natural resources to seek spatial justice for all interest groups. These are important things to be included in the spatial planning framework for achieving a better future. Spatial theorist or regional planner should stand on the side of desirability and fashioning to develop spatial justice from notions of social justice and territorial spacial justice (Pirie, 1983)

THEORY / RESEARCH METHODS

The multilayered approach of a case study research was selected to explore the subject within its context to incorporate the knowledge and experience gathered from the intense and prolonged study within the area by authors from 2012 to 2016. After conducting preliminary research, the fieldwork was taken to explore the subject and presents preliminary findings. The method used to collect data involved semi-structured interviews, observation, mapping, photographs, maps and documentary sources. All transcriptions, notes, maps, and photos were analyzed and compared to literature and checked against the research questions on how the policymaker plays the role of managing the spatial arrangement of coastal space. Analyzing all data and findings revealed the phenomenon of spatial contestation and conflict occurs in the coastal tourism destination area on the periphery of Manado.

Who has the right to take benefit of the natural resource is the main focus in

spatial coastal planning? It is argued that space had to be everyone has to get. Soja (2010) describes the concept of spatial justice as justice in spatial or spatiality with emphasis is focused on the spatial aspects related to the geography of justice and injustice are explained in a fair and equitable distribution of resources, services, and access. The concept of justice is essential to be thought of as a set of principles for resolving conflicting claims (Harvey, 1996). This conflict may arise in many ways.

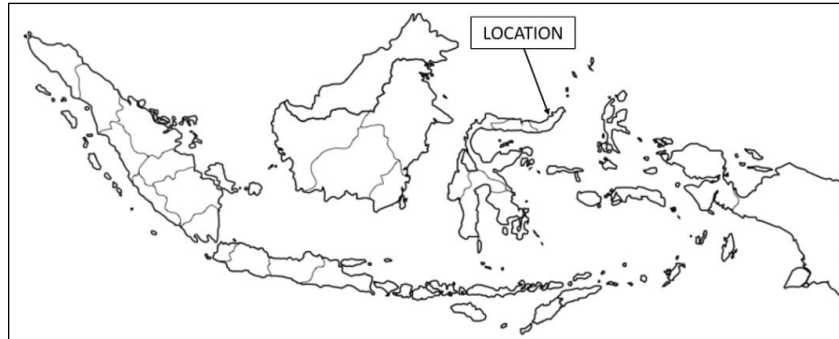


Figure 1. Map of Indonesia and Location of the study

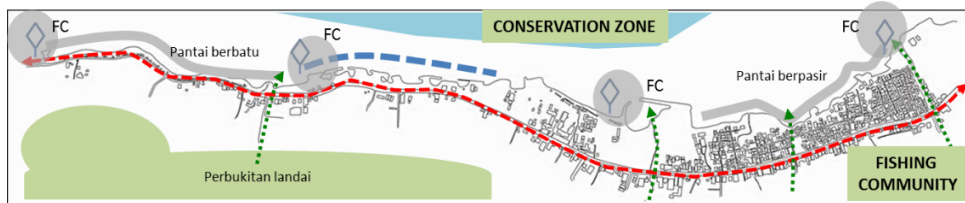


Figure 2. Malalayang coastline at the southern part of Manado city

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Spatial formation and transformation

Malalayang district is part of the Manado coastal area, located on the southwest of the central urban area, 12 km far from the main harbor. Since the arrival of Portuguese in the 17th century, the local people of Bantik ethnic had already carried out some commerce with foreigners at the city center. They sold kinds of crops and making a brick wall industry. As the trade activity around the bay grown rapidly, and more foreign ships docked in to do some exchange, Malalayang coastal area was visited by the people from the near archipelago named Sangihe from the north and Gorontalo from the west. Bantik tribes who were dominant residents lived as farmers, meanwhile, migrants from the north and west part worked as traders and fishermen. Until the early 20th century coastal space of Malalayang remains as rural area as the mode of production space.

Significant changes to the formation of the coastal area occurred when the

world of marine tourism embraced the region in early 1990. Tourism activity began to attract the underwater potential of Manado bay. Meanwhile, as Bunaken Island officially declared to be a conservation area, restricted for certain activities, the population of the coastal area was increased. The coral reef and it's related had attracted more and more people from all over the world. Subsequently, researches and developments of marine potential focused on the coastal and maritime spaces.

The spatial transformation occurred in the Malalayang coast not particularly caused by socio-cultural changes but strongly influenced by natural aspects. Strong wind and big waves frequently strike the shoreline and hit the coastal settlement. It leads to land erosion and destructed the shape of the coastline. In some parts of the line, reconstruction for land protection was needed to avoid further destructions, particularly on the traditional settlement occupied by littoral fishermen.

Table 1. Population of study location

Subdistrict	area (ha)	Population (p)	Fishermen (p)	Location
Malalayang dua	700	6721	21	Coast
Malalayang satu Barat	672	4984	8	Coast
Malalayang satu	900	8790	33	Coast
Malalayang satu timur	272	5014	65	Coast
Bahu	87,5	7333	88	Coast

Role of Malalayang Coast

Since the population of coastal land significantly increased, different kinds of activity had grown up widespread. The exploitation of spatial resources on the coastline for different activities had enlarged the environmental burden, and turn to degrade the environmental quality. Malalayang becomes an important place to accommodate the spatial extension of the urban development of Manado. Transformation spatial are gradually took the effect. Malalayang played some important roles, such as community space, conservation, and natural protection, tourism, and recreation sites.

As community space (fishermen)

Malalayang is a district at the periphery of Manado which stretching along 7 km of the southern coastline of the city. Originally Malalayang was a rural area under tribal Bantik rule which despite occupying coastal areas, their economic life depend on agriculture and plantations. Its waterways were used only for keeping the connectivity with market activities on the Tondano river mouth during the colonial periods. The shoreland was not inhabited, they used it only to cultivate some crops. Since the city grew to expand and embrace the area, some fishermen from the archipelago entered and occupied the coastline and did some fishing activities. Recently in the era of tourism lots of urban community groups lived up the area. Water sports clubs such as diving, jetski, and other recreational activities such as sunbathing, sightseeing or enjoying the scene takes place. As more and more people come to the beach, the place is developed into a recreational center with some food

stalls and restaurants.

The growth of marine tourism activities is considerable development along much of the world's coastline, increasing rapidly to the construction for tourism and recreation purposes and ultimately had marginalized the former occupants.



Figure 3. Fisher boats moored at the recreation area

As conservation and natural protection space

Kalasey and Malalayang coastal areas are parts of Bunaken Marine National Park. The Park covers 3 major areas: 1) Bunaken Islands and its surroundings, 2) Tanjung Pisok and 3) Kalasey watershed. It covers an area of 79,056 hectares, most of it is ocean including parts of Kalasey and Malalayang inshore used for the preservation of the park. Part of it is the mainland, and the underwater small reefs, seagrass beds, and Mangroves.

There are two interesting dive spots as parts of 87 destination spots of North Sulawesi available for the dive sports lovers. The underwater surface contains rich biodiversity of marine life combined with some exotic creatures of the deep sea. Some of the diving operators reside in this area such as Murex, Larascasse, Petra dive sports, Mapia house reef, bobocha, city extra, complete with their supporting facilities like a resort, dive equipment's and their outfits.



Figure 4. Dive spots, diving operators and resorts around Manado

As tourism and recreation space

The growth of tourism activity and scuba diving sport since the past two decades, marine tourism is concentrated around Bunaken Island and became one of the world's dive tourism icon. The number of tourists increased, resort and diving operators thrived, especially in the conservation area. More than fifty percent of diving operators, resorts, hotels were owned by foreigners and preferred Bunaken as their home base. The exploitation of natural resources on the spot directly was vulnerable. Reducing this pressure on Natural Park, some dive operators aggressively seeking new potential spots with a good selling point. Exploration along the gulf coast, they found the number of interesting spots that hold potential as a mini marine park near Malalayang and Kalasey (6-8 new spots found).



Figure 5. Residents place for a picnic and spent leisure times with traditional culinary.

A good opportunity for new economic potential in coastal tourism had influenced the Malalayang district. Groups of divers came and looking for an alternative area for underwater sports activities. All of these contributed to the fast-growing of supporting facilities such as building hotels, restaurants, and other related services. Besides diving activities, Malalayang has an interesting place for local people to spend their leisure time at Malalayang traditional culinary recreation. Malalayang Beach certainly has beautiful scenery. People come to these places for sitting by the seaside, enjoy the panorama and view of Bunaken Island and Manado Tua, especially on the weekend. Teenagers come with friends, workers with their families enriching the atmosphere of the warmth of togetherness. Some groups from the inland bring their children plays on the waterside using some floating tools. Tire buoy rental facility was available. There is also a water cycle used by visitors. Age groups preferred to stay on the small table with the warm fried bananas and special hot sauces dabu dabu as traditional meals. In 2009, the commemoration of Independence Day 64th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, 2465 divers broke the world diving record, also Guinness Book of Records using the waterways of Malalayang.

Conservation vs. Tourism Development

Many tourism activities are related to the exploitation of environmental resources. They have a major environmental impact in many coastal areas, which are particularly vulnerable to its nature. They strongly related to each other and have mutual dependence: tourism is highly dependent on environmental quality and environmental quality is also highly vulnerable to tourism development. It is well known that tourism is one of the main sources of revenue for many countries and regions. Tourism and its development play significant roles in many coastal economies and societies (Selwyn and Boissevain, 2004). As the periphery of Manado city, Malalayang embraced the expansion of urban activities, even though the physical environment contains a good quality of natural resources enriched with interesting objects and beautiful scenery which can attract many tourist activities. Local government has assigned the Malalayang coastal area as one of the marine tourist destination areas instead of Bunaken Island. On the other parts, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry established Malalayang and Kalasey marine life as parts of National Park since 1991. Despite its national park status and significant funding, the park has suffered a slow, continuous degradation due to several threats caused by tourism activities.

Coccosis and Mexa (2004) stated the impacts of tourism on the coast. It could be positive and negative as well. Coastal communities gain benefits from tourism through job opportunities, income increased, better infrastructure, health and safety conditions improved. Moreover, tourism development gives a contribution to raising the awareness of coastal value by its population and bring investment in environmental protection. On the other side, tourism is considered the main cause of ecological losses in coastal areas. Tourism developments have gradually changed the visual aspect of many coasts around the world and also the natural dynamics of coastal ecosystems.

Spatial Contestation on the coastline

Contestation is defined as a dynamic process between parties or actors who interact and negotiate what is its importance in the context of the struggle for natural resources. In a broader sense, contestations might include activities such as protests, and demonstrations, but another type might be people that are using spaces in ways that others consider inappropriate. Contestation can not only be the result but can also cause discomfort situation in space (Paxson, 2007). People compete with each other to use a piece of land. In this case, transformation spatial due to the development activities could produce various comfort and discomfort situations, and sometimes provoke conflict in using space for daily life.

Users Conflict

Conflict of coastal management occurs mainly at a certain location of resources with multiuser functions. Malalayang and Kalasey traditional fishers, do not feel free

anymore in working on the beach when some private investors began to build some new construction properties. They have difficulties to find a place to dock their small boats and unloading their catches. In 2011 traditional fisher folks supported by the association of local fishers and diver's community struggled against reclamation in Malalayang beach.

Since the 1990s, Coastal Reclamation bloomed as a megaproject long Manado coastline. New land by the sea is being created to host business affairs, such as the new shopping palaces, hotels, banks, seaside restaurants, and modern entertainment services. The area of new land outstretches 15 km long and spread over 200 m away from the mainland. Since the constructions, there has been sporadic resistance from traditional fisherfolk. The hottest dispute arose in 2009. Fisher protests in different parts of the bay. They began to run avocation to different stakeholders, create a network of communication and started to show direct solidarity each time a group of fisherfolk was faced with conflict. The open confrontation followed by developers' wave of repression did not make the fishers back off, on the contrary, they gain the moment successfully interrupted reclamation work.



Figure 6. Action contra reclamation

Rejection contra reclamation had triggered solidarity movement from national and international agencies. One of them is KIARA (People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice) insisted to repeal of laws that allow the State to expropriate people's lands and resources in the name of modernity, especially profitable businesses.

KIARA also claimed the passing of new laws that secure the people's rights in land, which ensure ecological justice, through agrarian reforms and the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights. KIARA has been committed since it's founded in 2003 to strengthening fishers' groups and people living in coastal regions and small islands, to obtain protection and welfare of their communities, which are supposed to be fulfilled by the government.

Fisher's movement also supported by WALHI, the largest and oldest environmental advocacy NGO in Indonesia. WALHI works on a wide range of issues, such as agrarian conflict over access to natural resources, deforestation, defending indigenous rights and peasants, as well as coastal and marine conflict.

The struggle of local fisher, supported by others who disagree with the capitalist enforced the cancelation of the reclamations work on Kalasey and Malalayang spots by the local government. Up to 2013, no more activity of land extension on the

coast.

Jurisdictional Conflict

Introduced by some divers in 1985, Bunaken was at one time, only a local marine tourism park visited by diving sport lovers. It was declared as Bunaken National Marine Park in 1991 by the Ministry of Forestry which published Decree No. 730/Kpts-II/1991 dated 15 October 1991. It has affected the local government of North Sulawesi because they assumed a major resource of their capital investment in terms of tourism development had been taken over by the central government. Local government is very eager to develop tourism, as one of the main priorities and important objectives of development policy for the region. According to some people in the Bunaken National Park Office, they would like to see Bunaken Islands played more as a conservation area. (Putra & Cottrel, 2000). Conflict of interest arises because of the ambiguity over who has legal jurisdiction, Forestry or local government.

Conflict also occurred concerning license to reclaim or build. Who was entitled to issue a permit for constructing the reclamation area? Law enforcement and regulations of environmental protection management should be considered not only based on local autonomy, but rather on the ecoregion approach in a wider range. Territorial jurisdiction conflicts often occur between institutions in managing region. Since conflict arises, the users prevent the senses of environmental ethics, because they do not get any reward or benefit to conserve the resource. Such conflict may threaten the sustainability of the coastal resources

Lesson Learn: Planning for spatial justice on the coast

As conditions in most of the Indonesian cities, Manado is also facing problems in managing spatial planning and control the urban spaces organization. Diverse function area exists in the city, but not all of them are provided with a particular regulation such as Building Codes. To maximize the positive benefits of tourism and minimize negative impacts sustainably, it needs Good planning of tourism and its management. Tourism planning applies similar basic concepts and approaches as general planning, but need to adapt to attributes of the tourism system.

To achieve spatial justice in spatial planning on the coast, three hallmarks of urban justice had to be noticed: material equality, diversity, and democracy (Fainsteins 2010). Equality related to the plan emphasizes development on the coast that promotes the creation of affordable housing and provides additional parks and waterfront access in poor neighborhoods.

The opportunity to gain equality can exist without prior equality of condition, it reflects sensitivity to the concerns of low-income communities, such as low-income groups as fishermen in the coastal area. Furthermore, it needs providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone including the poor. More important thing is that people are not differentiated and excluded like segregation to gender or ethnicity. All new commercial development should provide space for

public use. It should also facilitate the livelihood of independent and cooperatively owned businesses (Fainstein 2008). Planners should take an active role in deliberative egalitarian solutions and blocking ones that disproportionately benefit groups that already well-off.

The diversity is intense in the city when groups impose their rules or lifestyles on others who share their space. The organization of space to produce the zoning area should not be used to further discriminatory ends. Every boundary between districts should be porous and public space should be widely accessible and varied. Those to be designed so that groups with clashing lifestyles do not have to occupy a similar location. To avoid the domination space on certain groups, the plan must be mix used.

As Dumashie stated local government should fully respect the specific role and range of activities undertaken by coastal communities and landowners and protect them in the face of international economic pressure (Dumashie, 2007). The symbiotic relationship between local groups and the marine environment means that there are clear economic justifications for their sustained involvement to achieve a balance in both sustainable environmental outcomes and social justice. Ultimately, to address the questions of justice spatial, communities should have a right of access for now and future generations that require the facilitating role of government and professionals to encourage the process.

CONCLUSIONS

We are facing an uncertain future global force of climate change and there are others, which can devastate communities and damage our fragile eco-system. It will not serve us well if we ignore problems affecting coastal communities. This will require pro-poor institutional tools. Coastal futures figures led to the observation that it is unacceptable to alienate poor communities and that maintaining access for everyone to use key coastal resources.

All of those important to minimize tourism affairs which induced problems to secure both the sustainability of the tourism industry and coastal resources used by other sectors.

We need to increase more attention to proper planning and the better integration of tourism in coastal development. Conflict and negative impacts are coming up due to mainly ignorance of coastal environments planning. This means that Manado city and all stakeholders ought to offer a good solution for a more socially and environmentally sound development process. Better knowledge of the physical environment of coastal zones is a crucial thing to be developed. Identification of existing and potential users and the assessment of their mutual compatibility with the environment, and finally, the development of integrated strategies should be well planned.

Most researches concern about Manado coastal city focused on physical environmental issues and very little contributes to the social aspect. This paper attracts attention to the capitalist policies that are the main reason for spatial tension that produced domination and resistance in the modern coastal space especially in

developing countries. Urban planners should frequently assess the spatial equity of public resources such as coastal resources because understanding the diversity of public resource distribution can help to facilitate the provision of the public good which ultimately achieves social justice.

Indonesia is an archipelagic nation and has coastal cities of more than 50% of its total number of cities. In the future, at the time of implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community; the role of coastal cities becomes more important as a gateway, as well as window-nation that promotes many economic values for the development of the country. The flow of goods and services between countries will increase more valuable through coastal cities. In liaison with it, if there are many problems with the planning and development of coastal cities, it will hurt the development of the Country.

The coastal cities hold four main spatial functions which are as a trading area, maritime functions, defense/military, and tourism/recreation. All these functions should be integrated into the planning system and synergy with other traditional spatial functions such as housing, transportation, shopping, etc. Therefore, to achieve successful spatial development, on the coastal cities should be emphasized several key points related to urban plan and development:

- a. Avoid social conflicts about the use of space
- b. The intensity in the involvement of actors and stakeholders in the process of urban planning.
- c. Provide recreation areas and social spaces significantly in coastal areas.
- d. Develop a system of defense and security in the coastal areas.
- e. Avoid slums in coastal areas

In the next years and after, coastal cities in the ASEAN region will be linked more closely and intense through the transportation system using some modes of marine, land, and air. The dynamic of linkage between coastal cities of different countries may inspire the development of urban planning method especially for the case of cities in the coastal areas. It will be needed more transparency among the South East Asian countries on city spatial plans of each country, to optimize urban plan and its development due to its dynamic linkage between cities.

It is also necessary a prevailing of standardization on the urban planning method among ASEAN countries to ensure that the coastal cities can always support economic relations between Southeast Asian countries.

Initiation of technical meetings between officials of the ministries engaged in urban planning should be carried out regularly, to produce an agreement on minimum quality standard cities of ASEAN. The standardization of the quality may cover such things as the size of density, the ratio of public space, water, and energy availability to population ratio, standard on building permits, environmental quality standards, etc. It is necessary for narrowing some wide differences in quality between coastal cities of ASEAN countries that linked by such dynamic movement of goods, information, and people.

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