

Production of Abstract Space and the Making of Urbanization on Serangan Island

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Abstract. This research aims to see the production of abstract space which is in line with the urbanization process on Serangan Island. The onslaught of the capitalist mode of production is increasingly expanding itself into rural insular areas such as this island. The method used in this research is qualitative with a case study approach to further explore experiences regarding the production of abstract space and urbanization on Serangan Island. The analysis in this research uses Lefebvre's theory of space and Harvey's accumulation of dispossession. The use of these two theories and concepts can at least provide meaning to the informants' experiences. The research results show that at least the production of abstract space on Serangan Island started with the discourse on a tourism development program by means of reclamation. The new island from the reclamation is planned to be built with tourism facilities and accommodation. This process of creating a new space later became a milestone for Serangan Island to experience urbanization.

Keywords: Abstract space; urbanization; capitalism; tourism

1 Introduction

Towards the end of the 1980s, when the world entered a phase of neoliberalism where corporations played a dominant role over the state which increasingly played a minimal role in the market, the state still played its role as an important actor who used coercive extra-economic power through legal and other state violence [1]. During this period, the accumulation process was very massive, carried out by collaboration between corporations and the state. Privatization occurs in various sectors, one of which is the economic sector related to the tourism industry. This process is characterized by the commodification of everything and goes on a massive scale by changing non-capitalist and traditional sectors into commodities that can be bought and sold on the market like goods. Corporatization tightens its grip on communal resources, then gets rid of conventional and traditional management of these resources because it is considered inefficient [2] The grip of neoliberalism even reaches rural areas in coastal areas and is carried out so that the flow of capital does not stop. As a condition for the flow of capital not to stop, everything must be guaranteed to exist. This is done so that the process of transferring capital can run extensively across geography and national boundaries. These spatial and temporal practices are used to create new geographical spaces for the giant machine of capitalism to avoid crises resulting from excessive accumulation [1]. One way to expand neoliberalism is through privatization and industrialization as a basis for the creation of new spaces through urbanization [3].

The urbanization referred to does not merely refer to the movement of people from villages to cities to work in industrial centers, thereby causing cities to become saturated. Urbanization as presented here is a process carried out by building industrial centers close to urban areas to be built in the heart of rural areas. This urban-industrialization process is widespread and massive, carried out by changing productive and non-productive land in rural areas and turning them into new industrial areas. The way urbanization operates is not only by divorcing rural means of production, such as divorcing land from farmers or divorcing waters from fishermen, but by completely changing space, both physical space and existing social space. In total, society changed its social, political, economic, and cultural order to become industrial-based.

This research starts from a case that occurred on Serangan Island to look at the urban-industrialization process that occurred on the island by changing a small island where most of the population works as fishermen into a marine tourism industry. The development of the tourism industry on Serangan Island was actually preceded by the success of the development of the tourist area in Nusa Dua (BTDC), which was the main program for developing the tourism industry by the New Order government as the main source of foreign exchange at that time. Then, in the 1980s when world oil prices fell, the government looked for other alternatives to increase income, namely through tourism because it was considered capable of bringing in foreign exchange quickly [4]. This method proved successful, in the 1980s to 1990s, tourism proved itself to be an important foreign exchange earner for the country, so there was no concern that the government then made tourism a pioneer and tried its luck by building a new tourism industrial area on Serangan Island in the mid-1990s.

The development of the tourism industrial area on Serangan Island began with the expansion of the small island by means of reclamation. This island was reclaimed and the reclamation process lasted for three years from 1995 to 1998 [5]. Serangan Island originally measured around 111.9 hectares, after the reclamation process its shape changed and its area reached around 481 hectares [6]. Reclamation activities are carried out by PT. Bali Turtle Island Development (BTID) initially purchased a number of land to then expand by reclamation on the east, west and south sides of the island. On the new land resulting from reclamation, it is planned to build a megaproject for tourism facilities such as a marina and other accommodation [7]. The reclamation process has indeed ended, but the results of the reclamation have left large areas of empty land without the promised infrastructure development. Community land control has also narrowed as a result of the separation of the reclaimed island from the main island via a canal.

In various studies, the mode of seizure of space is dominated by how the political regime operates on that space. Several cases, such as those that occurred in Lombok, the Riau Islands and Karimunjawa, show that there is an interest between sectors in utilizing water spaces which places the contesting actors in an unequal position. The state's position as an actor actually participates in the contest and also as a policy maker. The state mostly sides with corporations rather than fishermen and farmers. This position bias then often gives rise to the practice of state capture, which is a condition where policies are made in the interests of capital owners. Business elites and political elites are institutionally involved in manipulating state policies and setting regulations in their interests [8]. The international tourism discourse that dominates, makes the state, both administratively and security-wise, face fishermen in Lombok, when Gili Trawangan is developed. The effect is the removal of settlements and fishing boat moorings as well as reducing the fishing area for fishermen [9].

The process of change that occurs as a result of tourism industrialization in the island region, where the tourism industry is capital intensive and requires a large geographical area

as an integrative destination, can trigger the exclusion of local communities. This is where the state plays a very crucial role by providing new space for development by transferring existing land and resources from local communities to private parties through privatization schemes. Land on small islands is a crucial space as an arena for contestation between environmental politics, industrialization and local livelihoods [10]. This research formulates a question, namely, what is the relationship between the production of abstract space and the urbanization process of Serangan Island? The aim of this research is to provide a theoretical explanation of the relationship between the production of abstract space and the urbanization process occurring on Serangan Island by the tourism industry. This research contributes to knowledge for the study of urban politics.

2 Method

This research uses a case study approach in qualitative research. Researchers try to formulate theories and concepts based on empirical facts and symptoms found from the interview and observation process. Researchers conducted interviews with several actors involved in reclamation and the shift in economic activities of the Serangan Island community. Apart from that, data was also collected using secondary data originating from journal articles, mass media reports, and so on. The analytical tools used are the theory of Space Production by Henri Lefebvre and the concept of accumulation of dispossession by David Harvey to assemble the empirical data obtained so that it can show the relationships, processes and structures of social life as well as the relationships between events that take place in the medium term [11]. The analysis stages in his research include selecting themes, analyzing concepts and theories, and refining the data through analysis so that clear results are obtained regarding the relationship between abstract space production and urbanization.

3 Result and Discussion

Serangan Island underwent reclamation in the mid-1990s, which started with the desire to develop marine tourism in this area. Investors are present in this area of course with government support. Various facilities to support tourism activities are designed to be built, such as golf courses, resorts, lagoons for water recreation, yacht clubs, beach clubs, villas and marinas as well as bridges connecting Bali and Serangan Island. The island, which was then completely reclaimed, also had a tourist canal built which aims to separate the original mainland of the island from the new artificial island. The aim of building this canal is none other than to differentiate which areas are occupied by indigenous people and which areas are specifically owned by investors. PT. BTID as the investor takes full control of the beach which was once the pride of the people of Serangan Island.

The crucial problem that emerged after the reclamation was that the facilities promised at the beginning had not been built, resulting in an artificial island resulting from the reclamation. This is a serious problem for the people and environment on Serangan Island. The condition of the island after reclamation has had an impact on the people or fishing communities. As a result of reclamation, it can be said that this island is no longer a free place for fishing communities, especially small fishermen who depend heavily on the aquatic economy for their livelihood. Many fishing communities and the people of Serangan Island as

a whole are waiting for PT's seriousness. BTID to open up job opportunities as previously promised.

It cannot be denied that efforts to reclaim Serangan Island are a long-term goal for tourism development in the area. The presence of investors reclaiming Serangan Island is a way for capitalists to enter villages and impose an industrialization agenda in rural areas. The industrialization agenda is through the reproduction of space on Serangan Island. Lefebvre developed his thinking on space as an extension of the dualist division of space which according to Descartes was *res extensa* and *res cogitans*. *Res extensa* is a space that occupies space and time, or is referred to as material manifestation, while *res cogitans* is space that is born from the spiritual subjectivity of a rational object, namely humans. What Descartes conveyed, idealism is actually the essence of reality itself where space is actually built on an extension, starting from a thought which is represented by coordinates, lines and geometric shapes.

Meanwhile, Lefebvre said that space is always characterized by concrete material conditions. These material conditions are formed and symbolized in the form of concepts and arrangements regarding space, but at the same time apart from the conceptualization and scientificization of space, they also always consist of active human life experiences. This dualism between idea subjectivity and material objectivity then became Lefebvre's starting point by adding a third space, namely social space. The concept of social space consists of Representation of Space, Space of Representation, and Spatial Practice [8]. The first concept, namely Representation of Space (RoS), refers to conceptualized space carried out by professionals and technocrats such as architects, city planners, development engineers or geographers and other bureaucrats. This space contains jargon, symbols, objectifications and paradigms used by people and institutions.

RoS is of course a space that is abstracted and located in the head or in the mind, so that Lefebvre calls it conceived space or non-material space that is conceived in the mind. Ideology, power and knowledge reside in this RoS and this space is the most dominant space in society. This space was created by capitalists and the government in the form of physical buildings such as monuments and factories. The next space is called Space of Representation (SoR) referring to the space that is occupied or lived in every day (lived space). SoR is a real space and is full of dynamics and is not always regular in its patterns. Sometimes it is visible but is on the invisible side of life, does not follow the rules and not everything can be described with the head. This space is a feeling space, because it is alive, full of passion, action and emotion. In this space, every rational subject experiences mental processes regarding objects to create a concrete reality. This space is also a space where every human subject builds a social system as a series of subjectivities that experience historical dialectics. In this space a social space exists.

Finally, there are Spatial Practices (SP) which are a series of hidden actions and interrelations in societal spaces, spaces of dialectical interaction between members of society. SP can be identified as space as a material/physical space that humans can sense (perceived space) and perceive in everyday life. SP shapes the reality of everyday life, including networks, interaction patterns that connect places and people, images and reality as well as work and pleasure. SP embraces the production and reproduction, conception and execution of what is imagined and carried out and ensures that all of this experiences social cohesion and sustainability where society is at the same level in a social space.

The spatial relationship between conceived-perceived-lived space is not a stable and linear relationship but can be destroyed by generalizations about Space of Representation (SoR). This melting of space is called abstract space which occurs as a result of the

materialization of SoR. This concept of abstract space departs from Marx's thinking, namely abstract labor, namely when the real qualitative activity of workers is simplified by quantitative measures, namely money. Likewise what happens in SoR, when a complex space is simplified into a commodity or economic object, it will experience destruction. It is at this point when capitalism comes in and plays its role when it comes to creating a homogenous SoR as a single space. Exchange value replaces the complexity of space and money replaces all space for materials, including changing traditional meanings and knowledge in them into a uniform one. Generalization and homogenization are important parts in the formation of a space so that the obstacles that exist in the old space can be removed so that there are no alternatives available for society in a production relationship.

With generalization and homogenization, the abstraction process will be easy to carry out where a new space is organized and arranged according to the needs of the capital owner. Traditional patterns such as relations and collective forces must be eliminated and replaced by the capitalist mode of production. This abstraction process starts from the mind and when the mind creates boundaries in the form of lines to determine areas according to needs, but not the need for social space but rather regionalization in physical form and denying the existence of non-material spaces such as thoughts and ideas. subjective and historical symbols in it. Spatial maps, master plans or blueprints for an area can be prepared only based on technical thoughts and quantifications. Lefebvre also stated that geometric space is actually abstractive and equates the abstract and the concrete. Equating is of course problematic and inadequate because the space we experience (perceived) cannot possibly be the same as the abstraction (the result of the conceived space). It is in this section that damage occurs that gives rise to marginalization and alienation.

In short, the formation of abstract space is the basis of capital accumulation because space abstraction in various forms such as business, industry and factories as well as spatial intervention through the development of means of transportation, communication and leisure support systems such as tourism are capital's ways of multiplying the production and circulation of capital. rapidly. In the end, space becomes a means of production and within it there is a commodity exchange network. In its efforts to obtain new space, capital does not carry out voluntary or voluntaristic processes, but from the beginning abstraction has been carried out by separating physical and mental reality. Physical space and humans all become means of production and the most effective way is through the mobilization of knowledge, capital, law and politics in an ongoing practice of dispossession.

This process will continue to occur and destroy every history of a society, destroying the diversity that exists within it with the aim of abstract homogeneity. This process is called abstraction violence because traditional values collide with the identity of exchange values and destroy the bonds of diverse natural materials into a homogeneous order and destroy local forms of knowledge and practices [11]. The process of space abstraction in the initial stages took place in discourses that separated the unity of space into separate parts between physical, mental and social interaction spaces. Physical and mental space is acquired to become a commodity, while social space/social practices are eliminated and made into space that seems empty without historical humans in it.

Next, the humans inside are transformed into commodities. The first thing that is done is to divorce or let go of the means of production and turn them into new workers who are free from ownership of the means of production. Releasing each of these components into commodities will make it easier for capital to proceed to the next stage, namely plunder. The way capital carries out confiscation is of course using legal and political regulations and through dominant knowledge discourses about industrialization that ignore local knowledge

and history. This achievement further opens the widest path for urbanization through private-based capital-intensive industry.

Serangan Island experiences a clash of interactions and relations between capitalist and non-capitalist production, most of these relations have a conflictual relationship due to differences in the management of existing resources. The consequence of this interaction model is a friction of interests between these two modes of production. To overcome this, the military was introduced and the optimization of political violence. In order for capitalist production to run, extra-economic instruments of this kind are used. This mode of course works like what was conveyed by Marx regarding primitive accumulation, namely the process of separating society from controlling its means of production. This separation also goes through two stages, namely changing the means of subsistence and production into capital or capital, then changing the producer, in this case the owner of the means of production, into a wage worker [12]. The reproduction of space by capitalism is very possible when the social spaces of non-capitalist societies are transformed into capitalist spaces, one of the forms of which is the release of the means of production, then the commodification of communal means of production as capital based on private ownership and the desire to turn humans into free laborers.

The state in the case of Serangan Island is present and plays a central position. With its authority, the state monopolizes violence and its legal basis plays a crucial role in supporting and developing this accumulation process [1]. Dispossession in Harvey's view is more than just the exploitation of workers, but rather the process of production of space, the struggle for new resources, and changes in institutional arrangements. This change poses a threat to rural communities because relations between people are reorganized and geographical reconstruction causes the opening of new spaces and other social spaces have the potential to be eliminated. The production of abstract space on Serangan Island can be seen through the reclamation agenttda both before and after reclamation.

The planning of the Serangan Island area is of course with the aim of changing the landscape and geography of the island. This process shows that there is an effort to transform this small island space into a new tourism-based industrial space. Apart from that, what is actually seen from the reclamation of this island illustrates how the need for commodities for capitalism must be sought and found outside the capitalist system, namely in the pre-capitalist economy. This modern imperialism can certainly be explained as a political expression of capital accumulation that competitively seeks and obtains existing non-capitalist environments. Serangan Island, after being reclaimed, is a location that fulfills the requirements for a change in space from non-capitalist to capitalist space with the mode of confiscation using state apparatus, manipulation of land legality issuance, domination of ecological resources and conversion of free labor.

The reclamation agenda was carried out in a persuasive manner at first, but when resistance and rejection emerged from the people of Serangan Island, the military was deployed to intimidate and pressure the people. Apart from that, several places are swapping with the community through a relocation scheme so that the new island that is formed is completely owned by investors. This is because there are residents who live in a small area within the newly formed island. Apart from that, domination of existing resources is also carried out, where this new island has an effect on environmental changes, the rise and fall of sea water even affects the community's territory which was previously high, after reclamation it becomes low and even tends to be submerged in water at high tide. Not only that, the reclamation also changed fishermen's fishing zones and disrupted the mooring patterns of boats and canoes belonging to the fishermen on Serangan Island.

The production of abstract space is parallel to the urbanization process that is forced to occur in insular rural spaces such as Serangan Island. This island, which then expanded in size, became a place of struggle between investors and the island's people, many of whom at that time worked as fishermen. Why is reclamation part of the production of abstract space and in line with the urbanization process, because urban society is a society that was formed due to the industrialization process. Basically, urbanization is a dual process between industrialization and space formation where urbanization occurs over a certain period of time to then disguise the industrialization process in mainstream economic discipline [13]. The process of urbanism that occurs on Serangan Island can be said to be the domination of urban discourse over the village.

The forcible formation of an urban society is carried out by destroying the social and ecological intimacy of the village to make way for new space for the emergence of giant industrial spaces. The discourse on building tourism facilities on a large scale is said to be able to improve the economy of the island community. This industrialist discourse is a form of destroying the historical social order in the region. The threat to SoR has emerged from this discourse. Apart from that, the promise from investors to the community to be accepted to work as permanent employees in the tourism facilities and accommodation that will be built further entices the community to release their land to investors. The discourse of work as a fisherman being unprofitable continues to be echoed by investors. After the new island was formed and the area of Serangan Island increased, people's access to the resources on the land of the new island was not free and tended to be restricted and strictly guarded by security officers.

4 Conclusion

The production of abstract space on Serangan Island was carried out by strong actors, namely investors who collaborated with the state, in this case the local government, which began to envision the development and planning of Serangan Island. The desired development on this island is based on the tourism industry with supporting physical buildings such as beach clubs and marinas. In fact, on this island there have been people who have lived for hundreds of years from generation to generation with the dialectics of life within the framework of a traditional agrarian-maritime society. It is based on the interests of tourism development that everything is envisioned by powerful actors as a source of economic profit. For this reason, reclamation was carried out with the aim of expanding the island so that it could support the development of tourism support facilities. Post-reclamation can be called a success in imagining and producing an abstract space that destroys and marginalizes the living space of the Serangan Island fishing community. This is in line with urbanization in the sense of industry being built in rural insular areas such as Serangan Island.

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