Socio-Cultural Transformation of The People of Nusa Penida

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Abstract. Human and community culture invariably move in a dynamic way following the development of human intellection. The only difference is regarding how fast or slow the changes occur. In a context like Nusa Penida, in advance of its development into a tourism destination, its people's lives depended on the seaweed sector as a mainstay of livelihood. During 2015-2019, it experienced very rapid development in the tourism sector. The development was driven by its tourism potential. As a result, transformation took place in the people's lives. In connection with this condition, this study reveals the factors that cause the transformation from the seaweed farming period to the tourism service period and describes the changes that occur. To achieve these goals, Sztompka's Theory of Social Change is used as a theoretical basis in examining the object of this study. This study employs a qualitative method with a historical approach. The main type of data is qualitative data which is supported by quantitative data. Data collection was carried out by means of observation and in-depth interviews with a number of informants. Data analysis was carried out in a qualitative descriptive manner. The results showed that the sociocultural transformation in Nusa Penida was caused by two driving factors such as internal and external factors. Internal factors include factors that come from within the community itself, including the community's desire to change. This is triggered by the existence of very strong external conditions. The production of seaweed farming is decreasing because in turn it is abandoned by farmers. The involvement of the ruling elite related to the Klungkung Regency Government's policy on tourism and the role of social media as a channel of information is very large in making changes. The changes having occurred can be seen from the development of infrastructure in the socio-cultural sector and the opening of wider new job opportunities.

Keywords: Nusa Penida; socio-culture; transformation

1 Introduction

Nusa Penida is an archipelago located in the southeast of the island of Bali. Administratively, the island appears as one of the sub-districts in Klungkung Regency. It has undergone changes, especially in the area of livelihood of the local community. As is the case in Bali in general, most of the people of Nusa Penida work in the dry land agricultural sector (moor). In addition to the hilly areas, Nusa Penida has a potential marine area, especially in the north-eastern coast. Fishing activities are the main livelihood of the local inhabitants.

Around 1982, Nusa Penida entered a new era in a type of agricultural livelihood sector, namely seaweed cultivation. In the 1990s the seaweed cultivation was growing rapidly. At that time, seaweed became the mainstay of the livelihood of the people of Nusa Penida. Such a condition, in turn, caused major changes in the economic life of the community that had never been experienced in previous times.

In subsequent developments, new trends emerged. Nusa Penida entered the era of tourism. Tourism of the island began in 2014 and was marked by the opening of the first Nusa Penida Festival in 2014. From 2015 to 2019 the tourism developed rapidly. This is evidenced by the increasing number of tourist visits to Nusa Penida (BPS Kabupaten Klungkung, 2017). The presence of tourism has shifted the seaweed farming sector to the tourism service sector. The dynamics of the life of the people of Nusa Penida from the seaweed farming period to the tourism sector led to a transformation of work, both as actors and as workers.

Transformation refers to changes and shifts, both in form, nature, and function. Kistanto (2018: 169) interprets socio-cultural transformation as a major and comprehensive change in the form of community characteristics from one situation to another. In such a situation, the question that then arises is what are the factors causing the socio-cultural transformation in Nusa Penida from the agricultural period to the tourism period? What are the forms of the changes that occur?

Literature Review

Sztompka states that society is constantly changing at all levels of its internal complexity. The change is seen as something dynamic and not linear. Social change in general can be interpreted as a process of shifting or changing the structure / order in society, including more innovative mindsets, attitudes, and social life to get a better life. At the macro level, economic and political changes occur; meanwhile, at the mezo level changes in groups, communities, and organizations occur and at the micro level itself changes in individual interactions and behavior occur. Society is not a physical force (entity), but a set of interrelated processes (Sztompka, 2011:6).

Here are several factors that cause changes in human society and culture to occur, such as internal/endogenous factors and external/exogenous factors. In the internal factors, change starts from the community itself in that there is the will or desire of the community to experience changes. There is a willingness of community members to abandon the elements of the old culture and social system and begin to switch to using elements of the new culture and social system. Endogenous processes develop the potential or tendencies involved in the changing reality. Exogenous factors are reactive. This process responds to external pressures, stimuli, and challenges. The existence of profile ideas/image of great people as motivators and social movements (Sztompka, 2011:19-20).

Lauer (2003:3-8) states that social change covers all aspects of social life because all aspects of social life are constantly changing. Change is normal and proceeds in different directions at different levels of social life and at different levels of rapidity. Abdulsyani (2002:163) states that social change is a change in culture and human behavior in society from certain circumstances to other circumstances. Social changes taking place in society, according to Abdulsyani (2002:167), have several forms: (1) evolutionary changes and revolutionary changes. Evolutionary changes represent social changes that occur in a slow process, over a long period of time, and without any particular will from the society concerned. Meanwhile, revolutionary changes are changes that take place quickly because they have been planned or without any prior planning. Revolutionary changes are often preceded by tensions or conflicts within the community concerned. These tensions are difficult to avoid, and many can even be controlled until they turn into acts of revolution.

(2) Planned changes and unplanned changes. Planned changes refer to changes to social institutions based on careful planning by the parties who want these changes. Planned change is best done in communities that previously had the desire to make changes but were unable to do so. Unplanned changes represent changes that take place against the will and beyond the control of society. These unwanted changes usually lead to more conflicts that are detrimental to the lives of the people concerned (Abdulsyani, 2002: 170).

2 Research Methods

The method used to conduct this research is a qualitative method with a historical approach. The historical approach seeks to reconstruct past phenomena. Data were collected using indepth interviews and observation. Interviews were conducted using snowball sampling technique. Interviews were conducted first with key informants and then continued with the following informants. These actions had been carried out in sequence until the saturation point, and validity of the extracted data were obtained. Observations were made in areas that previously served as centers for seaweed development and other infrastructure sectors. In addition to primary data, secondary data are also used. Secondary data were collected from the results of a review of the relevant literature and journal articles. The data were analyzed in three stages, namely classification, reduction, and drawing conclusions. The results of data analysis are presented in a qualitative descriptive manner (Moleong, 2000).

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Factors Causing Changes

External Factors

(1) Decrease in seaweed production. Condition of the marine environment is very dependent on weather conditions. Climate change, which can affect human activities in managing and utilizing the marine natural environment, occurred. Several natural phenomena that are unfavorable to the seaweed farming community occurred, which had an impact on the decreasing amount of seaweed production in Nusa Penida. This can be seen from the record of the amount of seaweed production in the last five years (2013-2017) which was increasingly decreasing (Bali Provincial Marine and Fisheries Service, 2018).

In 2013 total production reached 145,597 tons; in 2014 it reached 84,336 tons; in 2015 it reached 107,209 tons, in 2016 it reached 100,856 tons, and in 2017 it reached 597.71 tons. A drastic decrease occurred in early 2017 to reach 99%. To date, seaweed plants are only produced in Suana Village; meanwhile, in other villages such as Toyapakeh, Ped, Kutampi Kaler, Batununggul, which were previously quite productive centers for seaweed cultivation, this stretch of seaweed is no longer found.

The decline in production occurring was caused by the unfavorable natural carrying capacity. Extremely erratic global weather greatly affected the growth of seaweed. Weather that is too hot and too cold with strong winds - especially in August to September - causes seaweed to not thrive. The production period lasts quite a long time and even reaches almost 70 days compared to what is usually done in that only for one month to 44 days the harvest can be done. Many farmers complain that their seaweed is damaged, rotting, and falling off. In addition, there are schools of fish that eat seaweed, pests that attach to the seaweed such as bulung kawat (yellow sea urchins), and bulung hitam (black sea urchins).

As a result, there is a continuous decline in seaweed production. Meanwhile, land area is decreasing both in water areas and on the coast. Previously, the total area used by seaweed farmers was 164.30 Ha (Dinas Perikanan dan Kelautan Kabupaten Klungkung, 2003). It was recorded that until 2018 there were only 4.6 hectares of land in Suana Village with the number of cultivators of 87 seaweed farming households (Dinas Ketahanan Pangan dan Perikanan Kabupaten Klungkung, 2020). In addition, the declining selling price of seaweed also causes farmers to be less enthusiastic about pursuing the cultivation of these plants. Most of the farmers left their cultivated land and turned to work in the tourism service sector.

(2) The role of ruling elite. Other external factors that are no less important as the driving forces for the change are the role of the elite or the profile of big people as agents of change; in this case is the role of the local government of Klungkung Regency. Elite represents a group that excels in status and power (Suzanne Keller, 1995: 123). With the power possessed, leadership is born both socially and non-socially.

At the social level, the elites gain power because they have special specializations in accordance with the services provided. By Keller they are called the determining elites (Suzanne Keller, 1995: 43). Elite as a minority group controls the power to function as a decision maker in development, while the community functions in the process of the development. The role of the elite is quite decisive in motivating the community with their bright ideas or thoughts, which are able to drive changes in society.

The involvement of the elite in social change in Nusa Penida - in this case the formal elite as rulers, namely the government and its staff - is evident in the policy of the Klungkung Regency Government. This policy is in accordance with Article 11, No. 1 letter a of the 2013 Klungkung Regency Regional Regulation concerning the Klungkung Regency Spatial Plan. As referred to in Article 7 letter d of the regulation, the development of the Nusa Penida tourism area is carried out through the extension of effective tourism area blocks to encourage the acceleration of the function of the area as a Tourism Strategic Area. The regional regulation refers to the Bali Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2012 concerning Balinese Cultural Tourism which is realized based on the principles of benefit, kinship, balance, sustainability, participatory, sustainable, fair and equitable, democratic, equality and unity imbued with religious values of Hinduism by applying the Tri Hita Karana philosophy.

Through the implementation of the Klungkung Regency Regional Regulation on Spatial Planning, there were implications for changes in the vicinity of seaweed cultivation centers, especially those located in Ped Village. To convert a coastal area that was previously a location for seaweed cultivation into a tourism development area, a well-organized environment is needed. The structuring is mainly related to the destruction of the huts previously built by the seaweed farming community as a place to lodge and store the seaweed harvest. Likewise with the area where seaweed is drying when grass cultivation activities are in progress.

According to a statement from one of the Kelian Dusun in Ped Village, in the initial process - before the rows of huts were destroyed - mediation between the relevant agencies had first been carried out, in this case between the Klungkung Regency Government and local seaweed farmers as the owners of the huts. From the mediation conducted among the seaweed farmer groups, an agreement was reached. Each seaweed farmer's hut got compensation of 25 million rupiah.

As a result, these rows of huts are no longer found because the coastal area is already filled with tourism supporting facilities that have been built such as small villas, cafes, restaurants, and bars. In addition, the area in question is also used as an open space which will be used by tourists to enjoy the panoramic view of the white sandy beach. The phenomenon of land conversion in coastal areas (beach) provides a strong impetus for the community, especially the seaweed farming community to switch professions to new fields in the tourism sector.

(3)The role of social media. Social media appears an institution or agency that acts as a pioneer or agent of change. This is manifested in writings or news disributed via the internet as online information. The presence of social media as a means of communication and information among the public has the capability of disseminating information widely and can be accessed by the public quickly. The information provided by the media can directly affect the mindset and behavior patterns of people in interpreting the social systems that exist in society (Rini, 2011: 47).

Social media has also appeared as one of the external factors that drives social change in Nusa Penida. In Nusa Penida, young people are very aggressively using social media as a promotional event to introduce tourist attractions exisiting in the area to the wider community. They are the first to disseminate information through websites. Natural tourism objects having been previously unknown to the community outside Nusa Penida then became famous and even became a favorite for visitors. This is certainly inseparable from the role of social media as a means of information.

In turn, social media directly becomes a channel of change. The changes taking place slowly are responded quickly by the community. They are very interested in tourism. The crowds of tourists visiting to Nusa Penida have a big influence on seaweed farmers to switch professions to the tourism service sector.

External Factors

The people's ideology. Ideology refers to a guideline for achieving the desired goals. It includes expectations about something that is considered the most valuable in life. There are values that drive people to always strive to improve life. Some of the external factors mentioned above lead to changes in the mindset, attitude, and mentality of the people of Nusa Penida. Views on the nature of life began to shift, in that, this life must change.

In the midst of the increasingly high demands for living needs, the social situation and conditions of the people in the surrounding environment deliver strong support to the shift in the people's field of work to the glittering tourism sector. This growing tourism stimulus has generated a response among seaweed farmers who are slowly but surely starting to leave their jobs as seaweed farmers that have been engaged for decades. They assume that with the development of tourism, people's lives become more modern. Villages become crowded with tourist visits, traffic is also busy, transportation becomes smooth, people's houses become better, less productive land becomes productive, and agricultural products have a high selling value. Such life values permeate the life of this society.

Seeing the unfavorable external conditions for the activities of seaweed farmers, optimistic views or attitudes towards tourism emerged. This condition has encouraged the seaweed farming community to no longer be enthusiastic about working on their cultivated lands. In turn, seaweed becomes extinct because it is abandoned by farmers and replaced by tourism activities that are starting to develop.

3.2 Socio-Cultural Changes

Social change is a change in culture and human behavior in society, from certain circumstances to other circumstances (Abdulsyani: 2002:163). These changes involve changes in the form of material (tangible) and non-material (intangible).

Infrastructure development

Infrastructure development in rural areas is an integral part of national development. In addition, infrastructure development also plays a role as a stabilizer that can increase rural

economic growth. The structuring of the infrastructure sector in Nusa Penida starts from the coastal area, which includes the construction of infrastructure and facilities such as the Roro ship dock, roads, health, and education.

a. The Structuring of the beach area

The condition has resulted in changes to the location that previously served as a center for seaweed cultivation. The most drastic changes occurring are environmental changes, such as land conversion. Before tourism developed in Nusa Penida, the most prominent in the coastal area of seaweed cultivation centers were the buildings of seaweed farmers' huts (Suwendri, 2005). These huts functioned as a place to store dried seaweed, as a storage tool for production, as a temporary shelter/residence during seaweed farming activities, and as a place to carry out daily activities for seaweed farmers who live far from the coast (area of hills).

Based on a field study conducted prior to this study, it was found that along the seaweed production center, the rows of huts that previously crowded the beachfront of the seaweed cultivation center have now been demolished and then leveled and arranged to be used as a place for the construction of tourism supporting facilities such as bungalows, lodging, cafes, restaurants, and open spaces on the beach. Likewise in hilly areas, the existence of accommodation slowly penetrates, annexing farmers' land. People are competing to build tourism accommodation, like mushrooms in the rainy season as if out of control; something that was never imagined before.

b. Improvement of land roads and ease of sea crossings

Other infrastructure changes are getting better, such as the existence of land traffic, which previously was narrow, destroyed, and with holes, but has since been expanded to tourist objects and is better. Nusa Penida Subdistrict encompasses an archipelago separated by the Badung Strait. As an area that is separated by waters, the presence of sea transportation is very important. Before the existence of modern means of transportation such as KMP Nusa Jaya Abadi (Roro Ship) and fast boats, the people of Nusa Penida in their daily life used crossing facilities such as traditional jukung with outboard engines. This traditional transportation is indeed safer because it makes use of a kantih (balancing device), but it takes longer, up to about 1.5 to 2 hours, depending on weather conditions and ocean currents.

In line with the high mobility of the population of Nusa Penida leaving and entering Nusa Penida, the need for modern, faster and safer sea transportation is very much urgent for the community. Today, the presence of the Nusa Jaya Abadi Roro Ship is very appropriate, especially for people who want to bring four-wheeled or two-wheeled vehicles. Passengers who carry a lot of goods usually use trucks and pick up vehicles. Likewise, passengers who want to enjoy the sea view more along the way, roro boats are the right choice. The ship departs from Padangbay port to the ship's dock located in Banjar Mentigi. On the other hand, people who want a faster crossing can choose the availability of other sea transportation such as fast boats which are passing over and again through the waters of the Badung Strait to and from Nusa Penida.

c. Development in the sector of public health

The availability of infrastructure in the health sector is now experiencing development. In advance of tourism development, there was only one polyclinic located in Sampalan subdistrict, Nusa Penida. Then, along with the increasing population and the increasing needs of the community in the health sector, in the next development, namely in 2017, the first hospital in Nusa Penida was built and named Rumah Sakit Umum Daerah Gema Santi located in Banjar Nyuh Kukuh of Ped Village, West Nusa Penida District (BPS Klungkung Regency, 2020).

Building upon information in the field, before becoming a class D regional general hospital, the hospital has been open since 2017. While improving to prepare human resources such as the

medical team, on March 20, 2020 the hospital was inaugurated by the Regent of Klungkung I Nyoman Suwirta.

d. Expansion of the sector of education

The Klungkung Regency Government seeks to improve the quality of human resources in its area through expansion and equal distribution of opportunities to obtain quality education. In Nusa Penida in particular, two high schools have been established, namely SMAN 1 Nusa Penidama dan SMA Satu Atap (SMA Satap). The SMA Satap is located in hilly areas such as in Klumpu Village and Tanglad Village, Nusa Penida District.

In addition to building a high school, the Klungkung Regency government has also established a vocational high school, namely SMKN 1 Nusa Penida (SMKN 1) located in Banjar Nyuh Kukuh, Ped Village, the Sub-district of Nusa Penida. The school was opened in 2016. According to information from the principal, the school had actually been started in 2012. While waiting for the construction to be completed, learning activities were temporarily carried out in another school building with the status of borrowing a building. The vocational school opens four study programs. Among these study programs, the most attractive to students is the tourism study program, namely hospitality and catering.

This is certainly motivated by the surrounding environmental conditions which are increasingly moving towards tourism development. The existence of this vocational high school in the Nusa Penida area is very appropriate. The government of Klungkung Regency and Bali Province has provided economic convenience for the sons and daughters of Nusa Penida. The local community strongly supports the government's idea in the field of education.

Opening up new job opportunities

a. Accommodation service provider

For the community (seaweed farmers) who have adequate economic capacity such as the need for land that is already available for the construction of tourism facilities, both those obtained from ancestral heritage or by buying themselves or in collaboration with capital owners, of course there are different ways of looking at business opportunities in the field tourism. Nusa Penida tourism actors always strive to create comfort for tourists visiting tourist destinations in their area so the tourists' stay period can be longer. One of them concerns the provision of accommodation services such as renting out lodging, means of sea transportation such as fast boats and renting cars or motorbikes.

Accommodation is not only owned by local residents (krama banjar) but also owned by people outside the village of Nusa Penida (tamiu). In 2018 there has been a rapid development in the field of accommodation and sea transportation. There are 313 villas and hotels, 32 sea transportation facilities, 25 diving businesses, 131 restaurants, 30 bars, 17 restaurant businesses, 17 spas (Sudipa, et al., 2020: 61).

b. Working as labor/employee in the tourism industry

To be absorbed in the tourism sector, of course, adequate education and special skills are required. Based on information obtained from several informants who were previously seaweed farmers in the Village of Ped, they are interested in working in the tourism services sector because there are new job opportunities. They are tempted by getting a steady income every month. Most of them graduated from general high school and vocational school in hospitality and catering. In terms of age, they are on average 40 years old and under. They become workers in one of the restaurants owned by residents from outside Ped Village.

c. Rent car driver

Among young people (a family environment of seaweed farmers), there is a feeling of being more prestigious when working as a transportation service provider and at the same time as a driver. Armed with only modest but communicative English, they were able to take their guests on tours to natural tourism objects and spiritual tourism located in the western and eastern parts of Nusa Penida Island. Based on field studies, it was found that the income earned from being a tourism driver reached 10 to 15 million rupiah per month.

d. Working as a construction worker

Among seaweed farmers, people aged 45 years and over do not have skills in tourism, nor do they have sufficient capital to engage in tourism. Therefore, they prefer to work as daily laborers or workers in the construction of tourism facilities which are being intensively built by their owners. The results obtained are quite decent. In every day they can get a wage of 100 to 150 thousand rupiah. There are also seaweed farmers who return to farming as before, namely cultivating arable land that has been neglected for a long time and there are also raising livestock such as poultry, cows, and pigs as a side job.

4 Conclusion

Socio-cultural transformation of the community of Nusa Penida from agriculture to the tourism service industry sector is caused by internal and external factors. In fact, changes that move from external factors originating from outside the community are more dominant, providing a strong impetus to bring about change. The most obvious material/physical changes, especially in the field of infrastructure development, were followed by the expansion of job opportunities for the community. People who are not involved in the tourism service sector lose their jobs due to land conversion for the benefit of tourism commodification. People having no access to work in the tourism service sector should be given facilities in the form of business capital in the livestock sector such as raising poultry, cattle, and pigs or other business capital, so they feel like they have never lost their jobs.

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