
The Blue Economy in Indonesia

Exploring the Socio Economic Political and Ecological Implications on the Coastal Communities



SNEHA BLUE ECONOMY RESEARCH TEAM

NAGAPATTINAM, INDIA

CONTENTS

1. BACKGROUND	3
Summary of Dominant Discourse	4
Our Perspectives	4
Our Initiative	5
Rationale for the Area of Study	5
Process of The Study	6
Scope of The Study	6
Limitations of The Study	6
Chaperterisation	6
2. INTRODUCTION	8
Profile of Fishing Communities	10
Geopolitics	11
Fisheries	11
3. ADOPTION OF BLUE ECONOMY	12
Marine Fisheries Laws of 2014	16
Marine Spatial Planning	20
National Strategic Tourism Area or <i>Kawasan Strategis Pariwisata Nasional (KSPN)</i>	23
City without Slum Area Project or <i>Proyek Kota tanpa Kumuh (Kotaku)</i>	25
4. FIELD OBSERVATIONS	26
Interface With Ministry Officials	27
FGD with Muara Angke Fishers	28
FGD with Coastal Community in Pari Island	29
FGD with Fishers in Bandungharjo, Jepara District.	30
FGD with Coastal Community in Parang Islands, Karimunjawa	32
FGD with Demak Fisherwomen	33

<u>FGD with Coastal Community in Sayung District</u>	34
<u>5. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS</u>	36
<i><u>Ecological Implications</u></i>	38
<i><u>Development Induced Disasters</u></i>	3838
<i><u>Marine Pollution and Biodiversity</u></i>	38
<i><u>Socio-Economic Implications</u></i>	39
<i><u>Denial of Access to Fishery Resources</u></i>	40
<i><u>Land Grabbing and Displacement</u></i>	41
<i><u>Criminalisation of Coastal Community</u></i>	42
<i><u>Double Whammy on Women</u></i>	42
<i><u>Political Implications</u></i>	42
<u>6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</u>	41
<i><u>References</u></i>	45

1. BACKGROUND

Globally, the concept of the Blue Economy has been emerging and projected as the Sustainable Economic Growth model by the Coastal Nations who have opened the ecosystems of the Ocean and Coast which explores Fisheries, Aquaculture, Tourism, Shipping, Biotechnologies, Maritime Security, Mining, Oil and Gas, Renewable Energy in an economically sustainable way. The aim of the Blue Economy/Blue Growth strategy using ocean and coastal ecosystem services are shared as *Sustainable Economic Development Spaces* through ecosystem integrity. Most of the Least Coastal Developing Countries (LCDC) and many Small Island Developing States (SIDS) had been adapting and shifting towards the Blue Economy/Blue Growth strategies to fulfil food security and attain decent livelihoods.

In 2008, the World Bank and UN's FAO jointly published report 'The Sunken Billions: The Economic Justification for Fisheries Reform'. According to the report "By improving governance of marine fisheries, society could capture a substantial part of this \$50 billion annual economic loss. Through comprehensive reform, the fisheries sector could become a basis for economic growth and the creation of alternative livelihoods in many countries. At the same time, a nation's natural capital in the form of fish stocks could be greatly increased and the negative impacts of the fisheries on the marine environment reduced".

Following this report, the book, "*The Blue Economy: 10 years – 100 innovations – 100 million jobs*" by Gunter Pauli in November 2009, expressed that a Blue Economy Business model will shift society from scarcity to abundance "*with what is locally available*", by tackling issues that cause environmental and related problems in new ways.

Then, most of the Global and Regional Platforms such as First Blue Economy Summit (2014, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates), First "Our Ocean" Conference (2014), UN Conference on SIDS (2014, Apia, Samoa) promoted Blue Economy/Blue Growth Model, through collateral agreements for technology transfer, knowledge transfer, funding support, providing Maritime Security for Indian Ocean, Pacific Ocean and other high seas.

Inspired by these developments, the World Bank and the FAO came up with the report in 2017, "*The Sunken Billions Revisited: Progress and Challenges in Global Marine Fisheries*" which advocated for Bio-Economic Model, an integrated Economic-Ecological tool used to analyse the welfare effects of changes in environmental quality.

Further, the World Bank came up with report titled '*The Potential of the Blue Economy: Increasing Long-term Benefits of the Sustainable Use of Marine Resources for Small Island Developing States and Coastal Least Developed Countries*'. This report focused on two major challenges, one is to govern the ocean sustainability which aims for sustainable fisheries to ecosystem health and then substantial ocean governance which requires collaboration across nation-states and across the public-private sectors partnership.

To conclude, the Blue Economy Growth Model is nothing but transforming the Blue (Natural) Capital into various economic sectors i.e. Oceans and Seas as Sustainable Shared Economic Development Spaces for inclusive growth.

SUMMARY OF DOMINANT DISCOURSE

Globally adopted Blue Economy reiterates the *Exploration* of potential Ocean and Marine Resources through scientific assessment, *Exploitation* of the above resources through sustainable means, and *Expansion* of existing coastal and marine economic activities to facilitate their economic growth as well as sustainable use of resources through a legal, liberal global trade and economic agreements including environmental monitoring, among the countries with the financial support of International Financial Institutions and other private multinational investors.

OUR PERSPECTIVES

However, when the above concepts are viewed from the perspectives of traditional marine fishing communities, especially through gender and ecological perspectives, we assume that the following implications will be the outcome of Blue Economic Model as this model seems to be the extension of the Neoliberal paradigm in South and South East Asian Countries.

- *Ecological externalities* such as loss of biodiversity as an inevitable consequence of exploitation of coastal and marine resources.
- *Exclusion of Marine and Coastal Communities* from their habitats, governance and user rights on marine and coastal commons, and resulting in loss of livelihoods by allowing oceans and coasts as open access systems.
- *Enforcement of Maritime Securitas* a deliberate strategy of blue economy towards militarisation of coast and increasing global governance

OUR INITIATIVE

In the above context, SNEHA¹ undertook a study to explore the Social, Economic, Ecological and Political Implications of ‘Blue Economy’ on SSF and Fisherwomen in South and South East Asia with the following objectives:

- To enable the process of evolving an alternate people centric policies, institutions and jurisprudence at the macro level for the cause of coastal communities with a special focus on small-scale fisher folk and women, by generating knowledge from a coastal, ecological and gender perspectives
- To promote a platform for the voice of the Global South, which seeks to challenge the dominant discourse of Blue Economic Growth model and advocate for an International Legal Instrument which will ensure right to coastal and marine governance and user rights to ocean and coastal commons

SNEHA decided to undertake this study covering countries in South and South East Asia.

RATIONALE FOR THE AREA OF STUDY

- On the west coast, India shares its maritime boundaries with Pakistan, while on the east coast; the boundaries are shared with, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia.
- In some cases, it is not only the shared maritime boundaries but also shared ecosystems, such as the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay between India and; Sunderbans between Bangladesh and India; and the Myeik (Mergui) Archipelago in the Andaman Sea.
- Both the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal harbour migratory as well as straddling fish stocks, such as tuna and tuna-like species, sharks and Spanish mackerels. Blue Economy policies have been adopted by these countries to different extents, and coastal communities from here have much to learn from one another, and strengthen global solidarity.

¹Social Need Education and Human Awareness (SNEHA) is a grassroots organisation based in Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu, working with coastal communities especially women and children since 1984 through Policy Advocacy, Research, Networking and Campaign and development interventions to protect the rights of the coastal communities and coastal ecology in alliance with Coast Actional Network (CAN) and National Fishworkers Forum (NFF)

PROCESS OF THE STUDY

- Field Visits to Study Sites in, Bangladesh, Thailand, India and Indonesia
- Focus Group Discussion with representatives of Coastal and Marine Communities (SSF and Women Fish workers), Trade Unions, Federations, Associations
- Interviews with Traders, Dealers of Value and Supply Chain of Fisheries
- Interfacing with National and Local Coastal Government Authorities
- Discourse with Experts, Academicians, and Scholars
- Interaction with leaders of Political parties and CSOs
- Desk Review: Policies, Legislations and other Institutional frameworks (Country Specific)
- Inception, Perspective Building and Validation Workshops at the International Level

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study has attempted to document and summarise the implications of Blue Growth Model from the perspectives of the coastal communities, victims of the blue economy projects, research team and collaborating partners of the study. In a nutshell, the study attempted to review the ongoing projects under BE as an extension of neoliberal regime. As the study is qualitative in nature, the research team put forth the assumptions based on the desk review and available study reports. The validity of the assumptions was carried out through Field Observations, Case Studies, Testimonies of the people through Focus Group Discussions and Interaction with various stakeholders of the study.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The findings of the qualitative study need to be studied in-depth using other quantitative tools. The study did not focus on all the components of BE. But a common observation is that the oil extraction, conservation, and marine/aquaculture projects are conflicting each other and ecosystems and well-being of ocean are severely damaged. This needs to be proved which needs further research.

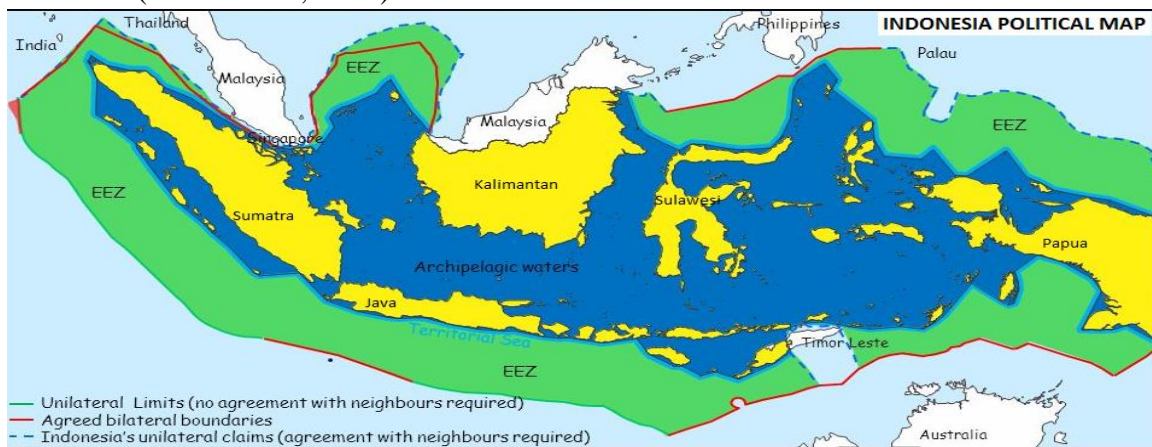
CHAPERTERISATION

The study is discussed in 5 chapters. Chapter one elaborates on the background Concepts, Assumptions, Process, Scope and Limitations of the study. Chapter two provides an introduction

to the Indonesian context on the broader political economy as well on fisheries. The third chapter explores Indonesia's adoption of BE with the existing literature, study reports, analysis of the policies, legislations, budget plans related to the BE components of the countries chosen for the study. The fourth chapter describes on data collection through field visits and FGDs. The fifth chapter analyses the data and summarise the findings. The final chapter enlist the conclusion and recommendations.

2. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the world's largest archipelagic country, comprising of about 17,508 islands, of which about 6000 are inhabited¹, spanning 5,120 kilometres from east to west and 1,760 kilometres from north to south with Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua being the largest islands. The land area is 1,904,569 sq.km, but. It has the 3rd largest coastline of 54,720 km, with and the sixth largest EEZ of 6,159,032 km². Being an archipelagic country, land is only 25% of the total area of the country, as the seas between the islands coming to over 5,800,000 sq.km are considered under Indonesian sovereignty in a special category under archipelagic states as shown below (Asrana et al, 2019)².



List of Seabed and EEZ Boundary Agreements by Indonesia with its maritime neighbours:

SL.NO	COUNTRY	AGREEMENT
1.	Australia	Shelf and Seabed Boundary Agreements in 1973 and EEZ Boundary in 1997
2.	India	Shelf and Seabed Boundary Agreements in 1977.
3.	Malaysia	Shelf and Seabed Boundary Agreements in 4 treaties from 1971 to 1979.
4.	Philippines	Maritime Boundary and EEZ Treaty, 2014
5.	Palau	-
6.	Singapore	Territorial Border Agreement, 1974
7.	Thailand	Seabed boundary Agreement of 1975
8.	Timor Leste	-
9.	Vietnam	Continental Shelf boundary Agreement of 2003

Thus, as we can see from the table, even prior the UNCLOS ratification in 1985, Indonesia through bilateral agreements had already demarcated its seabed boundaries, which implies that the

marine resources were already being considered Natural Capital, with the legal frameworks for its commercial exploitation being established in advance.

Indonesia is notable for the diversity of its coastal ecosystems, which contain 18 percent of the world's coral reefs, over 70 genera and 500 species of coral, 2,500 species of fish, 2,500 species of molluscs, 1,500 species of crustaceans, and a variety of another marine biota. This includes 86,700 km² of coral reefs, and 24,300 km² of mangrove areas, and which directly and indirectly support the livelihoods of nearly 230 million people. In 2012, it was estimated that about 70% of the country's protein sources comes from fish (in some poor coastal communities this figure approaches 90%), while nearly 20% of the country's GDP is derived from fisheries and other marine-based industries like Oil and gas, Coastal Mining, Transportation, Marine infrastructure, Tourism, among others (Huffard et al, 2012)³.

Indonesia also has relatively high tectonic and volcanic activities. It lies on the convergence between the Eurasian, Indo-Australian, Pacific, and Philippine Sea Plate. It has over 400 volcanoes, of which over 150 are active. Hence, Indonesia is one of the High-Risk countries when it comes to disasters like Earthquakes, Tsunamis, Volcanic eruptions, etc. However, the Indonesia's race to economic growth had promoted large number of unsustainable projects which is contributing to aggravating the existing disasters.



PROFILE OF FISHING COMMUNITIES

Indonesian government statistics show that as on 2019, there are about 9,65,756 households in capture fisheries including 6,83,249 marine capture and 2,82,507 inland capture (fresh and brackish water lakes, rivers, reservoirs) fishing households in the country (Statistics Indonesia, 2019)⁴. Similarly, 1.59 million households are involved in culture fisheries including 167,680 in mariculture, 263,530 in brackish water aquaculture and 892,249 in freshwater aquaculture. However, fisheries statistics is available only at household level, and not at individual level and Government so far have not published any Sex Disaggregated Data with the Fisheries sector.

This is because women are not formally recognized as fisherwoman, despite women's contributions in pre- and post-landing and also as sea-going fishers. Thus, the political identity of fisherwomen is not even on the gaze of the various government schemes. Even in the Law No. 7/2016 on Protection and Empowerment of fisherfolks, fish farmers, and salt farmers, there are no mention of the fisherwomen. Fisherwomen only included in the term of "fisherfolks household". Therefore, fisherwomen are usually not included in the government support scheme for fisherfolks, even though that they involve in most activity fisheries production.

As of 2016, according to government statistics, there were 1,90,923 non-motorised boats, 1,81,178 boats with OBM and 1,71,744 inboard engine boats coming to a total marine capture fisheries fleet of 5,43,845 boats (Statistics Indonesia, 2019)⁵. These employ a huge variety of crafts

No	MPA	Number	Size (ha)
A	Managed by MoF	32	4,694,947.55
1	Marine National Parks	7	4,043,541.30
2	Marine Tourism Parks	14	491,248.00
3	Marine Wildlife Sanctuaries	5	5,678.25
4	Marine Nature Reserves	6	154,480.00
B	Managed by MMAF and local governments	76	11,089,181.97
1	Marine National Parks	1	3,521,130.01
2	Marine Nature Parks	3	445,630.00
3	Marine Tourism Parks	6	1,541,040.20
4	District-based Marine Protected Areas	66	5,581,381.76
	Total	108	15,784,129.52

and gear given the enormous diversity in the seas and coasts of this massive island country – from the deepsea fisheries of Banda Sea and Gulf of Tolo with average depths of 5400 m to very shallow seas with nutrient rich mangroves off the coast of Papua in the Arafura Sea. The island ecosystems of Indonesia are unique, distinguishing them from the coastal ecosystems encountered in other countries like India, Bangladesh, Thailand. As a result of these rich and diverse ecosystems, Indonesia is the second largest

producer of Marine capture fish amounting to 6.6 million tonnes in 2018. Indonesia's huge aquaculture sector (including mariculture) yielded more than 16.6 million tonnes, constituting a whopping 16.4 percent of global aquaculture production in 2018⁶ next only to China. As of 2012 itself, Indonesia had 108 MPAs covering about 16m hectares (Yulianto et al, 2013)⁷.

GEOPOLITICS

Indonesia has a long history of various dynasties such as Sriwijaya and Majapahit, but was colonized by the Dutch in the 17th century, and won independence after the 2nd world war in 1945. However, from 1966 onwards, Indonesia had military rule under Gen., Suharto, where several sectors of the economy were liberalized for foreign investments, especially American investments in petroleum, coal, mining, timber logging. The US became a key ally since Indonesia is situated in a highly strategic location for maritime trade as the vital shipping lanes are located from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. In recent years, China also became a key ally to Indonesia, and many infrastructure projects also involved China as well as China Investment Promotion Agency, especially with the OBOR (One Belt One Road) project from China. Recently, Indonesia and China government even agreed on using Yuan instead of USD in the cooperation between the two countries.

Several rounds of Economic Reforms were introduced in the late 1980s including devaluation of the currency and deregulation of financial markets. Despite economic growth, increasing debts, crony capitalism and severe depletion in natural resources coupled with the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis led to severe crippling of the economy. While military rule was replaced and democratic and decentralization reforms were introduced in this '*Reformasi*' era, the high national debt ensured IMF put in place rigorous structural adjustment programmes in Indonesia from 1998 onwards.

Throughout this period, however, a vast number of multilateral programmes have been ongoing in Indonesia. For instance, in 2006, Indonesia proposed a sub-regional Coral Triangle Initiative during the Eighth Convention on Biological Diversity, which involved Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Timor Leste, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands, placing emphasis on the marine environment and conservation measures. These initiatives have been supported by USAID and several other INGOs such as WWF, The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International⁸.

FISHERIES

After the Second World War, Japanese fishing fleets routinely exploited Indonesian seas with trawlers serving the growing global demand for shrimp. Mechanization picked up with Japanese technology in this time. In 1969, the Indonesian military government promoted foreign

companies to enter into Joint Ventures with Indonesian partners, which enabled massive Japanese investments and expanded the large trawl industry in Indonesia which profoundly transformed the Indonesian fishing industry in a few years. By the end of 1976, foreign investment in the Indonesian Shrimp Fishery was about US\$46 million with 51 cold storage facilities being operational. Exports of Frozen Shrimp increased from around 5600 tonnes in 1969 to over 35000 tonnes in 1979 (FAO, 2006)⁹.

The implications of these policies were severe on the traditional fishers. This led to several violent clashes between traditional fishers and trawlers and, between 1964 and 1976, according to official records, 62 vessels were sunk and 34 fishers killed in clashes between trawlers and traditional-small scale fishers. In 1980, in response to these increasingly violent clashes and continuing complaints from traditional-small scale fishers, industrialised trawling was banned in all waters surrounding Java and Bali and in 1981, this ban was extended to the waters surrounding Sumatra. After legally ‘banning’ trawlers, the Indonesian government provided financial incentives for conversion from trawlers vessels to purse seiners, with the result that the number of purse seiners increased from 810 during the period 1975–79 to 2100 in 1984–87. However, these bans were not effectively implemented and by the early 90s, trawlers made a resurgence with many vessels operating illegally and some more being “licensed” by local authorities despite the supposed ban. However, these industrial purse seiners were larger in size, with vessels being over 100 GT after the 2000s, often with Chinese or Japanese investments (FAO, 2006).

On the other hand, the huge commercial fisheries sector in Indonesia constitutes all the fishing vessels over 30 GT. More than 35% of the commercial fishing licenses are officially owned by fishing companies¹⁰. This points to the huge corporatization of the marine fisheries sector to serve the global powers for the accumulation of profit.

3. ADOPTION OF BLUE ECONOMY (BE)

As a Small Island Developing State (SIDS), the concept and mainstreaming of the Blue Economy in Indonesia was first announced by the then President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) in 2012. His Government reaffirmed its leadership of the Coral Triangle Initiative for coastal livelihoods, food security and climate change and outlined a multipronged approach to recognize the value of nature for coastal communities and Indonesia’s economy¹¹.

In 2012, Indonesia (as a member) along with 11 other member countries in Partnerships in Environmental Management for the Seas of East Asia (PEMSEA) adopted Blue Economy as a Sustainable Development Strategy with the Chongwon Declaration¹².

The subsequent President, Joko Widodo in 2014 took this BE objective further in projecting Indonesia as the **Global Maritime Fulcrum** and endorsed it as the core concept of Indonesia's development agenda. The Presidential **Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 16 of 2017** puts oceans as the front liner sector in supporting a more sustained economy development and in making the oceans as the essential connector between islands and states.

In 2017, his Government released **National Ocean Policy**, which provided comprehensive roadmaps and policy guidelines for each ministry to fulfil the maritime vision, states that *“The vision of Global Maritime Fulcrum is to make Indonesia as a sovereign, advance, independent, and strong maritime nation which able to provide positive contribution for peace and security of the region and world in accordance to its national interest”*.

The Global Maritime Fulcrum is a grand masterplan that consists of 7 pillars that are:

- I. Marine and Human resource development
- II. Maritime Security, Law enforcement and Safety at sea
- III. Ocean Governance and Institutions
- IV. Maritime Economy development
- V. Marine Space management and marine protection
- VI. Maritime culture.
- VII. Maritime diplomacy.



Safeguarding *Archipelagic Vision/Sovereignty (Wawasan Nusantara)*, *Sustainable Development*, *Blue Economy*, *Integrated and Transparent Management*, *Public Participation* and *Equality and Equitability* are claimed as the 6 core principles of the Global Maritime Fulcrum vision.

Each of these components have warranted new laws and several amendments. As on October 5th 2020, Indonesian House of Parliament passed the **Job Creation Law of 2020**, known popularly as the **Omnibus Law**. It is an overarching law containing over 1000 amendments to 79 pre-existing environmental, labour and investment regulatory laws¹³. It deregulated the provisions (Amdal) of environmental laws for several industries to facilitate private investments and debarred local communities from registering environmental complaints, abolished Environmental Assessment committees, among others. There are several similarities between India's EIA 2020

with these new environmental regulatory frameworks. Similarly, labour sector are deregulated by promoting hire-and-fire labour practises. It also opens up more than 300 sectors for increased foreign investment including marine fisheries, thereby deregulating the investment laws as well (GoI, 2020)¹⁴.

While Indonesia’s BE agenda is vast and spans all the components, we are focusing on 4 major aspects pertaining to our field visits - Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2014 (Marine Fisheries Law), Marine Spatial Planning Laws of 2014, National Strategic Tourism Programme, and the ‘City without Slums’ programme.

Sl.No	POLICY/LEGISLATION	SALIENT FEATURES
1.	New Marine Fisheries Laws of 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Removal of powers from local government for fisheries management. • Establishment of 11 fisheries management areas with central having more powers. • TAC based fisheries licencing system under MMAF. • Welfare measures, but no women.
2.	Marine Spatial Planning Laws of 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legalisation of MSPs made by provincial governments • Legalised long-term permits to private players.
3.	National Strategic Tourism Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25 sites selected for strategic tourism development • 10 sites to be developed under “10 new Balis” plan • Target of 20m foreign tourists.
4.	‘City without Slums’ Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World Bank funded projects. • “100-0-100 Plan”: 100% drinking water supply, 0 slum areas, 100% sanitation facilities to be targeted • 23,600 hectares of slum areas to be replaced across Indonesia

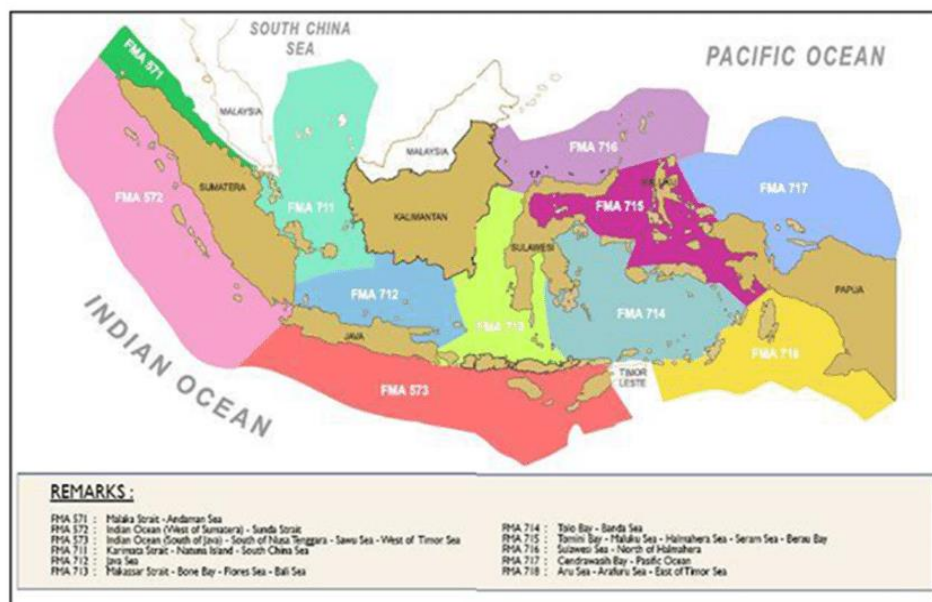
As part of the *2nd pillar of Maritime Security and Law Enforcement*, Indonesia has emphasized its vision to develop a Green Water Navy (Zulkifli, 2020)¹⁵, and has been expanding the maritime security aspects in all its maritime cooperation negotiations with neighbouring countries like India¹⁶. The Government also proposed 5 new coastal military bases in Natuna, Biak, Merauke, Morotai and Saumlaki to “*better coordinate its three forces in maritime border areas*”¹⁷. However, in practice, analysts point to steadily increasing roles of the military in its administration, which is now being given a further boost with the President looking to amend laws to legalize appointing military officers in a broad range of governmental and ministerial posts¹⁸. Being a resource-rich country with a history of military, the Indonesian military also plays a role in its economy and is actively involved in tourism, mining, timber sectors, and has wider investments in construction, fisheries and financial sectors (Suparwoko, 2012)¹⁹.

As part of the final *7th Pillar of Maritime Diplomacy*, Indonesia has been involved with several rounds of negotiations in recent years with its maritime neighbours over delineating its EEZ boundaries such as India and Malaysia²⁰. While Indonesia accepts the existing seabed boundaries as per the treaties in the 1970s, its renewed interest in demarcating separate EEZ boundaries for the water column implies its interest in securing fishery and other marine resources of the water column.

However, the Indonesia's growth model envisioned under the Global Maritime Fulcrum ignores vital environmental and biodiversity concerns including the severity due to global Climate Change. Instead, the implications on the coastal communities are grave, as they are marginalized, with no access to their constitutional rights guaranteed under Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. In addition, the policies such as Marine Spatial Planning and Coastal and Small Islands Tourism Areas Development projects lead to increasing land and ocean grabbing practices, deprivation of coastal community living space and habitations through conservation and forced removal of slum areas for gentrification through infrastructure projects, and others.

MARINE FISHERIES LAWS OF 2014

The government has brought about several changes to the fisheries management system in Indonesia, and have enacted legislations for the same. **Ministry of Marine Affair and Fisheries (MMAF) – Ministerial Decree No.18/2014** established 11 Fisheries Management Areas throughout the territorial waters and EEZ as shown below.



The government promotes commercial fisheries within these Areas. It mandates annual fishing licenses for fishing vessels more than 30 GT to be issued by the MMAF and establishes an MSY-TAC based system and stipulates license fees for various categories of fishing vessels running from 30 GT onward to those over 200 GT. This law also establishes co-management by instituting Fisheries Management Area Committees with representatives from the MMAF and the provincial governments.

While, the Ministerial Decree of MMAF No.18/2014 explicitly banned foreign vessels in fishing operations, the enactment of Omnibus Law 2020 has opened up Indonesian sea/waters to the foreign fishing vessels where the registrations, permits and licenses needed for industrial fishing were condensed into a single permit to be issued and centralised by the central government. The bill will also drop the threat of criminal charges for illegal fishers, which is provided for in current law. Instead, perpetrators will only face the possibility of criminal charges if they fail to pay a fine. This provision grants impunity to violators and weakens efforts to deter illegal fishing. On the other hand, it now mandates the boats from 10-30 GT sizes also avail permits from the Central government, and centralizes the entire fisheries management of Indonesia, including territorial waters and thus removing the powers of provincial government.

The central government instead of further regulating the commercial fishing sector, is instead using the licenses as a means of revenue for the Ministry. This law once again reiterates that the fishery resource is going to those who can purchase fishing licenses at high cost, which will further the corporatization of the marine fishing sector, marginalizing the coastal community and denies their fundamental right over the fishery resources. This kind of Total Allowable Catch (TAC) based fishing license model was seen in other countries like Thailand as well, and bears the FAO stamp as the model for “*Sustainable Fisheries Management*”.

The table below is a compendium of laws from 2004 onwards to show the evolution of these frameworks. (Muawanah et al, 2018)

Sl.No	Law	Purpose
1.	Law No. 31/2004	Concerning Fisheries (Fisheries Act). These laws recognize a shifting paradigm from fisheries management to an ecosystem approach to fisheries. This is the overarching law that regulates all matters concerning fisheries at the national level. It covers fisheries management; fisheries boats, gear and licensing; fisheries value added; fisheries research and development; fisheries fees; fisher empowerment and prosperity; fisheries court and arbitration; and, fisheries enforcement and sanctions.

2.	Law No. 26 of 2007	A general law with the principal purpose of regulating use, planning and control over space, waters and land, including management of marine and coastal resources and us of Spatial Use Management
3.	Law No. 32 of 2009	Concerning Environmental Protection and Management to create environmentally sustainable development through planning policies and rational exploitation, development, maintenance, restoration, supervision and control. This is a comprehensive law on environmental management in Indonesia.
4.	Law No. 1/2014	Amending Law No. 27/2007 on Coastal and Small Islands Management. The objective to protect, conserve, rehabilitate and utilize the resources of coastal and small islands in sustainable manner. The law provides for the use of zoning plans for marine resources and marine areas.

As shown in the above table, all these efforts to alter the fisheries management paradigm using the Ecological Approach framework have been ongoing from at least 2009.

The USAID Sustainable Ecosystems Advancement (USAID-SEA) project initiated the establishment of Fisheries Management Committee (FMC), particularly on FMA (Fisheries Management Area) 715 in Maluku, North Maluku and West Papua which are the targeted locations of the Coral Triangle pilot projects. These efforts towards legalizing new fisheries management paradigms have been steadily attempted with the support of USAID and international NGOs. Thus, the government's claims of this law as complying with Ecological Approach to Fisheries Management, seems to be legitimising grabbing of fishery resources.

The government also enacted legislations for **Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2016 (Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Farmers and Salt Farmers)**. This for the first time provides a legal definition for SSF as fishers who use boats of 0-10 Gross Tonnes. Thus, while dispossessing SSF from resource rights, this considers them as mere recipients of welfare, rather than rights-holders.



A Cartoon produced by KIARA depicting the exclusion of women from Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2016

However, despite mandating welfare measures for fishers and workers in fisheries allied sectors, it **completely ignores the women**. Women continue to be excluded from policy and programme interventions to improve lives and livelihood of coastal community in Indonesia. Laws fail to articulate women as fisherwomen, though they work in all coastal related sectors like capture fisheries, processing, aquaculture, salt farming, women’s roles and contributions are hardly recognized. Even in the government fisheries data, their presence is not recognized since statistics are not age and sex disaggregated.

As we saw previously, Indonesia had already adopted neoliberal reforms, and this is extended in the name of Blue Economy with several bilateral and multilateral agreements with countries and international agencies– to promote which, the government has also initiated specific projects committed with international support at the Our Ocean Conference in Bali, Indonesia in 2018 (MMAF, 2018)²¹:

1.	Total allocation of \$ 1,400,000 for “ <i>Promote Scaling-up of Innovative Rice-Fish Farming and Climate Resilient Tilapia Pond Culture Practices for Blue-Growth in Asia</i> ” in Sumatera, Java, Sulawesi, Bali and Kalimantan. The target of fish production is 1.2 tonnes per hectare/cycle.	FAO support
2.	Indonesia to invest an initial \$250,000 to improve compliance with global food security and safety requirement. This program is to support the development of National Fish Traceability and Logistic System, called STELINA.	USAID Oceans
3.	Indonesia commits \$8.7 million in developing National Seaweed Industry includes; i) seaweed processing units at 6 regencies, ii) warehouses rehabilitation at 3 regencies, iii) warehouse construction at 6 regencies. MMAF convenes monthly Marine and Fisheries Business and Investment Forum (MFBIF) to promote sustainable seaweeds and their products.	United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
4.	World Bank supported Solid Waste Management projects	World Bank
5.	Development for Fisheries Sector in Outer Islands in Indonesia with a \$2.5 million full grant from JICA.	JICA
6.	Indonesia has 5 sites declared as UNESCO GeoPark, of which 4 are coastal sites ²² .	Private
7.	<i>New Ocean Economy</i> report for Indonesia by the end of 2020. The report will also identify gaps on investment needed to manage Indonesian seas sustainably and recommend a series of action to fill the gaps.	World Resources Institute (WRI) Global

8.	Initiative for exploring of sea-plant production systems and seagrass, embedded in a sustainable management of the oceans aimed at the protection and enhancement of biodiversity and ocean ecosystems investing 1.5 million US dollar in 2019-2021.	Wageningen University & Research, Netherlands
9.	Construct the land for the Centre Point of Indonesia Project located off the coast of Makassar (value is approximately EUR 80 million)	Boskalis, Netherlands
10.	Both Boskalis projects on the island of Sulawesi (Boskalis will expand the Makassar New Port container terminal) and on the island of Java (it will prepare land for a new petrochemical complex) will be executed in the second half of 2019 and carry a combined value of approximately EUR 75 million	Boskalis, Netherlands
11.	Technical Cooperation Regarding Indonesian Development Planning - Support for the Post-Disaster Rehabilitation and Recovery of the Central Sulawesi Earthquake	JICA

MARINE SPATIAL PLANNING

Marine Spatial Planning is globally promoted as way of allocating ocean space to competing users, and resolve conflicts. In other words, like how the concept of Integrated Coastal Zone Management sought to alter the coastal land use patterns, MSP seeks to alter the ocean space usage patterns by converting oceans from a closed access system into open access systems.

Under their Global Maritime Fulcrum vision, which adopted BE as among the principles, Marine Spatial Planning is the 5th pillar of the National Ocean Policy. Indonesia legally established MSP as a policy of implementing the Blue Economy in 2014. The government has been focusing on it for over a decade. A brief timeline of the government's legal framework to implement MSP is provided below.

SL.NO	LEGISLATION	IMPACTS
1.	Law No. 27/2007 on the Management of Coastal Area and Small Islands Law No. 27/2007 on Coastal Water Concession Rights	Enabled private sector to obtain Ownership Rights (Water Concessional Rights) and acquire marine space for specific commercial purposes. Indonesian government indirectly has denied the rights of coastal community on their living space and livelihood.
2.	Constitutional Court ruling No. 3/PUU-VII/2010	Rejected Water Concessional Rights as unconstitutional. The decision of the Constitutional Court of Republic of Indonesia gave hope for coastal community in accessing their constitutional rights.

		However, in reality, the Court only held those specific clauses about privatization as unconstitutional, and not the entire Law as such. This paved the way in 2014 for the Indonesian government to issue an amendment to the 2007 law.
3.	Government amended the above law through Law No.27/2007 Juncto (Jo) Law No. 1/2014,	The local government is required to develop local regulations and instruments, to map and make plans for coastal areas and small islands resources. This new law actually becomes the roots of the policy which accommodates spatial or regional-based coastal area and small islands management.
4.	Government Regulation No. 32/2019 on Marine Spatial Planning	Legalising the MSPs prepared by local governments.
5.	Job Creation Law of 2020 (Omnibus Law)	Powers to make MSPs and regulate now passed to Centre, no longer with Provinces and local governments.

Thus, the Indonesian government has been taking legal steps to establish MSP systems since 2007 onwards. This was challenged in the Constitutional Court leading to the courts striking down the 2007 law and coastal communities won a temporary respite. However, since the Courts only struck certain sections of the law as unconstitutional, it paved the way for the government to amend it and bring MSP back.

The structure of the marine spatial planning, which stated in article 7 paragraph 1 on Law No.1/2014, consists of

- Strategic Plan for Coastal Area and Small Islands - RSWP3K (Rencana Strategis Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil)
- Zonation Plan for Coastal Area and Small Islands - RZWP3K
- Management Plan for Coastal Area and Small Islands - RPWP3K (Rencana Pengelolaan Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil); and
- Action Plan for the Management of Coastal Area and Small Islands RAPWP3K (Rencana Aksi Pengelolaan Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil).

Instead of providing direct ownership status to private entities like in 2007, this new Law under the garb of MSP, enables long term permits to the same private players. Thus, marginalisation of coastal community is achieved through law since the usage of their own marine space by private players for commercial purposes is legalized through MSP.

Marine Spatial Planning was developed and accelerated in Indonesia initially through **USAID's Sustainable Ecosystem Advancement (SEA) project**. It can be said that USAID had been acting as a 'knowledge partner' with Indonesian government, particularly MMAF, in establishing and improve its governance system/ institutional mechanism for managing fisheries and marine resources. The US supported initiatives like Coral Triangle with Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Papua New Guinea were part of this programme to push through the MSP agenda. The concept of MSP was legally introduced in 2007, but the groundwork was laid down even earlier when World Bank and GEF funded the Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Program (COREMAP) which involved mapping and surveying of all coral hotspots, and devising mechanisms for protection and development of the same in 1998 itself. This is the clearest example of how the structural adjustment programmes of 1998 have flowed and expanded as the BE agenda from 2014 onwards.

According to the MMAF²³, MSP is very important as it claims to reduce the conflict between resources users on the utilization of marine and fisheries resources at the local level. Furthermore, it is claimed that without any legal instrument in managing the oceans, coastal area, and small islands, it could degrade the quality of the environment greatly as well as decrease the uncertainty of investment location. Under USAID SEA project, MMAF launched an online marine data portal named "*SEANODE Geoportals RZWP3K Online*" which integrates all information and data of MSP in all provinces in Indonesia, along with regular monitoring updates. The establishment of the SEANODE Geoportals makes it very convenient for investors in finding the investment locations. Such initiatives should also be seen through the lens of Digital Colonialism and Data-led governance.

As of 2020, already 27 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia already legalized the local MSP (RZWP3K in Indonesian). But coastal communities are not involved in the process of MSP preparation. It means the perspective of the coastal communities are not being included in the regulations. Consequently, it brings more conflicts and problems at the local level, since it has smaller allocation for coastal community settlements and larger allocation for infrastructure development projects like ports and mining or reclamation projects.

In its 2010 verdict, the Constitutional Court affirmed that communities have 4 rights over natural resources that flow from Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution which are Right to Access, Right to Clean Water, Right to Derive Livelihood Benefit, and Right to Customary Governance. MSP violates all these principles. Thus, MSP is a legalized manner of complete elimination of

customary governance, and makes communities entirely dependent on the State for even basic access rights to the natural resource, and hence only enables the process of land and ocean grabbing by global capital.

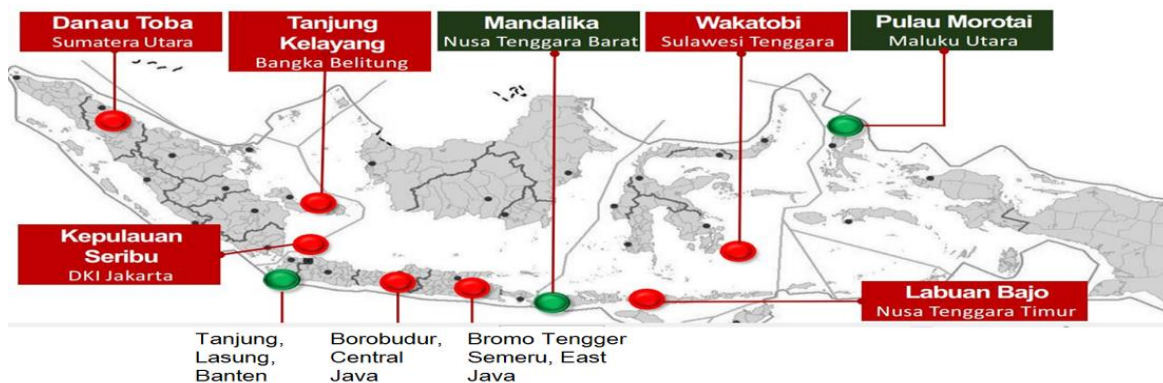
However, with the enactment of Omnibus Law, there will be some changes in the policy of MSP, particularly related to the Zonation RZWP3K issue which at first being handled by the local/province government, being now shifted to National Government.

From the start, the design and discussion of the Omnibus Law was intended to facilitate investment in various sectors, which is clearly very closely related to this Blue Economy issue which is very clear only to liberalize the market and natural resources in Indonesia which were previously prohibited in various laws and regulations. The main objective in formulating Omnibus Law is to attract foreign investors by cutting the processes that complicate the entry of investment to Indonesia. It was actually conveyed as a statement in President Joko Widodo's speech on 2019, which said that Omnibus Law becomes a way in reducing corruption in almost every permit process. However, as Indonesia market being more liberalized and easier for investors to come, it will only be opening up opportunities for another corruption practices in the central government.

National Strategic Tourism Area or *Kawasan Strategis Pariwisata Nasional (KSPN)*

As the largest archipelagic country in the world with tremendous resources, the **National Medium-Term Development Plan (2015-2019)** promotes tourism sector as one of the main and important sectors for the development agenda. The government targets an increase in number of tourists up to 20 million foreign tourists and 275 million domestic tourists. The goals which Indonesian government targeted by 2020 are:

1. Tourism sector to grow to represent 8% of nation's overall GDP from about 4% currently.
2. An increasing of foreign exchange income up to IDR 240 trillion
3. Employment of 13 million locals



Through 2015-2019, the Indonesian government already decided on 88 National Strategic Tourism Areas to be developed (World Bank, 2018)²⁴. From these 88 areas, 10 areas have been decided as the priority tourism destinations to be developed as the “10 New Bali” as shown below:

In 2016, Indonesia government has begun to develop its 5-priority tourism destinations, as known as the ‘*KSPN Super Priority*’ tourism destinations under a World Bank Loan funding of \$300 million, which are Lake Toba, Borobudur Temple, Mandalika, Labuan Bajo, and Manado Bitung-Likupang. In completing the development by the end of 2020, Ministry of Public Works and People’s Housing has allocated IDR 7.6 trillion from the state budget (GoI, 2019)²⁵. Along with Ministry of Public Works and People’s Housing, Ministry of Transportation has also allocated around IDR 2.5 trillion for finishing the development of the KSPN Super Priority destination (GoI, 2019). However, the KSPN project, despite the rhetoric of economic development and job creation is yet another form of land grabbing mechanism against the local community, particularly coastal community in this case.

In the case of Labuan Bajo for example, the government had a plan for relocating all local people in the name of conserving the area, particularly for the Komodo Dragon, while promoting tourism²⁶. The government finally dropped the relocation plan after several protests. However, with the development of tourism site in Labuan Bajo, coastal communities get limited access to the oceans as they cannot access certain sections of the seas which are part of tourism site. There are 1719 locals who live in Labuan Bajo inside the Komodo National Park area, who will face the impact of the tourism development. There was even one fisherman who was shot-dead for resisting one of the tourism development projects in West Sumba, East Nusa Tenggara.

Tourism development projects also focus more on the infrastructure development which is very extractive. The approximate total budget needed to develop those 10 tourism destinations is more than IDR 132 trillion. Besides proposing foreign loan, Indonesia government is also quite dependent on foreign investment in developing the tourism sites. The developing of Thousand Island tourism site, for example, Qatar and UAE had commit to invest in the tourism development. Labuan Bajo had World Bank, AIIB, and even Australian government to invest in the tourism development. Furthermore, Indonesia government targeted to get 20 billion of investment for the development of 10 priority tourism destination.

Even within tourism, coastal communities in some parts of Indonesia have already established community-based tourism models such as Pari Island, where village association manage the tourism facilities leading to additional income to them. But with complete privatization

of the coastal tourism, traditional communities will be marginalized in accessing oceans and fisheries resources as they cannot move or catch fish easily in the ocean wherever they have been labeled as tourism site.

City without Slum Area Project or Proyek Kota tanpa Kumuh (Kotaku)

Kotaku project is one of the strategic programmes from Indonesia government in accelerating the reduction and eradication of slum areas in Indonesia, as well as supporting the ‘**100-0-100 movement**’ which are 100 percent Access of Universal Drinking Water; 0 percent Slum Area; 100 percent Access to a Proper Sanitation. Through Kotaku project, Indonesian government tries to improve the management, quality, and prevent the emergence of new slum area by developing some supporting infrastructures, as well as giving social and economic assistance for community who lived in slum area. Kotaku project targeted around 23,656 hectares of Slum Area in Indonesia to be eradicated and developed.

Basically, the implementation of Kotaku project is part of cooperation between Indonesian government with World Bank (WB) and AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) through National Slum Upgrading Project (NSUP). Therefore, most of the budget to implement Kotaku project is coming from the foreign funding, which are from World Bank, Islamic Development Bank (IDB), and AIIB. In this project both World Bank and AIIB supports around USD 216,5 million each to Indonesia government to accelerate the eradication of slum areas in Indonesia. However, Kotaku project is becoming another land grabbing practice, especially targeting the coastal poor as most of slum areas in Indonesia are located in coastal areas, which are prime real estate. Instead of supporting and giving social and economic assistance to the people, Kotaku projects focus on relocating the people to far off sites and building basic infrastructure in the relocation sites.

In Dadap, near Jakarta for example, the government relocated the coastal community from Dadap to another area which further inland away from the coast. Instead, the government plans to build residential complexes and retirement homes for governmental officials, green open access, boarding school and an Islamic Centre. There are around 0.84 Ha consisted of 418 houses which were inhabited by 6000 peoples maybe affected by the relocation, most of whom are fisherfolk.

The Kotaku programme is to be seen in tandem with the **National Capital Integrated Coastal Development Project** in Jakarta. This project involves land reclamation in Jakarta Bay by building a Giant Sea Wall, and building 17 artificial islands in the reclaimed land. The government claims

that this is needed to protect Jakarta city from sea level rise and sinking, but is instead promoting massive real estate for the privileged, involving global corporates from Netherlands, Japan and Korea. The NCICD aims to displace the poor inhabitants, while they will be relocated far away under the Kotaku programme.

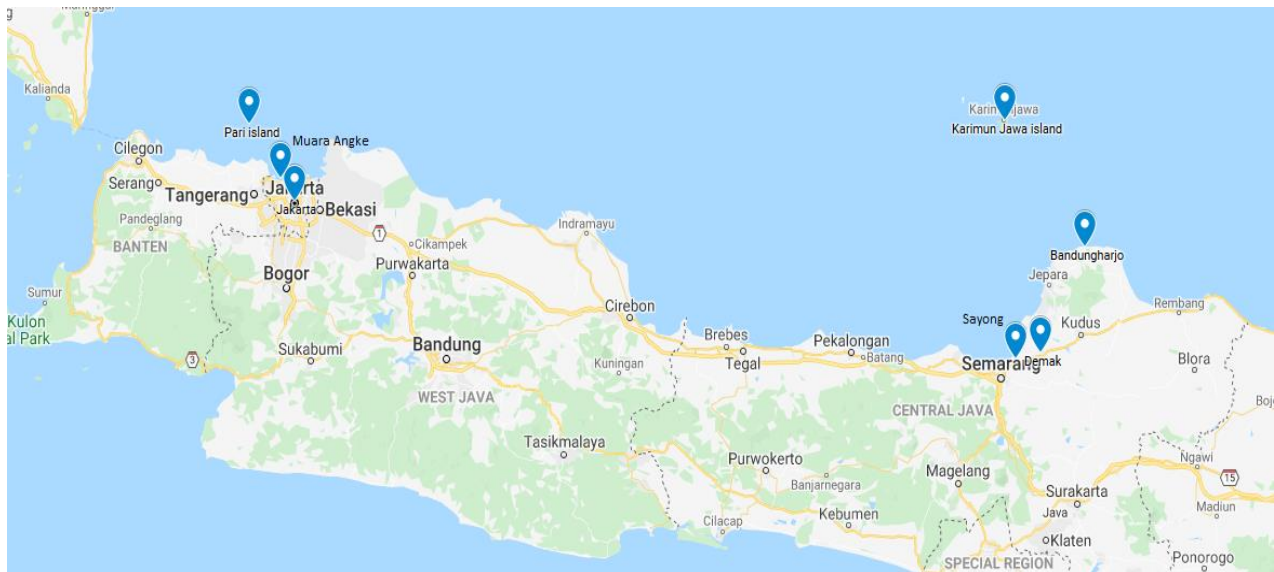
In conclusion, we can see that for Indonesia, most of maritime policies and practices have ended up in unsustainable and unequitable growth models. We also learnt the influence of super powers and multilateral institutions in promoting new legal frameworks in Indonesia. We also observed implementation of BE in the context of rising militarisation of governance and geopolitics. It can be seen that the BE in Indonesia is not only an extension of the neoliberal model, but fails in addressing the environment issues and socio-economic concerns of working-class people, only focusing on the market mechanism of ocean resources.

5. FIELD OBSERVATIONS

After the learnings and perspectives gained in the above sections through literature review, we undertook a study visit to Indonesia to ground truth our understandings from 10th -18th November, 2019. The BE Research Team along with SNEHA team members, K.Tanalectoumy and S.Prakash. The study visit was organized by our collaborating partners in Indonesia, The People's Coalition for Fisheries Justice (KIARA). Due to the overwhelming size of the country, the study visit had to be restricted to the coastal areas around Jakarta and Central Java.

We held the following interactions on the field:

1. Interface meeting with Mr. Aryo, from the Ministry for Marine Affairs and Fisheries and Mr.Andri Wahyono from the Coordinating Ministry of Maritime Affairs, along with Academics, and other CSOs was organised by the country partner, KIARA in Jakarta
2. FGD with **Muara Angke fishers** on the Jakarta Sea Wall project reclamation as well as 'City without slums' projects
3. FGD with the **Pari Island fishing** community on the land grabbing in the name of tourism projects.
4. FGD with coastal fishers of **Bandungharjo, Jepara in Central Java on the coastal mining projects.**
5. FGD with Karimunjawa and **Parang Islands Fishers** on the impact of conservation, and tourism projects.
6. FGD with **Demak Fisher Women.**
7. FGD with **Sayung Province** coastal community on shrimp and fish culture, massive erosion and coastal inundation, and restoration projects.



INTERFACE WITH MINISTRY OFFICIALS

We met Mr. Aryo from the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries as well as Mr. Andri Wahyono from the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs in Jakarta. They elaborated on the importance of the Blue Economy to Indonesia, and agreed that the government is moving ahead in actually implementing BE policies from 2014 onwards. They highlighted the efforts of the ministry to establish Cold Chain, Marketing and Processing infrastructure along with housing schemes for labourers and fishworkers, and claimed that SSF are included as the ministry provides small boats with subsidies along with several welfare measures.

They listed a number of administrative challenges for BE being overcome with the present government's initiatives such as their joint 3 year programme with FAO to overhaul and improve their marine and fisheries data and information systems, finalizing their EEZ boundaries with all 10 maritime neighbours including India, and said waste management is now an integrated activity in all new projects to ensure zero-waste growth.



Mr. Andri Wahyono added that the new Coordinating Ministry's role is to ensure cooperation and coordination between various ministries and provincial governments when it comes to maritime activities, ensuring a united President's Vision, and creating a lean and mean bureaucracy cutting the red tape.

Indonesia currently has 10 MPAs under the control of the Environment Ministry and 7 Sea National Parks under the control of the MMAF. They mentioned a target of 145 sites to be identified for Marine Protected Areas. He added that for all their projects, including in reclamation projects, rehabilitation of the community is compulsory, and promised that resettlements would have better welfare services.

FGD WITH MUARA ANGKE FISHERS

We met members of the local coastal community association, KNT-Jakarta from the fishing hamlet of Muara Angke, which is one of the affected sites due to the Jakarta Giant Sea Wall project, which is part of National Capital Integrated Coastal Development Project.

They elaborated that since project implementation, the natural sea currents are blocked, the waters around the village have turned dirty and leave a bad stench. Their fishing grounds have been



completely destroyed, and fishers are forced to travel to distant fishing grounds. With virtually no welfare measures being implemented, and all essential civic services being denied to the village like running water, healthcare, they have been against the moves of the present government. Hence, they explained that the government has been playing divisive politics among the coastal community. After they filed cases against the project in the local courts, they reported that the

government has slapped criminal cases against them. Describing their plight, they said that fishers are desperate and anxious about the legal redressal mechanisms, expressing frustration at the media's apathy to their struggle.

Explaining that the Sea Wall offers no protection from climate change, they highlighted that since all the natural drainages of the estuary as well as the natural currents are being blocked, the Sea Wall will in fact flood the city in times of high rainfall. They also felt that building such tall

skyscrapers on fragile artificial islands may indeed sink the city. They reported that the government's rehabilitation measures were mostly deception since the rehabilitation site is very far away from the coast and that if they did move there, they would be forced to become wage labourers with no access to the sea. The real intent of the government seems to be to displace these communities in order to complete the mega infrastructure projects in the name of coastal protection. They reiterated that they want their clean bay and estuary back, and wanted immediate closure of the reclamation projects.

We could also observe that apart from capture fishing, men and women in the village are also involved in harvesting clams in the estuary and bay area. However, the government has abandoned any sanitary and waste management services to this village, as a result of which, the entire area is strewn with broken clam remnants, with a bad stench from the surrounding estuary. Despite being located inside Jakarta City limits, it was shocking to see a fishing village in such a deplorable condition.

Thus, in Muara Angke, we could witness a clear-cut case of land and ocean grabbing for the Jakarta Giant Sea Wall (NCICD) project. The coastal community are denied the basic land rights, and hence are being pushed out, to make way for what the government claims as coastal protection infrastructure. But in reality, it only paves way for more disasters. As a result, fishers are also being denied the basic civic services like water, hygiene and sanitation services by the government in order to make the living conditions so uninhabitable and force them out.

FGD WITH COASTAL COMMUNITY IN PARI ISLAND

We visited Pari Islands, part of the 1000 Islands area near Jakarta, that is included in the *National Strategic Tourism Plan*. This particular island spans a total of 41.2 Hectares with a population of 1500 comprising of 350 coastal community families. They're all dependent on culture and capture fisheries as well as community-led tourism for additional income. Their fishing grounds are all in and around their island since there are number of coral reefs, targeting several reef fishes, as well as seasonal tuna shoals. Many of them also raise grouper fishes in small cages in the calm near shore waters. They have also organized the tourism themselves through their village association, with the locals running many homestays, as well as the shops and eateries. The fishers described their lives as "Weekday fishing and Weekend tourism".

They described that in 1991, they were asked to submit all their land record documents to the subdistrict office for updates. But by 1993, the government had handed over all the land

records over to a private company, PT. Bumi Raya Utama Group. However, there was no movement on this issue until 2008 when private security staff began to prevent villagers from any new construction or even repair works, claiming it as their asset. In 2014, the company increased the security staff and began fencing some areas and applying more pressure on them. The villagers even offered to negotiate in 2015, when the villagers offered the private company land away from the coasts and away from their habitations, but were rejected by the company.

In 2018, the villagers filed a case against the Land Records bureau and the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. But the government responded by initiating criminal cases against all the prominent village leaders. The donations that their village association collects from tourists for the upkeep of the tourism premises was falsely filed as a extortion case, and a second case of illegal encroachment and trespassing was filled against them. Three member of the fisher union, Bobby (Mustaghfirin), Edo (Bahrudin) and Baok (Mastono) had to spend 6 months in prison illegally on such false charges when the North Jakarta District Court finally freed him and warning the government that it was a civil case, and not a criminal case.

The villagers informed us that 90% of the island is under private ownership, and being divided



into 80 plots – 64 plots being owned by the company directly, and 16 plots owned by various individual businessmen. They vociferously oppose the privatization of their island to take over the tourism potential, since they are the ones who reside here, and stated “we safeguard this pristine ecosystem”.

Observing the beauty of the island, its corals and mangroves being preserved so well by the village association, this statement rings entirely true.

Thus, the legalised dispossession of fishing communities from access and control over coastal resources with privatization of coastal and marine resources, including privatization of entire islands was clearly visible, along with criminalization of coastal community against their claim for customary governance over coastal and ocean resources.

FGD WITH FISHERS IN BANDUNGHARJO, JEPARA DISTRICT.



This village entirely consists of SSF, and they mentioned that they have been fighting against trawlers and modified trawlers, highlighting that one of fishers had died in one such conflict at in 2006. They shared that the illegal fishing gears having been banned.

They then narrated that Sand mining and land grabbing for the mining factories was being planned for many decades for the rich iron content in its beach sand. When the fisherfolks protested against the land grab for mining, the police filed criminal cases against 60 of them, and even held 15 of them guilty. As a result, the mining had stopped in 2013.

In 2018, again coastal community caught illegal sand mining operation without licenses. They highlighted that in the last 7 years, 8 people have died of cancer, while the ecological impacts have been enormous. Due to the high pollution and waste dumping to the near shore seas, the fish and prawns have moved away and fish catch is reducing. The high extent of coastal erosion is also another pressing concern they highlighted.

Indonesia, being a resource rich country, has converted its natural resources into natural capital, implying that its open for grabbing as a source of revenue. Mining constitute a big sector, accounting for almost 7.5% of Indonesia's GDP²⁷ in 2019, and this field site exemplifies the real impacts of coastal mining sector. In fact, coastal mining of minerals like Iron Ore have been boosted by the Mining Regulations of 2017 in Indonesia where a proposed ban on export of raw unprocessed ore was overturned²⁸. With spurt in Indonesia's infrastructural projects, such mining projects are only expected to increase leaving behind such a trail of destruction on the coasts. With the Omnibus Law, communities will not be allowed to even complain against mining projects, who are exempted from even the minimum regulations.

FGD WITH COASTAL COMMUNITY IN PARANG ISLANDS, KARIMUNJAWA

Parang Islands are an entirely coastal community village with rich marine ecosystems, consist of 3 islands spanning a total of 7.44 Ha having a population of 1350 comprising of 386 households. Since, there is little transportation facilities here and no tourism here, we had to reach Parang Island through fishing boats only.



They narrated their fishing as entirely SSF, with usual boats being around 7 GT using mostly Hook and Line and Trap fishing. They reported that usage of fishing nets is quite low. They were entirely dependent on fisheries since tourist facilities are not developed here – there is no transportation, electricity and telecom services are very feeble. However, they shared that out of the 3 islands, only 1 is inhabited, and that the 2 uninhabited islands were

leased out by the government to four private businessmen before 30 years, in spite of title deed of the land ownership rested with the 50% of the fisherfolks.

They shared that after several public consultations in 2006, the water surrounding their islands were declared as a Marine Protected Area. They elaborated that the MPA is divided into 3 zones - first is a Protected Zone where fishing is allowed but only fish larger than 0.5 kg is allowed to be caught, second is the Core Zone where no activity including fishing is not allowed since the area is a fish breeding ground, and third is the Usage Zone where any economic activity is allowed. In addition, the villagers also do not allow activities near the coral reefs. They also mentioned that there are several regulations for different species respectively. All these zones come under the control of the National Park department. They largely welcomed the measures under the MPA since they feel there has been an increase in fish stocks after these measures. However, despite their environmentally sustainable fishing techniques and efforts to safeguard the sea, they narrated the government's failure to prohibit industrial fishing vessels targeting squids from Jakarta as well as large trawlers from other islands frequently fishing in these seas.

The story however was radically different in **Karimunjawa Island**. Residents here said tourism is being developed at a rapid rate right from 2005 onwards, along with several water sports like snorkeling, diving opportunities opening up for fisher youth. They shared that all spare land

on the island was being used for homestays and luxury hotels. We learnt that these hotels are owned by foreign businessmen from UK, Germany as well as Vietnam, but registered as national investment since they get married to Indonesian wives. They narrated that tourism started off in 2005 slowly with foreign investors setting up many tourist tents.

This field site showed us the true richness of the seas of Indonesia. Yet the MPAs raise fundamental concerns of how seas can be split into zones, when activities in one area will inevitably impact the other areas. Secondly, while the seas around Parang are an MPA, it still comes under the newly designated Fisheries Management Area WPP 172, where the permits and fishing licenses for commercial vessels are given directly by the Central government. It raises questions about the real intent behind such Fisheries Management measures to promote commercial fisheries at the expense of SSF even in protected ecosystems.

FGD WITH DEMAK FISHERWOMEN

In Demak, we met with the members of Persaudaraan Perempuan Nelayan Indonesia (PPNI), “Indonesia Fisherwomen Sisterhood”, an association for fisherwomen for rights, training and advocacy for greater recognition of women’s rights in fisheries. PPNI was formed in 2009 and was founded in Demak with 150 members in the 3 neighboring villages. We learnt that in Demak, women are not only involved in fish farming and in the post-landing activities of capture fisheries, but there are some women who actually go for fishing on boats as well, but yet are considered as mere housewives. PPNI also offers legal help to its women members in cases of women and child abuse, domestic violence, etc.



We met several women who accompany their husbands in their boat to assist in the fishing, as they could avoid losing share to others. Many of them have all the skills including driving, netting, etc. However, they narrated that local village authorities as well as government departments previously refused to recognize them as fisherwomen. They raised several challenges in women having access to financial services for their livelihood. PPNI’s struggles have led to a victory with the local authorities accepting to

change the Occupation category of 31 members from “Housewife” to “Fisherwoman” in the National ID Card. However, this is still not an official recognition to avail of benefits from the Fisheries ministry.

Women are also involved in fish farming growing Brackishwater Shrimp (Tiger and Vennamei), Milk Fish and Tilapia, and Freshwater Cat Fish. They elaborated that while catfish are high production, it has low price and high cost of production, and hence many households are under debt trap. They shared that shrimp farms have polluted the brackish waters in the area and production has reduced badly. They also shared that for Tilapia, one needs an optimum mix of freshwater and seawater, but with rising coastal inundation, several seagates have broken, leading to an acute freshwater shortage, especially in non-monsoon seasons.

This visit illustrated the unique vulnerabilities of women involved in fisheries whose status even prior to BE was precarious. While women are being denied recognition and welfare services in, we also learnt about the huge role of women in culture fisheries. As Indonesia further expands its aquaculture of shrimp, fish, seaweed and explores newer technologies in mariculture, the future of coastal community, especially women continue to be in the balance.

FGD WITH COASTAL COMMUNITY IN SAYUNG DISTRICT

We had a FGD with coastal communities in Sayung district, near Semarang city in Central Java. Communities were predominantly involved in coastal aquaculture of Vennamei shrimp and Milk Fish. All their farms were on right at the coast, with the sea and the several estuaries as direct source of water. In our interactions, we were shocked to learn that from 2004 onwards, there has been major inundation here, and to such an extreme extent that three whole villages including Bedono and Pasir were drowned, along with all the coastal farms completely submerged. Being coastal areas, none of them had land documents to prove their farm holdings. Yet the coastal community narrated that government did indeed provide alternate but a much smaller parcel of land to most of them to continue farming (as aquaculture). For instance, farmers who had 4 hectares of coastal ponds were allotted a 2m x 12m parcel of irrigated land. Others who lost much more land were offered monetary compensation in addition to these small irrigated farmlands. There were many of them who despite getting the alternate lands, did not have the finances to rebuild ponds, and hence have shifted to other occupations elsewhere, while some built their houses on stilts in the same drowned coastal areas, and have now become capture fishers with small boats.

We also learnt about the village of Tambang Sari which got completely inundated in the late 1990s, but the tomb of the Sufi saint, Shaikh Muzakhir of that village alone was on higher ground and managed to survive. This tale of the tomb surviving the inundation had since become famous, and is now a popular religious tourism spot!

The coastal community revealed to us that the cause of such a rapid coastal inundation was the major land reclamation and construction activity for the nearby Tanjung Mas Semarang Port



as well as the Ahmad Yani Airport, which was built on reclaimed land. One of the coastal community also informed us that in 2016, the government with the support of Netherlands NGOs provided aquaculture farmers in 3 villages with mangrove seeds for coastal mangrove afforestation as part of a 'Building with Nature' initiative. Subsequent secondary literature revealed that this was being

implemented by the EcoShape consortium, a Dutch organisation that claims to have pioneered eco-sensitive construction and planning with natural material and principles, which was nothing but a CSR activity of Royal Boskalis²⁹, a Dutch engineering and infrastructure MNC that is involved with several sea mining projects in Indonesia, including in Makassar, South Sulawesi as well as with Tanjung Mas Port, Semarang, Central Java².

However, we also learnt from them that despite this shocking history of manmade disaster, infrastructure activities are continuing unabated and a plan for Semarang Sea Highway is finalised, involving a giant sea wall for 24 kms, which will be broad enough to have a highway on it. Thus, this structure is proposed as a sea wall and coastal highway together, to ease traffic into the port and the airport.

² Other projects of Royal Boskalis in Indonesia include:

1. Construction of five artificial islands off the coast of Makassar
2. The Makassar New Port, Makassar
3. Petrochemical complex of Lotte Chemical, Cilegon, Banten
4. Artificial island (G Island) and Giant sea wall in Jakarta Bay, etc

5. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Based on our review of several BE related Policies and Legislations in Indonesia, we had made a few assumptions which formed the basis for the field visit and data collections in Indonesia. We have documented the following implications on SSF and fisherwomen for projects implemented under BE components such as Industrial fishing, Culture Fisheries, Sea Sand Mining, Reclamation of Sea and coastal lands (Sea Wall), Tourism and other Infrastructure

Ecological Implications

Development Induced Disasters

The extent of erosion, coastal inundation and experience of the people of **Sayung** have been an eye opener to the sheer scale of damage that has already been wrought on these coasts. It is astonishing to learn that lessons have not been learnt and no remedial actions have been taken but instead, there is a renewed intensification of infrastructural activity on the same coasts.

In **Muara Angke**, the government's claim that a sinking Jakarta city requires a giant sea wall for protection rests on rationale that as the Giant Sea Wall will block the natural currents and the river drain channels which may create more flooding. In fact, the Marine Affairs Ministry's 2015 report had already acknowledged that the sea wall will create a black cesspool of the polluted urban estuary will be unable to drain into the sea (Jakarta Post, 2015)³⁰. Further, the World Bank has also sanctioned a Loan-based project "*Jakarta Urgent Flood Mitigation Project*" for the expansion of the canals and drainage routes. It is reported that German and Japanese firms are being sought to pump out water from the seawall to the ocean³¹.

This question the fundamental premise of BE's claim as fulfilling the sustainable developmental aspiration of SIDS (Island) countries. The concept of BE fails to recognize the uniqueness of the island countries and tries to present one-size-fits-all technocratic solutions. It seems to absorb all the ecological criticisms of exploitative growth models like loss of biodiversity, disaster mitigation, stock enhancement and promotes the same components as avenues for investment.

Jakarta's Great Garuda flood wall



Guardian graphic

Source: NCICD

Even among island countries, Indonesia is even more unique since it is situated on the junction of a number of tectonic plates with a huge number of active volcanoes. The sheer scale of heavy civil engineering infrastructures involving massive land reclamation, artificial islands on such vulnerable tectonic fault lines may indeed have very grave implications including earthquakes. There are several reports that show that the reclaimed lands become very prone to soil liquefaction leading to almost earthquake type disasters (Cubrinowski et al, 2000)³². From 1961 to 2006, there have been 21 tsunamis in Indonesia (Dahuri, 2006)³³. Thus, the spectra of Development Induced Disasters including Earthquakes, Flooding and Inundation haunts Indonesia, and BE seems to be furthering it. Thus, not only the coastal poor but entire population of Indonesia will be the victims of these developments, needless to say, the emerging threats due to Climate Change in the form of global warming and sea level rise.

Marine Pollution and Biodiversity

We learnt from the communities that there is a definite increase in extent of marine pollution and dumping of wastes into the seas. These have already begun to show immediate implications for fishers that the fish are migrating from the nearshore polluted waters. The level of stench at Muara Angke is also an indicator of the extent of waste being dumped into estuaries and Jakarta Bay. This directly contradicts the claim of the government officials that all BE projects have a waste management component to reduce their pollution.

The second aspect is that the coastal communities while evicted to peripheries of the urban areas, with the government's inhuman strategies such as denial of waste management services and essential civic services, which forms the basis for manufactured consent by the communities to get displaced. It is an irony that the urban and peri-urban coastal habitats may get even more polluted due to government denying waste management services, along with increasing pollution after the amendments in the Omnibus Law.

A third aspect is related to biodiversity loss. The huge volumes of sea clams that were harvested in Muara Angke is a testament to the high productivity of the estuary and Jakarta Bay area. The impacts of this extent of marine pollution and untreated waste effluents on such a rich nearshore ecosystem and its biodiversity is undergoing devastation. It gives us a glimpse into what may be lost forever if such destructive projects under BE are continued unabated.

In the same way, the protection of biodiversity claim may also be used as a tool for exclusion of the fisherfolk with the government's plans for Marine Protected Areas to be increased to 32 million hectares, which are supported by leading conservation and tourism lobbies as previously discussed about Komodo National Park.

Socio-Economic Implications

Denial of Access to Fishery Resources

We have shown that Industrial Fishing Vessels (>30GT) with foreign investments have been thriving in Indonesia for a long time, and that policy support to this sector has been increasing. Indeed, coastal community from Jepara narrated to us their continuous conflicts with the industrial trawlers. Even the fishers from Parang island who are practicing extremely environmentally sustainable fishing practices, also narrated that the Squid Vessels from Jakarta frequently fish from their MPAs. As mentioned, many of these squid boats are informally financed by Chinese

investors. However, with the Omnibus Law, foreign investment in marine fisheries is legalized, amounting to legitimizing the resource grab from the small-scale fishers.

On the other hand, as experienced by the coastal community in Parang, with the change in fisheries governance systems, governance of **Fisheries Management Areas**, will be shifted from the local governments to the central government. Fisherfolk are increasingly being denied official recognition through registrations and permits, as the procedures have been much more difficult for traditional SSF communities. As elaborated by the ministry officials themselves and confirmed by fisherfolk in Parang, traditional fisherfolk are being asked to submit Sea Safety Certificates as mandatory for their registration. Thus, these conditionalities indicate a silent exclusion of traditional SSF in favour of larger industrial fishing fleets over the rich fishery resources in Indonesia.

Moreover, our interactions with coastal community revealed that even welfare services are not reaching the communities, as enunciated in Muara Angke. Thus, the fisherfolk protection and welfare measures neither protects fisherfolk nor welfare reaches the SSF. While at the same time, fisherfolk are denied the same rights over coastal land and rights over marine fishery resources. Hence, the legislations on welfare may be viewed as the state seeing fisherfolk not as right-holders, but as beneficiaries.

Land Grabbing and Displacement

The Islands such as Pari Island as well as Parang and Karimunjawa are facing the issue of entire islands being privatised. A common thread in all the field sites was that coastal community by and large are denied land records. Even in Pari, when fishers did have, they were tricked into submitting their land documents in the name of updation and then handed over the private investor.

In Muara Angke, we are seeing the fishers resisting the threat of evacuation. With the sheer scale of BE Infrastructure, Industrial and Tourism projects being planned and implemented across the coasts of Indonesia, the extent of potential displacement could be enormous.

The government officials also highlighted that the government has prepared several rehabilitation measures for all the projects, which are highly inadequate and may result in further marginalization of the coastal community. The implications are that fishers are being forced to shift away from their traditional livelihoods and compelled into wage labour.

State Repression of Coastal Community

As observed that fisherfolk of Pari Island and Jepara are resisting any project in order to assert the rights of the coastal communities are being harassed by the governments. False charges have

been foisted against fisherfolk leaders in Pari Island, civil cases were being converted into criminal cases. While the leaders we met in Pari island were able to win the case at the local court and they were able to secure their release, there are still many more that are continuing to be harassed and threatened by the police.

It is easy to see that with the increase in the number of such projects, and the increased trampling of rights of fisherfolk, there is every possibility of increased State Repression against the coastal communities.

➤ **DOUBLE BURDEN ON WOMEN**

All the implications on the coastal communities would be doubly multiplied on the women of the community, since their rights and voices are marginalized within the already marginalized community. As elaborated in our interactions with PPNI in Demak, women play major roles in capture as well as culture fisheries, in addition to their gendered roles in running the household. However, as we understood, the laws meant for the protection and welfare of fishermen does not provide any sort of recognition nor protections for women, who are still legally considered as ‘housewives. The attitudes of the traditional powers within the communities were also patriarchal as discussed in Demak.

Thus, while all the above implications stand true for the coastal community as a whole, the situation of these women seem more dire. When the levels of displacement are so high, how would women be able to continue their livelihoods and maintain whatever little independence they have gained? When corporate based tourism is being promoted at such extent, the physical safety of women itself becomes questionable. The increasing corporatization of the capture fisheries sector also implies that women’s role in supply and value chain may get steadily eroded, instead they may be compelled into increasingly become wage labourers at processing plants run by large private export processing companies.

Political Implications

Similar to other SIDS, the Indonesian government is resorting to leasing off entire islands to investors including foreign investors. With China’s increased aggression and claims over maritime boundaries, Indonesia has sought support from other powers like Japan. In fact, reports say that Indonesia’s new Capital planned in Kalimantan has finalized around \$30-\$40 billion in investment from Japan alone³⁴. Due to Indonesia’s peculiar geographic location itself as an archipelagic country connecting the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, global powers have always

been interested in exerting influence, since many of the strategic maritime shipping lanes passing through Indonesia such as the Straits of Malacca, Lombok and Sunda.



The execution of Blue Economy is an ongoing threat to national integrity to another level altogether. The geopolitical aspect assumes great significance as we are now increasingly witnessing rising tension between US and China, and south east Asian countries would be the proxy battle grounds. This is especially true since Indonesia as part of ASEAN has several trade and economic ties with China, but has maritime boundary disputes over the **9-dash line** in South China Sea. This is coupled with the fact that two of its maritime

neighbours, Australia and India are part of the 'Quad', an informal alliance of Australia, India, Japan and the US competing against China for control over the Indo-Pacific region.

As described previously, Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum Vision, seeks to enhance its maritime defence to the status of a Green Water Navy, while military officers are playing increasing roles in civic matters. It is obvious that with so much foreign investment flowing in to the marine and coastal resources of Indonesia, global capital would expect better security, and hence Militarisation of the coast seems to be inevitable. The state repression against coastal communities may be an immediate fall out of this.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study began with our assumptions that BE may lead to ecological externalities, exclusion of coastal communities with enforcement of maritime security. Our observations and analysis have shown that these assumptions certainly hold true for Indonesia. Despite its claims to sustainability and inclusivity, we have brought out several instances of legalized dispossession of communities from their rights over land as well as marine resources and the state repression against coastal communities accompanied with largescale destruction to the coastal and marine topography and ecology, which have greatly increased the risk of Development Induced Disasters. We learnt how such disasters have already led to the Forced Relocation of many villages in Sayung.

The Indonesian experience is another empirical evidence to highlight that BE is not a sustainable model for Small Island Development States (SIDS), since the uniqueness, and vulnerabilities of the island ecosystems have not at all been accounted for. Instead, the Global Maritime Fulcrum, Indonesia BE growth vision represents the continuing grand plans for commodification of the natural resources and enabling the process of land and ocean grabbing for global capital, and marginalizing the coastal communities in the short term and the jeopardizing the present and future generations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Mega construction and infrastructure projects on vulnerable coastlines have to be revisited since the only benefits from the land reclamation and artificial islands are for real estate investors and construction corporates, but will exacerbate flooding for all low-lying areas. The Comprehensive Environmental Impact studies which highlighted the threat of floods and implications on biodiversity and livelihoods of coastal communities. Thus, the voice of the fisherfolks must be kept paramount for any coastal protection measures.
- The Constitutional Courts of Indonesia have upheld the right to customary governance of natural resources in the 2010 ruling against Marine Spatial Planning, and has stated that this right flows from Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. A clear devolution of powers is needed to ensure the Centre do not take over the jurisdiction of Customary governance institutions, the local and provincial governments to protect the rights of the coastal communities and coastal ecology.
- Strict action must take against destructive gears used by the Industrial fishing vessels.
- Government should ensure that 50% of the members from traditional SSF in the ‘Area wise Fisheries Management Committees’.
- The State Repression against coastal communities has to be stopped and the captive victims should be given fair trial against the false cases foisted on them
- The Job Creation Law of 2020, known as Omnibus Law must be revisited and redrafted to safeguard the rights of the coastal communities and environmental protection.
- The marine spatial plans do not reflect perspectives for holistic protection of the coastal and marine environment, biodiversity loss and ecological integrity nor does it safeguard the livelihood rights of the fisherfolk. Hence, the Research Team is of the view that the MSP systems must be reviewed in toto keeping in mind environmental sustainability and livelihood sustainability of coastal communities.

References

- ¹ <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/basic-facts/>
- ² "Confirming Sovereignty in Internal Waters: Legal and Geospatial Aspects of Juridical Bay Definition in Indonesia" by Made Andi Arsana, Rio Muhammad Fadhli and Citra Amalia Putri accessed at https://www.fig.net/resources/proceedings/fig_proceedings/fig2019/ppt/ts02d/TS02D_fadhli_putri_et_al_10099_ppt.pdf
- ³ Huffard, Christine L., Mark V. Erdmann, and Tiene RP Gunawan. "Geographic priorities for marine biodiversity conservation in Indonesia." *Coral Triangle Initiative on Coral Reefs, Fisheries, and Food Security. Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries* (2012).
- ⁴ <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/01/10/1709/jumlah-rumah-tangga-perikanan-tangkap-menurut-provinsi-dan-jenis-penangkapan-2000-2016.html>
- ⁵ <https://www.bps.go.id/statictable/2014/01/10/1710/jumlah-perahu-kapal-menurut-provinsi-dan-jenis-perahu-kapal-2000-2016.html>
- ⁶ https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ER.FSH.PROD.MT?end=2016&start=1960&view=chart&year_high_desc=true
- ⁷ Yulianto, Irfan. *Spatial analysis to achieve 20 million hectares of marine protected areas for Indonesia by 2020*. Wildlife Conservation Society, 2013.
- ⁸ <https://www.usaid.gov/asia-regional/fact-sheets/us-coral-triangle-initiative>
- ⁹ Morgan, Gary R., and Derek J. Staples. "The history of industrial marine fisheries in Southeast Asia." *RAP Publication (FAO)* (2006)
- ¹⁰ <http://www.seafdec.org/fisheries-country-profile-indonesia/>
- ¹¹ http://www.glispa.org/images/glispa/events/GLISPA_EventSpotlight_Rio20_print.pdf
- ¹² <https://www.pemsea.org/publications/agreements-and-declarations/changwon-declaration-toward-ocean-based-blue-economy-moving>
- ¹³ <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/02/21/guide-to-omnibus-bill-on-job-creation-1028-pages-in-8-minutes.html>
- ¹⁴ Government of Indonesia, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs - https://ekon.go.id/source/info_sektoral/RUU%20Cipta%20Kerja.pdf
- ¹⁵ Zulkifli, N. O. R. A. I. N. I., Muhamad Nazrul Bashar, and Azrul Azlan Abdul Rahman. "The Modernisation of Indonesian Naval Forces In Jokowi Era." *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies* 47, no. 1 (2020).
- ¹⁶ <https://theprint.in/diplomacy/india-indonesia-agree-to-expand-defence-ties-and-technology-sharing/469233/>
- ¹⁷ <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-set-to-have-four-new-military-bases/>
- ¹⁸ <https://asiatimes.com/2019/03/indonesias-military-creeping-back-into-politics/>
- ¹⁹ Suparwoko, Woko. (2012). TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA. 10.13140/2.1.4103.2485.
- ²⁰ <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/blogs/et-commentary/eez-of-doing-watery-business/> and <https://thewire.in/diplomacy/india-indonesia-eez-continental-shelf>
- ²¹ <https://kkp.go.id/an-component/media/upload-gambar-pendukung/kkp/DATA%20KKP/Dokumen%20Komitmen%20OOC%202018/Sustainable%20Blue%20Economy%20commitments%20web.pdf>
- ²² <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/earth-sciences/unesco-global-geoparks/list-of-unesco-global-geoparks/>
- ²³ <https://www.sea-indonesia.org/national-symposium-on-marine-spatial-planning-implementation-for-indonesia/>
- ²⁴ World Bank Loan document with Indonesia for KSPN available at <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/839781527910281861/text/Indonesia-Tourism-PAD-05102018.txt>

²⁵ Government of Indonesia, 2019 : Public Communication Bureau of Ministry of Public Works and People's Housing - Menteri Basuki Pastikan Pembangunan Infrastruktur Lima KSPN Super Prioritas Selesai Akhir 2020 dengan Anggaran Rp 7,6 Triliun

²⁶ <https://www.ucanews.com/news/dragon-islanders-oppose-relocation-plan/85710#>

²⁷ <https://tradingeconomics.com/indonesia/gdp-from-mining>

²⁸ <https://news.mongabay.com/2017/03/will-changes-to-indonesias-mining-law-hurt-or-help-the-environment/>

²⁹ <https://boskalis.com/csr/cases/calling-a-halt-to-coastal-erosion.html>

³⁰ <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/10/07/sea-wall-environmental-disaster-study.html>

³¹ https://placesjournal.org/article/your-sea-wall-wont-save-you/?cn-reloaded=1#ref_11

³² Cubrinovski, Misko, Kenji Ishihara, and Kenrou Furukawazono. "Analysis of two case histories on liquefaction of reclaimed deposits." In *Proc. 12th World Conference on Earthquake Engineering. Auckland*. 2000.

³³ *Pre-and post-tsunami coastal planning and land-use policies and issues in Indonesia* by Rokhmin Dahuri at <http://www.fao.org/3/AG124E07.htm>

³⁴ <https://www.dw.com/en/japan-and-china-vie-for-influence-in-indonesia/a-52156813>
