

# Analysis of Holistic Approach: Tragedy of Enclosure as Impact of Politicised Environment (Study at Kampung Baru, Sebong Lagoi Village, Bintan Regency)

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**Abstract**—This study focussed on actor domination in utilization and management in the coastal area of Bintan. The tragedy of Enclosure occurred to the coastal community. The tragedy of Enclosure caused the coastal community cannot access similar as the big actors can do. A total of 50 heads of household (KK) are geographically located within the resort area that has limitations to access public facilities such as water, electricity and road infrastructure. This tragedy is caused by the access of the political-economic order between the government, private sector and coastal communities that encourage the formation of a politicized environment. Therefore, this phenomenon will be examined using a holistic approach so that the motto of ocean-based development which actually engages the welfare state can be really applied. Descriptive research is used in this research with a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques are through observation, interview and documentation. The result of this research is to produce a solution so that tragedy of enclosure can be solved by holistic approach such as law, politics, culture and prosperity. In addition, this research expected to enrich the perspective in the study of public administration especially in the field of policy design of coastal area development in a sustainable manner.

**Keywords**—tragedy of enclosure; coastal area; politicized environment

## I. INTRODUCTION

Viewing from the perspective of regional development, coastal areas of Bintan Regency have high potential for utilization. The underlying principles in right of use of water aquaculture and fishing is regulated in article 16 and 47 of Act No. 5 of 1960 on Basic Principles of Agrarian Law. According to this Act, water translated to both Indonesian inland waters and seas. The spirit of this act is that state guarantees the customary right of people in utilizing and governing nautical resources. These rights are essentials for people living in coastal areas as a prerequisite for them to sustain their livelihood.

Indonesian government has created a Maritime Policy Document (*Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia/ KKI*) that is based on five principles namely: ocean culture, ocean governance, maritime security, ocean economic, and marine environment. The first and fifth pillar should be the solution to guarantee people's right in utilizing and governing the coastal areas they live in.

The first pillar, maritime culture emphasizes on utilizing sea as space for living and struggle, a place to create, work, sport activities, and entertainments. In addition, it underlies the sea as a place for Indonesian to love, to maintain, to develop, and to utilize maritime natural resources in responsible and sustainable manner. Similarly, the fifth pillar, marine environment directs towards policy of turning Indonesia's coastal and sea areas as a space for healthy and disaster resilient space of living as well as a space that contributes sustainable benefits to people and nation (Sarundajang, 2015: 117-118).

Policy directions described above strengthen the switch of national development paradigm from land-based development to ocean-based development. When all public policies, infrastructure, and financial resource support the expected national development paradigm in an integrated manner, the synergistic, sustainable and proportional development goal will likely to be achieved. In other hand, a problem that tend to be ignored from this development goal is the right of use and utilization of coastal and sea areas for people live there to secure their life sustainability.

In term of access, resources of coastal areas are classified as an open-access resources. This situation leads to the vagueness of right in resources control as well as destruction of natural resources. In political ecology perspective, that ecological problem is not just a technical problem but more to the result of economic and political structure as well as impact of political process from actor of interests. Bryant and Bailey (1997) in Satria (2015: 12-13) classify this phenomenon as a form of "Politicised

Environment". Commonly, the dominant actors are state and major private actors. The domination of these actors causes a Tragedy of Enclosure in which people's access to resource utilization and governance is getting strict more than ever.

This Tragedy of Enclosure occurs in coastal areas of Bintan Regency especially in Kampung Baru, a local people settlement in Sebong Lagoi Village of Teluk Sebong Sub-district. The settlement is located in starred resorts area of (Sanchaya Resort, and Banyan Tree Resort, Nirwana). Kampung Baru (in this document is interchangeably referred as Kampung; a term in Bahasa for a settlement in rural areas or poor neighborhood) is considered to be remote and difficult to be accessed. The situation is worsened by the fact that it is difficult to be reached by public transportation. In fact, it experiences very lack situation starting from bad road condition to insufficient electricity and almost complete absence of public goods. In addition, it has a very low quality of human capital that is resulted by low education attainment which allegedly resulted by the fact that is remotely secluded from the access to public education institution.

The remote and secluded Kampung Baru is almost hidden surrounded by the starred resort area. Connecting the Kampung with outside areas is 4 km dirt road linked the Kampung with resort areas and around 11 km road (google map) connects to the main public road. Doing their daily activities, people of Kampung Baru have to pass the resort areas. This access is resulted by the contract between the Kampung and resort stating that Kampung people are allowed to overpass the resort area as a short-cut access to the public road as long as the Kampung allows their Kampung area to be a touristic arena such as being part of ATV (All Terrain Vehicle) track passed by the resort guests. If Kampung did not sign this agreement, people would have taken 15 km road just to access the outside world of this resort enclosure (Etika, 2017).

Therefore, the researchers are conducting an analysis with holistic approach (Limbong, 2015) which involves; legal approach, political approach, cultural approach, and welfare approach. The approach was chosen due to its holistic nature that fits complex problem of the tragedy of enclosure in this study. Utilizing a single approach such as political ecology will not disentangle the complex and multi-faceted problem faced by people of Kampung Baru.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. Ocean-Based Development

The awareness of shifting paradigm from the land-based development to the ocean-based development should be translated into sound, comprehensive, systematic, and structured policies to support the very paradigm. Ocean economic or an economy based on maritime should not be a peripheral anymore. In fact, it must be a mainstream sector in development policies.

Dahuri in Limbong (2015:316) argued that maritime development should be directed to equally achieve the following four goals:

- a) High rate of sustainable economic growth
- b) Welfare improvement of all economic actors especially fishermen, fish farmer, and other actors of small-scale maritime sector
- c) Conservation of natural environment and marine natural resources
- d) Turning the ocean (marine) as a unifying element to keep the national sovereignty upright.

Maritime development is a planned and systematic effort done to geopolitically, economically, and ecologically as well as socially and culturally empower maritime sector to achieve nation's sovereignty and people prosperity. It is a part of an effort to bring Indonesia as an Independent, Developed and Strong Archipelagic State Based on National Interest (Negara Kepulauan yang Mandiri, Maju, Kuat, dan Berbasis Kepentingan Nasional) as mandated by Act No.17 of 2007 on Long-Term Development Plan. That vision statement is preceding the following mission:

- a) to resurge maritime knowledge and culture
- b) to improve role of human resources in maritime sector
- c) to determine jurisdiction of Unifying State of Republic of Indonesia (USRI), its assets, and related objects within, including the obligations determined by The United Nation Convention on the Law of Sea (UNCLOS)
- d) to put effort on securing the sovereign jurisdiction of USRI and its assets
- e) to develop a sustainable, optimum and synergic maritime industry
- f) to cut down impact of ocean pollution and coastal disaster
- g) to manage and utilize ocean in sustainable, integrated and wise manner for people prosperity.

According to Kusumastanto (2001), to develop a policy of maritime development is closely related to provisions and institution. A process of planning, materializing and determining a policy or regulation related to ocean and coastal resources management should apply the following approaches: (1) bottom-up means that the provisions must based on social characteristics and needs of people; (2) provisions made no longer utilizing homogenous policy strategy. Conversely, it must be heterogeneous in the sense that a single policy or regulation no longer can be applied to a group of people in a certain region.

Contributing in shaping the paradigm of maritime development, Gunter Pauli (2010) taints Indonesian development with the concept of Blue Economy (Ekonomi Biru/EB). Pauli admits that EB was inspired by deep ecology worldview introduced by Arne Naess in 1970s. This stream emphasizes on the importance of new value, new way of thinking, and new collective action that do not position nature as an object. In addition, it highlights the importance of understanding how nature works or known in a popular jargon as back to nature. This stream of environmental approach is more constructive and non-linear, thus uniqueness of a location is taken as an important consideration in creating a policy. In conclusion there is no single recipe to solve environmental problem.

Other than resource efficiency, there are numbers of principles bounded to EB (Pauli, 2010):

- a) Zero waste and emphasizing on cyclical system in production process so the clean production achieved. It means that waste from a production process will be turned into material or energy source for the next production.
- b) Social inclusiveness, means that social equality and more job opportunities for poor.
- c) Innovation and adaptation that align with physics law and the adaptive character of nature.
- d) Multiplier economic effect, means that economic activities conducted will have wide impact and will not be susceptible to market price fluctuation. This can happen because EB emphasizes on multi-product thus it is not dependent to a single product (business core).

#### B. Holistic Approach

Basically, ecological aspect is one of the essential factors studied in maritime sector. Grigalunas, Thomas and Richard Congar (1995) argued that old paradigm in managing ocean focus more on economic benefit than environmental and social cost of economic development in productive areas. Conversely, the new paradigm underlines sustainable development that stress on balance between economic growth, quality of environment and natural resources, and social service productivity.

In the context of that paradigm shift, preservation of coastal ecosystem and supported service factors of coastal environment become very important to ensure sustainability of ocean and coastal area utilization. As a consequence, dynamic of ecosystem is not static and has to be considered in utilization as well as the importance of recognizing economic value as one of input factor of a policy. (Limbong, 2015: 240-241)

Correspondingly, what is meant by holistic approach in this paper is an approach involves various kinds aligns with Limbong (2015: 242-245) argument that a competitive and sustainable maritime development needs a comprehensive and holistic approach. These approaches as follows:

1) Legal approach. Since the maritime development is complex by its nature, law is urgently needed as a basis to create operational policies related to maritime sector management. That being said, policymakers have legal basis in producing policies related to maritime economic sector.

2) Political approach. This approach is related to budgetary policy and foreign political affairs. Developing coastal areas and ocean requires major financing that needs funding allocation from both regional budget (APBN) and national budget (APBN). In the other hand, foreign political affairs need to be managed carefully due to the present interest of other states in Indonesia's maritime jurisdiction.

3) Cultural approach. This approach is very important to resurge maritime culture that has been sidelined by agrarian culture. This particular approach can be done through:

- a) Educating people through all channel, kind and level of education to grow their awareness about maritime
- b) Preserving cultural values and maritime knowledge as well as revitalizing customary law (adat law) and local wisdom related to maritime sector.
- c) Safeguarding and promoting underwater cultural heritage through preservation, restoration, and conservation activities.
- d) Conservation.

4) Welfare approach. One of the raisons d'être of Republic of Indonesia mentioned in Pancasila (the foundation philosophical theory of state of Indonesia) and 1945 constitution is welfare (welfare state). Indicator of welfare can be measured by fulfillment of primary needs, education, health, and safety. Therefore, maritime development has to aim at improved life quality of fishermen and people living in coastal area.

Kusumastanto (2001) proposed a more detailed explanation on the legal approach as the basis of next operational actions. He mentions that there are three dimensions needs to be considered in creating law development plan:

a) Law development plan has to be need oriented, meaning that a creation of a provision has to be based on the certain need of people in coastal areas as well as on local initiatives of law. The latter means that the regulation creation departs from local initiatives or awareness of people in coastal areas on the need of certain law.

b) Law development plan orientation involves; optimizing the utilization of fish and other bioresources, reforming people's economic and social institution particularly for fishermen and fish farmer community, preparing optimum spacial management in fishing and fish farming areas, and re-actualizing positive values of local tradition as an efficient way of empowering cultural capacity within the coastal community.

c) Objectives and target of law development plan has to be able to rekindle local based productive economic activity, to open wide access for people to utilize maritime resources, and able to optimally utilize economic potential and resources of ocean and coastal areas that is aligned with environmental conservation and sustainability.

#### *C. Tragedy of Enclosure*

Human ecological approach always views natural destruction phenomena, including sea, from perspective of human relations with nature. It is due to the fact that natural destruction tends to be anthropogenic or caused by human activities. Anthropocentrism praises too much the idea that ethics is only applied to human and do not consider doing so to biotic and abiotic nature. This in turn lead to human dominant relationship towards nature that lead to major exploitation towards nature for human being short-term interests. (Satria, 2015: 8)

Similiarly, Bryant and Bailey (2001) in Satria (2015) argued that natural destruction problem is a politicized environment. Notably, environmental problem cannot be understood as a stand-alone problem dismantled from a political and economic context where that problem arises. Thus, natural destruction is not solely technical problem that can be solved with technology but also is governance problem that requires political economy approach.

Bryant (2001) in Satria (2015: 13) proposes a new thesis that:

- a) Costs and benefits related to environment do not equally benefit involved actors
- b) That unequal distribution of costs and benefits led to the social and economic disparity, and
- c) Impact of the social and economic disparity changes power relations between actors.

According to Bryant and Bailey (2001) in Satria (2015: 13) tragedy of enclosure, a tragedy caused by state and private sector domination that results to limited access to utilization and management by people. As a result, this weakened access makes people more marginal than ever in politics and economic sphere.

Therefore, a global collective action to overcome tragedy of enclosure is needed. Institutions function to govern actors' behaviors to be aligned with pro-nature values and norms is needed in particular. These institutions are:

- a) State institution and multilateral agencies (FAO, UNEP, IUCN) that is currently committed to safeguard ocean
- b) Market institution also has to ensure eco-friendly fishery practices
- c) People institution has a strength of local values that secure sustainable fishery practices (Satria, 2015: 9-10)

### III. METHOD

This study is a descriptive study with qualitative approach. Data are gathered from key informants that are selected in purposive manner. Those key informants are leader figures of people in Kampung Baru, village staffs, turtle conservation activists, and government body or donor agency that grants funds to Kampung Baru. In addition, there were some key informants chosen in snowball manner. Besides, document study and observation were also done to gain some relevant data. The way to analyze through collecting data, reducing data and making conclusion.

### IV. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

#### *A. Description of Tragedy of Enclosure*

Buck (1998) dan Ostrom et al. (1999) in Beitl (2012) argued that Common-Pool Resources (CPR) that is a resource that can be owned by everybody such as natural resources including those in coastal areas. Utilization of these resources attracts many people to mine a rich seam of coastal areas that lead to competitions in getting the benefit from them. According to CPR concept promoted by some experts, there are two characteristics that make this CPR not easy to be managed:

- a. First character is excludability, where somebody can be blocked from accessing a certain good.
- b. Second character is subtractability, that somebody's ability to access certain good decrease when there are other people utilize that good. In that case, a competition is needed in attaining a certain good.

Tragedy of enclosure that has been occurring in Village of Sebong Legoi's Kampung Baru refers to these two characters. I other words, people of Kampung Baru's access to the CPR has been getting limited because it has been utilized by other parties. The description of this tragedy can be explained from two perspectives namely geographical perspective and perspective of access to public good.

### B. Geographical Tragedy of Enclosure

Following are findings of a study done by Khairina, Safitri, dan Edison (2017). Kampung Baru Sebong Lagoi is located in Teluk Sebong sub-district, under the jurisdiction of Bintan Regency. History of Kampung Baru Sebong Lagoi dated back in 1989 when the village was formed out of splitting Sebong Lagoi village. Retroactively, the name of Sebong Lagoi village was Lagoi, perpetuated from a name of a Languek Chinese trader who first stopped by in the coast that is currently named Banyan Tree coast in Kampung Baru.

During 1997 to 2003 Sebong Lagoi village had been being led by a head of village namely Syamsuri Osman who was a native of Sebong Lagoi. The village election in 2003 had brought Asy'ari as the successor of the head village. Turning to 2011 elections Sebong Lagoi village had been under the lead of Roslan who succeeded by Herman in early 2017.

Retroactively, the current location of Kampung Baru was a jurisdiction of village of Sebong Lagoi, Pengudang, Lancang Kuning, Sri Bintan and other villages spreading in Teluk Sebong sub-district. After the agreement on compensation between those villages and resort side, Kampung Baru is the only one that remains in the current location closed by the resorts compound.

In 1991, the mentioned area was owned by foreign businessman to established into a resort are managed by BRC (Bintan Resort Cakrawala), while the terrain is owned by PT BMW (Buana Mega Wisata). Other villages agreed to leave the area with cash compensation as well as replacement terrain in Sungai Kecil, while Kampung Baru people did not agree to the scheme because the land is their heritage and they are dependent to their livelihood in the area. So, people of Kampung Baru had chosen to remain in their heritage terrain, encircled and closed by resort compound.

Kampung Baru Sebong Lagoi is surrounded by Banyan Tree Resort, Sancahya Resort, Nirwana Resort, dan Treasure Bay. The total width of Kampung Baru is ± 2,7 Km<sup>2</sup>. Kampung Baru village is under the jurisdiction of Sebong Lagoi village which is 15 km distant from the capital of the sub-district, the distance that requires 1,5 hours travel time. It is inhabitant by 42 households and some of them are located inside the dormitory area of Lagoi Resort.

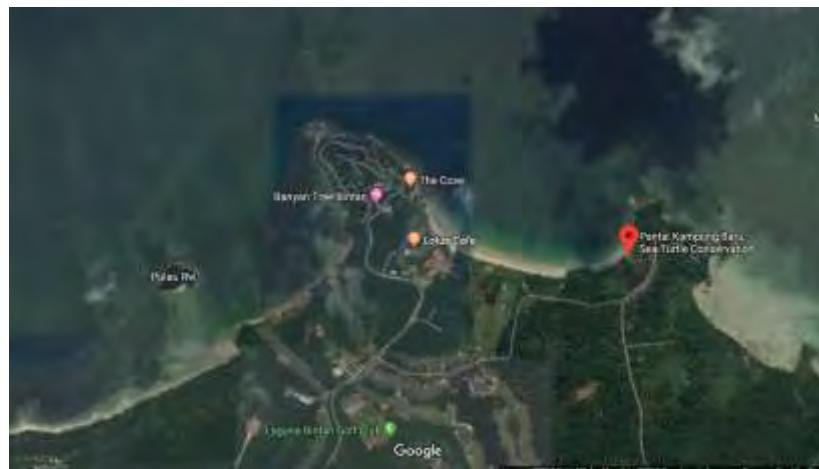


Figure 1. Location of Kampung Baru, Sebong Lagoi Village, Bintan Regency

Impact of this tragedy of enclosure affects life of people in Kampung Baru. The CPR area which should be utilized by public is exclusively own and controlled by a certain group through ownership right. As mentioned above, the resort area is managed by BRC (Bintan Resort Cakrawala), while the land is owned by PT BMW (Buana Mega Wisata). This situation fits what is called regime property. Broomley and Feeny (1992) justified by Agrawal and Gibson (1999) in Beilts (2012) argued that regime property is a structure or institution that defines regulations on resource utilization as well as inter-actor interactions and is one of many institutions among community that influences human interaction, economic performance, and development in its capacity to promote or to hinder environmental resource management (Hanna dan Munasinghe: 1995 in Beilts: 2012).

Geographically, the enclosure happened to Kampung Baru people done by the private party and recognized by state or in this case is by Regional Government of Bintan Regency. In 2016, a Focused Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted to accommodate aspirations of Village Government of Sebong Lagoi, people, and BRC facilitated by students from University of Indonesia who conducted their community service in the area. However, based on a monitoring and evaluation activity in 2018, the results of FGD were not followed by action recommended.

### C. Tragedy of Fencing on Public Goods Access

Hess dan Ostrom (2003), in their article state that there are four type of goods as shown in the following table:

EXCLUSION	TABLE 1      TYPE OF GOODS	
	Low	High
Difficulty	Public Goods	Common-Pool Resources
Easy	Toll Goods	Private Goods

Based on the table above, the public good is a good that there is no rivalry in accessing it ((non-rival) and no exclusion for people to access it (nonexcludable). Admittedly, what happened in Kampung Baru, Sebong Lagoi Village is the opposite. This is resulted by geographical enclosure happened to the area which is only few meters from other areas controlled by resorts management where public goods are accessible.

The explanation for this case is justified by a field finding that people are limited or excluded from a vital public goods namely access to the road connecting the Kampung to the area outside the resort enclave as well as a marginalization from electricity as vital energy.

### D. Limitation of Vital Access to Main Road

As mentioned earlier on travel time to and from the village, there are two alternative road access. The first is a dirt road with a travel time of 1.5 hours that cannot be accessed by all vehicles. Notably, motorbike is only can be used in a certain time to go through this road. The second alternative is to go through Banyan Tree Resort area where people must pass two portals. Before getting to the second portal, people of Kampung Baru have to past dirt road with 15 minutes walking or 10 minutes on motorized vehicles.



Figure 2. The First Portal of Kampung Baru connecting to Banyan Tree Resort

Up to 2018, there is no government budget allocated to develop road to Kampung Baru. A related data found was budget from Village Government allocated to paving block for road connecting to Turtle Conservation location. The conservation center established by Tourism Agency of Bintan Regency is currently unfortunately not in operation yet. Compared to the road connecting Kampung Baru to outside areas, this road to the conservation center which is literally a short line of alley is much less significantly needed. In fact, based on the field observation (August, 2018) this center was sterilized and not in operation. According to local people surrounds, the conservation is temporarily transferred under the Banyan Tree Resort management.



Figure 3. The currently idle Turtle Conservation

Based on the findings, local government does not put the road construction in its agenda. In other word, it does not prioritize the public good provision. This is justified by the fact that the government had chosen to build a small road connecting Kampung Baru with turtle conservation center over building a road opening access for people of Kampung Baru to the main road.

#### *E. Marginalization on access to energy (electricity)*

In nowadays life, electricity resource is a primary need in daily life. It is such an irony that Kampung Baru is in the middle of international class resort, yet at the same time is very isolated. Electricity is only available between 5-6 hours a day from 5 PM to 11 PM. All this time, providing electricity is self-supported by Kampung Baru people especially in funding fuel to operate a machine that generates electricity. The machine is provided by government of Bintan Regency.

Based on the Focused Group Discussion (FGD) in 2016 mentioned earlier, resort management agreed to participate in sharing the cost of fuel to power the electricity generator machine. However, that share was not enough to generate the electricity more than 6 hours. In fact, every household in the Kampung has to pay between IDR 100,000 – 150,000 depending on the numbers of electrical equipment they have as an indicator.

Access to electricity in Kampung Baru is such a contrast to the situation of the surrounded resorts which provide a phenomenal service that come along with fantastic prices. During the FGD, BRC agreed to make Kampung Baru as one of its tourism packages. The idea was to make the Kampung as a window of a rural and traditional settlement (Kampung) which would bring a different nuance of experience to the tourists. Up to 2018, this idea has not been implemented. The failure in implementing this ideas was because there was no third-party facilitating to stimulate the implementation. This would have been a good case for people-government-private sector cooperation.

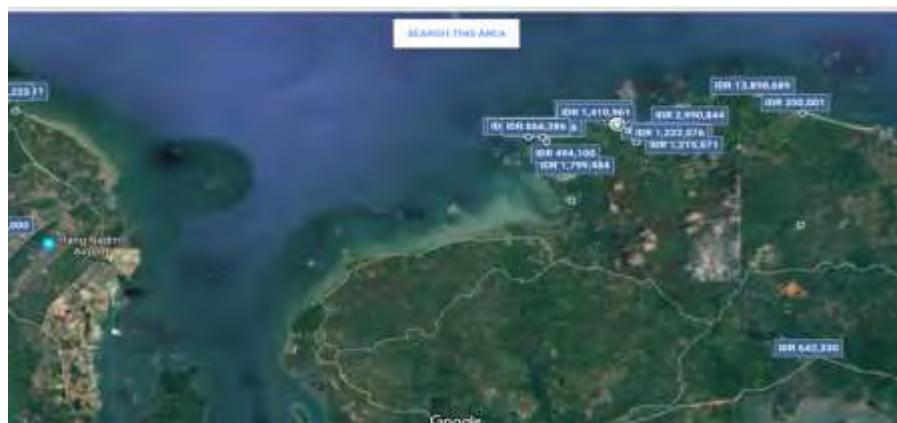


Figure 4. Resorts around the Kampung Baru and their per-night prices

#### F. Holistic Approach: A Solution to Tragedy of Enclosure

The followings are mapping of possible solution from multi-perspective sector to solve the tragedy of enclosure in Kampung Baru.

a) *Legal sector.* Since the maritime development is complex by its nature, law is urgently needed as a basis to create operational policies related to maritime sector management and its resource optimization. Notably, policy makers are provided with legal basis in creating and implementing policies related to maritime sector. Regulation-wise, there has been no Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Kampung Baru with BRC or BMW. For instance, related to land, BMW has paid the land tax for the resort land and land owned by Kampung Baru people while legally the land ownership for Kampung Baru is attached to their people. For a short term this is an advantage for Kampung Baru people to have resorts pay their tax for them but at the same time this can be a time bomb that later BMW might claim the ownership on the land. Another case, related to BRC, people access to the resort areas is very limited while BRC can anytime bring their guests to enter Kampung Baru without incentive to the people except fund share in electricity fuel as mentioned above.

b) *Politic sector.* As part of their survival mechanism, people in Kampung Baru express their political needs by establishing organizations that align with the local needs. According to Robbins (1994: 4), organization is a social union that is consciously coordinates with relatively identified boundaries and simultaneously works on a relative basis to achieve collective goals or a set of objectives. Referring to that definition, the existing Rukun Tetangga (a neighborhood level organization) is considered an organization. In addition, an organization focusing on coral conservation namely Lembaga Pengelola Sumber Terumbu Karang (LPSTK) has been established based on the decree of Head of Sebong Lagoi.

c) *Culture Sector.* Along with the politic effort, initiative on culture sector has been implemented by Tourism Agency by establishing Center for Turtle Conservation and providing facilities for conservation activities. Other potentials that can be developed are local restaurants, farm, conservation, farming, and handicraft. These items altogether can be materialized as a touristic kampung package. Creating a touristic village is a fantastic opportunity since one of Tourism Agency's priority program is to develop 2 touristic object and 5 desa wisata (touristic villages) with available budget of IDR 4,467,800,000. Synergizing available assets such as association (LPSTK) and supervision and training from government, and Banyan Tree will be a great opportunity to make the desa wisata a successful program. Universities through its community service program also can participate in educating and training people to take advantage of that opportunity. This collaboration in turn will provide a different concept of tourism co-existing and supplementing what have been providing by resorts. The guests of the resorts are potential market that can be approached through collaboration with Banyan Tree Resorts.

d) *Welfare Sector.* List of potential assets owned by Kampung Baru to enhance their welfare and economy are as follows: traditional fishing rod (joran), diving and snorkeling equipment, turtle conservation center and its facilities, baking equipments distributed by Disperindag and crafting equipment to produce handicraft. All those assets should be optimized while at the same time networks in the frame of governance need to be created so the community will not solely depend on government for support. They will establish their own survival scenario when they are empowered.

One of the future reference for government assistance is that it needs to align or come together with a program that empowers people so that they can be benefitted from that assistance. For example, when the government assisted by giving people baking equipment or in this case equipment to produce cakes, a training program in accessing market should be provided. In addition, people need to be advocated or trained in accessing Food Product Permit Certificate or Halal Certificate so that their product can be accepted by modern market. In addition, in this internet era where connecting producer and markets is easier than ever, marketing and selling is relatively easier through internet. To get that benefit, these grantees need to be trained in utilizing internet as medium of selling and marketing. All that programs are not something new because government has an existing institution deals with such programs like Trade, Small and Medium Enterprise, and Industrial Agency which provides such assistance. Having traditional food products that would become wider accepted because of all that training in production and packaging standard will likely to reach the market of hotel guests in surrounds resort.

#### V. CONCLUSION

Tragedy of enclosure experienced by Kampung Baru is a paradoxical figure of government alignment to local people. Kampung Baru's enclosure location in the area controlled by corporations (resorts) makes the access of its public good is limited due to the limited access to road connecting people with outside areas. The presence of portal created by the resorts prevent people to access vital public good like electricity. When a vital and primary public good is limited to access, let alone accessing other supplementary goods. Various of government interventions have not significantly elevate life of Kampung Baru people. This is such an irony because the Kampung has all the coastal resources needed to be prosperous. However, that situation yet to come because of the bottleneck of accessing a vital and basic public goods such as road and electricity which are some of preconditions to be able to participate in more advanced economic productivity. In the other hand, corporations (resorts) tend to marginalize Kampung Baru people with limiting the access to the road for local people. It feels like the closure situation is

purposely sustained for the corporates to easily purchase the land defended by kampung Baru people. Weak bargaining position of local people towards corporations as well as the absence of government to facilitate these two parties to have a win-win solution put people of Kampung Baru in the risk of being trapped forever in the very situation of tragedy of enclosure. If the situation continues, it will be probable that Kampung Baru people will chose to give up and sell their assets to corporation.

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