



The Existence of the Coastal Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, Buleleng, Bali, Amidst Modernization

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A B S T R A K. Modernisasi yang terjadi saat ini membawa berbagai dampak atau implikasi. Salah satunya adalah munculnya disparitas atau pola segmentasi vertikal. Realitas ini menunjukkan adanya ketimpangan antara satu kelompok sosial dengan kelompok sosial lainnya. Kehidupan masyarakat pesisir di wilayah Dusun Yeh Sanih, Desa Bukti, Kecamatan Kubutambahan, Kabupaten Buleleng tidak dapat lepas dari konteks kehidupan modern. Di wilayah ini, banyak terdapat bangunan vila dan rumah makan yang diperuntukkan bagi kegiatan pariwisata. Namun, kehidupan modern ini tidak menghapus identitas dan aktivitas keseharian mereka sebagai nelayan. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami latar belakang yang menyebabkan masyarakat nelayan di wilayah ini tetap mempertahankan profesinya, meskipun dalam konteks modernisasi. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, yang terdiri dari observasi, wawancara, dan penyebaran kuesioner terbuka. Keberlangsungan hidup masyarakat pesisir sebagai nelayan disebabkan oleh pewarisan pengetahuan perikanan secara antargenerasi sejak dulu. Perikanan juga merupakan profesi yang diwariskan secara turun-temurun. Selain itu, lestarinya profesi nelayan juga disebabkan oleh persepsi bahwa perikanan merupakan kegiatan mata pencaharian yang diimbangi dengan kegiatan rekreasi. Masyarakat nelayan di wilayah ini terus mempertahankan profesi mereka karena profesi yang mereka tekuni merupakan perwujudan konsisten dari gagasan tentang kehidupan pesisir yang telah mereka terima sejak kecil.

ABSTRACT. The current modernization brings about various impacts or implications. One of these is the creation of disparities or vertical segmentative patterns. This reality shows the existence of inequality between one social group and another. The lives of coastal communities in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District, Buleleng Regency cannot escape the context of modern life. In this area, there are many villa buildings and restaurants intended for tourism activities. However, this modern life did not erase their identity and daily activities as fishermen. The purpose of this study is to understand the background that causes the fishing community in this area to still maintain their profession, even within the context of modernization. This research method uses a qualitative approach, consisting of observation, interviews, and the distribution of open-ended questionnaires. The survival of coastal communities as fishermen is due to the intergenerational transmission of fishing knowledge from an early age. Fishing is also a hereditary profession. Additionally, the preservation of the fishing profession is also due to the perception that fishing is a livelihood activity balanced with leisure. The fishing communities in this area continue to maintain their profession because the profession they are engaged in is a consistent expression of the ideas about coastal life that they have received since childhood.

1. INTRODUCTION

Social reality is always confronted with an unavoidable necessity, a necessity known as change. In the context of sociology, change became a serious study categorized as social dynamics. The discourse on change remains a serious topic to this day. In fact, in a Latin adage, there is a phrase that clearly states, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur illis*, meaning change is something that will inevitably happen, and humans are within its flow. This change brought humanity into an era known as the modern era. The modern era is a transitional process from a simple phase of human life patterns

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to a more complex phase. The complex life of modern society actually gives rise to various social implications. These implications include the creation of dominance and the construction of social structures. Social structures create a mechanism of inequality that occurs in social relations. Modern society is also characterized by economic income inequality, which leads to the creation of social status inequality (Atkinson, 2021; King et al., 2021; Paskov & Richards, 2021). Complex life contexts have the potential to create conflict within a normative structure. Additionally, the context of modern society is also characterized by various other social realities. Social reality is demonstrated by the emergence of material culture and consumption practices (H. Holmes & Ehgartner, 2021; Smyth, 2021). So, modernization is both a necessity and a reality of the complex, fluctuating, and dynamic life faced by society today.

The complexity born of the modern era certainly impacts the reality of community life. Modern life, followed by neoliberalism, produces a paradoxical fact. On the other hand, while modernism champions the freedom of every individual, it paradoxically results in quasi-egalitarianism. The creation of inequality in modern life will also create marginalized groups or those who are excluded (Glenzer, 2021; Soudias, 2021). One of the social groups in society that is vulnerable to the impact of modernization and has the potential to be marginalized is coastal communities or fishing communities. Fishing communities are entities that geographically reside in coastal or beach areas and make fishing their primary occupation. Fishing communities or coastal communities are the economic orientation group most interested in the sea, as the sea is used as a source of income. The existence of coastal communities is not only dependent on the sea, but also on the entire ecosystem that supports the sustainability of the sea itself (K. Panjaitan et al., 2017; Nopianti et al., 2019). In other words, the complexity of the modern era also has implications for coastal communities. These implications are manifested in the form of unbalanced social segmentation. Consequently, this group of people holds a marginalized position.

Modernization and the existence of coastal communities cannot be viewed in isolation, as the complexity of life and the dynamism generated in modern times also impact the lives of fishing communities. The most obvious aspect is the presence of marginalized fishing communities, as they are considered a subordinate group. The existence of modern life followed by globalization is an undeniable fact. Globalization is a system that seeks to disseminate various information into the free world market. Accelerated development leads to increasingly fluid relationships and creates unstable bonds (Nurdin, 2017; Sutrisno, 2017). Modern life is also closely related to the process of forming political reality, which creates binary relationships such as those in power and those who are governed. Politics always speaks of power, strength, influence, and relationships. This binary relationship then creates a social structure. Social structure contains desires and motives that originate outside the individual. This means that individual life is shaped and controlled by realities that come from outside oneself (Kusmanto & Elizabeth, 2018; Mawardi, 2020). It can be said that the creation of power in social relations also impacts coastal communities as a recessive group facing the dominant group.

The lives of coastal communities in the modern era can still be found with various dynamics, problems, and social conflicts they face. The fishing community in Pondok Bimbo is bound by political capital, power, and unequal working relationships with the pangamba. Fishing communities are bound by labor contracts, with the fishermen providing their catch and a profit-sharing system of 10-20%. There is no limit to the labor contract, as fishermen are bound by relationships for their capital needs (Rivaldi, 2020). Coastal community conflicts also occur in Teluk Pambang Village, and this conflict has been ongoing for 32 years. Caused by modern fishermen colliding with traditional fishing boats, as well as competition for fishing grounds (Karisma et al., 2018). In Sungsang Village, Banyuasin II District, Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra, horizontal conflict occurred. The conflict was caused by modern fishing vessels with a cargo capacity of 20-30 tons using trawls to catch fish. The use of this fishing gear has a negative impact on the marine ecosystem. The presence of these fishermen and modern ships also disrupts the income of local fishermen. This conflict also resulted in the burning of 6 modern fishing boats by the local fishing community (Dyawati et al., 2018). Crab fishermen in Betahlawang Village, Bonang District, Demak Regency, within the context of horizontal economic relations, are competing with each other to obtain crabs as their main commodity. Competition in catching blue crabs utilizes traditional fishing gear called traps and dredges (Wibowo et al., 2017). Coastal communities in Indonesia cannot avoid social conflict. This is due to social change factors that lead to conflict, both horizontal and vertical. One case of social conflict in coastal communities occurred in the fishing community of Balikpapan. This conflict happened between fishermen themselves (internal conflict) and between fishermen and non-fishing groups (external conflict) (A Kinseng, 2021).

The lives of coastal communities in the modern era also impact the highly fluctuating realities of life and are faced with various problems. Fishing communities in Padang City and West Pasaman Regency, West Sumatra are undertaking a social movement. This social movement was sparked by the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Regulation Number 71, Year 2016, which regulates the prohibition of using fishing gear. The regulation instructs fishermen not to use fishing gear such as 4mm mesh nets and the use of 25.000-30.000 watt bagan lights. This policy is seen as an effort to limit fishing activities, which impacts the income of fishermen (Hapsari et al., 2020). Furthermore, coastal communities also face aspects of the household livelihood system, which reflects the welfare level of fishing families. The income level in coastal community families is at a vulnerable level. This vulnerability is caused by climate and non-climate pressures (Dharmawan & Nissa, 2020). Coastal communities in the Ujung Kulon area are experiencing a transition and transformation of economic institutions, which initially were based on moral patronage and are changing into a form of patronage based on market economic norms. This is because the fishing communities in this area are experiencing a crisis situation, particularly fluctuating livelihoods, which has led to economic uncertainty (Mirajiani et

al., 2014). The coastal area in Bangsring Village, Banyuwangi, East Java, experienced coral reef damage due to illegal fishing practices by fishermen using potassium and cyanide. This fishing activity by fishermen resulted in 82.5% damage to the coral reefs (Muttawakkil & Kusumah, 2020). Coastal communities are also facing the problem of tidal flooding. For example, fishing communities in Pekalongan City are vulnerable to tidal flooding disasters. There are eight villages in this city that are susceptible to this disaster. Coastal flooding occurs when the volume of seawater rises into coastal areas, coinciding with high tides (Purifyningtyas & Wijaya, 2016).

In the Buleleng Regency area, coastal areas and the activities of fishing communities can still be found. One of them is located in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District. In this area, there are several fishing groups that are still active, including the Samudera, Baruna Mukti, BFC (Bukti Fishing Club), Segara Asih, and Arsa Winangun fishing groups. Coastal life in this region presents an interesting situation, as in addition to fishing and netting fish, there are also many tourism activities, such as the abundance of resorts and villas. From a sociological perspective, the presence of the socio-economic group of fishermen alongside the tourism boom indicates a process of "space competition." This context of "space competition" shows an acceleration of the fishermen's existence with tourism activities. Theoretically speaking, modern life with its vast economic capital capacity would actually eliminate the traditional-economic entity of fishing communities, due to the shift in fishing orientation toward the tourism industry. However, in this region, fishing activities are still consistently carried out, and have even been internalized and passed down thru generations. The reality of this fishing community's survival shows the existence of social significance from coastal communities by associating their self-worth with other individuals (who share the same profession) to "challenge" the rationality of capitalism. The presence of social significance, which has implications for the preservation of fishing entities and identities, also indicates the operation of social capital, where social resources such as values, norms, or social networks are utilized to gain social benefits. The social benefits referred to here are the continued fish-catching orientation of the local community amidst the sporadic development of tourism (Fathy, 2019; Mellor & Shilling, 2021). It can be explained that this reality is interesting to study because tourism activities, which are synonymous with modern life and large economic capital flows, do not seem to have an impact on the local fishing community. Although the tourism boom in this area is massive, the fishing community remains consistent in maintaining their profession.

Although the fishing communities in this area are always faced with various difficulties, such as lean seasons, still-traditional or minimal fishing equipment, and low income, this profession is still practiced, maintained, and passed down from generation to generation. The facts on the ground show that the presence of resorts or villas in this area does not influence fishermen to change professions. They consistently maintain fishing as their primary occupation. Then, the coastal areas in this region are also facing various problems. Beside the lean season, which has an impact on declining catches and directly affects the income of fishermen, fishermen in this area must continue to survive due to fishing activities by groups of fishermen from outside Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District. The various dynamics occurring at this location are interesting to observe, as fishermen in Bukti Hamlet still exist to this day, especially amidst modernization and other problems. The strength of the process of maintaining the fishing profession carried out by the local community did not arise spontaneously, but rather thru a process of constructing a fishing culture. The construction of a fishing culture is the process of internalizing ideas and actions, carried out consistently by introducing the sea as a space for socialization and economic activity. One constructive action to reduce the sense of belonging for future generations in this area is the involvement of family members, from preparing the nets to including them in fishing activities. The creation of a learning space about fishing has been done by the local community for their children or grandchildren from an early age. In other words, the process of instilling character in understanding the dynamics of the sea as a socio-economic arena has been carried out since childhood. Thus, the construction of fisherman culture is socialized not only normatively but also applicatively. The learning process of directly introducing a spatial entity to individuals and training them on the actions they need to take is an effort to explore a person's potential or talent, build confidence, improve abilities, and legitimize that their actions are an important aspect of supporting their future lives. Because fishing is the main occupation, individuals involved in the fishing process at a young age aim to imagine that fishing and becoming a fisherman is an activity that requires mental effort, creative processes, reliance on feelings, prioritizing communication, and skill development thru continuous action (M. Holmes et al., 2021; Li & Hu, 2021). In other words, the construction of fishing culture not only aims to preserve fishing identity but also to improve the next generation's skills in governance and fishing patterns. With the consistency of these actions, it will be difficult for the next generation to abandon this profession.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the sustainability of the fishing profession in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District. The aspect to be analyzed is the reasons why fishermen in this area continue to make fishing their primary profession. In fact, this profession is consistently passed down to children and grandchildren. The inheritance and commitment to maintaining this profession continue to this day, even tho being a fisherman is always faced with various very difficult situations, such as the arrival of the lean season, the very dynamic state of the sea and nature, minimal income, and the reality of tourism around coastal areas, which naturally creates social dynamics between fishing communities and tourism operators.

2. METHOD

On the existence of coastal communities in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, uses a qualitative approach. In this study, several things were done, including: first, observation. In this stage, the researcher conducted direct observation in the coastal community area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District, Buleleng Regency. During the observation process, observations were made regarding the activities of fishermen, from repairing nets to cleaning boats. Second, interviews. This stage is conducted to find facts regarding the views of fishing communities on the reality of modernization, the preservation of the fishing profession amidst modernization, the activities of fishermen during the lean season, and the views of fishing communities on education. Qualitative research is a type of research approach that prioritizes the practice of knowledge, and is a skill aimed at explaining knowledge, as well as the ability to understand the research object. In conducting the research process, an essential aspect to adhere to is building relationships or connections with the individuals who are the subjects of the research, and playing a role in finding new ideas or findings. A researcher must be able to understand a research object in order to create balance and ensure that the object being studied requires an answer. The answers found must also be in accordance with research ethics (Rappert, 2022; Skipper & Pepler, 2021; Williamson et al., 2021). In the process of conducting research, a researcher must pay attention to research problems that receive less attention. This aims to provide insights, particularly on less popular issues. Nevertheless, the process of researching an idea always aims to create new perspectives and knowledge about what is being studied. The approach used in a study aims to understand the relationships and power transformations occurring within a community (Bennett & Brunner, 2022; Howard & Hughes, 2021; Price et al., 2021). In other words, it can be explained that qualitative research is a research approach that seeks to understand and elaborate on the highly fluid and dynamic social lives of communities.

The subjects of this research are the coastal community or fishing community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan. There are 5 (five) groups of fishermen who were used as informants in this study. These fishing groups include Samudera, Baruna Mukti, BFC (Bukti Fishing Club), Segara Asih, and Arsa Winangun. From the observation process, interviews, and distribution of research questionnaires, it was found that the age range of fishermen in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District, Buleleng Regency, is between 40-60 years. In this area, based on field findings, it shows that during the lean season, the intensity of fishing decreases, which is due to natural conditions, particularly large ocean waves. At this time, fishermen engage in several activities to meet their basic needs, such as working as project laborers, doing odd jobs, or repairing nets and boats. This research uses observation, interviews, and open questionnaires in its data collection process. Observations were conducted to observe the activities of fishermen in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan. The observed activities include the interaction process between fishermen, the fishing process, and the interaction process between the fishing community and tourist activities in the area. Next, interviews were conducted, during which 5 (five) groups of fishermen were selected as informants. The aspects asked about in this process include their lives as fishermen, the dynamics or problems they face while being fishermen. Finally, an open-ended questionnaire. In this process, a questionnaire consisting of several questions was distributed to 5 (five) groups of fishermen. The questionnaire consists of several questions about the views of fishing communities on modernization and the reasons why people consistently pursue their profession as fishermen. Additionally, the open-ended questionnaire also included questions about their activities during the lean season, their views on tourism activities in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, the reasons why local fishing communities maintain their profession, and their views on education.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Regarding Modernization

Regarding the reality of modernization, based on data from observations, interviews, and open questionnaires, field findings indicate that coastal communities in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, do not reject the flow of modernization. It was also found that the local community cannot hinder the increasingly advanced movement of time. Normatively, they accept the presence of modernization. However, the implementation of the modern era is less accessible, with the essential factor causing this being that society lacks the economic capital to keep up with the times, particularly in terms of modern tools used in the fishing process. This is evidenced by the fact that in the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, the limited capacity of local people in catching fish is influenced by the installation of fish aggregating devices (FADs). The price of one FAD is estimated at Rp. 50,000,000 (fifty million rupiah). The fish aggregating device (FAD) is not owned by the local fishing community, but by fishing communities from outside the village, particularly those from Sangsit Village, Sawan District, and Pacung Village, Tejakula District, Buleleng Regency, Bali. The installation of FADs by fishermen from outside the village is permitted as long as it meets the requirements and receives approval from the head of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan. Additionally, fishermen from outside Yeh Sanih Hamlet are often found fishing in this area. Fish-winning activities often use fishing gear, such as automatic bows, which are considered environmentally unfriendly. Because the speared fish are coral reef fish, fishermen must shoot their arrows toward the coral reefs to catch them. The arrows fired have the potential to damage the coral reefs and impact the destruction of the marine ecosystem.

The installation of fish aggregating devices (FADs) as a modern fishing gear, with large catch capacity and very high costs, is a reality of modernization that local fishermen cannot avoid. The presence of these fish aggregating devices affects the quantity of fish caught. It's not uncommon for fishermen to have to go quite far out to sea to find fish. The relatively long fishing radius cannot be a determining factor and is not directly proportional to the number of fish caught. For the local community, only those who own fish aggregating devices (FADs) have fish catches, and this is directly proportional to the amount of income. However, the presence of fish aggregating devices (FADs) did not prevent coastal communities in this area from continuing their professions. Field findings indicate that the intimate social relationships among fellow fishermen members allow for the continued existence of fishermen in this location. It was found that in this modern era, the local fishing community engages in various activities to maintain solidarity among fellow members of the fishing group. These activities include repairing fishing nets, rolling up nets, or fixing boats as daily tasks if they are not at sea. This activity is carried out with the aim of increasing intimacy between members, so that good relationships and bonds are formed.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Regarding Their Profession as Fishermen

Coastal communities in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, have been engaged in fishing activities and making it their primary profession for a very long time. This fishing profession has been passed down thru generations and is still practiced today. The land used for the fishermen's settlement belongs to the local community. However, since the tourism activity in the local village began to emerge, some fishing communities decided to sell their land, especially to foreigners. The purchased land is intended for the development of villas, restaurants, or resorts to support tourism activities. With the sale of this land, the fishing activities of the fishermen have become limited. However, data from observations, interviews, and open questionnaires revealed that, although the mobility of fishing communities is increasingly restricted, they requested that land buyers or the development of tourism facilities in the area not disrupt their activities. Because fishing, which the local community calls *ngalih ulam pasih* (searching for fish in the sea), is the main occupation of the local residents. Field data shows that it is difficult for fishing communities in this area to switch to other professions; for them, fishing is an activity of *ngalih ane tusing ngenah* (searching for something uncertain), but fishing is a job they have done since they were born. Field findings also indicate that fishing has been a way of life for the local community since childhood. In fact, even the children and grandchildren of the local community are introduced to the sea area from a young age. One way they do this is by taking their children or grandchildren fishing with them out to sea. Additionally, local coastal communities stated that being a fisherman is a low-capital or one-time investment. Interview results showed that the capital required to become a fisherman is approximately Rp. 30,000,000 (thirty million rupiah), and this capital expenditure can be recovered from daily catches. This is one of the reasons why the local community still maintains their profession.

Activities of Fishermen in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, During the Lean Season

The commitment of the coastal community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, as fishermen is demonstrated by their fishing process, which extends beyond the territorial waters of Bukti Village, Buleleng, Bali. Although the income is small, this work is still pursued. Beside the fluctuating catch quantity, coastal communities in this area also face other difficulties. One of them is the lean season. In the local community's language, the lean season is often referred to as *alih-alihan kenyat*. If defined, it can be interpreted as a very severe condition, particularly in obtaining income. Where catch conditions have significantly declined. The coastal community in Dusun Yeh Sanih area stated that the lean season occurs around the month of *Kaulu* (a calendar system in the Balinese calendar, which falls between August and March in the Gregorian calendar). During this period of the month, the local community calls it *pasih usak*, a term that describes high sea waves, strong winds, and water volume at dangerous intensities for fishermen who are determined to go out to sea. Even during the *pasih usak* period, very large sea waves can flood residential areas. To prevent assets like boats and nets from being swept away by the waves, the fishermen worked together to tie them in a safe place. At this time, for almost months, fishermen have been unable to go out to sea and catch fish. The facts on the ground show that during the lean season, fishing communities choose to repair fishing hooks, mend torn or tangled nets, and fix their boats. Then, members of other fishing groups circumvent these conditions by seeking side jobs. Many fishing communities, in addition to repairing fishing gear, also work as *ngerit*, which is the local term for people who work as sand porters in the Mount Agung area, Karangasem Regency, Bali. Beside *ngerit*, local people also work as project laborers or do odd jobs.

Then, field findings also show that during this time, if the sea is considered safe, fishermen will decide to go out to sea. However, the catch will not be optimal, and this will affect the income of the fishing community, which has significantly decreased. The income range earned during this month is approximately Rp. 200,000 (two hundred thousand rupiah). The money earned must be divided for fuel costs at Rp. 50,000 (fifty thousand rupiah), and the remaining money of Rp. 150,000 (one hundred fifty thousand rupiah) must be divided among the members of the fishing group involved in the fishing process. In the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, one fishing group consists of 14-20 people. So, if the income of Rp. 150,000 (one hundred and fifty thousand rupiah) is divided among 20 fishermen, then each fisherman only receives an income of Rp. 7,500 (seven thousand five hundred rupiah) per fishing trip or Rp. 225,000 (two hundred and twenty-five thousand rupiah) per month. However, not all fishing groups own their own nets. There are some fishing groups that do not own nets and have to rent them from other fishing groups when

fishering. The rental cost for nets for one fishing period is Rp. 500,000 (five hundred thousand rupiah). Therefore, fishing communities often pay for net rentals in installments when their catch cannot cover operational costs. This very minimal income does not diminish the consistency of the fishing community in continuing their profession. The findings in the field show that there is a unique motivation among the coastal communities in this area. Although the income generated from fishing is very small, their commitment to continue this profession is not solely driven by economic motives, but also by an adage that the local community calls *ngalih gae sambilang ngisin demen*, which, when defined, means working while having fun. This was revealed from the results of interviews and open questionnaires, which showed that fishing communities who catch fish strengthen the intimacy of their interactions or social relationships by joking and laughing with each other. When at sea, the fishing community that successfully catches fish will cheer as a sign of happiness.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Regarding Tourism Activities

Fishing is the main occupation of coastal communities in Dusun Yeh Sanih, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan. Beside facing physical environmental conditions (especially natural conditions) and leading to lean seasons, they also face social environmental conditions (particularly tourism activities) that are not supportive. The construction of restaurants, villas, and resorts to support tourism activities began in this area around 2015. This development geographically causes the fishing grounds and the mobilization of fishing communities to become narrower. Additionally, the presence of tourists also disrupts the local community's fishing activities, which is a social factor. Field findings indicate that fishing group A (the name of the fishing group has been replaced with a variable) had a conflict with one of the foreign tourists. This incident occurred around 2017, at 10:00 WITA, when this group of fishermen was pulling their nets. The net-pulling activity carried out by the local fishermen produced sounds or noises as a signal to encourage them, so that the fish caught in the nets could be brought to shore quickly. Tourists in the local area feel disturbed by the net-pulling activities of the fishermen and are bothered by their activities. As a result, there was a dispute between the local fishermen and the tourists. This incident didn't just happen once; in the same year, around 4:00 PM WITA, a domestic tourist also felt disturbed by the net-pulling activity carried out by fishing group A (the same fishing group). The fishing group considers what they do to be work with the purpose of earning a living, and the area where they fish is land that has been occupied by their ancestors for generations. Beside tourists, the local fishing community also expressed their disapproval of one of the owners of villa A (the villa's name is not mentioned and is replaced with a variable) in the Yeh Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan. This is because the villa owners in the area had previously prohibited local fishermen from sailing past their villa property.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, on Education

The complexities of the modern era, laden with the accumulation of economic capital, also impact the educational attainment of children in the local fishing community. The minimal income due to technical factors such as equipment and natural constraints has implications for community income. Low household income and increasingly complex primary needs also impact access to education. Education becomes something difficult to access due to limited funds. Field findings indicate that the average education level of fishermen's children in the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, is between primary and junior high school. Junior high school is considered a high level of education in this area. By the local community, this level of education is seen as the final educational stage that is accessible. This context impacts the future prospects of children, leading many children in this region to continue their parents' professions. In fact, many parents have a strong desire to provide their children with a decent education. However, the limitations of educational costs make this hope difficult to achieve. Beside the cost factor, limited access to education is also caused by the distance to schools. Children in the local area who want to go to school have to go to Kubutambahan Village, Kubutambahan District. Access considered remote is also a factor that prevents fishing children from receiving an education. Children of fishermen who have limited access to education will continue their parents' profession. Field findings indicate that the decision to continue this profession, fishing, is perceived as a profession that yields quick results. Therefore, if they go out to sea and catch fish, the fish they catch can be sold or consumed by themselves.

Discussion

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Regarding Modernization

Weberian determinism logic states that the superstructure influences the structure. In other words, an idea will create a reality and change. This context is used to examine the social context within society. Superstructure determinism that influences structure can be used to examine current maritime discourse. One of the main topics in this discourse is the marine area and coastal life, which are synonymous with poverty. Theoretically, one of the causes is the current of modernization, which creates a dichotomy in the accumulation of economic capital. Modernization describes a reality of life that cannot be avoided. The reality of this life is the transition from old patterns of life to new ones (Muttaqin, 2016; Paskarina, 2016; Priyadi & Mulia, 2013). The reality of modernization faced by the coastal community of Dusun Yeh Sanih, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, is an unavoidable reality. Normatively, this situation is accepted as a consequence of change, but in practice, it is difficult to follow due to the inability to accumulate economic capital. The era of modernization and the creation of economic globalization is a reality about the control of economic capital held by capitalists. Globalization of capitalism is the main factor in creating crises in contemporary society today. The reality of

capitalism creates various impacts, one of which is power. Power is used by its owner to achieve specific goals. The power of disciplinary power creates individuals as objects obedient to that power (Cooper, 2020; Kustiningsih, 2017; Mudhoffir, 2013). So, modern life gives rise to ambivalent implications; on the one hand, it offers efficiency, while on the other hand, it creates disparities between dominant and subordinate groups.

One of the indicators of the reality of modernization in the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, is the use of fish aggregating devices (FADs) and automatic arrows. Regarding the use of automatic bows as one of the realities of modern times, this fishing gear has negative implications for the environment, particularly the destruction of coral reefs. The reality of modernization creates a condition that impacts fishermen's efforts to maintain the sea as their "home." Without revitalization and preservation, in the dialectical concept of life and death, the area that is "home" will be damaged or destroyed. The context of modern life also creates a life filled with rapid societal changes, characterized by the emergence of an individualistic lifestyle. Life with this kind of pattern will erode social relationships and impact the collective will to maintain the environment as our home (Heikkila & Katainen, 2021; Sardi et al., 2019). In other words, the existence of the sea as both a habitat and a source of livelihood must be preserved. The reciprocal relationship between humans and nature will create a harmonious life; conversely, the failure to preserve the sea will lead to a disharmonious life.

However, the existence of the coastal community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, which lacks economic capital accumulation, maintains its group's existence by maximizing social capital. The methods used to create group intimacy and maximize social capital ownership are demonstrated by activities such as mending fishing nets, rolling nets, or repairing boats as daily tasks when they are not at sea. This activity is carried out with the aim of increasing intimacy among members, so that good relationships and bonds are formed. This reality is a manifestation of the individual's moral conception implemented in aspects of human action. This context serves as a means to create affection within the social structure. This conception aligns with the existentialist view that social action creates the ability to reflect on life in completing a task (Baert et al., 2022; D. Inglis, 2022). The establishment of social relationships indicates the existence of bonds between individuals who identify with a group. The presence of collaborative engagement will foster trust and strengthen the bond. A bond is demonstrated by the actions of an individual as an actor. Action is a series of experiences, shaped by the inter-individual awareness of those involved. Experience as a series of actions indicates a bond between subjects. This bond between subjects will form social capital as an implementation of optimizing social relations and trust. Social relationships and trust shape the reality of friendship, guiding actions toward others rather than solely for oneself (Fathy, 2019; Griesbach, 2022; Robet, 2013; Supraja, 2015). Sociologically, the context of intimacy in relationships between individuals who identify as members of a group serves as an indicator of social investment, leading to collective consciousness and the formation of strong social solidarity.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Regarding Their Profession as Fishermen

The coastal community of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, has made fishing their primary profession. Beside being supported by geographical conditions such as vast sea areas, this profession is considered primary due to various factors, including the process of introducing the sea area to children and grandchildren by their parents, which begins at an early age. This introduction to the sea area is done by inviting them to go fishing or netting fish in the middle of the sea. This intensive interaction illustrates the ability to create a habit that begins from an early age. This habit is created and becomes stronger when family members participate and the relationships between them are strong. This relationship will create solidarity and be implemented thru inclusivity, spatial practices, and by fostering participation from the individuals involved (Augustin & Jorgensen, 2021; Baines et al., 2022). Additionally, this profession is considered a primary occupation because there is a perception that being a fisherman is *gae ane mesuang modal acepok* or a job that requires a one-time capital outlay. The capital invested to become a fisherman is approximately Rp. 30,000,000 (thirty million rupiah), and this capital expenditure can be recovered from daily catches. Fishing activity is the result of primary socialization and the process of passing down intangible heritage in the form of ideas or concepts as a deeply internalized or ingrained identity as a fisherman. Introducing a profession to young people who are not yet employed is a form of the structural features of work. This aspect provides insight into an individual's existence in carrying out activities with all their consequences. Economic work and practices are actions that utilize various existing infrastructures (Cook et al., 2021; Mellor & Shilling, 2021; Pinzur, 2021). It can be said that, as the primary agent of socialization, the family plays an important role in socializing ideas because it is the first and foremost agent of socialization. Thru the family, an idea or concept will be deeply ingrained and consistently implemented.

Another intangible aspect that is also very important in the daily lives of the coastal community in Dusun Yeh Sanih, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, is the idea of the sea as an arena for life. Because the activities of introducing the marine environment and fishing are taught from an early age. This early age is related to the stage of human development called the preparatory stage, which will determine a person's character and attitude in adulthood. Character formation is closely related to moral reasoning, which translates into actions in daily life. Sociologically, morality practiced daily will shape a pattern of behavior (Geiger, 2021; Nikunen & Ikonen, 2021). The fishing communities in this area find it very difficult to switch to other professions because they have been observing and engaging in this activity intensively since a very young age. The embedding of fishing ideas and practices, as well as social relations among fishing communities, creates habitualization, or the process of familiarization and consistency. Ultimately, this process of habituation and consistency will foster a commitment to continue fishing and make it their primary profession. The process of recognizing

the marine environment, which is also conveyed thru spoken language, is an important part of community interaction, particularly their deep relationship with nature. This interaction process also shapes the cultural context according to the physical conditions of a society. Forming a perspective focused on building social organizations and maintaining those organizations. Skills acquired from an early age will shape an individual's professionalism in performing their work. This aspect confirms a deep understanding of the field being pursued and taking action to maximize the desired results (Allen-Collinson et al., 2021; Li & Hu, 2021; Nordqvist, 2021). Therefore, the intensive cultivation of ideas in individuals plays a very significant role in shaping their behavior and activities in the economic arena.

Activities of Fishermen in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, During the Lean Season

The fishing community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan, who decided to pursue fishing as a profession, certainly faces various problems. One of the problems that fishing communities are sure to face is the lean season. In this area, the lean season occurs during *sasih kaulu* (Balinese calendar system) or occurs between August and March in the Gregorian calendar. Local communities refer to this situation as *alih-alihan kenyat* or a very difficult condition, due to the lack of income. During that month, coastal communities in this area described the sea conditions as "*pasih usak*" or sea conditions that made it impossible for fishermen to go out to sea, due to high waves or a very large volume of water, making it very risky for fishermen to catch fish. Conditions like this force fishermen to seek other activities and income. Risk calculation is the result of assumptions created by an individual. In an effort to earn an income, one must be able to read the situation and act despite any risks or consequences faced. Someone who identifies as a worker is not always in a normal situation. They are constantly faced with situations that can disrupt their work activities (Hansen, 2021; Martin, 2022; Vonk, 2021). During times like these, fishing communities will fill their time by repairing nets, fishing gear, or boats. On the other hand, they will also seek other income sources such as working as project laborers, carrying loads, or transporting sand at the foot of Mount Agung in Karangasem Regency, Bali. Climate and weather changes impact various aspects, one of which is the occurrence of catastrophic phenomena in the ocean. This kind of condition creates chaos and complex impacts, so a process of creating scenarios and actions is needed to deal with the situation (Lehman, 2021; Mayo et al., 2021). It can be explained that the famine conditions faced by the fishing community in the area forced them to survive as a form of self-defense in the face of difficult living conditions.

Despite facing considerable challenges due to the dynamic natural conditions, the coastal communities in Dusun Yeh Sanih, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan Regency, continue to maintain their profession as fishermen. The preservation of this profession is driven by the spirit of emic language, which states *ngalih gae sambilang ngisiniñ demen*, meaning finding work while filling with joy or working while having fun. This context can be interpreted as the fishing activities of the fishing community in this area demonstrating the reality of the monopluralistic aspects possessed by each individual, which not only implement the essence of *homo economicus* (humans who have the motive to transact, seek and maximize profit to carry out their economic activities) and *homo faber* (humans who have the essence as working beings, maximizing work and optimizing income), but the fishing community in this area also implements their essence as *homo ludens* (humans who carry out their essence as beings who like to play and recreate) and *homo socius* (humans who carry out their essence as beings who cannot live alone, always socializing). From these findings, it can be explained that coastal communities enjoy their profession because it is not solely based on transactional motives, but is also driven by relational motives. Relational practices demonstrated thru solidarity indicate the resilience of collective identity. Collective identity creates a social morality that provides sensory experiences for individuals who participate in it. This experience will create closeness and connection within a social context (Balmer et al., 2021; Jorgensen & Schierup, 2021; Smolka et al., 2021). Individuals are entities that shape social reality; this concept explains the abstract aspect of human incarnation. Individuals are an inseparable part of the context of collectivity and society. Individuals and their social lives exist within the reality of time and in a cyclical history. The collective character in the concept of sociology explains the process of forming individuals who are moral, capable of socializing, and able to act (Kemple, 2022; Lanza, 2021; Shilling & Mellor, 2021). So, it can be explained that intimate social life and intensive interaction between individuals form strong social cohesion. Therefore, all activities undertaken, including economic activities, are not only driven by the desire for profit, but also by the motive of social integration.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Dusun Sanih, Bukti Village, Regarding Tourism Activities

Fishing is the main occupation of coastal communities in the Yeh Sanih Village area. In addition to facing physical environmental conditions (especially natural conditions) and leading to lean seasons, they also face unfavorable social environmental conditions (particularly tourism activities). The construction of restaurants, villas, and resorts to support tourism activities began in this area around 2015. This development geographically causes the fishing grounds and the mobilization of fishing communities to become narrower. This reality shows the essence of humans not only as *homo faber* and *homo economicus*, but also as *homo conflictus*, or the nature of humans as dynamic beings and beings with the potential for conflict. Work and the context of change are gradual realities. Speaking of work activities means talking about something very complex. Sociologically, within the Bourdieuan paradigm, individuals exist within an arena. The arena is where configurations, hierarchies of positions, or networks occur (Christopher, 2020; Demirel et al., 2021). The creation of hierarchy in the arena gives rise to a segmentary social atmosphere and has a high potential for conflict. Conflict indicates a situation where one group attempts to control, dominate, or normalize another group. Conflict also creates competition and relies on power to influence the perceptions of other individuals (Hayes et al., 2021; Lundy et

al., 2022). In other words, in social life, individuals are entities that are constantly in conflict. Conflict is an inherent aspect of relationships between individuals.

In the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District, in 2017, at 10:00 WITA, there was a conflict between foreign tourists and one of the fishing groups. In the same year, at 16:00 WITA, the same fishing group also had a conflict with domestic tourists. These two incidents were caused by tourists feeling disturbed by the activities of the fishermen. From this manifest conflict reality, there is resistance from fellow members of the fishing group to demonstrate the group's existence. This conflict arises from the disparity between tourists, who have a high level of economic capital ownership, and fishermen, who have a low level of economic capital ownership. Sociologically, in the Simmelian paradigm, this context is referred to as the reality of the triad interaction, where group members identify themselves as part of a community and view other groups (in this case, tourists) as The Stranger. The presence of The Stranger is considered a threat to the group's existence and must be addressed with solidarity among group members. The emergence of manifest conflict occurs due to various factors. These factors that give rise to the conflict include social inequality. Social inequality is caused by disparities in various forms of capital ownership, particularly financial capital. Social inequality creates forms of resistance, one of which is protest. Protest is a collective action by a group seeking to oppose another group, which is the cause of conflict (Barrie, 2021; Trappmann et al., 2021). Social inequality is a reality faced in modern times. In the Marxist view, modernity is a way of understanding various aspects, such as change, division, and the effects it produces. Sociologically, conflict is not only negative but also positive, one of which is increasing group solidarity and resilience in maintaining its existence. Resilience is the ability to endure in all conditions, especially in stressful or unfavorable situations caused by economic, anthropological, or policy dynamics (Chhabra, 2021; Walby, 2021). As *homo conflictus*, the fishing community in the area cannot avoid conflict, especially with tourists. However, as *homo socius* with relationships and social capital, the group's existence can be maintained by demonstrating solidarity toward other groups perceived as disrupting the fishing community's own existence.

The Views of the Fishing Community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, on Education

The complexities of the modern era, laden with the accumulation of economic capital, also impact the education of children in the local fishing community. Education is very important because it provides individuals with insight into understanding the realities of their lives. The education and perspective it offers will provide various viewpoints. The perspective offered is the ability to understand the transition of a change or the dynamics that are currently taking place (Paechter & Marguerite, 2020; Poche, 2021). The minimal income due to technical factors such as equipment has implications for community revenue. Low community income and increasingly complex primary needs also impact education levels. The average educational level of fishermen's children in the coastal area of Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District is between elementary school and junior high school. This context impacts the future prospects of children, leading many children in this region to continue their parents' professions. The decision to continue in this profession was made because fishing was considered a profession that yields quick results. Therefore, if they go out to sea and catch fish, the fish they catch can be sold or consumed by themselves. In other words, this reality demonstrates economic preferences, with actions optimized in an effort to make money. In the Simmelian paradigm, it is explained that money is a reifying type of life, or a priority for pursuing economic gain. This condition explains the existence of entities in global reality, which demands that every individual survive (Cashman, 2021; T. Inglis, 2021). Therefore, it can be explained that difficulties in accessing education will have sociological implications. Sociologically, education is seen as a social elevator; without access to education, it will be difficult for the local community to achieve vertical social mobility.

The reality of the coastal community in Yeh Sanih Hamlet, Bukti Village, which has limited access to education due to economic constraints, will give rise to various impacts. One of the impacts of limited access to education will be a decrease in literacy levels and critical thinking skills. Education is an essential element in driving oneself and competing. Education is a way to create discourse and the ability to enter the reality of scientific knowledge. Education is a means of achieving vertical social mobility toward the highest social strata (Arifin, 2017; David, 2021). It can be concluded that, with the literacy rate and lack of critical thinking skills, this will impact the lives of coastal communities, potentially leading to similar problems, particularly economic and social issues, such as the segmented life between tourists and fishing communities or periods of scarcity, which are not balanced by a solution-oriented mindset.

4. CONCLUSION

The existence of coastal communities in the Sanih Hamlet area, Bukti Village, Kubutambahan District is influenced by various factors. One of the factors that keeps this profession alive is the intergenerational inheritance process. This inheritance process is carried out by introducing the marine area from an early age and providing knowledge about how to catch fish. This becomes a fundamental aspect of the idea or concept of the profession as a fisherman being ingrained in him. Additionally, another factor contributing to the persistence of this profession is the perception that fishing is a part-time job that allows one to indulge in their passion or work while having fun. This confirms that coastal communities in this region embody their essence as both *homo economicus* and *homo ludens*.

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