

Implementation of the Marine Spatial Plan on the Identity and Rights of the Berakit Orang Suku Laut Community in Bintan Regency, Riau Islands

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ABSTRACT

This study examine the efforts of the Bintan Regency government to relocate the Sea Nomad or Orang Suku Laut (OSL) community through the Marine Spatial Plan policy, focusing on the positive and negative impacts of this relocation on their rights and cultural identity. Employing a qualitative approach, the research investigates the implementation and impacts of the Marine Spatial Plan using data collected through in-depth interviews, observations and documentations. Findings reveal that the government strategies often rely on persuasive approaches, leveraging the proximity of the OSL's traditional marine territory to Panglong village. By 2011, resettlement initiatives encompassed 60 families, accompanied by disciplinary administrative measures like record-keeping of ID registration and residence requirement of 5-10 years in Panglong village for housing eligibility. These measures, however, have significantly eroded the cultural identity of the OSL, distancing young generation from their maritime attachment. While the government policy seeks to assimilate the OSL to Malay communities, it poses a threat to the preservation of their authentic marine culture and contradict their right to self-determination as an indigenous people. The study underscores the importance of involving the OSL in Marine Spatial Planning, highlighting their traditional knowledge as a critical resource for achieving inclusive and sustainable development.

Keywords: Governmentality, Orang Suku Laut, collective identity, coastal communities

INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the enactment of Law No. 27/2007 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Island Islands which was amended into Law No. 1/2014 (hereinafter referred to as the WP3-K Management Law), which regulates coastal areas and Law No. 32/2014 on Marine (hereinafter referred to as the Marine Law) which is a legal system that comprehensively regulates marine management, including coastal areas (Priyanta, 2021), planning and developing marine space is a very important main step, so that the marine spatial plan (RTTL) runs as desired. The challenge in Indonesia's marine spatial planning is implementation, which includes indigenous peoples, enforcement, consent and collaborative review and improvement. In addition, marine spatial planning must also consider local ecological factors, provide economic benefits, maintain and develop local culture and be fair to all communities so as to avoid conflicts of interests and authority (Hukum et al., 2022).

The obstacle that occurs is how to improve and also maintain marine resources so that they can be utilized into sustainable resources. This section itself consists of the environmental, economic and socio-cultural fields. These three things, in fact, are often in conflict and also unbalanced (Ambari, 2019). Law Number 27 of 2007 and Law No. 1 of 2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands state that local governments are required to prepare Coastal Area and Small Island Management Plans in accordance with their respective authorities. Furthermore, these adjustments have resulted in changes to the order of planning products in coastal and marine areas, as well as demands that marine spatial plans be integrated into land spatial plans according to the equivalence of their levels. Basically, the current legal system of marine spatial management is carried out to protect resources and the environment based on the carrying capacity of the environment and local wisdom; utilize the potential of resources and / or activities in the Marine area on a national and international scale; and develop potential areas into centers of production, distribution and service activities (Dermawan et al., 2016).

Synergy from all sectors is needed in researching and formulating policies and including local communities in decision-making. As intelligent and cultured beings, people need a sense of control over their environment and group identity (Hastuti, 2011). In coastal waters long before Indonesia's independence and limited marine space, indigenous, local and traditional communities have long settled in coastal waters and lived on the move to find new food sources and avoid seasonal and climate changes. In the 1945 Constitution Article 18 B Paragraph 2, it reads "The state recognizes and respects the unity of customary law communities and their traditional rights as long as they are still alive and in accordance with the development of society and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which are regulated by law". (Marbun, 2021). The provision of coastal water settlements must have an impact on improving welfare, so the government is obliged to facilitate clean water infrastructure, electricity, health services and sanitation (bathing, washing, latrines), so that the health of indigenous, local and traditional communities is well maintained in a sustainable, clean and healthy coastal water environment (Batubara, 2023).

One of the indigenous communities in Indonesia is a group of traditional Malay communities spread across the eastern coast of Sumatra, Riau Islands, and Bangka Belitung which is then widely known as the Orang Suku Laut. Orang Suku Laut, originally the royal guard, made themselves accustomed to and comfortable living at sea so that this made them settle at sea and work for generations as traditional fishermen. They are at sea day and night (Marbun, 2021). However, the number of the origin Orang Suku Laut in local history is minimal, so we only rely on field data according to local people. The absence of recognized customary territories and relics is also one of the difficulties in getting to know more about the Orang Suku Laut People in Indonesian history. Based on the data collected by the Kajang Foundation (2020), currently the Orang Suku Laut in the Riau Islands are spread across five districts with an estimated 12,800 people and 44 locations, as shown in the map below.

The government, through the marine spatial plan, has imposed limitations on local coastal communities, in this case the Orang Suku Laut, who are still highly dependent on coastal resources, but have now settled on land, albeit mostly on the coast. There is ambiguity as to whether the policy of resettling the Orang Suku Laut is appropriate in maintaining the existing social culture. The government then make coastal communities the object of development with all the adapting limitations to become "modern humans", leaving the old traditions, and this certainly affects the powerlessness of the community with the label of Remote Indigenous Community. This is inseparable from the government efforts that aimed at equalizing living standards and achieving prosperity (Husen, 2014). However, in reality this is still a dream of prosperity. This is due to the increasingly restricted rights of the Orang Suku Laut community

in accessing resources in their cultural area. The emphasis is on the perspective of order in the process of sociocultural transformation in the daily practices of the Orang Suku Laut as a consequence of their structural relationship with the state (Prawirosusanto, 2016).

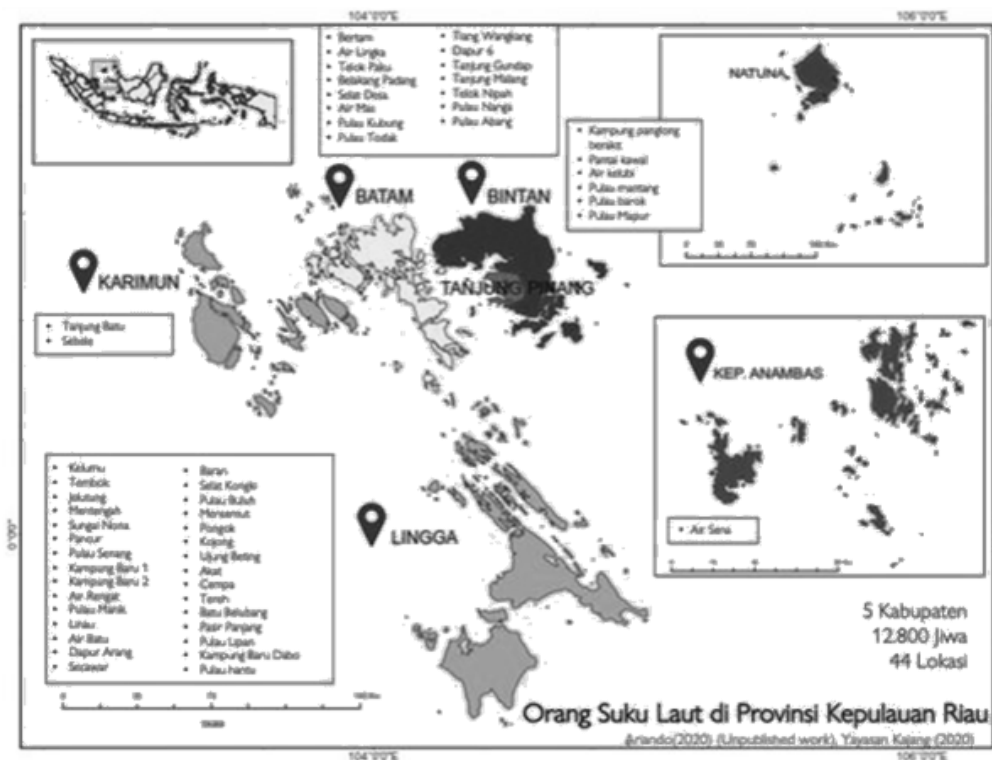


Figure 1. Orang Suku Laut in Riau Islands Province

In the case of the Orang Laut, the government's authority manifests itself in its interference with the direction of social change in local communities and "alienated tribe" communities. The Orang Suku Laut community in Riau Islands is de jure no longer recognized as a remote indigenous community by the Ministry of Social Affairs Directorate of KAT since 2015. (Elsera, 2019). This situation has brought socio-cultural changes to the lives of the Orang Suku Laut people. The process of economic development and settlement relocation policies have further reinforced the marginalization of the Orang Suku Laut people, who are often described as the "lower strata" of society facing various social problems. These policies aim to change their way of life to make it easier to integrate into wider society, but instead result in the loss of their traditions and nomadic life because the development mindset for the Orang Suku Laut is to change their way of life to be equal to other communities in the eyes of the government, development planners, academics, private partners and non-governmental organizations (Prawirosusanto, 2015). Thus, while government claims focus on empowerment, the practices and policies implemented are often detrimental to the survival of the culture and identity of the Sea Peoples. The policy of initiating Orang Suku Laut housing has changed the identity of an indigenous community, resulting in cultural degradation and an identity crisis. The government's efforts are built on the assumption that it will facilitate data collection and improve the lives of the Orang Suku Laut. Ironically, this initiative has made the Orang Suku Laut lose their identity as Orang Suku Laut. The limited access to land experienced by the Orang Suku Laut is related to regulations governing the recognition of indigenous peoples (MHA) in Indonesia, such as Law No. 1/2014 and Permendagri No. 52/2014, which require the existence of government institutions, customary law, history, heritage objects, and customary territories, a requirement that is often not met by the Orang Suku Laut due to their nomadic way of life and the absence of permanent customary territories. In addition, KP Regulation No. 8/2018, which regulates the determination of MHA management areas, often does not include groups living in the waters, so they are marginalized in natural resource management. As a result, this limited access to land has a direct impact on the economic lives of the Orang Suku Laut, leading to economic, social and cultural marginalization, and exacerbating their identity. Despite the regulations to protect and recognize indigenous peoples, the Orang Suku Laut are often unable to take advantage of these protections due to a mismatch between their way of life and existing legal requirements (Arman, 2020).

Currently, settled groups of Orang Suku Laut in the Riau Islands are the second or third generation to survive on land, although they still depend on coastal resources on a daily basis (Elsera, Havizathul, et al., 2022). Research from Rahmawati (2014) 'The implementation of the Suku Laut empowerment program' shows that the original program tended to be top down and categorized as a bottom up program. Although the program implementation mechanism used the term *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Sosial Masyarakat Terasing* (PKSMT), at the time of the update it used the term *Pemberdayaan Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (PKAT). The top down approach only focuses on bureaucratic matters to implement political decisions and overlooks human interaction and feelings. While the bottom-up approach is a fully empowerment program carried out by the government that actively involves the community (participatory), carried out from, with and for the community (Fadil, 2013).

The KAT program in Riau Islands for Orang Suku Laut is known as housing and infrastructure assistance. This statement has been found from the side of the local government, the legislature as well as from within the Orang Suku Laut themselves. The change happened when they have mingled with the local community, namely they are familiar with documents or personal data and also they have received assistance from the government, because they are registered as citizens. Not only has the social life of the Orang Suku Laut community changed, but the Orang Suku Laut community also has a belief or religion that they hold. (Rahmat et al., 2021) This is due to the efforts of the local government, which has provided housing for Orang Suku Laut who want to move to the mainland. Consequently, the Orang Suku Laut's view of the sea has changed slightly; the sea is only a place where they catch fish to be eaten or sold to take, and when they are finished, they will return home to the land (Mahfuzah, 2022). This shift in identity and lifestyle is seen in Berakit, where the relief house is often a stopover place or a location to sell catches where they continue to carry out traditional activities such as fishing. Since strong kinship encourages them to live with their siblings, the relief house is usually inhabited by many family members. Thus, despite receiving identity documents and assistance, their view of the sea has changed to a mere source of livelihood, no longer an integral part of their identity, and the challenges of leading a new life on land remain a significant obstacle.

Governmentality, as conceptualized by Michel Foucault (1978), is a network that involves various actors and institutions. In this case, power operates through mechanisms of surveillance and normalization, which allow for more subtle control over individual behavior. Governmentality expands this understanding to include the subtle techniques and practices employed to govern individuals and populations. This creates a condition where individuals feel compelled to conform to societal expectations and standards, even in the absence of direct coercion from authority. Through continuous surveillance, individuals become more aware that their actions are being observed, so they tend to internalize the expected norms of society. This process, which Foucault calls norm internalization, makes individuals feel responsible for their own behavior. They do not just follow the rules out of fear of sanctions, but because they believe that they should act in accordance with those norms. In this context, power functions not only as a tool to discipline, but also as a way to shape individual identity.

Foucault argues that power operates not only through coercion but also through persuasion, surveillance, and normalization of behaviors and practices. It is manifested in a variety of institutions, including but not limited to governmental bodies, educational systems, healthcare facilities, and even cultural norms. Through governmentality, individuals are subjected to constant scrutiny and are encouraged to internalize societal norms, thus actively participating in their own regulation. This concept challenges conventional views of power dynamics and highlights the complexity and subtlety of modern forms of governance. This process, described by Foucault in the context of governmentality, illustrates how surveillance and internalization of norms contribute to the behavior of compliant individuals (Foucault, 1991). In this process, individuals act not only as subjects of power, but also as agents who are active in self-regulation through internalizing social norms. Ongoing surveillance, both through formal and informal institutions, creates awareness that individuals' actions can be observed, encouraging them to adjust their behavior according to social expectations. Behavioral adjustments that emerge in response to societal expectations can create strong social unity, providing a meaningful sense of collective identity. However, this dynamic also has the potential to ignore diversity, which can lead to a homogenization of experience and identity. When dominant norms over-regulate, the uniqueness of different individuals and groups can be in danger of being lost, diminishing the richness of cultures and perspectives that are important to maintain in a plural society.

This research is particularly relevant given the challenges faced by Orang Suku Laut (OSL) communities due to relocation policies implemented through the regulation of the Marine Spatial Plan in Bintan

Regency. Regulations such as Permendagri No. 52/2014 and Law No. 1/2014 provide opportunities to strengthen indigenous rights and improve marine resource management. However, the implementation of these policies has often been ineffective, resulting in the marginalization of the rights and identity of the Suku Laut, particularly in the context of their assimilation into Malay society and the loss of the younger generation's connection to the sea. This research seeks to fill a gap in the existing literature with a multidisciplinary approach, integrating policy analysis with the local wisdom of the Orang Suku Laut.

This research aims to explore the impact of relocation policies on OSL rights and identities. With an approach that combines social, cultural and policy perspectives, it is hoped that this research can provide valuable insights for policy makers and stakeholders. The results of this study are expected to protect the rights and cultural identity of the Suku Laut community, as well as encourage the implementation of policies that are more inclusive and sensitive to their needs in facing the challenges of modernization and environmental change. Based on these problems or backgrounds, the author is interested in conducting research on "Implementation of the Marine Spatial Plan on the Identity and Rights of the Berakit Orang Suku Laut Community in Bintan Regency, Riau Islands".

METHODS

In this research, authors employ a critical paradigm in order to seek and uncover the intricate mechanisms through which power operates, particularly within governmental structures and societal institutions. Through an examination of governmentality, authors delve into the underlying power dynamics and discourses that shape individuals' behaviors, identities, and access to resources. This approach allows to uncover the complexities of governance and its implications for social justice, resistance movements, and avenues for transformative change. By critically engaging with the concept of governmentality, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of how power operates in contemporary societies and explores possibilities for fostering more equitable and inclusive systems.

Qualitative approach, which aims to understand people in depth and detail, is applied because qualitative methods meet directly and conduct in-depth interviews (Bickman, L., & Rog, 2009). This research used a qualitative approach and purposive sampling technique, we strategically selected informants based on criteria relevant to the research focus. Informants included representatives of the Bintan Regency government, Orang Suku Laut, and volunteers from NGOs, who provided diverse perspectives on the relocation policy and its impact on the identity and rights of the Suku Laut community following the Marine Spatial Plan regulation. Observations were made to understand their daily activities in a social and economic context, providing direct insights into their interactions with the surrounding environment and how the policy has affected their lives. In-depth interviews with open-ended questions were conducted to explore informants' perspectives, foregrounding their experiences and views on their rights and identity as indigenous peoples. Secondary data was also collected through documentation analysis, including previous research, government reports and relevant regulations, providing a broader background and context for understanding the issues faced by the Suku Laut communities. The use of secondary data enabled the identification of patterns and trends in policies impacting these communities.

After the data were collected, all data in this study were analyzed using the techniques offered by Miles and Huberman (Sugiyono, 2015). The first process is data reduction, which includes selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data collected from various field notes and documents. At this stage, researchers sort out data that is relevant to the research while separating unnecessary data to sharpen the focus of the analysis. The second stage was data presentation, which was realized in the form of narrative descriptions, tables and images to explain how the marine spatial plan regulation was implemented and what its impacts on the identity and rights of the Suku Laut community were. Finally, conclusion drawing was conducted by summarizing the research results based on primary and secondary data sources, so as to obtain a clear understanding of the implementation of the regulation and its impact on the identity and rights of the Suku Laut community.

This research is located in Panglong Village, Berakit, Bintan Regency, Riau Islands. The location was chosen because, according to BNPB Kepri in 2017, the Orang Laut are distributed across several areas, including Berakit (Kecamatan Teluk Sebong), Air Kelubi (Kecamatan Bintan Pesisir), Numbing (Bintan Pesisir), Kawal Pantai (Gunung Kijang), and Mapur (Teluk Sebong). In Kampung Panglong there are 75 families of Orang Laut, while Air Kelubi has around 40 KK, Kawal Pantai has several families, and Mapur has a few. Since the largest number is in Panglong Village, the location is considered more strategic for conducting research. This data highlights the concentration of the Orang Laut community in these regions, making Panglong Village a strategic location for researching their identity and rights.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Government Regulation through the Marine Spatial Plan Policy on the Rights and Identity of the Orang Suku Laut Community of Panglong Village, Berakit Village

Foucault's governmentality talks about the expansion of power in the form of disciplinary power. This concept is a description of the model of power relations prevailing in modern society that is carried out by emphasizing positive ways by shaping it into an obedient and useful body, which can only be known through the effects of power that has been running on the population (social body) (Novianti, 2016). Governmentality is a form of rationalization of how power is exercised by the state so that the operation of power can be recognized or legitimated. Through Foucault's theory of governmentality, also known as conduct of conduct, power is internalized in the social body, which means that the state regulates the actions or behavior of society so that it becomes a compliant population. As a form of rationalization of the operation of power, governmentality can also be seen as a legitimate and correct way of organizing things, namely population and resources (the right manner of disposition of things).

One form of governmentality implementation in controlling marine spatial plans is regulated on the Indonesian legal basis. The government becomes a superior part that has the power to regulate behavior or social control efforts in society. The social control that exists in the regulation of marine spatial plans allows for the subjugation and monitoring of individual and community behavior internally within the object. Thus, there is an assumption that it is given, taken for granted, and present as normal (Mudhoffir, 2013). Marine spatial planning or what is often called a zoning plan functions to provide direction, basis, guidelines, and basis for the management of marine space for all parties that utilize marine space and provide business and investment certainty and protection of traditional fishing communities in an effort to maintain local wisdom and cultural customs so that potential resources can generate new economic growth (Diposaptono, 2017). Through Law No. 27/2007 Jo. Law 1/2014 and Law 32/2014, permits in marine waters are granted in the form of location permits and coastal water resource management permits up to a limit of 12 miles from the shoreline to the authority of the provincial government measured from the shoreline at the highest tide, so that the RZWP-3-K must be stipulated by the provincial regulation. The Provincial RZWP-3-K contains the allocation of space into public use areas, conservation areas, and certain national strategic areas, and sea lanes, and is described in zones/subzones in accordance with their spatial designation.

An important aspect of marine spatial planning, however, is the designation of utilization zones that can limit Orang Laut's access to areas they consider ancestral lands. Often, this zoning does not take into account nomadic practices and their integrated relationships with marine ecosystems. While aimed at environmental protection and resource regulation, such policies may inadvertently ignore the cultural rights and economic access of Orang Laut. The government's authority to issue licenses can create conflicts between commercial interests and cultural sustainability. Furthermore, Orang Laut are often marginalized in decision-making processes, resulting in insufficient participation in the management of natural resources that directly impact their lives. It is therefore imperative that governments include the perspectives and needs of the Orang Laut in all policies related to marine spatial planning. Recognizing their rights and integrating their voices in the planning and implementation of these policies can help ensure that the focus is not only on how to conduct economic efficiency, but also on how to respect and preserve their cultural identity. Collaboration between the government, local communities and other stakeholders is essential to achieve a balance between sustainable resource management and the protection of the rights of Orang Laut communities.

The way in which both the Riau Islands Provincial and Bintan Regency governments have managed to settle the Orang Suku Lauts has been gradual. Orang Suku Lauts who actually have houses on land, although not permanent, or the habit of selling their catches back to the coastal area, make subjugation and control hegemonic so that it is not felt as a subjugation (Elsera, Yahya, et al., 2021). The process is known through its effects, now that most generations have experienced proper education, health insurance, social assistance and safe housing from the government.

Before they were laid off by the government, the Orang Suku Laut people already had their own houses, but they were not permanent, they moved again because their nature is nomadic so they move according to the season. So even though they already have a house, because they are nomadic, it is not permanent until finally the government intervenes to organize them to

live and have a permanent house on land, although basically they already have a house on land.

The form of government regulation carried out through the Marine Spatial Plan program for the Orang Suku Laut Community is in accordance with Law 23/2014 on Regional Government where the management of 0-12 miles of marine space is the authority of the province, so the RZWP-3-K is determined by the provincial regulation. RZWP-3-K and RZR Area are stipulated by Regional Regulation (Perda). The Coastal Zone Zoning Plan, which undergoes changes in the rules of the Law, makes the District Government as a regional apparatus not have much power because it is entirely transferred to the Provincial Government which actually takes care of several Districts / Cities included in its administrative area, so there are many possibilities for the preparation of local regulations to take a long time with a long process.

Power must be understood as something that perpetuates power relations, forming chains or systems of relations, or isolating them from others in a power relation. Power is therefore a strategy while power relations are the effect (Mugiyanto, 2022). According to Foucault, power is like a coin, it has two opposing faces (Erika et al., 2021). This means that power has two faces. Power is both restrictive and productive. Productive because power has the ability to be issued by anyone and contains resistance efforts. Meanwhile, it is restrictive because power is able to create boundaries to keep away other elements that interfere with its power. There is a shift in the focus of power analysis, from analyzing the consciousness and will of the subject to analyzing the body. Disciplinary power places the subject as an effect and vehicle for power. Therefore, according to Foucault, the modern subject is a vehicle for power and an object for knowledge.

The Bintan Regency government used to have a regent regulation on zoning areas such as RZWP; before it became a regional regulation, it was still the authority of the regency, in the form of a perbup in the regent regulation used to regulate the catchment areas that could be in the bintan regency core areas, catchment areas and others. However, then the authority became the province's authority and was compiled by the province but the province itself has not finished compiling it.

The regulation governing the authority of local governments in managing marine space up to 4 miles originates from Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government, in which local governments are given the right to manage resources in marine areas up to 4 miles from the coastline. However, along with regulatory changes, which are now regulated in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, this authority was expanded so that the management of marine space up to 12 miles from the coastline became the responsibility of the central government.

This change has major implications for the community, especially for the Orang Suku Laut. Previously, district governments, such as Bintan Regency, had the autonomy to regulate zoning through district regulations (perbup). For example, they could regulate catchment areas and other areas within the district's core area. However, with the transfer of this authority to the provincial government, the role of the district government is limited. The implication of this transfer of authority is the potential for delays in the process of drafting local regulations, as it takes a long time and faces various bureaucratic challenges, so that the regulation of marine space, which should be fast and responsive to community needs, cannot be carried out effectively. In addition, communities, including Orang Suku Laut, feel marginalized in the decision-making process, which is now managed by an authority that is more distant from their daily lives. On the one hand, Michel Foucault's analysis of power in the context of the transfer of authority can be seen as limiting for the district government and for the wider community. On the other hand, this change could also generate new opportunities to promote equity and participation if the provincial government takes an inclusive approach to marine spatial planning and management.

Research from Elsera (2019) As found in Bintan Regency, precisely in Berakit Village, the Orang Suku Laut, which is recognized as one of the Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT) in Indonesia as per Presidential Regulation number 186 of 2014, occupies settlements through the RTLH program in the form of physical housing buildings specifically designated for indigenous Orang Suku Laut communities in Kampung Panglong, Berakit Village, Teluk Sebong Sub-district, Bintan Regency in the framework of improving the quality of the housing environment and decent community settlements for low-income people (MBR). Changes to settlement patterns and socio-cultural and economic activities of the Orang Suku Laut community do not make them separated from the sea and water as their original ecosystem. The pattern of change, especially in housing, is only limited to changes from canoes, shallow

sea or coastal to land (Gun, 2018). The determination of space allocation in the marine spatial planning/zoning plan is carried out in the coastal area with the intention of creating an economic growth area based on the character of each group of marine waters while maintaining the continuity of a natural, social, cultural, or local wisdom condition in the water area.

The government program is to resettle those who have been boating until now to live in two places, one in Bintan which is carried out by the Bintan Regency Government and the other on the island of Air Kelubi, formerly managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. For the program in air kelubi, they live on land not on the beach, but because they are bound by the sea, their livelihoods, they are forced to live in the coastal area again. Then for those in Berakit, it is a program of the Bintan Regency government because they learned from the experience of air kelubi, so those in Berakit were placed in coastal areas and then made the arrangement of their houses to be more organized through the regional spatial plan and house rehabilitation program.

Especially for the allocation of the Berakit Orang Suku Laut settlement which is directly facing the sea, it is planned that the local community can maintain their local wisdom and depend on marine products, but in maintaining the continuity of the local wisdom of the Berakit Orang Suku Laut, the Bintan Regency Government considers that the Orang Suku Laut is the same community as the fishing community so that this arrangement is for the entire fishing community, equally empowered according to their livelihood. It needs to be underlined here that the regulation was not made specifically for indigenous tribes but was made to be comprehensive for all fishermen. The assumption built by the Bintan Regency Government in conducting the program to resettle the population itself is in the context that if the Orang Suku Laut is resettled it is easier to enter empowerment programs; if they are placed in a certain location, it is easier to enter health programs and education programs, they can be recorded in population data and have identities such as KTP and KK, social assistance, and various other programs. The assumption is that if the Orang Suku Laut community is still nomadic, it will be difficult to carry out the program. Community empowerment also aims to improve the quality and ability of the Orang Suku Laut community to be able to carry out their rights and responsibilities as citizens, especially Orang Suku Lauts who are still classified as new community groups living on land (Edi Putra, Yudhanto Satyagraha Adiputra, 2021). The existing programs that are delivered can be said to no longer consider them as marine tribe community settlements that are of concern as those in mainland Riau or Jambi, because the marine tribes in this area are already second generation and have enjoyed education.

Implementation of the Marine Spatial Plan Policy towards the Fulfillment of the Rights of the Orang Suku Laut Community of Panglong Village, Berakit Village

The implementation of the Marine Spatial Plan (RTRL) policy in Panglong Village, Berakit Village, has a significant impact on the fulfillment of the rights of the Suku Laut community. In this context, the regulation is governed by various laws, including Law No. 27/2007, which provide the legal basis for marine spatial management in Indonesia. This regulation aims to regulate the use of marine space in a sustainable manner, while protecting the rights of local communities, including the Suku Laut community. However, implementation has often been challenging, particularly in terms of recognizing traditional territorial rights and access to marine resources. Suku Laut communities, who depend on the sea for their daily lives, are often marginalized in planning and decision-making processes.

Based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which regulates the rights of citizens, the State is obliged to fulfill citizenship rights, the right to equality in law and government, the right to work and a decent livelihood, the right and obligation to defend the country (state defense and security), freedom of association and assembly, freedom of religion, education, social security. In Berakit Orang Suku Laut, it was found that the majority of development programs prepared by the local government are not long-term oriented, emphasizing infrastructure development rather than human resource development. Infrastructure development programs are evident in the RTLH program, social assistance such as PKH and BLT while empowerment programs are mostly carried out by external organizations rather than the government such as English language education and other subjects, empowerment through the introduction of hydroponic plants (Elsera, Widiyani, et al., 2021).

There are several parts of the Bintan Regency government that oversee and bridge the citizen rights given to the Berakit Orang Suku Laut community, namely.

Marine and Fisheries Service of Bintan Regency

The Bintan Marine and Fisheries Service adjusts the development of areas with activities in the coastal and marine areas, residential activities, capture fisheries and aquaculture, and others. The center of the space utilization conformity program from PRL gives a kind of approval to people who live on the sea or part of their house at sea with a record of using the building as a residence not a business house and the condition is that those who have occupied the building for 5-10 years must take care of it. This is certainly done after considering that the main income of the Orang Suku Laut community is from the catch of sea products, and they already depend on it (Zaki, 2018).

In the context of capture fisheries, the agency is responsible for regulating fishing activities, ensuring that the practice is sustainable and does not harm the marine ecosystem. This includes providing fishing gear assistance, monitoring the gear used and establishing safe fishing zones for communities. The Fisheries Service serves to protect the marine resources that are the main livelihood of the Suku Laut communities, who rely heavily on fishing catches for their economic needs. On the other hand, in the development of aquaculture, the Bintan Fisheries Service encourages the Suku Laut community to shift from traditional fishing practices to more sustainable aquaculture. The Bintan Fisheries Service provides support through socialization and the provision of seeds and feed so that the community has knowledge of efficient and environmentally friendly aquaculture techniques, so as to increase fish production without destroying natural habitats. This support not only aims to increase community income, but also to strengthen local food security.

The form of power exercised by the Government over the existing system in society, especially tribes, uses good methods that are considered to follow the interests of the community. The Orang Suku Laut is often referred to as a cultural model. Because of their habits at sea and clustering, they are called the Orang Suku Laut. Orang Suku Lauts are not recognized as tribalism in Indonesia. They are included as local wisdom, it is a regional policy to preserve.

Not included in tribalism, because the Malay language is used anyway. Actually, if it is used as a heritage object, it goes into tourism, if it is educational, it goes into education. The sedentary building is in the form of a pelantar house. It has blended and cannot be distinguished because it has experienced generational changes and inevitably has to adjust, it cannot survive with their previous conditions.

Utilizing the potential in the sea space, of course, has its own way and different tools than on land, so better technology and tools are needed as an important role holder (Priyanta, 2021). Therefore, the assistance of the Marine Fisheries Service at both the provincial and district/city levels is needed. At least fishermen who are often assisted are given a fish finder (fish tracking device) so that they save fuel to see the fish ground (catchment area). Only small fishermen are eligible to be assisted with fuel subsidies. According to Law No. 45/2009 on Fisheries, a small fisherman is a person whose livelihood is fishing to meet the needs of daily life using a fishing vessel with a maximum size of 5 (five) gross tons (GT).".



Figure 2. GT Fiber Motorboat



Figure 3. GT Fiber Wood Ship

Regional spatial plans for communities whose homes are wholly or partly in the sea, such as the Berakit Orang Suku Laut, will have a submission letter so that there will be an automatic endorsement indicating

unwritten customary practices and communal agreements. They had a close relationship with the marine environment, where their rights to coastal resources were based on tradition and cultural norms. However, with regulations such as Law No. 27 of 2007 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands, and Law No. 1 of 2014 on Marine Spatial Management, the state began to take control of marine space and establish zones for various uses. This marks a fundamental shift in the way that Suku Laut communities interact with their environment, as well as with the government and other stakeholders.

Under these new arrangements, the Orang Suku Laut are required to adapt to the new legal framework, including participating in zoning processes that often do not take into account their traditional values and practices. For example, while regulations aim to protect marine resources and the environment, the zoning approach may limit their access to areas that they have long considered ancestral lands and sources of livelihood. This could potentially result in their marginalization in decision-making that directly impacts their lives. These changes are also leading to an evolution in the identity of the Suku Laut communities. On the one hand, they are beginning to be seen as stakeholders in marine resource management, but on the other hand, this recognition is often symbolic and not accompanied by tangible changes in the protection of their rights. The mismatch between traditional practices and bureaucratic requirements led to confusion within communities, with many feeling they were losing their cultural roots. In the long run, this degradation of identity not only threatens the survival of their culture and customary practices, but also removes the uniqueness that distinguishes them from other communities.

Suku Laut has assimilated into the Malay community due to a program that relocated them to coastal areas dominated by Malay communities, changing their nomadic lifestyle into permanent settlements. PUPR organizes their relocation locations by considering the proximity of the Sea Tribe to the sea, so that the settlements prepared are not far from the beach and the open sea. After relocation, PUPR also facilitates the issuance of building certificates on the water, proving that the rights of the Suku Laut as citizens are legally respected.

This effort is in line with existing regulations, such as KP Ministerial Regulation No. 28 of 2021, which regulates marine spatial planning and the rights and obligations of coastal communities, including the Suku Laut. PUPR ensures that they can carry out fisheries and aquaculture activities legally, while maintaining their local wisdom. This is also in accordance with PUPR Regulation No. 15 of 2023 which provides guidelines in facilitating the suitability of marine space for local communities. With these steps, PUPR not only supports the legality of their settlements, but also maintains harmony with customs and applicable spatial policies.

Tourism and Culture Office of Bintan Regency

Orang Suku Laut are those who use canoes as homes and live in them all the time including birth, marriage, death and other activities. The Orang Suku Laut in Bintan has a life activity by traveling daily to other locations in search of fish but the Orang Suku Laut in Bintan no longer ventures to very far places and stays for months in the canoe before returning to the village because most work as fishermen in their catchment area around the waters of Bintan. These Orang Suku Laut communities are also known as coastal communities and their livelihoods are highly dependent on the sea. They are a community that is now considered a fishing community consisting of marginalized communities, low interaction especially with outsiders, and poor levels of education, economy and health (Alejos, 2017).

The Bintan Regency Government has the authority to develop regional flagship tourism destinations as regulated in Bintan Regency Regional Regulation Number 11 of 2008. In the spatial plan, one of the areas designated as a tourist village is the tourist village area in Berakit. In Berakit itself there is a cultural heritage house or an old Malay house and after being researched by the cultural activist team it turns out that these Orang Suku Lauts originated from Malay royal people who were assigned by the kingdom to protect the sea and after a long time they began to develop in the sea so that they no longer wanted to go ashore. (Pemerintah Kabupaten Bintan, 2023) The 115-year-old Malay House is located in Berakit Village, has a width of 7 meters and a length of 12 meters, has six rooms with 66 foundation pillars that are solid to this day. Rumah Melayu was designated as a cultural heritage building based on Riau Islands Governor Decree Number 1061 of 2022 dated September 2, 2022. The governor's decree follows up on the Bintan Regent's decree that designated the tourist attraction as a cultural heritage in 2017.

Research on the Orang Suku Laut, who have shifted away from their traditional maritime lifestyle, highlights critical issues regarding their rights and identity. Once a community intricately tied to the sea,

their identity is undergoing significant transformation due to changing lifestyles and reduced mobility. While government policies like the Marine Spatial Plan and tourism development in Berakit present opportunities, they also threaten traditional rights. Furthermore, their involvement in cultural preservation and recognition as part of the local coastal community allows them to redefine their identity, albeit within a complex context that risks eroding traditional values.



Figure 5. Rumah Melayu After Building Maintenance by the Government



Figure 6. The condition of the Berakit Charcoal Kitchen is no longer in use

Orang Suku Laut communities have great potential as a regional asset as their local wisdom and unique way of life attract tourists and researchers, both local and foreign. If properly developed by the local government, this can be a lucrative attraction for the community and the region itself. Currently, many tourists are interested in visiting Berakit to mingle with the Orang Suku Laut communities and understand their lives. However, this potential has not been maximized and further action is needed to optimize it.

Orang Suku Laut communities are more than just seafarers or marine resource seekers; they have a rich cultural heritage and diverse skills in resource utilization. Their activities include not only traditional fishing practices, but also fish farming with drift nets, as well as the processing of various marine products into products such as salted fish, sea cucumbers and crackers. This highlights their adaptability and knowledge of sustainable practices in their environment.

However, their relationship with the mangrove ecosystem has diminished. In Panglong Village there is a charcoal kitchen that was once used by the Orang Suku Laut in processing mangrove charcoal, but this activity has stopped due to environmental activists' concern about the depletion of mangrove forests. The facility has historical significance, as the charcoal produced was exported to international markets, mainly through Singapore. Today, the charcoal kilns have been repurposed as a cultural heritage site under the Bintan Regency Government, which aims to preserve the history and traditions of the community. While this transition reflects an effort to honor their cultural heritage, the site suffers from a lack of regular maintenance, resulting in its neglected condition. As a result, the original significance of the charcoal kitchen is diminished by its current condition, which fails to reflect the spirit and heritage of the Orang Suku Laut. This situation underscores the broader challenges faced by the community, namely the need to balance the preservation of their cultural identity with the pressures of modern development.

Social Services of Bintan Regency

The Remote Indigenous Community Empowerment Program was initially a program of the Ministry of Social Affairs and was followed by the Bintan District Government for the Berakit Orang Suku Laut. Forms of programs such as RTLH, and other social security are the responsibility of the Social Affairs Office. (Arman, 2020) The Bintan Regency Government through the Bintan Regency APBD fund in 2010 allocated a budget of Rp.1,300,000,000 in the uninhabitable house program (RTLH) with houses made towards the sea and in the form of a platform to adjust local wisdom that is indeed side by side with the coast and the sea.

a) Program RTLH

Table 1. RTLH Rehabilitation Beneficiaries

No.	Name	Location	No.	Name	Location
1	Mahyudin	Panglong	31	Asno	Panglong
2	Padli	Panglong	32	Paulus Samad	Panglong
3	Pairul	Panglong	33	Mad Being	Panglong
4	Faizal	Panglong	34	Boy Agustinus	Panglong
5	M. Salim	Panglong	35	Kerah	Panglong
6	Samat	Panglong	35	Erik Fernandes	Panglong
7	Jupri	Panglong	37	Top	Panglong
8	Aris	Panglong	38	Ike	Panglong
9	Sulaeman	Panglong	39	Agus	Panglong
10	Muslimin	Panglong	40	Leksantik	Panglong
11	Saiman	Panglong	41	Jimat Mat	Panglong
12	Abd. Kadir	Panglong	42	Lim Bon Ji	Panglong
13	Hardiyanto	Panglong	43	Titi	Panglong
14	Temah	Panglong	44	Supa'at	Panglong
15	Awi	Panglong	45	Sani	Panglong
16	Johanes Muhamad	Panglong	46	Lela/Nanton Wahyu	Panglong
17	Rise	Panglong	47	Muhamad Raus	Panglong
18	Yakobus Abas	Panglong	48	Herman	Panglong
19	Yumin	Panglong	49	Sila	Panglong
20	Yohanes Katon	Panglong	50	Slamat	Panglong
21	Yoati Leli	Panglong	51	Arun	Panglong
22	Lago	Panglong	52	Nali	Panglong
23	Boncet	Panglong	53	Iwan	Panglong
24	Bernados Dol	Panglong	54	Arifin	Panglong
25	Atong	Panglong	55	Roni	Panglong
26	Herman Nahak	Panglong	56	Leman	Panglong
27	Sapar	Panglong	57	Arbaiwah	Panglong
28	Adi	Panglong	58	Syafei	Panglong
29	Sakdiah	Panglong	59	Leo	Panglong
30	Sabtu	Panglong	60	Ame	Panglong



Figure 7. Harun's House Condition

b) Non-cash food assistance

Table 2. Recipients of Non-Cash Food Assistance

No.	Name	Address	KPM Category	Type of Assistance	Description
1	Aceh	Jl H Abd Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
2	Monika Tanjung	Jl H Abd Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
3	Monika Murni	Jl H Abd Salam Tlk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
4	Jamila	Jl H Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
5	Rahmah	Jl H Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	Pure Groceries	Suku Laut
6	Titus Arimin	Jl H Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Dayasos	Pure Groceries	Suku Laut
7	Kristina Barek Hoda	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Dayasos	PKH	Suku Laut
8	Sapariah	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
9	Paulina Bili	Jl Haji Abdul Teluk Merbau	Dayasos	Pure Groceries	Suku Laut
10	Diana	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Dayasos	Pure Groceries	Suku Laut
11	Elizabet Rosmina	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut
12	Jannah	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Rehsos	PKH	Suku Laut
13	Rosa Dalima Hayati	Jl Haji Abdul Salam Teluk Merbau	Linjamsos	PKH	Suku Laut

Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2017 concerning Non-Cash Distribution of Social Assistance is given in the context of poverty reduction programs which include social protection, social security, social empowerment, social rehabilitation, and basic services. This social assistance includes basic necessities according to the prevailing price in each region but the disbursement of this assistance fund is in several months and in stages so that sometimes the arrangement is not in accordance with long-term needs.

c) BLT Lansia

Table 3. Beneficiaries BLT Lansia

No.	Name	Guardian Name	Address	Description
1	Sakdiyah	Sani	RT 001 RW 001	Suku Laut
2	Sainah	Jamilawati	RT 001 RW 001	Suku Laut
3	Mat Dullah	Monika Murni	RT 001 RW 001	Suku Laut

d) Family Hope Program

The beneficiaries of the Family Hope Program and BLT Lansos for the Elderly are registered as poor or vulnerable families. The main objective of PKH and BLT is to improve the quality of human resources, especially in the fields of education and health for poor families. PKH opens access for poor families, especially pregnant women, to health services and children to utilize education services, while BLT Lansia is intended to protect the elderly, especially those who have no care because the elderly are a vulnerable group. In general, the main purpose of the government to implement the family hope program and direct cash assistance for the elderly is to help and prosper human resources, especially in this case

those who are the majority of fishing communities, providing behavioral understanding is expected to reduce the poverty rate of fishing communities (Sari et al., 2020).

Table 4. Beneficiaries of the Family Hope Program

No.	Kelurahan	Name	Address	RT	RW
1	Berakit	Monika Murni	Jl. H. Abd. Salam, Teluk Merbau	1	1
2	Berakit	Aceh	Jl. H. Abd. Salam, Teluk Merbau	1	1
3	Berakit	Monika Tanjung	Jl. H. Abd. Salam, Teluk Merbau	1	1
4	Berakit	Jamila	Jl. H. Abdul Salam	1	1
5	Berakit	Ana Rohana	Jl. H. Abdul Salam	1	1
6	Berakit	Yanti	Jl. H. Abdul Salam	1	1
7	Berakit	Jannah	Jl. H. Abdul Salam, Teluk Merbau	1	1
8	Berakit	Rosa Dalima Hayati	Jl. H. Abdul Salam, Teluk Merbau	1	1

Source Social Service of Bintan Regency, 2023

Implementation of the Marine Spatial Plan on the Blurring (Crisis) of the Identity of the Orang Suku Laut

The Orang Suku Laut community is characterized by economic, social, cultural and political powerlessness. They are limited in their ability to socialize in their social environment. Culturally they are treated unequally and are looked down upon in the social structure. Politically, they also do not have the opportunity to negotiate policies enacted in their region, even policies that intervene in many aspects of their lives (Elsera, 2019). In addition, the Orang Suku Laut being labeled as a Remote Indigenous Community (KAT) has further marginalized their existence as they have the status of being a person with social welfare problems and need special handling (Arman, 2020).

Relevant agencies, such as the Fisheries Agency, PUPR Agency, and Social Agency, play a crucial role in supporting the Orang Suku Laut community who experience economic, social, cultural, and political powerlessness. The Fisheries Agency, for example, which is in charge of marine resource management, seeks to improve the community's welfare by providing skills training for fishermen, including counseling on recommended and prohibited fishing gear, introduction to fish farming, and processing seafood into more valuable products, such as salted fish and crackers. The PUPR Office has the responsibility to plan and build infrastructure that supports the accessibility of coastal areas. Some of the programs that have been running include the preparation of the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW), through the program of providing certificates for buildings on the water as well, providing legal certainty for Orang Suku Laut who own houses and businesses in coastal areas. The building on water certificate program for Suku Laut is proof that their rights are being protected, and that the government is allowing Suku Laut to cultivate and run fish farming activities in floating cages in a legal and sustainable manner. Meanwhile, the Social Welfare Office focuses on providing social assistance to communities that have the status of Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PMKS). They provide assistance programs aimed at improving people's quality of life, such as food assistance, job training, and access to health services. However, this approach is often short-term and does not always take into account the long-term aspirations of the community. In addition, community involvement in the program planning process is often minimal, so their needs and expectations are not fully accommodated.

The designation of the Orang Suku Laut as a Remote Indigenous Community (KAT) has intensified their marginalization, framing them as individuals facing social welfare challenges that require special attention (Miswanto et al., 2018). The KAT program in Riau Islands for Suku Laut is known as housing and infrastructure assistance through the initiation of the RTRL program. The policy adopted the concept of mainstream infrastructure development on the grounds that the central and regional governments would facilitate data collection and improve the living standards of the Suku Laut. Ironically, this initiative has caused the Suku Laut to lose their identity as Suku Laut.

References to the KAT program in the Suku Laut of Riau Islands show that these initiatives, while well-intentioned, often do not consider the broader social and cultural context. The program tends to adopt a top-down development approach, where the needs and desires of the community are not fully accommodated. They are not only perceived as a group that needs assistance, but are also deprived of an active role in decision-making that affects their lives. Overall, despite efforts to develop infrastructure

and social facilities in Panglong Village, the Suku Laut community still faces major challenges in maintaining their cultural identity and adapting to imposed policies.

In Kampung Panglong, the Suku Laut settlement is placed at the edge of the coast, which isolates them from the wider social environment, especially Berakit village. The significant distance between Kampung Panglong and other settlements results in isolation, both in social and economic aspects. Infrastructure development, such as the adjoining church and mosque, although aimed at creating a sense of community, has kept social activities in the community to a minimum. The existence of religious facilities is not always followed by active participation from the community. Meanwhile, while education for children is available, the quality and accessibility of education is often a challenge. Existing schools are insufficient to address the fundamental issue of community participation in the learning process. Without adequate support, such education becomes less effective in improving living standards and community identity.

The Orang Suku Laut community itself is difficult to open up to new people, so they will choose one person to be trusted or called the head of the Orang Suku Laut, and the head of the Orang Suku Laut in Berakit is bang tintin. Tintin himself is considered the head of the Orang Suku Laut because his father has already become the head of the Orang Suku Laut, so when students or foreign tourists come to kampung panglong to research about the Orang Suku Laut community, they will mostly meet bang tintin. Tintin himself graduated from Singapore, so the chairman's English is very good.

According to the Berakit village head, interactions between the village and Kampung Panglong are often established through Bang Tintin, who is considered intelligent and adaptable. However, despite his abilities, he has a limited understanding of the history and culture of the Suku Laut, particularly the bekajang period. Bang Tintin, who was born on land, has received formal education and is involved in activities outside of the community, has lost much of his knowledge of the customary practices and traditional values inherent in Suku Laut life. His sister Meri, who is more connected to these aspects of the culture, has deeper insights due to longer experience in bekajang activities.

Bang Tintin's limited understanding reflects the negative impact of the resettlement move to land, where his identity as a member of the Sea Tribe is no longer integrated with the sea. By moving to land, Bang Tintin is alienated from customary practices and cultural heritage, and Bang Tintin being a representative of the Orang Suku Laut can influence how outsiders understand and appreciate the complexity of their culture potentially leading to a loss of cultural knowledge, as the voices and experiences of different peoples within the community are not always represented by Bang Tintin.

This shows the lack of closeness on the part of Berakit village leaders, so they use community leaders/Orang Suku Laut figures as an extension of government communication to the Orang Suku Laut itself. The pattern of communication between the Orang Suku Laut community and government agencies through the use of community representatives, such as Bang Tintin, who is considered capable of representing their aspirations and needs as well as having an educational background and status as the son of an Orang Suku Laut leader as legitimization, so he is seen as an effective bridge between the community and the government. However, this phenomenon reflects the distance or lack of closeness between Berakit village leaders and the Suku Laut community. The use of community leaders as an extension of the communication arm creates a risky dependency, since the voices and perspectives represented do not always encompass the full range of dynamics and needs. This has the potential to result in policies not fully reflecting the desires and realities of the lives of the Suku Laut community.

The results show the social relationship between the Suku Laut community and the local community is not very intense due to the following: firstly, the location of their residence which is quite far from the surrounding community. Secondly, there is a reluctance for the Suku Laut community to interact with the local community because of fear, shame, and inferiority, which must be facilitated by the tribal chief if they want to deal with the local community and the government. Thirdly, the stereotype of the Orang Suku Laut as slovenly, shabby, dirty, rarely bathing, keeping unclean animals has limited the intensity of communication with the local community.

The negative stereotypes attached to the Orang Suku Laut, portraying them as shabby, unkempt, and rarely maintain hygiene, contribute significantly to their marginalization in society. Research by Elsera (2019) also shows that this prejudice results in unfair and discriminatory treatment from local communities, who often refuse to interact with them. These limitations in social and economic interactions impact employment opportunities and access to basic services, thus worsening the living

conditions of the Orang Suku Laut community. Furthermore, these stereotypes undermine people's self confidence in the community, casting doubt on their values and identity, and disbelief in their identity as an indigenous community reinforces these stereotypes, creating a cycle of discrimination that is difficult to break. Gaps in communication also emerge, with local communities' reluctance to establish closer relationships due to prejudice, further reinforcing social isolation and alienation.

As the relationship between the Suku Laut community and the local community is less intense, their social interaction with government institutions is very difficult. This is reflected in the representation of the Suku Laut community, represented by Bang Tintin as a communicator to communicate with government institutions. In general, they are not intense enough to utilize public services. If there are matters related to public services, it usually requires government officials to go directly to the settlements of the Suku Laut community or be accompanied by the tribal chief to make arrangements with the government (Faizal et al., 2023). Because of the need to complete the civil administration, every person is required to have an ID card, family card, marriage book and so on. The majority of the people of Suku Laut have ID cards and have family cards, but some do not yet marriage books. This registration process was previously facilitated to help them obtain government-initiated housing assistance. While there has been progress in mastering administrative documents, the lack of marriage books demonstrates the challenges that Suku Laut communities still face in meeting administrative requirements, potentially affecting their access to social services and other government assistance.

On the issue of economic challenges, some of the Suku Laut have become fisheries middlemen, but they are mostly small-scale fishermen who sell their catches to middlemen (Rahmawati, 2014). However, those who become fisheries middlemen sell back to larger middlemen from Berakit village. This shows that despite efforts to adapt within the economic structure, their position is still very limited and tied to Berakit village middlemen, who have greater influence in determining prices and market conditions. The relationship of dependence between the tauke and small fishermen in meeting their daily needs sometimes makes the community have to borrow money and this debt will be paid in the next season when they catch more. Many things cause fishermen's dependence on the tauke such as the consumptive mindset of the fishing community, in addition to the low income of the community and the absence of other places to sell other than to the tauke. In addition, the selling price of catches for fishermen who owe money will be different from the price of fishermen who do not owe money.

There is a widespread assumption that when catches are plentiful, they are more likely to be used directly and spent rather than saved or bought for the long term. The financial capability of the Orang Suku Laut in managing their finances is still very minimal, so when the season does not have much catch, there is an attachment to borrowing money or getting into debt. Their condition as a poor community is reinforced by their reliance on debt, which represents a shift away from the traditional barter system that was more common in the past. Dependence on debt creates a more vulnerable and risky economy, which can exacerbate their marginalization. This suggests that they are not only disconnected from the traditional economic system, but also increasingly caught up in larger economic structures that are often unfavorable to them. This reinforces their status in poverty, as they do not have adequate access to more stable and sustainable economic alternatives.

They are also a social group that has always been marginalized and left behind socially, economically and politically, so they are often identified as poor. This community group is also often exploited by capital owners because the low economic level with the necessary fishing gear makes them entangled in loans to capital owners (tauke) which keeps them in a circle of poverty (Anwar et al., 2019). Although there are small tauke from the Suku Laut community, they remain dependent on the large tauke from Berakit village for capital and market access. This dependency creates a condition where, despite local empowerment efforts, economic power remains in the hands of large middlemen who have no direct interest in the welfare of the Suku Laut community. Individuals within the community who are attempting to become small taukes are still trapped within a larger, more powerful economic structure, which is difficult to change without widespread support and better access to resources.

Apart from the socio-economic aspects, there is a marked difference between the sea tribes who still live a bekajang lifestyle and those who have settled in settlements, especially in terms of beliefs. While those still living in bekajang generally have structured beliefs and specific cults, the Orang Suku Laut living in Panglong Village have internalized religion to a large extent, mainly due to the influence of migrant groups bringing religious and cultural values. This process has contributed to the blurring of their ethnic identity.



Figure 8. Musholla Nurul Iman



Figure 9. Church Bone Fasius

Currently, Orang Suku Laut have a high religious diversity consisting of Islam and Catholicism. This freedom of religious choice is strongly influenced by religious assistance programs located around their place of residence (Elsera, Rahmawati, et al., 2022). While there is freedom of religious choice, the presence of migrants, including religious leaders, puts pressure on local communities to adopt certain religious practices. A high sense of tolerance is evident in the coexistence of mosques and churches; however, this blurring of identities means that in order to obtain government assistance, administrative documents such as family cards and ID cards must list a religion, so communities must follow religious norms that may not fully align with long-established local beliefs.

Not all local wisdom can be maintained, for example people who read mantras or jampi in the form of rhymes as good as the local wisdom of the Orang Suku Laut, but with religious education and education whether he will continue to survive, it should not survive because it is a contradictory thing which then there is an attraction between something that is shirk and something that is faith, of course it is a different thing. With good moral and religious education, it makes them understand better whether it is good or not. the development of education and religious knowledge is also an influence to determine whether the wisdom can be maintained or not.

The influence of religion in the Suku Laut community can be seen as one of the main factors contributing to the blurring of their ethnic identity. As migrant groups brought new religious and cultural values, the Suku Laut communities, which previously had rich and diverse local beliefs, were influenced to adopt more structured religious practices. This process not only changed their belief patterns, but also affected the way they saw themselves and their collective identity. New internalized religions are often accompanied by social and administrative pressures. For example, in order to meet the requirements of documents such as family cards and ID cards, Suku Laut communities must list their religion, which in turn emphasizes their religious identity over their indigenous cultural identity. Furthermore, the presence of places of worship from different religions, such as mosques and churches side by side, demonstrates how external influences can distort ethnic identity. In this context, the blurring of identity does not only involve changes in spiritual practices, but also includes the loss of cultural aspects that have been an integral part of Suku Laut life for centuries. Without the recognition and preservation of local beliefs, Suku Laut communities risk losing their valuable cultural heritage, which could impact their social cohesion and overall well-being.

The Suku Laut have experienced a degradation of traditional beliefs or a decline in practices related to traditional beliefs, such as rituals and mantras that are no longer used because they have adopted new religions (Islam or Christianity) (Ariando, 2020). For the Orang Suku Laut, religion is still an administrative and normative need. In the beginning, the Orang Suku Lauts were a group of people who had their own belief system and often performed traditional belief rituals, which they later called a religion. However, their belief system cannot be called a religion because there is no complexity that can make it institutionalized (Rahmat et al., 2021).

The new religion adopted by the Orang Suku Laut, while providing normative structure and administrative necessity, did not completely replace pre-existing values and beliefs. As Rahmat et al.

(2021), while the Suku Laut have a belief system, they often cannot classify it as a religion in a more formal sense due to the lack of complexity and structure to make it institutionalized. In this context, the blurring of identity that occurs due to the influence of new religions creates a deeper divide. The Suku Laut communities are now in a difficult position, where they must navigate between the preservation of traditional practices that are increasingly marginalized and the demand to adapt to new religious norms that may not fully align with their identity. This tension creates a dilemma between maintaining cultural heritage and meeting administrative needs that require them to identify with the more dominant religion. In the long run, this could risk eroding the cultural foundations that have long become their identity, leaving them increasingly alienated from their historical roots and spirituality.

Another challenging issue is education. With many people only reaching elementary school, there are still many people with low levels of knowledge and only depend on natural products obtained from the sea (Tan, 2021). The low level of education affects the behavior of the Orang Suku Laut in the fields of economy, culture, and politics. However, especially the children of the Orang Suku Laut community get educational empowerment by the Indonesian Islands Care Foundation which focuses on education in learning English and other materials. Still, the educational conditions of the Orang Suku Laut group who still live a nomadic lifestyle at sea are in the elderly age group, making it difficult to give up their traditional habits and not pursue formal education, and they remain in educational isolation. This difference creates a gap in access to education and the development of individual potential.

In addition, even though they are a community that used to live at sea and lack education, after they live on land with the collaboration between the foundation and the head of the Orang Suku Laut who is proficient in English and routinely learns English, many of the Orang Suku Laut are proficient in English, because their place is often visited by foreign tourists.



Figure 10. Panglong Learning Center by Yayasan Peduli Kepulauan Indonesia

Based on research by Ariando & Adhuri (2023), the Orang Suku Laut should be considered Indigenous Peoples or Traditional Communities. However, they cannot be recognized as customary law communities because they do not have customary territories and a number of water-based or coastal regulations. The government should be able to accommodate the Suku Laut community for space to move according to the character or identity of the Suku Laut at the beginning, including access to sea space that adapts to the needs of the group, especially those who still live on boats and move according to their nomadic territory. In addition, Orang Suku Laut who have 'migrated' to land must also be given protection through equal rights and access to use facilities and resources on land such as burial grounds and clean water sources, while still protecting marine spaces around the coast where they live and guaranteeing local culture. The government must protect the right of sea gypsies to develop their livelihoods, whether they are in capture fisheries, aquaculture or other activities.

The local wisdom that exists in the Suku Laut community must be further socialized through strengthening customary identity. Using a bottom-up approach using local wisdom is one strategy that

can be used as a guideline in strengthening the identity and written recognition of the Orang Suku Laut in the Riau Islands. For example, by mapping local wisdom documentation and mapping communal marine territories, the government can collaborate with indigenous peoples to manage marine and fisheries resources from planning, decision-making, to monitoring the mapping of development potentials to strengthen a sense of shared ownership. (Elsera, 2019) Bintan Regency, as one of the areas experiencing a blurry identity for the indigenous culture of the Orang Suku Laut. Strengthening this indigenous identity is done in order to remove the label of the Orang Suku Laut as an ancient, smelly, irreligious, and witchcraft group. Efforts to strengthen the identity of the Orang Suku Laut (OSL) as an integrated indigenous community can be carried out through several strategic steps. First, formal recognition of OSL's status as indigenous peoples through regulations that protect their rights. This includes recognition of their customary territories and access to natural resources that are an integral part of their lives. Second, education and training programs that focus on traditional knowledge in marine resource management and aquaculture. In addition, collaboration with government agencies and non-government organizations in the development of community empowerment programs that impact their communities also ensures that their voices are heard and their needs are met. The Orang Suku Laut is a local wisdom so that the state should guarantee their existence and recognize the identity of the Orang Suku Laut in accordance with its characteristics that reflect the face of Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

In Foucault's framework, the dynamic interaction between power and knowledge has profound implications for individuals, especially concerning the social control exerted over their bodies. In Foucault's analysis of governmentality, power is not only centralized in formal institutions, but also operates through more subtle mechanisms in everyday life. In Panglong Village, the interaction between the government and Orang Suku Laut (OSL) reflects this principle, where state power is implemented through administrative strategies and policies that govern their settlement and identity. The settlement process of more than 60 families shows that the government's initiatives in managing the community are not only structural, but also focus on the internalization of social and administrative norms. The use of the registration system to obtain civil registration documents such as NIK and KK reflects how individuals in this community engage in self-regulation, following the norms set by the government. Foucault emphasizes that surveillance and normalization result in individuals feeling responsible for their own behavior, albeit without direct coercion.

In this context, governmentality shows the organized exercise of state power in managing society. Specifically in the context of OSL, government authority takes the form of a persuasive strategy, capitalizing on the proximity of OSL's sea area on Sumpat Island to Panglong village. The settlement initiative, which began voluntarily with four families seeking access to education, gradually expanded until 2011, with a total of 60 families settling. This influx of new settlers triggered the implementation of disciplinary measures, such as the use of administrative strategies for registration to obtain a Population Registration Number (NIK) and Family Card (KK). In addition, greater dominance is seen in policies such as the Marine Spatial Plan, which recognizes the identity of the Orang Suku Laut through the granting of permits for their settlement, stipulating a minimum duration of residence of 5-10 years in Panglong village. This shows the government's willingness to recognize the existence of OSL communities.

However, this process of governmentality has also led to a blurring of the identity of the Orang Suku Laut. The dilemma between benefiting from development while maintaining their original connection to the marine environment has resulted in the younger generation becoming increasingly disconnected from the sea. The government has imposed its ideology, attempting to assimilate the OSL community with the Malay community, claiming that there is no difference between the two. In other words, the continuation of this governmentality poses a threat to the preservation of the indigenous culture of the Orang Suku Laut in Bintan, which goes against the right to self-determination for indigenous peoples. Faced with this challenge, OSL communities must be actively involved in marine spatial planning to ensure that development is inclusive and respectful of their unique way of life. With their traditional knowledge, OSL should be an integral part of decision-making processes relating to their environment. This is not only important for the sustainability of their culture, but also for realizing a development model that values diversity and local wisdom.

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