

Fishing Settlement in Northern Coast of Jakarta: From Intimidation to Recognition

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Abstract

Coastal area becomes a meeting place of various interests, both the interests of the government to protect and exploit it, as well as local communities for their livelihood survival. This research analyzed the livelihood bases of fishing settlement in north coast of Jakarta, from the time of intimidation, until its existence was recognized by the government. The research strategy used historical case study. Collected data were primary and secondary data. Primary data collection was through in-depth interview and observation. Researcher in this case used biographical methods. Data analysis used a qualitative approach performed simultaneously during data collection took place, and after completion of data collection within a certain period. The secondary data was obtained through literature studies. The results of research showed that livelihood bases of fishing settlement in north coast of Jakarta rely on marine products. Fishermen in this settlement have a deep connection with the sea, so all the economic activities of the people are related to the sea. Since it was first inhabited in the 1970s, the region often got government intimidation which forced fishermen to leave the area. However, due to the fierce resistance of the citizens, the intimidation was ultimately unsuccessful. The government finally acknowledged the existence of fishing settlement after entering the reform era. It results the democratic tap was open where dialogue and negotiation by fishermen figures intensified.

Keywords: fishermen, fishing settlement, coastal area, local community, government

1. Introduction

Coastal settlements are common in the country that has the longest coastline in the world. Even history records the first and earliest settlements were built on the coast, before finally developing in the interior. Coastal settlements commonly nourish sea-based livelihood. They searched for fish and other marine products which they then sold on land. It could not be denied that coastal areas have such rich resources, which support the livelihood of local communities. The wealth of existing resources is the object of seizing the various parties, which then causes casualties on the part of local communities.

Conflicts in coastal areas have been studied, among others by Obie et al. (2014), *Ethnic Conflict on the Coast of Tomini Bay: A Review of Socio Political Ecology*. This study concludes that the conflicts that occurred in the coast of Tomini bay were caused by the government's policy of granting the rights to the corporation to control the coastal area that had previously become the livelihood base of the Bajo Tribe community. Such conflicts can be categorized into authority conflicts, knowledge conflicts, and livelihood conflicts. The conflict then continues to this day.

Mujio et al. (2016) under the topic of *Conflict Potential Analysis of Coastal Spatial Use: Integration of Land and Coastal Spatial Plans*. The contestation of the control of natural resources and environmental services in coastal and marine areas takes place on a macro scale (national) and micro scale (community). On the macro scale of natural resources control and environmental services demonstrated by various political and economic forces reinforced by a number of laws and regulations. A number of laws and regulations become the trigger of sectoral contestation. It is characterized by overlapping regulation and weak synergy and coordination of each sector in planning, implementation, evaluation and monitoring.

Sari and Satria research (2011) under the topic of *Fishermen Access to Coastal Resources in the Mining Area* presents that zoning coastal areas can affect access to natural resources of fishermen. The changes in distance

and length of fishing time are indications that zonation affects the access of fishermen. In addition, with the presence of non-fishermen boats that are increasingly going back and forth to the port and have to put anchor first, making the other areas of the ocean could not be touched by the fishermen. This also makes the fishermen must be more vigilant in spreading the net so as not to be hit by anchor ships waiting for their turn to enter the dock. The environmental conflicts that occur between fishermen and mining companies have two properties, namely open and latent. Open conflicts are seen when fishermen begin to demonstrate against mining companies and dismissal of crude oil clearance. The root of this problem is that the fishermen lost their livelihoods due to the pollution that occurred.

Meanwhile, Zalukhu et al. (2017) by the topic of Analysis of Fishermen Conflict in Utilization of Fishery Resources in Borgo Village Tombariri Sub-district of Minahasa District, found that the types of conflicts that exist in the fishing community consist of class conflict, orientation conflict, and agrarian conflict. The causes of conflict are the scarce resources, structural imbalances, inaccurate information, competing objectives, and bad parallel relationships.

This research focused on studies of conflicts that result from government intimidation of fishing settlement in north coast of Jakarta, until finally the region is recognized by the government. Fishing settlement in north coast of Jakarta referred to in this research is Cilincing fishermen. Cilincing area which was full of intimidation analyzed in this research, in order to know clearly the citizen struggle against the eviction done by North Jakarta local government. This research was also intended to analyze the recognition process given by the central government after systematic lobbying and negotiation conducted by citizens of Cilincing. The comparison between the two eras were explicitly analyzed to find out exactly whether such recognition necessarily positively impacts the well-being of citizens or was increasingly exploited by the power structure.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Coastal Resources: A Conceptual

There is general agreement in the world that coastal areas are a transitional region between land and sea (Dahuri, et al., 2004). To land, coastal areas covering part of land, either dry or submerged, still influenced by marine characteristics such as tides, sea breezes, and saltwater seepage; while the coastal seas encompass part of the ocean that is still affected by natural processes occurring inland such as sedimentation and freshwater flow, as well as those caused by human activities on land such as deforestation and pollution (Soegiharto, 1976; Dahuri, et al., 2004).

According to Law no. 27 of 2007 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands, coastal areas are transitional areas between terrestrial and marine ecosystems that are affected by changes in land and sea; while the so-called coastal waters are the sea bordering the land covering waters as far as 12 nautical miles measured from the coastline; waters connecting beaches and islands, estuaries, bays, shallow waters, swampy swamps, and lagoons. COREMAP (2005) notes that one form of linkage between terrestrial and marine ecosystems in the coastal areas can be seen from the movement of river water, run-off, ground water with various materials contained therein (such as nutrients, sediments, and pollutants) that ultimately boils down to coastal waters. Sedimentation and abrasion patterns also determined the movement of water masses, both from land and sea. In addition, the movement of water masses also plays a role in the movement of aquatic biota (e.g. fish and shrimp) and pollutants from one location to another.

Coastal areas have unique characteristics both seen from the aspects of bio-geophysical as well as social, economic, and cultural aspects. Dahuri (2000) states that there are at least six coastal characteristics: 1) there are ecological linkages between ecosystems within coastal areas and between coastal areas with upland and high seas; 2) coastal areas usually contain more than two kinds of natural resources and environmental services that can be developed for development purposes; 3) in a coastal area in general there are more than one group of people who have different skills or expertise and working pleasure. This resulted in the utilization of various existing resources; 4) both ecologically and economically, the utilization of a mono-cultural coastal area is highly vulnerable to internal and external changes leading to business failure; 5) coastal area is a common property resources that can be exploited by everyone (open access). Each resource user wishes to maximize profits causing pollution, over-exploitation of natural resources and spatial use conflicts; and 6) coastal areas are biologically very productive and fertile. In the coastal areas are also carried out various human activities so that there is interaction between humans with coastal and marine resources.

A coastal area contains one or more environmental systems and coastal resources. Coastal ecosystems can be natural or man-made. Natural ecosystems are found in coastal areas include coral reefs, pescaprea formations, baringtonia formations, estuaries, lagoons, and deltas; while artificial ecosystems include fishpond, tidal rice

fields, tourism areas, industrial estates, agro-industrial zones and residential areas (Dahuri, et al., 2004). Resources in coastal areas consist of recoverable and non-recoverable natural resources. Recoverable resources include fishery resources (benthos, fish, molluscs, crustaceans, marine mammals), seaweeds, seagrass beds, mangrove forests, and coral reefs; while non-recoverable resources include oil and gas, iron ore, sand, tin, bauxite, minerals and other mining materials (Dahuri, 2003; Dahuri et al., 2004; Bengen, 2005; Idris, et. al., 2007).

Meanwhile, still according to Law no. 27 of 2007 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands, coastal resources and small islands are biological resources, non-biological resources; artificial resources, and environmental services. Biological resources include fish, coral reefs, sea grass beds, mangroves and other marine biota; non-biological resources including sand, seawater, marine mineral resources; artificial resources include marine and fishery-linked marine infrastructure, and environmental services in the form of natural beauty, seabed surface underwater installations associated with marine and fisheries and ocean wave energy in coastal areas.

2.2 Conflicts of Interest over Coastal Resources

Conflict may occur because of a perceived divergence of interest or a belief that the aspirations of the conflicting parties could not be achieved simultaneously. Mitchel (in Hadi,et.al., 2007: 26) discusses conflicts in three interrelated components: first, a conflict situation, defined as the condition in which two or more social entities assume that they have an opposing objective to one another; second, the behavior of the conflict, the act of the social entity in a conflict situation directed to the opposite party in order for the other side to be willing to modify their purpose; and thirdly, the attitude or perception of conflict that is defined as the psychological attributes that often arise when a social entity is in a conflict situation.

Theoretically, the cause of the conflict can be known not only as a single factor, but consists of several factors called structural factors, interests, values, relationships between humans and data factors. The structural problems here are the causes of conflict related to power, formal authority, and general policy both in the form of legislation and other formal policies, as well as geographical and historical factors (Kristiyono, 2008). Environmental conflicts, including coastal resources, have complex dimensions and involve multiple interests between sectors and development stakeholders. Glasbergen (1995) suggests that development and environmental policies are often gaps between expected conditions and outcomes. These conditions indicate that environmental problems are not only physical issues, but also include the dimensions of the interests of the subject of the perpetrator. Billon (2001) and Porto (2002) state that greediness is one of the bad traits of humans that intentionally or could not arise in the behavior of human relationships with nature, as well as humans with other human beings. Environmental conflicts arising from the control of natural resources are fueled by greedy appetites, resulting in discrimination, injustice and marginalization of the interests of other peoples.

Associated with greedy appetite for the mastery of natural resources, Johnson (1993) asserts that capitalism can become a moral force. One can be a believer and become a capitalist all at once, but he also asserts that the ultimate dynamic power of capitalism remains greed and lust of accumulate as much material wealth as possible. In the meantime, the object of capitalist greed is the limited natural resources of its supply; natural resources that will not satisfy the desires of everyone who worships him. Therefore, from this secular-capitalist society will always be witnessed their stubborn attitude and behavior on two very dangerous things, not only for the morality of justice, but also for the survival of mankind as a whole. Namely; firstly, suffering of the losers who are thrown in the face of their greed; and secondly, the crazy exploitation of natural resources that could threaten his endurance and salvation.

Ohlsson (2000) predicts that between 1995 and 2025 there continued to be increasing pressure on natural resources to an increasingly severe scarcity in various countries, especially poor countries. This data will be more interesting when associated with conflict maps, viewed from the perspective of resource scarcity as a trigger of conflict in looking at the root of the problem in some poor or underdeveloped countries. According to the Scarcece Resource Wars theorist that a person, a group of people or nations would fight to maintain and secure access and control over the resources needed to meet survival needs; The more scarce the resources, the more intense the struggle (Billon, 2001; Porto, 2002).

Scarcity can be understood as an imbalance between the number of needs and the available resources, as the number of needs varies and continues to increase, while the amount of resources is very limited. In this case there is a gap that can no longer be tolerated or accepted between what is desired and what can be achieved. This scarcity in a certain period of time causes people or groups of people to experience difficulty and frustration, so it can trigger actions that can harm others or violate the rights of others. When people have to queue to get

something, then there are still rules that can regulate the rights of people who come first to get the first opportunity, first come, first serve. In such situations, seizures and conflicts will occur in the framework of limited resources. Conflicts often arise when there is graft and violations that can no longer be controlled.

3. Research Methods

Research method is a logical implication of the values, assumptions, rules, and criteria that become an integral part of the research paradigm. Therefore, the explanation of the methodological position can be viewed as an affirmation of the values, assumptions, rules, and criteria of the scientific paradigm underlying a study. There are at least three benefits of this explanation: first, it helps researchers in conducting research activities to fit the research paradigm. Researchers within this framework will have a clear handle on what should be done and something that should not be done. Second, it helps researchers in formulating quality criteria of research; third, to assist others in responding to the plans and research results. This is because by knowing the methodological position clearly can be given suggestions and appropriate criticism of the research undertaken. The choice of paradigm in this study refers to Guba and Lincoln (2000) which distinguish four paradigms of research, namely the paradigm of positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Researchers in this case chose the double paradigm, namely critical theory and constructivism paradigm. These two paradigms are the antithesis of the positivist paradigm.

This research applied historical case study strategies. Through case studies with a qualitative approach, it allowed for dialogue between researchers and object of research as in the critical theory paradigm, as well as the interaction between researchers and object of research as in the constructivism paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 2000). Data collection was done by using in-depth interview technique conducted by the researcher himself in the naturally circumstances as possible, observation, and documentation. Thus, the data collected in the form of primary and secondary data. Primary data collection was done through in-depth interview and observation.

Researcher in this case used biographical methods (Kohli, 1981), with criteria of informants aged over 50 years, living in Cilincing fishing settlement since the New Order era until now, active in formal and informal organizations, and work as fisherman. Finally the researcher chose Mr. Sudrajad, 56 years old, as an informant. Secondary data in this research was obtained through document studies. The data obtained through the document studies serves as a complementary data obtained through in-depth interviews and observations. In addition, secondary data was useful for confirming field data to make the collection more accurate. With the data collection techniques as mentioned above, then during the research process takes place, the researcher should be present at the research location.

Data analysis in this research was done by using qualitative analysis. Data analysis was performed simultaneously during data collection, and after completion of data collection within a certain period. At the time of the interview, researcher conducted an analysis of the answers of informants. If the informant's answer after the analysis feels unsatisfactory, then the researcher would continue the question again, to some extent obtained data that was considered credible (Sugiyono, 2009). Data analysis was also performed after data collection completed. The data that had been collected, processed and analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques with the following steps: data reduction, namely the selection process and concentration of attention and simplification, abstraction and transformation of rough data contained in interview records and observations obtained in the field; display data is a collection of information that had been arranged to give the possibility of a meaning that could be reported in the withdrawal of conclusions; conclusions and verification were done after data was presented, described and given meaning with logical interpretation. The conclusion was based on data presentation and data reduction. For more accurate data, verification was done by means of extension of participation, observational persistence, triangulation, and negative case analysis (Moleong, 1999).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Livelihood Bases of Fishermen

Cilincing fishing settlement is located in north coast of Jakarta. The majority of the residents of settlement come from West Java, such as Indramayu, Cirebon, and Karawang. The common language used is Sundanese. Residents from Bugis-Makassar, Java, and Sumatra are also present in this settlement, although not as much as West Java. There is no exact data how many of their populations, because people who come and go fluctuate and undetected. In fact, many immigrants do not have identity cards and do not report to the nearest local government. The economy in the Cilincing fishing settlement relies on marine resources. Eighty-five percent of population work as fishermen. The rest are merchants, used metal collectors and work elsewhere. If you look at the state of this crowded and impressed settlement, people are guessing their economic strata from the lower classes. But in fact,

many fishermen bosses live here too. These bosses generally have more than one boat and work to collect the catches of their fishermen to sell them to the market or fish auctions.

The community of Cilincing fishing settlement has a deep connection with the marine resources. All economic activity there related to the marine products. Ranging from fishermen, scrap metal collectors to scavengers all rely on the sea. Their daily life is the same. Even so close, the people there used to throw garbage into the sea. Seascape scenery at Cilincing fishing settlement is quite apprehensive. Mr. Sudrajad who has lived there since 1970 said that almost everyone here lives relying on the sea, the sea is like a second home to them. Working as a fisherman is more grief. The catch is not as much as it used to be. Fishermen have to go far to the sea, because the fish near the beach have been polluted by the industrial waste. For once going to sea, for traditional fishermen requires more than 20 liters of diesel fuel.

Traditional fishermen should provide much money to buy diesel plus meal and cigarettes. With a modest net capital, sometimes they just bring a bucket or two of fish buckets to take home. If they're lucky, they can get a bucket of small squid that's worth the price. Cilincing fishermen generally do not sell fish at the fish auction place there, but directly sell to fish collectors or sell them to Muara Angke. The life of the fishermen in this village is very dependent on the weather. If the weather is good they will go to sea, but if bad, they have to stay at home and no income. For their daily needs, they are owed in stalls. This fishermen village is classified as slum and hard. In addition to inhabited by fishermen, many scavengers who live here. Some non-fishermen usually open a stall by the side of the road. Those stalls are the mainstay place to debt when the fishermen are not going to sea.

One of Cilincing fishermen is Mr. Sudrajad. His adventure started in 1970s when he left his hometown Indramayu to try his fortune in Jakarta. With only knee capital, without any skills, he started working as a fisherman in a traditional boat owned by a boss in Kali Baru, Cilincing. Long enough he became a fisherman worker, when he had no background as a fisherman. His family in Indramayu is not in contact with marine life, except in the agricultural sector. Because of his tenacity and perseverance, over time, he finally gained his boss's confidence to become a skipper on a traditional boat of three fishermen.

He then has full authority to arrange arrests in every trip to sea. Assisted by three of his men who are also persistent at sea, he was quite successful in carrying his boss's confidence. Every time to go to the sea, he and his men always bring home enough fishes. He eventually fosters the confidence of his boss. Because of the success, his boss then gave him a new confidence in him to have his own boat. His boss finally gave him a boat, paying only half the boat's price, while the other half was paid in installments.

The trust was given to him with the agreement that he should keep his boss's boat, while his own boat was held by others. Time went on, until finally he was no longer at sea. He was given new confidence by his boss to become a cashier while teaching his boss child to manage business finances. He was long enough to be the cashier, until one day his boss met death. His boss's business was then passed on by his son and accompanied by Mr. Sudrajad. Until finally the boss child was independent, Mr. Sudrajad broke away and went on his own business to manage the boat which he had bought from his boss. While still working at his boss's place, Mr. Sudrajad managed to buy a boat until he has 3 traditional boats. These three boats are the initial capital of his business. In the early pioneering own business, he still sailed with his men, it was around the late 1980s until the early-early 1990s. At that time, the fishing area was not too far from the estuary. Fishermen could still catch fish at a distance below two miles with encouraging results.

The change of the catch area occurred after the government established the coast as the place of operation of archipelagic region limited company as well as industrial estate. Determination was around the early 1990s, where the coastal area of Cilincing along four km as a place of loading and unloading, as part of the port of Tanjung Priuk. Only about one km of the coast is not included in the area of archipelagic region limited company, which designated as Cilincing fishing settlement. At the beginning of archipelagic region limited company operates, Cilincing traditional fishermen could still catch fish or cultivate the green coral near the estuary, because the environmental conditions at that time have not been contaminated. The coastal waters of Cilincing have been badly polluted since entering reform era, along with the increasing of loading and unloading activity and industry. The fish in the estuary are polluted, and often people watch large fish die suddenly. Traditional fishermen end up having trouble fishing, because they have to go fishing at a farther place. This change in catchment area has an impact on their income, so if they want to increase their income, then they have to work on a boat with a larger engine capacity.

Mr. Sudrajad finally managed to buy a large ship, so he could go to sea far above five miles to the sea, away from the polluted coast of Cilincing. Consequently, he could still keep his business even get more results. With his success, to date he has had five large ships equipped with large capacity machines, as well as sophisticated

equipment such as GPS. Mr. Sudrajad is no longer at sea. He lived to regulate his business from home and hired many fishermen who had been out of business due to changes in the catchment areas affected by pollution. He is now a patron and appreciated in his community, and has a wide network with various parties, both private and state officials.

4.2 Coastal Area was full of Intimidation

The beginning of this area was inhabited around the 1970s, often got intimidation from the authorities either by the military district command and the North Jakarta regional government. The government forced residents to leave the area, but got resistance from the residents. This resistance led to the arrest of the figures of the resistance, namely Mr. Sudrajad and two friends for three days and three nights at the North Jakarta District Military Command Office. This detention did not make people stop their rejection, even more fierce resistance, by continuing to negotiate.

Along deliberation between citizens and officials finally resulted in an understanding that people were willing to leave the area, with the government having to provide a new place for them. The North Jakarta government finally prepared a new location, complete with residential houses for them, precisely in the coast of Muara Angke and Muara Baru, North Jakarta. Facilitation that has been sought by North Jakarta Local Government was not necessarily taken for granted by the Cilincing fishermen. Residents eventually refused to occupy the new location on the grounds that the government did not provide a special place to tether their average traditional boat.

The issue of unlawfulness of the boat moorings ultimately led to the deadlock of negotiations between citizens and the government. The government assumed that fishermen could take advantage of existing boat moorings in the coastal area that was located close to the housing that has been provided. The government's consideration was unacceptable to citizens, arguing that the existing boat moorings were occupied by modern large ships. Residents requested that the government provide special boat moorings for the traditional fishermen, but could not be afforded by the government. Finally, residents remain in Cilincing area until now. The intimidation experienced by Cilincing fishermen seemed to be a common occurrence in the New Order era. By involving the Indonesian national army officers from the North Jakarta district military command, the government forced residents to leave the area. As citizens increasingly showed their disapproval, finally the armed forces guard post was built in this area. Until this research was conducted, the post of the Indonesian national army still survives and every day the Indonesian armed forces officers took turns guarding the post.

4.3 Fishermen Village Gains Recognition

Along with the rolling of reforms, where the democratic tap was wide open, freedom of speech became a necessity. Shouts of protesters voices occur almost every day, residents in the coast of Cilincing also took advantage of this moment with the best. Cilincing fishermen no longer showed rejection in the frontal ways, as demonstration waves occur in almost all corners of the archipelago. On the contrary, Cilincing fishermen did it in polite ways through lobbying and negotiating to the central government. Through the organization of the Cilincing Traditional Fishermen Society headed by Mr. Sudrajad, negotiations to the central government, from the Department of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Transportation, to the State Palace, got very positive support. As a result, in the year 2006 ago, Cilincing fishermen village was inaugurated by the Government of Indonesia by the Minister of Transportation. Since then, Cilincing fishermen have been recognized and integrated as citizens of Cilincing Urban Village, Cilincing sub-district, North Jakarta.

Since its existence is recognized, residents in Cilincing fishermen village begin to get their rights as citizens, such as the entry of government programs, both central and regional based on the empowerment of the people's economy. Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, for example, launched the fishermen cooperative grant program, which is chaired by Mr. Sudrajad, and now is still operating. In addition to get the ease, which previously was something difficult to obtained, with the integration of this village into the Cilincing urban village causes various consequences which is according to the residents sometimes difficult and burdensome. If the previous residents never pay taxes, once the region is integrated into Cilincing urban village, they must pay taxes. Now citizens feel completely regulated, whereas before they feel free to manage their own life.

5. Conclusion

Cilincing fishing settlement which is now integrated into the Cilincing urban village, sub-district of Cilincing, North Jakarta, has passed a long history to the existing form at this time. In the new order era, this village often experienced intimidation by local government of North Jakarta and the Indonesian Armed Forces. In order to maintain subsistence, where they easily catch fish in this coast, so that the needs of the family remain fulfilled, they openly against the eviction plan. Tirelessly, residents through the organization of Traditional Fishermen Society,

lobbying and negotiating to various parties, included to the presidential palace.

Since 2006, the settlement is finally recognized, established and inaugurated by the Minister of Transportation of Indonesia to Cilincing fishing settlement. Since then the village is integrated into the Cilincing urban village, so that citizens must be submissive under the rules of the local urban village government. It is then felt heavily by citizens because they have to pay taxes on land and buildings they have, whereas before they never pay taxes. Cilincing traditional fishermen are now transformed into modern fishermen. This is because of the pressure to maintain the source of family livelihood, related to changes in the existing catchment area. Government policy of republic of Indonesia set coastal of Cilincing along four kilo meters as place of operation of archipelagic region limited company or industrial area has disturbed the catchment area for traditional fishermen. This is related to pollution of the waters, so that often large quantities of fish die suddenly. Traditional fishermen eventually transformed the catch into the deep sea, so they had to work on boats with large engine capacity and more modern facilities.

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