

Local Fisher and Collective Action in Palu Gulf Centre of Sulawesi

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Abstract: Conflict between traditional fisher as local fisher with modern fisher as settler fisher had already conduct for long time. The conflict tended to raise social movement of fisher especially local fisher. This study tend to reveal forms of social action of local fisher to modern fisher and local government represented by Department of Fisheries and Marine, Regional People's Representative Council and Major of Palu City. To answer the statement above, I interviewed various informants with details as follows: 25 persons from local fisher, 6 person represented by NGO and 3 persons from local government. The all informants choose by using snowball sampling technique. Furthermore, support data as secondary data acquired from documentation analysis such as demography and geography data of statistical agency and data from the NGO. The result of research namely: firstly, the forms of social movement by local fisher were verbal abuse, quarrels, demonstrations and protests, secondly by the initiative of NGO to empowering the local fisher the traditional actions being organized from sporadic and violence to organized such as conduct advocate to government officially.

Key words: Fisher conflict, social movement, NGO, local fisher, modern fisher, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

The arrival of nomad fishers from various ethnics such as Bugis, Makassar, Mandar and Gorontalo to live in Palu Gulf area influenced the social economic gap in the Kaili ethnic as the local fisher. Social economy life of the nomad fishermen is better than the local fisher. As the result of it, there was a jealousy of the local fishers.

After the gap situation prolonged for years, the social jealousy blew up in 2002-2004. At that time, there happened mobile leaf net burning and powerboat drownings that caused two fishermen died. In the next 4 years from 2005-2009, conflict occurred again between local fisher from Kaili ethnic with modern fisher from Bugis ethnic and this conflict was in more complex. The local fishermen rampaged massively to the modern fishermen they found catching fish in the coastal area of Palu Gulf. Among of year 2005-2009 there occurred bagang burning and drowned the boat of modern fishers consecutively (Haslinda, 2012).

Even the City of Palu government, Regional People's Representative Assembly, Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources of Palu City suspected as the director of that conflict. Moreover, the Policemen assumed protecting the modern fisher. They also suspected let the modern fisher did the infringement that harmed the local fisher. The consequent of it, there were many massive protest demonstrations by the local fisher.

In the micro level, the sporadic and spontaneous actions done by the local fishermen individually. They did obscenities and vituperation to the modern fisher that

they assumed rich snobs, greedy and looted their catching area. The anarchist action like bagang and boat burning until caused 5-8 people die did by the local fishers.

The apprehensive of fisher empowerment NGO to the unfinished conflict brought changing to the form of local fisher actions. The NGO action supported by students with high spirit did awareness movement to the local fishers. At the end of the actions most of local fishers organized as a modern social movement.

Theoretically, the local fishermen actions is not occurred all at once. About this conditions, Charles (1978) stated that it is the form of social action that planned and coordinated by actors of the social actions. Tilly also underlined that the local fisher action involved someone or an institution represent its interests and their rights. Based on the descriptions above, this study aims to reveal the form of social action with its social implications.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In this research, I choosed 25 people from local or traditional fishers, 6 people represent NGO and 3 people from the government as informants or primary data resources. All informants set by using snowball sampling technique. They interviewed about history and chronology of conflict form of conflicts, amount of victims, everyone who involved the conflict, action of government and vice versa. The secondary data I required from the document analysis, namely: local law and ruler

Table 1: Name of village in the coastal of Palu Gulf as research location

<u>Names of village</u>	<u>Regency</u>
Lere	West Palu
Silae	
Tipo	
Buluri	
Watusampu	
Besusu Barat	East Palu
Talise	
Tondo	
Mamboro	
Taipa	
Kayumalue Pajeko	North Palu
Panau	
Baia	
<u>Pantoloan</u>	

National Statistical Office (2011)

from major of Palu City, document report of teamwork Palu Gulf, agreement letter, schedule of protest action and demonstration from the NGO, demography data from Statistical Board of Palu and vice versa.

There were 14 villages located along coastal of Palu Gulf, all at once as the area ever took place of conflict. The name of villages as follow in Table 1.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Chronology of action of local fishermen: Geographically, Palu Gulf is in shallow land. This condition preferred by the owner of bagang boat especially they use the electrical light. The massive exploitation of this electrical light bagang boat caused the happening of catching fish equipment conflict in 1999-2000. The local or traditional fisher community felt damnification by the incoming some of electrical light bagang boat to catch fish in Palu Gulf. The damnification is in the lower income of local fisher even they did not get fish et all after fishing a whole day. This situation sparks the traditional or local fisher's angry then they conduct demonstration on February, 2000. At that demonstration, there were three electrical light mobile lifnets own by modern fisher attacked and researched by local fishers (Haslinda, 2012).

In 2000, the existence of ectrical light of mobile leafnet has already get certainty by decision letter of centre of Sulawesi governor No. 523.32/2043/Rohuk by date Juni 2nd year of 2000 about the forbidden of electrical light mobile lifnet operation in Palu Gulf. The decision letter reaffirmed in PP. No. 54 year of 2005 about Fishing trading then in National Law No. 31 year of 2004 about Fishing that arrange fishery processing industry standar, allowance and ownership proof as well as the other laws. Moreover, there were legal sanctions for those who violate fines about 60 millions Indonesian rupiahs. At the time, traditional fisher was quiet, came again one by one electrical light mobile lifnets. At the end of year 2000, the traditional fisher destroyed and burned electrical light

mobile lifnets (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2007). Major of Palu City then prohibited the electrical light bagang boat throught its local regulation No. 9 year of 2005 about using of device usage and fishing tools in fisheries management Chapter III Article 3 Paragraph 2 point 1 that affirmed the electrical light mobile lifnet is the forbid catching tools (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2007).

Despite of various regulation issue, electrical light mobile lifnet took action freely in Palu Gulf. Even in 2007, major of Palu City established a ruler No. 02/Persid/DPRD Kota/V/2007 dated Mai 16th 2007 through the recommendation of regional people's representative assembly about the allowance of electrical light mobile lifnet operations in catching fish area in Palu Gulf (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2007).

After the recommendation implemented, condition of Palu Gulf is in unstable and screwed. The traditional fisher wreaked their jealousy. They burnt many electrical light mobile lifnet as the result of decision of local government in permitting the illegal fishing process in Palu Gulf. They did the wreak action as protest to the local government that illegal fishing in Palu Gulf must be forbidden. They realized also that illegal fishing harming government and other people, so it is lawlessness and government must punish itu. Moreover, the traditional fisher did the boat burning and electrical light mobile lifnet drowning pressed by the government and police officer. The traditional fisher accused as criminals and seven fishers of them arrested. As the result of the accusing, many traditional fishers caught up patrol police around of Palu Gulf.

Following the burning actions, the local government occurred a meeting at July, 14-16th 2007 and result two recommendations about two teamworks research of Palu Gulf. The two teamworks are team of Palu Gulf research and team of local law. During the work process, there was an agreement between traditional fishers and mobile lifnet owners. The agreement was mobile lifnet can operate about 20 days for teamwork research and after 20 days the research finished, the mobile lifnet was stop to operate anymore. The infringement happened when the modern fishers did not stop their mobile lifnet to operate but their mobile lifnet researched continuously.

Based on the result analysis of Palu Gulf teamwork, they found no problem with mobile lifnet operation in catching fish. This stated by teamwork leader Mr. Sofian Yotolemba in presenting seminar attended by Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries of Palu City. After 2 months there was more meeting with teamwork of Palu Gulf in making recommendation to allow the operation of mobile lifnet. This recommendation made shocking the

local fishers and the NGO as part of the teamwork (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2007). As a respond to the strange recommendation, Palu Gulf fishing union with its nets stated as follow; firstly enforcing the local Law No. 09 year of 2005 about catching fish tools useful in fisheries management. Secondly, out of the teamwork and irresponsible at all the recommendation results by the legal teamwork of Palu Gulf. Thirdly, revoking support to the major of Palu City. Fourthly, reject the improvement of local Law No. 09 year of 2005. The impact of this strange decision, violence conflict occurred on November 2008/2009 with 20 transfixing mobile lifnet burned and destroyed by local fisher (Yayasan Tanah Merdeka, 2007).

Forms of collective action

Burning and mobile lifnet drowning: Chronologically, violence action in Palu Gulf occurred from year 2000 until 2009. From the violence there were seven open mass conflict cases about 20 electrical light mobile lifnet wrecked. There were also 2-3 transfixing mobile lifnet wrecked by local fisher and chased away the staying fisher on February, 2000 (Haslinda, 2012).

In September, 2000, local fisher destroyed again two transfixing mobile lifnets near from the coral cape around Mamboro and Taipa village at East Palu regency. Moreover, local fisher burned also one of the transfixing mobile lifnet.

About 5 years later from year of 2005 until 2006, action of local fisher was broader and involving eight villages in Palu Gulf coastal. It triggered by the incoming of mobile lifnet in Palu Gulf with amount much more than year of 2000.

According to Turner, the action showed by the local fisher in this violence conflict influenced by two aspects, namely emotional aspect and social solidarity aspect. George (1995) stated also solidarity aspects and high social harmony of each members are influenced the emotional aspect.

Scuffling: Scuffling occurred in 2000 caused by squibbling of three local fishers from Lere village with 5-10 people of mobile lifnet fisher. The scuffling started from the action of local fishers in catching fish near from mobile lifnet. The man stayed in mobile lifnet was angry and chased away the local fishers from them by using cleaver, then the expulsion did not accept by the local fishers then fought them (Haslinda, 2012).

Excoration and invective: Some stereotypes embedded both local fishers and modern fishers for example: negative stereotype such as acquisitive, controlling for

modern fishers and for the local fishers were lazy, poor, fool, complacency. Based on the stereotype both local fishers and modern fishers, often raised gossip, slander, insults, recriminations and vice versa (Haslinda, 2012).

Based on this result revealed that excoriation and invective were parts of local fisher's efforts in building propaganda and fighting argumentation to many practical policy of sea management whom harm them. This also reflected conflicts in daily life of fisher community. The fighting was not in class or social structure conflict as Marx concept but internal people conflict in interaction aspect as stated by Simmel. Regarding to James (1993) perspectives, everyday conflict was form of symbolic fighting of weak people to side treated them unfairly and unjustly.

Protest action and demonstration: Protest action and demonstration as fisher movement was part of broader social movement of coastal society at Palu Gulf area. As a movement, it has orientation, planning organization, until present action occurred simultaneously until reach to dream.

Mass mobilization of local fisher stated their social and political rights in Palu Gulf area. Starting from their complaints and anxiety, they viewed operationing of electrical light mobile lifnet in the sea already spent all of fishes. The impact of this situation was disadvantage to local fisher that cannot get fish anymore only use traditional tools.

In the study of collective action of local fisher, Charles (1978) state that in revealing the collective action of a group or community by viewing the incident and the way they occurred the social movement to reach their interests. The collective action terms has meaning such as: >1 person, making a claim to agent status or corporate.

Charles Tilly (Olzak, 1989) stated more that the claim involved petition, notification and fighting or supporting as enemy of the local government or state. Based on the definition, collective action is different from social movement. According to Tilly social movements are "a group of people identified by their attachment to some particular set of belief (Olzak, 1989). In the conceptual definition, collective action normally did not need involving the same belief of the actors. In this case, Tilly divided three models of collective action, namely: firstly, competitive collective action was a collective action occurred if two or more groups contended to fight something or fish resources in Palu Gulf. Secondly, reactive collective yaitu was a collective action occurred as a reaction to their establish rights but broken by other

side like modern fisher. Thirdly, proactive collective action was a collective action wanted to construct new structure that never existing before.

There were 5 components in this collective action by Tilly namely: firstly, interests. Interest means issue of a group or life right of local fisher. This was a result of interactions among groups each other. Thus, interest here means collective interest. Inside of the Interest there was also conflict intensity among people and collective interest as affective variables and characters of social action (Charles, 1978). Related this, the issue of this research was economically. This issue was important because regarding to income of livelihood local fisher.

Secondly organization stated by Charles (1978) that the organization which concerns us most is that aspect of a group's structure which most directly affects its capacity to act on its interest. In this organization, attention was many aspects in a group structure directly impact to the capacity of action in the interests. Charles (1978) state again "there are two elements: there are categories of people who share some characteristic and there are also networks of people who are linked to each other, directly or indirectly". In this organization there were two elements namely: individual category involved in various characteristics and individual link related each other direct or indirectly. Here, it seemed the way of the local fisher organized themselves being a group for mobilizing. The process of group identity building in local fisher formed in this step before mobilizing phase.

Mobilization was a process of a group got collective control to resource for action. This stated by Charles (1978) that mobilization is the process by which a group acquires collective control over the resources needed for action. The resources were like a labor power, commodity, gun, technology and sound. Mobilization was a process from individual passive movement to active participation in public life (Charles, 1978). In this analysis, the focus was the way of group acquired resources for collective action. That way related to resources accumulation and upgrading of collective claim to the resources (Charles, 1978). Enhancement of this collective claim conducted by decreasing claim competition, change the collective action program as well as change the participant satisfaction. Local fisher group attempted to accumulate the involving actors as well as the other resources for collective action. They also claimed their rights to acquiring the same accumulation part.

The next phase was opportunity as fourth step. This enforced by Charles (1978) in the relation among groups with the social surround of the groups inside of it the relation to government. Opportunity meant an chance of group in conducting collective action. At the same time, the public sphere opened wider to say the aspiration.

Therefore, the local fisher tried to conduct their collective action in the protest and demonstration form to the local government of Palu city. There were three related components to opportunity namely power, repression/facilitation and opportunity/threat. Opportunity related to the mobilization model power showed to group power and its action. Inside of power was also political power if it related to government (Charles, 1978). Repression related to many actions conducting by many groups to enhance the competitors cost of the collective actions. Facilitation showed to facilities for action related to cost of it. Collective action had the change individuals together for reaching the collective aim. Thus, this collective action was the result of combination change of interests organization, mobilization, opportunity (Charles, 1978).

Based on the description above, there were two elements in the action, namely group or community and government. Weber (1978) and Amenta *et al.* (1999) stated as sets of political, military, judicially and bureaucratic organizations that exert political authority and coercive control over people living within the borders of well-defined territories.

This meaning dealt also by Charles (1978) revealed that state/government was an organization within the important centre of control used as forcing tool to its people. Government (local state) in this conflict represented by Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources, major of Palu City as the state. The policy about use and prohibition of mobile lift net as catching fish tools as a way of its authority use to its people.

In the violence of conflict aspect, this resource conflict in the fisher community showed that violence of conflict could happen but also the issue was realistically about the livelihood of local fisher.

The level of violence conflict did not only determine by the issue realistically or not as stated by Lewis Coser but also the issue whether about livelihood or not. The violence conflict influenced also by the conflict resolved as well as peace attempt responded or not, seriously or not by enemy and government. This condition sparked violence conflict, meanwhile the peace way was unsuccessful, so the disadvantage group tended to conduct the violence (White, 1989).

Because of the rare resources in the sea, it can predict the intensity of social conflict in fisher community will enhance. MacNeil *et al.* (1991) also stated conflict based on climate change, environmental disruption and water and other resource scarcities could well become endemic in the world of the future. The conflict tended brutally as predicted by Dixon (1999) that in coming decades the world will probably see a steady increase in the incidence of violent conflict as cause at least in part by environmental scarcity.

CONCLUSION

Collective action in this study related to the occurred action by fisher group or community. They did protest action as collective action by the name of local fisher. The protes related to the existing of mobile lifnet in Palu Gulf. The protest action regarded also to conflict between local fisher and modern fisher. This incident evoked collective action in the form of violence such as burning and drowning of mobile lifnet as well as physical violence.

Research about collective action focused on the event, timing and chronology of event such as change of regime, riots, revolution, protest and social movement organization building. Thus, analyzis of the collective action indicators related to duration of time event, amount of attendee and existing of violence. In the collective action analysis, revealed five indicators, namely: interest organization, mobilization, opportunity and collective action.

In the fisher community of Palu Gulf there were 2 groups of fishers that existed in the members area and the challengers area. In this conflict, members were the incoming or modern fishers as researcher of mobile lifnet and they were part of local government. They cooperated with Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources. Meanwhile, the challengers in this conflict meant the local fisher unlike mobile lifnet. The challengers also fight of the Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources and Major of Palu City policy. They fight against the erection of mobile lifnet in Palu Gulf.

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