
GENEALOGY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF FISHERMEN MOVEMENTS IN NORTH BANTEN – INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This study intends to examine the genealogy and effectiveness of fishermen movement in North Banten. The research was conducted in two villages, Tengkurak and Lontar, in Tirtayasa Subregency, Serang Regency, Banten, on May 2017 until April 2018. Data collected were primary data from observation, in-depth interviews and FGDs with fishermen, fishermen organizations elites, government elites, non-government elites (moslem scholar or “ulama” and local strongmen or “jawara”), and NGOs. Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained from various sources, namely fishermen organizations, government agencies, companies, and NGOs. Data were analyzed descriptively using interactive analysis model. The results concluded that: (1) fisherman versus state-corporate movement emerged due to social and ecological problems (marine sand mining and pollution of watershed). Genealogically, fishermen movements metamorphosed in organizations, issues, and movement scales; (2) the role of key actors occupies a central position in the effectiveness of the fishermen movement. The central role of the actor is clearly visible in the organization's metamorphosis and the spread of follower actors to various movement issues and organizations. The fishermen movement in North Banten is movement with actor. The results of this study critiquing Tilly's social movement theory that emphasizes the importance of the organization (movement without actor) that put aside the importance of the role of the actor.

Keywords: Genealogy, Movement, Fishermen, North Banten.

1. INTRODUCTION

The massive economic development in North Banten in the last 30 years has had negative impacts in the form of acute natural resource damage, including environmental damage and agrarian resources due to the sand mining and pollution of the Ciujung Watershed in Banten Bay. Both cases effected local government (state) and private sector (corporate) face to face with fishermen communities on two different interests that led to the emergence of social movements of fishermen.

In the Indonesian context, the study of genealogy, especially the genealogy of social movements of fishermen, has not been found in the literature. Though fishermen in Indonesia is a marginal entity that is always depressed so it is very likely to perform social movements. The issue of fishermen in Indonesia is generally still studied by researchers in five main topics, namely: (1) powerlessness and poverty (Mubyarto, 1984; Christy, 1987; Kusnadi, 2003, 2004); (2) survival strategy

(Indriyanto, 2000); (3) institutional change or social formation (Pallampa, 2007); (4) policies, programs, and empowerments (Wahyono, 2001; Hanif, 2008); (5) conflicts between classes of fishermen (Jufri, 2005; Agusta, 2009; Kinseng, 2009; Duwit, 2013; Anriani, 2017). Therefore, the study of the genealogy of social movements of fishermen becomes something new and important to do.

In the terminology of Foucauldian sociology, genealogy is not interpreted only limited to the chain of origin (history), but a method of reading history strategically in the synchronic sense by looking at the past from the context of the interests of power and the reality of the present (Alcoff, 1993; Williams, 2002; O'Farrell, 2005; Bielskis, 2008). Genealogy as a critical method in understanding this history has led to various studies, both in the context of theoretical debates, the development of scientific disciplines, as well as setting / issue of study (Table 1).

The effectiveness of social movements is closely related to the genealogy of the movement.

Related to this, Tilly (1978) argued that strong social movements must have institutional strength. This is evident from the social movement formulation of the conceptualized “mobilization model”. Tilly's mobilization model sees collective action in several components such as interest, organization, mobilization, power, repression, and opportunity for movement. Some of these variables are described as "structural" properties that are separate from individual feelings and beliefs (Poletta and Jasper, 2001).

Table 1. Similar Literature on Genealogy Studies.

Context	Researchers	Focus of Study
Debate of theory	MacDonald (2002); Krupp (2008); Hook (2008); Evans (2001)	Genealogy as a critique, discourse, and effective history in Marx, Nietzsche, Foucault, and Bakhtin
Development of scientific discipline	Linkletter (2009); Nicoglou (2015); Christensen (2016); Kethoilwe (2010); Vucetic (2011)	Genealogy as a tool in studying the biography of experts / scientists, history of genetics, education, and international relations
Setting / Issues of study	McWhorter (2004); Luling (2006); Rasmussen (2011); Shipley (2016)	Genealogy as a tool in studying feminism (sex, race, and biopower), ethnicity, and nation

Tilly model formulation, putting aside the importance of the role of social movement actors. In fact, without strong actors, it is impossible to form strong institutions. Departing from the conceptualization of Foucault and Tilly, this study intends to examine the genealogy and effectiveness of the fishermen movement in Indonesia by taking the background of North Banten by looking at the importance of the role of the actors in determining the institutional formation of the movement

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research used qualitative approach (Newman, 2013). Research location in Tengkurak and Lontar Village, Tirtayasa Subregency, Serang Regency, Banten Province – Indonesia. Both villages are located in North Banten (Figure 1). The study took 12 months, since May 2017 until April 2018.

Data collection was done by combining discourse analysis and interpretive methods (Crotty, 1998). Discourse analysis is used to review government documents, corporates, and organizations

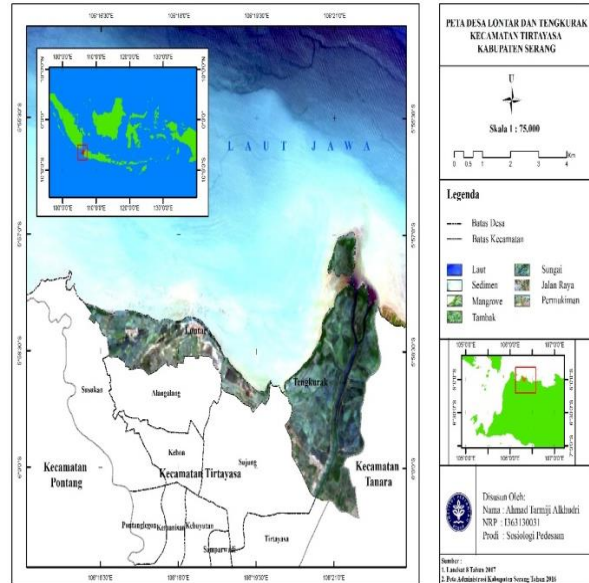


Figure 1. Site Location Map.

method was used to analyze observations, in-depth interviews involving 18 informants from fishermen, fishermen organizations, local government, community leaders (ulama and jawara), and NGOs, as well as focus group discussions with fishermen movement actors. Qualitative data analysis was done by using interactive analysis model (Miles and Huberman, 1992). Collection, presentation, data reduction, and conclusion are an interactive cycle until the research is completed.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Marginalization Context of North Banten Fishermen as Movement Lighters

Tengkurak and Lontar villages are geographically located in North Banten and have a strategic position. Tengkurak is in the downstream of Cijung River Basin. Meanwhile, the Lontar Village stretches along the coastline opposite the Banten Bay. More than 90 percent of the population in these two villages were initially very dependent on their life as fishermen.

Banten Bay is a coastal area part of the Java Sea that is rich in fishery resources. The entry of corporates into the area of North Banten with the formation of industrial area minapolitan (industry-based fishery products) since 2002 proves the high economic opportunities utilization of fishery resources in this region. The position of North Banten that adjacent to the Jakarta megapolitan, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, led to the development of various other industries such as energy, mining, manufacturing, agriculture, property, services, and tourism, in addition to the fishery industries (Table 2).

Table 2. Industrial Activity and Its Control in North Banten.

No.	Industrial activity	Ownership
1.	Energy Steam Power Plant	State and Corporate
2.	Mining	State dan Corporate
3.	Capture fisheries	State
4.	Aquaculture	Individual and Corporate
5.	Agriculture	Individual and Corporate
6.	Manufacturing (yarn, textile, glue, paper, food, etc.)	Corporate
7.	Property	Corporate
8.	Services and Tourism	Corporate

The industrialization process in North Banten has influenced the social dynamics of population, politics, agrarian, and ecology in fishermen communities in Tengkurak and Lontar. Problems arise from sand mining activities and sedimentation and pollution in the mouth of Ciujung watershed which disrupts the aquatic ecosystems. Both problems have a dramatic decrease in the number of fishing catches (decreased by more than 50%) due to coral reef damage, sedimentation and turbidity of waters, as well as further fishing areas. The decline in the number of fish catches caused the number of fishermen in Lontar to decrease by 60 percent and in Tengkurak decreased by 80 percent in the last ten years.

The decrease of fish catch caused the fishermen of Lontar and Tengkurak to experience marginalization (social displacement). Fishermen turned to professions such as factory workers, working odd jobs, becoming migrant workers, to being unemployed because being fishermen were no longer reliable as a source of family livelihood. Another problem arising from sand mining for Lontar fishermen was the split society. People are suspicious

of each other, split between the pros and cons of sand mining.

Social displacement and split society experienced by fishermen is further exacerbated by ecological changes that have social impact. Abrasion occurred due to damage to the coastal environment in Lontar due to sand mining and sedimentation formed the arise land at the mouth of the Ciujung River Basin in Tengkurak Village. Abrasion and arise land not only cause the shoreline changes in these two villages, but also change the social structure in the society that further marginalize the fishermen in the coast of North Banten. Arise land formed in the village of Tengkurak into a no man's land, plotting by the state and the corporation to make it an industrial estate and housing. Marginalization of fishermen was initially responded by fishermen in Lontar Village by fighting against corporations of sand miners. This resistance in the future extended to the demands of corporations contaminating the Ciujung Basin. It is clear that the marginalization of fishermen became the lighter of the fishermen's social movement in North Banten.

3.2. Metamorphosis and Effectiveness of North Banten Fishermen Movement

Ecological and agrarian issues are the two lighter issues of growing awareness of the fishermen movement. Both are major issues, in addition to social demography and political issues (Figure 3). The accumulation of these four issues has triggered Lontar and Tengkurak fishermen to struggle with organized patterns.

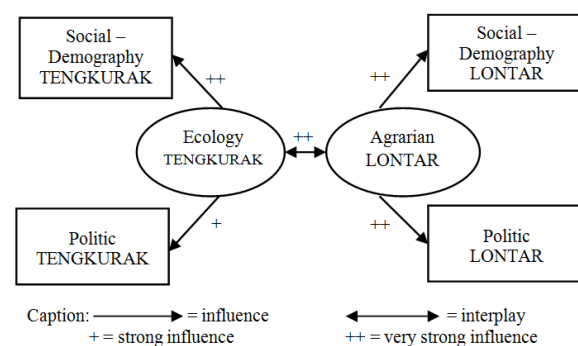


Figure 3. Various Issues Lighters Fishermen's Movement in North Banten.

Awakening Farmers and Fishermen Front (Front Kebangkitan Petani dan Nelayan – FKPN) and Riung Hijau are two organizations of North Banten fishermen movement today. Previously, the movement was driven by the Front of Farmers and Fishermen Struggle (Front Perjuangan Petani dan

Nelayan – FPPN) which was formed in 2003 which was later changed to the Pontirta Youth Forum (Forum Ukhuwah Pemuda Pontirta – FUP-Pontirta) in 2004. Metamorphosis from FPPN to FUP-Pontirta, to FKPN and Riung Hijau due to internal consolidation and fishermen movement strategy to remain united in opposition versus state-corporate

The beginning of FPPN emergence in 2003 was motivated by sand mining activities in North Banten. The activity of sand mining in the fishing zonation area has had a direct impact on the catch of fish because the activity is destroying the coastal and marine ecosystem. FPPN was formed spontaneously by issue by Lontar fishermen community who demanded state and corporate responsibility to the fisherman's fate affected by the sand mining.

FPPN's resistance was conducted through a demonstration to protest the sea sand mining permit in Banten Bay. Demonstrators occupied the Serang Regent Office for three consecutive days in April 2004 with the demand that the Regent revoke the permit for sand mining of Jetstar Ltd. on the north coast of Banten. These demands were fulfilled by the Regent of Serang on 8 May 2004 to create a conducive climate within the community. However, the revocation of mining permit did not last long, some time later the mining activity was continued by involving jawara (hired thugs) and local strongmen to stem and intimidate communities that resisted sea sand mining.

Knowing that the opponents faced by FPPN involved many elements, the actors belonging to FPPN decided to form a new organization on a larger mass basis. The organization was FUP-Pontirta in 2004 and covers three subregencies in North Banten namely Pontang, Tirtayasa, and Tanara. FUP-Pontirta cover are was bigger than FPPN which only covers Tirtayasa Subregency. In addition, the change from FPPN to FUP-Pontirta also aims to select weak, betrayal and disloyal movement actors, as well as outsiders who want to weaken the movement.

Conflict between FUP-Pontirta vs state-corporate was hard and full of tension. The hostage of dredger crews and the destruction of the Lontar Village apparatus house by the FUP-Pontirta masses, answered by the arrest of 13 members of the FUP-Pontirta by the security forces. The FUP-Pontirta

Resistance succeeded in forcing the regency government of Serang for the second time to revoke a temporary permit for sand mining in 2004.

In 2006, FUP-Pontirta back to fight after the government planned to re-issue sand mining permits. Disappointed people complained to Serang Regional House of Representatives to interpellate the Regent. On July 10, 2006, the house proposed interpellation failed. From these failures, the actors who had joined in FUP-Pontirta, re-create a new insurgency organization that is FKPN to expand the network. FKPN is not only a forum for struggle against sand mining in Lontar Village, but also extends to fight for the welfare of fishing communities affected by pollution of Ciujung Watershed in Tengkurak Village. With the support of various NGOs, FKPN actors established a movement alliance organization that was named Riung Hijau in 2010. Riung Hijau forming resistance concentration more clearly, FKPN guarding the issue of sand mining and Riung Hijau guarding pollution issue of Ciujung watershed that has occurred since 1992 by 16 companies located along the Ciujung basin.

The FKPN movement was challenged by many parties, ranging from village elite, company, and government. FKPN opponents used jawara / local strongmen to intimidate members and fishermen communities who are in the line of struggle with FKPN. FKPN's struggle succeeds with the granting of compensation payments to fishermen by Serang Regency Government in 2010, temporary suspension of sand mining in 2013, and permanent removal of permits for sand mining in 2016.

In different situations, the resistance of the fishermen to the pollution of the Ciujung basin before the establishment of the Riung Hijau tends to be sporadic, partial, and disorganized, which is easily broken. Riung Hijau becomes the motor of fishermen's resistance against state and corporates. The fishermen movement is systemic, controlled, and effective. The result was in 2017, the Serang Regency District Government imposing sanctions on 16 companies that dispose of waste into the Ciujung watershed, ranging from administrative sanctions to sanctions for the closure of sewerage. The metamorphosis and effectiveness of fishermen movements in North Banten since FPPN up to Riung Hijau are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. *Metamorphosis and Effectiveness of North Banten Fishermen Movements.*

Metamorphosis	Year	Issue	Movement Opponents	Contestation	Purpose of movement	Result of
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of movement			key actor		area		movement
FPPN	2003-2004	Spontaneity by issue	KM	State, corporate	Local	Demand for clarity of sand mining and liability for environmental damage	Revocation of the District Head's Decree on mining permits
FUP-Pontirta	2004-2005	Unity by issue	KM	State, corporate, local strongmen	Local	Demand for clarity of sand mining and liability for environmental damage	Temporary suspension of second part sand mining activity
FKPN	2006 to date	Justice issue / Populism heavy	KM	State, corporate, local strongmen	National	Demand for suspension of sand mining, investigation of company violations, and cessation of Ciujung watershed pollution	Termination of sand mining permanently
Riung Hijau	2010 to date	Justice issue / Populism heavy	KM	State, corporate	National	cessation of Ciujung watershed pollution	Corporate administrative sanctions and closure of the company's sewerage

Table 3 shows that the fishermen movement in North Banten metamorphoses in three forms, organizational metamorphose (FPPN → FUP-Pontirta → FKPN and Riung Hijau), issue metamorphose (spontaneity → justice / populism), and scale movement metamorphoses (local → national). The metamorphosis occurs because of the movement's organizational needs in anticipating external pressure and to ensure the effectiveness of movement. The interesting thing is that there is a single actor initial name "KM", who is the motor of the North Banten fisherman movement.

3.3. Map of the Conflict and the Role of Key Actors

The key actor in mobilizing the resistance of fishermen movement in North Banten is "KM". KM built networks with other movement actors to revive the fisherman's resistance since FPPN, FUP-Pontirta up to FKPN and Riung Hijau.

Fishermen resistance of Tengkurak and Lontar in movement organization before FKPN had many weaknesses. The weaknesses were mainly in the case of parrying the resistance launched by the state-corporate plus jawara (hired thugs). FPPN and FUP-Pontirta tend to rely on simple strategies. The weaknesses were then fixed with the presence of

FKPN that was able to develop the issue and the level of movement.

In the sand mining issue, FKPN established underbow organizations specifically functioned to reclaim public confidence after the dissolution of FUP-Pontirta in 2005. The Lontar Youth Solidarity Forum (Forum Solidaritas Pemuda Lontar – Fortas-Pelor), one of the underbow FKPN, was formed to revive the movement fishermen who weakened after the dissolution of FUP-Pontirta. Fortas-Pelor seeks to seize the support of fishermen by contesting with Lontar Bay Organization formed by state-corporate as a tool to weaken the resistance of fishermen. To combat intimidation by jawara (hired thugs) and village elites, FKPN also created Jawara Perguron and FSPD-Domas. Their existence able to prevent all forms of discrimination, intimidation, and propaganda by state-corporate-local strongmen which previously became an obstacle to the fishermen movement. FKPN also received assistance from KONTRAS (NGO) in the arena of contestation since 2012 when there was a shooting carried out by the police against fishermen who carried out the act of expulsion of sand dredges. Meanwhile, in the pollution issue of the Ciujung Watershed, FKPN with supporting of various NGOs at national and international level established Riung Hijau in 2010.

Although many organizations support the movement, FKPN and its underbrows still take the lead role of resistance. FKPN was open to cooperate with any organization, but also protect itself from NGO's intervention in fishermen movement. In the context sand mining issues, FKPN and alliance of national and international organizations that support it investigate allegations of violations. These violations include premature environmental impact analysis, fake signature fraud, criminalization of fishermen, besides shootings, kidnappings, and intimidation of fishermen. Meanwhile, in the context of pollution issue, Riung Hijau is fighting against state and watershed polluter corporations. The organizations

supporting the fishermen movement of North Banten are presented in Table 4 and FKPN vs State-Corporate conflict maps are shown in Figure 4.

Table 4. Supporting Organizations in the Movement of FKPN at Various Levels.

No.	Organization levels	NGO
1.	Local	Riung Hijau, Fortas-Pelor, FSPD-Domas dan Jawara Perguron
2.	National	LBH Jakarta, ICEL, MediaLink, KONTRAS, WALHI, AGRA, JATAM, KIARA
3.	International	CORDOVA, TIFA, WWF

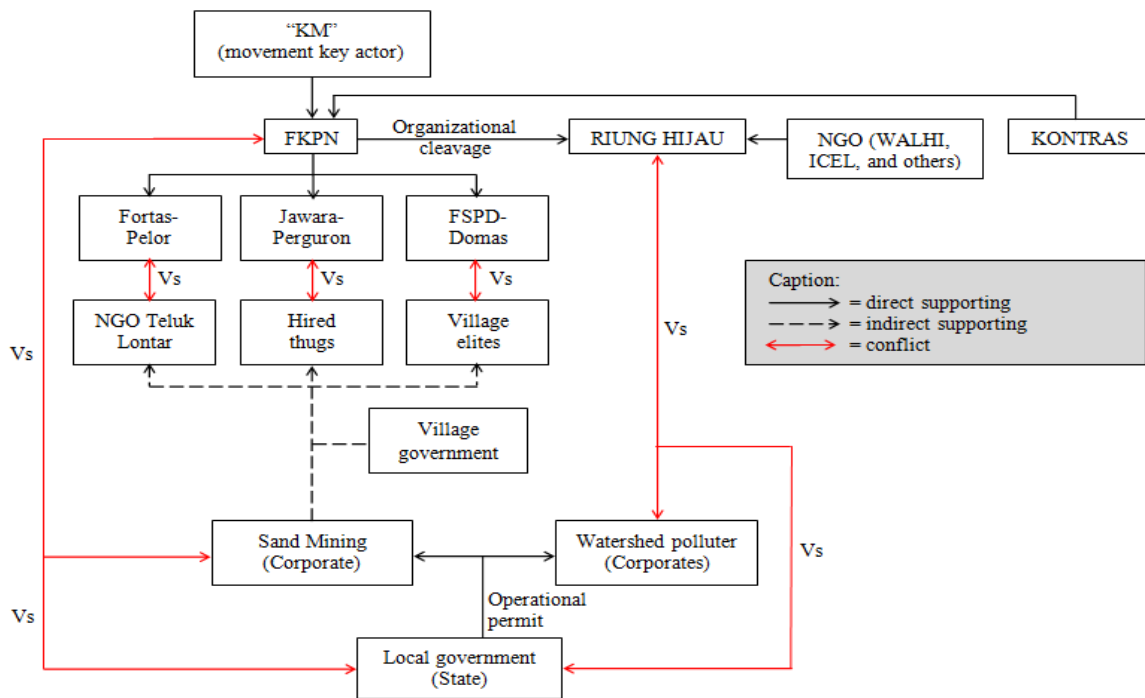


Figure 4. Map of Conflict Fishermen Movement Vs State-Corporate in North Banten.

Figure 4 shows that the fishermen movement in North Banten can not be separated from the role of actor. The important role of the actor is theoretically disputes Tilly (1978) which puts aside the importance of actor actions in social movements. The dominance of KM in the movement that occurred, also denied the view of Foucault and Deleuze (1977) which states that "no one... has an official right to power", in fact the role and dominance of single actor is vital in the North Banten fishermen movement (Figure 5).

Figure 5 shows the dominance of "KM" as a key actor capable of building various organizations and placing other actors in different fields as part of a resistance strategy. In other words, KM possesses the power to determine when an organization should be created and when it should be frozen, including determining who the actors are involved in.

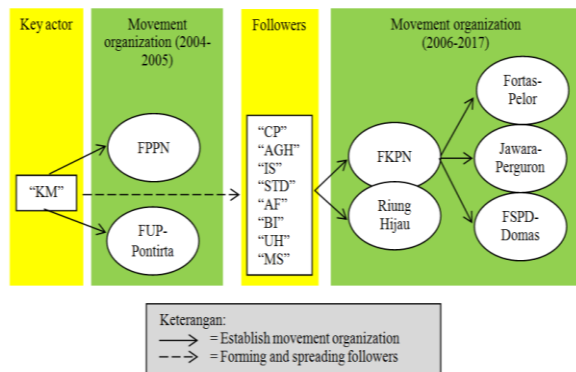


Figure 5. The Role of Key Actor “KM” in Forming Organization and Spreading Followers.

Although “KM” puts followers into the field in accordance with their specifications, but “KM” does not entirely give freedom to the followers to take a decision in movement (Figure 6).

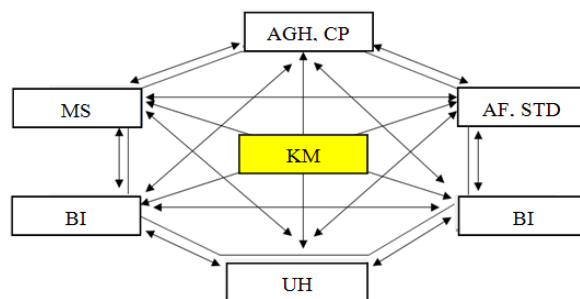


Figure 6. Map of Hexagonal Actor Distribution.

5. CONCLUSION

Genealogy and effectiveness of fishermen movement in North Banten was built by relying on the strength of the role of key actors. Agrarian and ecological issues that marginalize fishermen communities causing conflict between fishermen versus state-corporate. With his ingenuity, key actors was able to metamorphose the fishermen movements in three forms: organizations, issues, and movement scales to ensuring the effectiveness of movement.

The results of this study provide a new perspective in analyzing social movements that not only organizations play an important role in a movement (movement without actor) as Tilly conceptualized, but the role of the actor is also very important in a social movement (movement with actor). Key actors are able to encourage the escalation

of movement by placing the spread of follower actors to various movement issues and organizations.

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