

Research Article

## **Analysis of Strategies and Success Factors of Fishers Social Movement**

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**Charity Naysa Nasution, Rilus A. Kinseng, Soeryo Adiwibowo**

Rural Sociology Program, Postgraduate School, Institut Pertanian Bogor,  
Jl. Raya Dramaga Kampus IPB Dramaga, Bogor, 16680, Indonesia

### **Abstract**

*The sources of social change are diverse; one of which is the social movement. The study of social movements is essential for understanding contemporary society and the direction of its movement. Whether or not a movement is massive does not hide the reality that social movements can change history, sometimes by causing significant changes. The emergence of social movements is not sudden but determined by various factors, such as political opportunities, mobilization structures, and framing processes. A new factor which becomes the focus of the present study is related to the complexity of the actors involved in a social movement. This focus is important, given the mapping of strengths and roles of actors who have networked in different spheres of power has its benefits in order to analyze the dynamics of social movements. This study aims to analyze the success factors of the fishers' social movement and the roles of actors in determining the strategy of the movement, which can influence the results. This research used a mixed-method that involves a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The results showed that actors in the social movement of fishers were divided into five layers with a hierarchical structure, while each layer had different roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, mobilized resources include moral resources, material resources, social-organizational resources, and human resources.*

**Keywords:** *Fishers; Movement Strategy; Resource Mobilization; Social Movement*

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**Corresponding Author:** [charitynaysa@yahoo.com](mailto:charitynaysa@yahoo.com) (Charity Naysa Nasution)

## INTRODUCTION

There are various forms of social change agent. In the modern era, however, the most prominent one, i.e. the social movement, is the most effective force of change in society (Sztompka, 1993: 323). The study of social movements is essential to understanding contemporary society and the direction of its movement. Whether a movement is massive or not, does not hide the reality that social movements can change history, sometimes by causing significant changes. This is because the social movement is a unique phenomenon, in which the individuals within are determined to achieve specific goals by implementing various strategies. Correspondingly, social movements are defined as organized collective actions, aimed for social change; or rather groups of individuals who collectively aim to express feelings of collective dissatisfaction in public and seek to change social and political bases that are felt to be unsatisfactory (Porta and Diani, 2006: 20). Social movements' ideals and goals are to accept or reject changes in several aspects of the social structure consciously, continuously, and collectively (Roviana, 2014: 408). The question regarding the origin and development of the movement, therefore, is of interest to those interested in the social sciences; even more so because some social movements have emerged as a collective effort by the community to exert justice and equity.

Social movements are inseparable from the political and cultural dimensions. Some considerations in the study of social movements as agents of change are political and cultural opportunities and obstacles, organizational dynamics, as well as resources. Therefore, they can continue to produce new studies on a variety of social movements in many different countries, including Indonesia. Also considering that the concept of social movement is a complex sociocultural phenomenon with a high level of abstraction, where the boundaries can be explained through a combination of three basic dimensions in social movements, namely: (1) structural scope, in the form of organizations that form collective action; (2) the scope of ideas that hold groups together; and (3) the scope of performance/repertoire of actions. When analyzing social movements, previous studies tend to focus on only one of these trinities. Analysis of one dimension is, in fact, leads to two other dimensions (Johnston, 2014: 5).

Furthermore, a social movement is not emerging suddenly. A new social movement often still related to the previous movement and can be triggered by many factors such as large-scale social, economic, and political changes; new opportunities and threats; important events; or new policies (Staggenborg, 2011). Some previous studies have different emergent processes; for example, research which found that decentralization has led to the birth of new strategies and tactics for fishers to fight for their interests. Such conclusion is stated since decentralization was

seen as a “conducive condition” which provided a “political opportunity” for the formation of social movement among fishers (Kinseng, 2017a). Other studies concluded that the existence of mining and construction of a cement factory drive women in the Kendeng Mountains to manifest their response in the form of a social movement against the factory (Fitri and Akbar, 2017). Similar research was also conducted in Banyuwangi which found that the crisis of marine and fisheries resources, such as the damage in coral reefs and mangrove ecosystems, has encouraged the awareness of people to restore the sea function that would guarantee the survival of fishing communities. This awareness then manifested in the form of social movements that engaged in environmental conservation (Suwarno, 2016).

Meanwhile, in fishing communities, where resources have the status of being a common pool, various regulatory mechanisms have arisen relating to technology, capital, skills, and laws/policies. The social movement arose when the mechanism met an imbalance that causes material deprivation, perceived injustice, and the government that is increasingly expanding its involvement by imposing its own agenda in making policies related to fisheries. In response, fishers form a collective movement (Bavinck et al., 2018).

Social movements in various parts of the world use different resistance strategies and tactics. In Indonesia, the form is significantly diverse; in a way without formal organizations, clandestinely, and not requiring coordination in advance as described by Ariendi and Kinseng (2011). Some choose to hold regular meetings to discuss the agenda of the movement and strengthen the capacity of participants by bringing influential and inspiring figures (Fitri and Akbar, 2017). Meanwhile, not infrequently after going through a long struggle that never yields results, the strategy and tactics of the movement chosen and implemented are by giving ‘pressure’ so that the narration and demands presented are more listened to and immediately granted by the policymakers or relevant stakeholders; for example, through reclaiming strategies (farmer terms) or looting (plantation terms) (Wahyudi, 2009). This difference is as stated by Fauzi (2005) that politically it can be seen the diversity of rural movements; from the organized to the spontaneous, with different types of mobilization and ideology, as well as the strategies and tactics.

Strategies commonly used in social movements include protests, demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, lobbying or negotiations. One of the social movements in Indonesia that implements one of these strategies is the social movement of fishers who reject the policy issued by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries on the prohibition of using *cantrang*, which is contained in the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia No. 2 of 2015 concerning the Prohibition of the Use of Trawls and Seine Nets in the Fisheries Management

Region of the Republic of Indonesia. The fishers who organized themselves into the Indonesian Fishers Alliance opposed the implementation of this policy, particularly for the North Coast of Java, by holding a demonstration that reached its peak in January 2018 at the Jakarta National Monument (Monas) Pandang Park (Rahadian, 2018). The rejection arises due to different claims between the government and fishers, where fishers stated that *cantrang* was an environmentally friendly fishing tool, in contrast to trawls which had long been banned by the government in line with the issuance of the Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia No. 39 of 1980 concerning the Elimination of Trawling Nets.

One of the areas involved in the *cantrang* fishers' social movement is Pati Regency, Central Java. This regency, which is part of the North Coast of Java, has involved at least thousands of participants in the footsteps of the *cantrang* struggle that has taken place continuously since 2015. However, behind the considerable involvement of the participants, there is undoubtedly a complexity of actors involved in the social movement. Actors in this case refer to Gramsci (2007) about intellectuals, namely all people from various walks of life who have functions as organizers, both in the dimensions of production, economics, politics and culture, so that they are not characterized by the ability to think possessed by everyone, but rather the function that they run. In order to analyze the processes and dynamics of social movements, actors can be articulated as movement leaders (Fitri and Akbar, 2017: 93-94). A leader generally comes from a social movement organization. Social movement organizations are formal nonprofit organizations, social profits, or civil society organizations that share a shared vision and mission, which are associated with broader social movements because they play an important role in the development of social movements (Willems and Jegers, 2012: 68). It is said so because each individual will be mobilized to take part in activities that support the organization's strategy to achieve the goals of the movement. Furthermore, for the mobilization process to run optimally and successfully, the social movement organization needs a leader who has an agency in determining resource management, framing ideas, and choosing effective strategies to achieve goals. The agency is the ability of a person (actor/agent) to think, act and act independently, freely, and autonomously, according to his own will (Kinseng, 2017b: 131).

In addition to mapping the actors in the movement, there are three crucial factors in analyzing the growth and development of social movements, namely: (1) the structure of political opportunities and obstacles faced by the movement; (2) mobilization structure; and (3) collective processes in interpreting, giving attributes, and bridging between opportunities (opportunities) and actions (actions), or what is known as framing processes. A movement also requires a variety of resources to be mobilized. These resources can be in the form of material

resources, such as income, savings, or non-material resources, such as authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, and ability (Sukmana, 2013: 45). Meanwhile, there are opinions that state that resources created and used in social movements, consist of: (1) moral resources, including legitimacy, solidarity, and sympathy; (2) cultural resources, including knowledge of institutionalized strategies and tactics; (3) social-organizational resources, such as utilizing organizational structures, networks, and movement infrastructure; (4) human resources, including labor, experts and experienced activists; and (5) material resources, including financial capital, equipment, property, offices, and raw materials (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004: 125-128). Various strategies and factors that influence the dynamics of this movement ultimately determine the existence and continuity of the movement in achieving the desired goal or change (McAdam et al., 1996). Based on this background, and referring to previous studies that are known to tend to analyze only one of the most prominent aspects such as the structural sphere, the novelty of this study is to synergize the three basic dimensions of social movements through systematic exposure. Starting from the background of the movement, policy issues and the presence of fishers social organizations as structural factors that shape collective action, to the form and strategy of the movement, as well as the role of actors in the movement to describe the scope of the action repertoire, which makes this research not only focus on one of the three basic dimensions of social movements. Because in turn, it is believed that the analysis of one dimension will lead to the other two dimensions.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The study was conducted on a fishing community in Bajomulyo Village, Juwana Subdistrict, Pati Regency, Central Java Province with time duration from July to August 2018. The paradigm used in the study is post-positivism with the mixed method. The post-positivism paradigm is a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches or vice versa, where one of them becomes dominant and the other as a supporter (Creswell, 2016). In this study, the primary source used is the qualitative approach. While, for supporting data, quantitative approach is used with the consideration that it has the advantage of being able to cover a large area in a relatively short time. The urgency of collecting quantitative data through individual-level surveys conducted on 30 respondents is to understand the motivation, attitudes, behaviour and characteristics of movement participants.

Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 informants selected through the snowball technique. In-depth interviews were also supplemented with supporting documents to understand better the strategic choices which explain the mobilization process and focus of the

movement. The informants in this study include local leaders (village head and the officials), movement participants, fishers activists, as well as administrators and members of fishers social organizations. The study used two types of data that are processed and analyzed. Quantitative data used are respondent characteristics, fishing technology characteristics, and perceptions on *cantrang* were processed using Microsoft Excel 2010 application and SPSS version 16 for Windows. Meanwhile, qualitative data such as the chronology of movement are analyzed through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and verification.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Bajomulyo Village is one of the coastal villages in Juwana District, Pati Regency, Central Java, with an area of 74.8 ha. Administratively, this village has 4 RWs (hamlets) and 16 RTs (neighbourhoods). The village, which is only 1.1 km from the administrative centre of Juwana Subdistrict, has a topographic condition in the lowlands with the Silugonggo River which directly empties into the Java Sea as a separator from the eastern village. This river provides benefits for Bajomulyo Village, especially those related to marine and fishery activities, one of which is as a place to dock. Furthermore, Bajomulyo Village is bordered by Bakaran Wetan Village in the north, Kudukeras Village and Kebonsawahan Village in the south, east by Bendar Village, and in the west by Growong Lor Village. Based on village monograph data in 2017, the population of Bajomulyo Village is 5,777 people with a total of 1,538 families. The male population of Bajomulyo Village is 2,830, and the female population is slightly higher at 2,947. Overall, the majority of the population of this village, which is 2,887 people are at productive age; mostly work as employees in private companies, then followed by fishers as many as 395 people.

### **The Strategy of *Cantrang* Fishers Social Movement**

The Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia No. 2 of 2015 concerning the Prohibition of Using Trawls and Seine Nets in the Fisheries Management Region of the Republic of Indonesia, raises the pros and cons of fishing communities in various regions. Parties who agree with these rules tend to look at it from the perspective of environmental sustainability in order to be sustainable. On the other hand, the counterparties see from the fishers' socioeconomic point of view who feel that their livelihoods are threatened if the regulation is applied. The new policy which characterized by different claims between the two parties encourages the *cantrang* fishing community to voice rejection which manifested in the form of social movements. The fishers then merged into the Indonesian Fishers Alliance to oppose the implementation of this policy. The strategies used also varied

from hearings, demonstrations, lobbying, and negotiations. This step was chosen given the long struggle that must be taken needs to be supported by a strategy of movement that can put ‘pressure’ so that the narratives and demands delivered are more listened to and immediately granted by the policymakers or relevant stakeholders. As one participant of the movement said that “expressing aspirations in public is allowed as long as not anarchist; but if there is no anarchy, we are ignored, what can we do?” (WWI, 40 years).

A similar phenomenon occurred in 2003-2016 in Banten, where fishers resisted in various forms, both soft and hard movement. Resistance movements are carried out systematically, not sporadically by building a cell/unit base at the micro-macro level. In several phases of resistance, there are losing and winning conditions. In both of these conditions, the engine of movement continues to build networks and metamorphoses, so that the hope of resistance never fades – a fluidity (Alkhudri et al., 2018: 29). Similar to the resistance of fishers in Banten, within a period of three years from 2015 to 2018, *cantrang* fishers in Pati Regency also continued to build networks through interactions with various parties both at the local and central levels. This process is done because, during the movement, various types of interactions can affect mobilization, strategy, and the results of the movement. In this case, including interactions with allies, opposition, mass media, as well as government officials and other authorities (Staggenborg, 2011: 38). The history of the struggle of *cantrang* fishers in Pati Regency from 2015 to 2018 can be seen in Table 1.

Based on Table 1, it is known that from the beginning of the struggle, the *cantrang* fishers in Pati Regency continued to interact through several meetings with various parties in order to achieve the desired goals. The parties included the Governor of Central Java, Regional People’s Representative Assembly (DPRD), People’s Representative Council (DPR), People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs, Minister of State Secretariat, Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres), Media Group, political parties, IPB academics, to the President of Indonesia. In line with this, in a movement, involving the mass media, partnering with universities and other stakeholders is stated to be a powerful strategy to achieve the movement’s goals (Astuti, 2014: 61).

Furthermore, interactions are formed with various parties, each of which has its own influence on the organization of the movement and to the movement itself. As explained by several activists of *cantrang* fishers, the previous chairman of the social movement organization - which at that time was called the United Fishers Front (FNB) - was replaced since he betrayed the organization’s vision, mission, and goals.

**Table 1.** Historical Track of the Struggle for *Cantrang* in 2015-2018

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Focus</b>
26/1/2015	Hearing Session with the Indonesian Parliament (DPR)	Demanding the revocation of Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2 of 2015
28/1/2015	Simultaneous demonstrations of fishers in Central Java	Demanding for the revocation of Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2015
30/1/2015	A hearing session with Commission IV of the Parliament (DPR)	The effect of the Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2015
25/2/2015	National action of <i>cantrang</i> fishers in Jakarta	Demanding for the revocation of Minister of Marine and Fisheries Regulation No. 2/2015
7/4/2015	<i>Cantrang</i> fisher audience with the Governor of Central Java	The effect of the Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2015
17/4/2015	<i>Cantrang</i> fisher audience with the President	Demanding for the revocation of Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2015
3/7/2015	Reporting to the Ombudsman	Fishers' report regarding the enactment of the Maritime and Fisheries Ministerial Regulation No. 2/2015
29/3/2016	Demonstration of the Pati fishers	Demanding the legalization of <i>cantrang</i>
11-17/5/2016	Research on the impact of <i>cantrang</i>	Sample testing and field research on the impact of the prohibition of <i>cantrang</i> in collaboration with IPB researchers



<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Focus</b>
5/9/2016	Simultaneous demonstrations of fishers in Semarang	Demanding the legalization of <i>cantrang</i>
19/9/2016	Meeting with the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs	The socioeconomic impact of the prohibition of <i>cantrang</i>
10/10/2016	FGD with Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres)	The socioeconomic impact of the prohibition of <i>cantrang</i>
1/12/2016	FGD with Expert Staff of the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs	The socioeconomic impact of the prohibition of <i>cantrang</i>
1/2/2017	Simultaneous demonstrations of fishers in Semarang, Central Java	Refusing the Minister of Maritime and Fisheries visit
30/3/2017	Hearings with the People's Consultative Assembly	The socioeconomic impact of the prohibition of <i>cantrang</i>
1/10/2017	A Million Letters for the President movement	Demanding the legalization of <i>cantrang</i> nationally
26/10/2017	Dialogue with Media Group	Build media synergy
16/11/2017	Hearings with the Chair of the People's Consultative Assembly	Looking for alternatives to legalize <i>cantrang</i>
8/1/2018	Action Concerns of Fishers simultaneously in Java, Sumatra and Madura	Fishers' solidarity action

Time	Activity	Focus
12/1/2018	Hearings of fishers representatives with the Minister of State Secretary	Looking for alternatives to legalize <i>cantrang</i>
17/1/2018	Fishers Nationality Ceremony- National action of fishers in front of the State Palace	Demanding the legalization of <i>cantrang</i> nationally

*Source: Track Calendar of the Struggle for Cantrang 2015-2018*

The figure, BBG, is one of the founders of the fishers social movement and is said to have received a certain amount of money which makes him betrayed the interests of fishers and prevent the masses who wish to hold demonstrations in the capital. As a result, in 2018, there was a change of name along with the management of the organization, from FNB to ANNI (Indonesian Fishers Alliance).

Meanwhile, the roles of the mass media, political parties, and academics are apparent in the study of environmental, social, and economic impacts caused by the operation of *cantrang* fishing gear. Academics from the Department of Fisheries Resource Utilization, for example, stated that *cantrang* is not the cause of water degradation, as is the case with trawling. It is just that the rules that must be set are related to the length of the fishing gear, ballast, to the size of the net so that it will not disturb the marine ecosystem (Budiman, 2017). The NDM Party and a national television program that study and record the process of operating *cantrang* from the waters also agree with this. Although interactions with political parties are often full of political interests. An activist of *cantrang* fishers movement in Pati Regency stated that:

*“...There were four big demonstrations, in the first demonstration we were supported by the GKR party, others were from the PIP, PNB, NDM, and GDA. Our chairman was also from the PDS party, but we never join a party. We have indeed been approached by parties, but we want to be independent. We want to purely be a fisher, without political conditions because later on, we can be questioned; we must be neutral. We let them help if they want to, but we still lead because there were many (fishers) who cannot eat...” (HRI, 39 years old)*

Although the meetings between the stakeholders and *cantrang* fishers are frequent, the decisions made to date according to the fishers have not been satisfactory and possibly politically -motivated. This refers to the statement of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia in January 2018, regarding the extension of duration to use *cantrang* without time limit, but with the condition that it is not allowed to increase the number of ships. Fishers also encouraged to use fishing gear other than *cantrang*, which is considered more environmentally friendly. Furthermore, one of the activists explained:

*“...Insofar, there is always pros and cons in the Minister’s policy. In my experience, all fishing gear, including net, if operated on a reef, will definitely be damaging and the fishers will suffer losses. Nowadays, when making policy, they (the Ministry) do not want to talk to stakeholders nor carry out a meeting. As a result, fishers become the victim. Without the cantrang, the fisher economy is dead. The government request us to use gillnet, while in fact, it is worse since banned fish could be caught as well. The catches are also not maximum and ineffective. Then, they say we can go to the sea but must not add any more ships; I mean, how can you add ships? If we want to go fishing, we need to get permission from the Ministry. After all, you have to report; unless there is a collusion, you cannot get approval without report. I actually have often been interviewed like this. I say what it is; I do not cover it up. However, I keep the spirit of explaining, answering, including to the President. I even describe in front of him how the cantrang works. I have met everyone, from the governor, the Representatives (DPR), the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), the director-general, the Minister, to the President. The only one I have not met yet is the Almighty God...” (RJN, 66 years)*

### **Actors in the *Cantrang* Fishers Social Movement**

Each movement certainly faces a number of different obstacles and opportunities during the process of emergence, mobilization, maintain existence, to achieve the goals of social and political change as expected. Therefore, various perspectives are used in studying issues related to the factors driving the effectiveness of collective action; one of which is through the complexity of the actors involved in a social movement. Correspondingly, Morris and Staggenborg (2004: 108) state that the presence of leaders in a movement is essential to encourage participation and minimize internal conflict, as long as movement leaders play a crucial role in inspiring commitment, formulating strategies, forming organizational structures, and providing opportunities for the participants to take part in the decision making process. Furthermore, classifying leaders based on various types of political excellence has become a new

method that is attractive to enthusiasts of collective action theory because it has been recognized as an independent variable that can influence a movement (Schou, 1997: 72). The results showed that actors in the social movement of fishers were divided into five layers with a vertical (multilevel) hierarchical structure, while each layer had different roles and responsibilities.



**Figure 1.** Stratification of Actors in *Cantrang* Fishers Social Movement in Pati Regency  
*Source: Schou, 1997*

The roles and responsibilities of each layer are as follows:

- First layer: central coordinator. Actors in this layer come from fishers social organizations such as ANNI (Indonesian Fishers Alliance) or HNSI (Association of Indonesian Fishers), academics, or fisher's figures with recognized credibility since they are considered to have sufficient capacity and capability to speak well and fluently, especially when they want to express their aspirations in front of policymakers. The primary role of actors in this layer is to act as an orator, which is vital to raise the spirit of the collectivity of all movement participants;
- Second layer: field coordinator. The actors in this layer are delegates from fishers social organizations at the regional level (*paguyuban*) who are generally responsible for taking care of administrative and transportation needs in the process of mobilizing participants from the regions to the capital (locally known as bureau);
- Third layer: the chairman and organizer of the association (*paguyuban*). Actors who are in this layer are the organizer of the fishers' social organization which is responsible for hundreds or even thousands of ships and crew members involved in the fishers social

movement. Each community, especially the *cantrang* fishers community, will send a representative together with the central coordinator to deliver their speeches in turn;

- The fourth layer: the person in charge of the field. Actors in this layer are the ship captains who are responsible for mobilizing the masses at the regional level by coordinating with the field coordinator, ensuring the readiness of the transportation (bus), as well as recording the number, name and motorboat of participants; and
- The fifth layer: participants of the movement. This layer is dominated by the crews who play an essential role in welcoming and responding to narratives or slogans delivered by the orators. A large number of participants also determines the amount of pressure placed on policymakers.

Overall, when referring to the category of actors in social movements McAdam and Snow (1997: 23) refer the actors in each layer as protagonists, i.e. all groups that support the movement or who have interests in line with the movement. Nevertheless, it should be noted that despite sharing the same fundamental values and goals, each participant has a different portion of involvement. Therefore, it is crucial to distinguish between ‘activists’ and ‘participants’ based on the amount of effort and sacrifice made in achieving the goals of the movement. Furthermore, the protagonist actor is divided into three, namely participants, constituents/supporters, and beneficiaries. Constituents are usually individuals who are defined as representations of movement organizations which are the primary resources in the movement. Based on these definitions, layers I, II, and III falls into the category of constituents, as well as activists. Meanwhile, layers IV and V are classified as participants and beneficiaries. The other categories are antagonists or groups that oppose the movement which reflected by the government, especially the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries as the policymaker of the prohibition of *cantrang*. Although contradictory, the relationship between the protagonist and the antagonist is a dynamic and ongoing process which is the centre of the movement.

### **Resource Mobilization in *Cantrang* Fishers Social Movement**

Over the past two decades, resource mobilization theory has become a ‘dark horse’ in research related to social movements (Clemens and Minkoff, 2004). In this theory, it is stated that aspects of movement discontinuity and continuity are determined by the management of resource mobilization (Staggenborg, 2011). According to the classification of resources in social movements according to Edwards and McCarthy (2004: 125-128), there are four resources created and used in the social movement of *cantrang* fishers, namely moral resources, social-organizational resources, human resources, and material resources.

Moral resources. This resource is found in the form of a bond of solidarity among fishers. Fireman and Gamson (1977: 22) state that various types of organizational and social ties play an important role in recruiting activists into the movement because when a person is tightly bound to a group of people involved in collective action, he/she will naturally find it difficult if did not participate in the movement. This is in line with the statement of one of the movement participants:

*“...The one who drives the demonstration is the fishers’ community. The owner also participates, because if it is forbidden, the owner will shut down; thus taking the initiative to participate (in the demonstration). So, this is purely from fellow fishers, a matter of life, because the lives of fishers are determined by the sea. Here, people are known for their enthusiasm for work. That is why many people become a success; we fight together because the principle is that it is better to be poor rather than our friends suffering...” (SWO, 62 years old)*

Furthermore, as seen in Table 2, it is known that the majority of respondents, as many as 43.3 per cents or 13 respondents out of a total of 30 respondents, stated that the reason for participating in the movement was as a form of solidarity with fellow fishers. This attitude is inseparable from the narratives echoed by the driving actors among others, such as “*ra gerak ra mangan*”, “*cantrang* prohibition causing high unemployment”, “*cantrang* is people’s economy”, “*cantrang* is environmentally friendly”, “united fishers cannot be defeated” to “rather than starve to death, it is better to die in struggle”. It seems that the statement that social networks can influence one’s instrumental and emotional motivation to participate voluntarily is proven to be valid in this movement (Becker and Dhingra, 2001: 316). Meanwhile, only a handful (16.7 per cent) stated the reason they were involved was that they fulfilled the invitation of their fellow fishers, or because of the appeals from boat owners.

### **Social-Organizational and Material Resources**

*Social movement organizations and material resources.* Social movement organizations and their leaders play an important role in mobilizing resources for a movement. According to Staggenborg (1988: 597), organizations with more formal or bureaucratic structures tend to be better to sustain the movement over time, whereas informal organizations are better at making tactical innovations and more responsive to responding to an event. *Cantrang* fishers social movement organization in Pati Regency has a formal hierarchical organizational structure, where ANNI (Indonesian Fishers Alliance) becomes an organization that houses several organizations underneath it, such as HNSI (All Indonesian Fishers Association) and then followed by fishers social organization (*paguyuban*) at the regional level.

**Table 2.** Number and Percentage of Respondents Based on Reasons for Participating in The *Cantrang* Fishers Social Movement 2015-2018

Reason	Number (n)	Percentage (%)
Solidarity with fellow fishers	13	43,3
Own desire	12	40,0
Others	5	16,7
Total	30	100,0

*Source: Primary Data Processed, 2019*

These organizations play a vital role in the journey of the fishers' social movement, especially regarding the use of networks owned by the leaders of the organization with a number of ministries, government officials both at central and regional levels and the mass media, which can facilitate access for fishers to voice their aspirations. Another benefit is that it makes it easier to collect and manage the financial needs of the movement (material resources), which are all sourced from the community. The primary source of income of the community is from a fixed fee charged to each ship of 1.5 million rupiahs and is paid before the ship sailing. Large organizations such as ANNI also played a role in campaign slogans and media campaigns creation that was disseminated for the benefit of the movement. Various media used include calendars (containing historical documentation of *cantrang* fishers' struggles, whether in the form of photographs, details of annual movement, to struggle narratives such as #savetrawl #trawlneverending #beraniujipetikhebat), or t-shirts bearing the struggle sentences. As a result, the *cantrang* fishers movement can be said to have been well directed and coordinated.

Human resources. This resource is the main capital in social movements since it is the central part of the strategy to get the attention of policymakers. Participants in the social movement of *cantrang* fishers in Pati Regency come from different social classes, and with diverse livelihoods. This is inseparable from the mobilization of moral resources, which is in the form of a strong solidarity bond between fishers. Some social groups that were identified as being involved in the *cantrang* fishers social movement include: *cantrang* fishers (ranging from the owner, the skipper, to the crew); purse seine fishers (skipper and crew); porters (conveyor equipment); fish collector (basket coolie); grocery store owners and workers (food suppliers onboard); ice factory workers (block ice suppliers to preserve fish); ship machine shop workers; auction workers (fish auction sites); fish fillets; food stall owners (where fishers usually eat and rest); duck breeders (buyers of processed fish leftover at auction site for animal feed); the organizer of

the association; to academics (students). The involvement of many parties in the movement to reject the prohibition of *cantrang*, referring to the results of previous research, is due to the economic impact (loss of income) for businesses affected by the prohibition of *cantrang* in Brebes, Tegal, Batang, Pati, and Rembang Regencies as much as 1.9 trillion rupiah, and 78.33 per cent of them are *cantrang* fishers. Meanwhile, the social impact (job loss) is 1.5 trillion rupiahs, of which most (80.11 per cent) are *cantrang* fishers (Budiman, 2017). Therefore, unsurprisingly, this movement was followed by participants from various social layers.

## **CONCLUSION**

The *cantrang* prohibition policy, which was marked by different claims and economic issues, was the basis of the initiation of the *cantrang* fishing organization in Pati District to conduct a demonstration. This strategy was chosen because it was felt to be able to put ‘pressure’ on policymakers so that the *cantrang* could be legalized again, mainly because they felt that there was no meeting point after repeated hearings. In the social movement of *cantrang* fishers there is a grouping of vertical (stratified) movement participants into five layers, namely the central coordinator, the field coordinator, the chairman and committee of the association, the person in charge of the field, and the movement participants, each of whom has different roles and responsibilities. The resources mobilized include moral resources, social-organizational resources, material resources, and human resources, which in it are inseparable from the role of the actors/leaders of the movement. The presence of the actor with his agency and a number of resources mobilized, in turn, become the determining factors for the success of the *cantrang* fishers’ social movement.

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