

The Local Wisdom of Boat People Fishermen is Trapped in the Economic Net of Capitalism in Indragiri Hilir Regency of Riau Province

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Abstract

The marine and fisheries resource ecosystem which is a habitat for the life of the Boat Peoples Fishermen community, starting from the marine resources and the results, the potential of the coast, coast, river and land has experienced a decline of environmental degradation due to policies, plans and development programs introduced by the government tend to be oriented profit and economic interests without applying the principles of sustainable development. This problem is very real in Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province, where the central and regional governments provide the broadest possible investment and business opportunities to large-scale groups or economic classes to exploit available resources, such as for the people's coconut processing industry, upstream coconut oil industry, the mangrove charcoal industry, the development of oil palm plantations, oil, mining, agriculture and forestry as well as various other development interests without considering the existence and welfare of the tribal sea fishermen who are indigenous and depend their lives on fishery resources. From the era of the new order regime to the current post-reform and autonomy order, the government has done a lot to foster the Remote Indigenous Communities (KAT) of the Sea Tribe in order to improve their living standards. However, tribal fishermen still find it difficult to escape poverty and are loyal to prioritize safety (safety-first) in a patron-client relationship with the skipper (Tauke). Lately, the hue of the life of Sea Tribe fishermen is increasingly blurred because they are trapped in a net of capitalist economic class structures that tend to prey on and exploit the weak class so that traditional rights and local wisdom values of Sea Tribe fishermen are increasingly difficult to develop in the arena of environmental degradation. The tradition of looking for seashells and floating on the sea to catch fish, crabs and bleaches is increasingly difficult, local knowledge of nature is developed to become a teacher (wind season, tohor, cloud signs, seagulls, seawater-resistant wood species) and traditional medical skills (thinning) pregnancy with mangrove trees, traditional herbal medicine, recipes and traditional foods) are fading, diving expertise, the ability to make traditional eco-friendly fishing gear (pento, fishing yel, traps, nets, barrels, togok and sampan) increasingly rare, the tradition of semangsemar and others, were gradually marginalized and lost to the economic wave of modern capitalism.

Keywords: boat people fishermen, local wisdom and capitalism.

1. Introduction

Natural resources and the environment underwent a very drastic change. This situation did not occur in a short time but through a long process of social change in the form of the industrial revolution, manufacturing revolution, agricultural revolution, communication revolution and so on that brought modern industrial society now in a world ecosystem full of threats (State of the World-1984) or "False security" as indicated [1]. And the negative effect that occurs is global warming caused by human activity, precisely the use of



harmful substances that cause greenhouse gas effects, such as carbon dioxide, methane, nitric oxide and chloroform carbon (CFC) in the atmosphere. This pile traps heat from the sun, causing an increase in temperature. The IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel On Climate Change) report on the causes of global warming is interesting to watch. When it was published in 2001, it was stated that 66% was confirmed by humans as the cause. In 2007, this percentage changed to 90%. This means that more and more scientists believe that human dominance is the main cause of global warming disasters [2].

The first victims of global warming are community groups in countries that have maritime and aquatic territories, including archipelagic states consisting of large and small islands. In Indonesia, a group of people who are directly affected and experiencing very severe suffering is a coastal community that is a group of people who live in coastal areas known as fishing communities. Rising sea levels, resulting in several small islands will be lost, the coastline will retreat reaching more than 60cm in the direction towards the land, many fishermen are homeless. Seawater intrusion is increasingly widespread, mangrove forest ecosystems are damaged, biophysical and biochemical properties in the coastal zone are changing and differences in tidal levels occur in some watersheds. In the fisheries sector, coral bleaching occurs, the number of coral reefs decreases and the composition of marine fish changes. Indonesia is among the countries that suffer a lot from this global disaster because it has 17,480 islands consisting of small and large islands, but some 65% of small islands are very vulnerable. During this time 24 small islands have disappeared [3].

Ironically, it highlights portraits of fishermen's lives because it is the same as seeing various kinds of misery albums experienced since their ancestors until now. Hundreds of years of fishermen remain loyal to face various forms of risk, domination and uncertainty. At present, fishermen must struggle to deal with natural uncertainties, such as changes in fish seasons, tidal waves and wind seasons which are increasingly difficult to predict and often lead to natural disasters that have claimed lives and property due to climate change. The tragic fate of the fishermen's family was compounded by the widespread domination of the ruling capitalist economic class, preying on and exploiting fishermen's resources through various exploitation of unlimited fisheries resources. This is felt very bitter by a small portion of fishermen known as "Suku-Laut" or "Boat-Peoples" which are categorized as indigenous people or isolated communities in Riau Province. The Boat Peoples fishermen in this area have the same fate as other fishing communities in Indonesia. They are difficult to escape from the shackles of poverty and the tragic suffering of life due to social interaction and cultural contact with outside communities. Even with the increasingly scarce potential of fisheries and marine resources, the declining quality of the environment in aquatic areas as a result of being exploited for various development interests, such as industry and trade, mining, plantation, agriculture and others by large scale companies, turns out to hurt sustainability the life and licensing of the local wisdom values of the Boat Peoples fishermen who are always a disadvantaged, oppressed class, and finally trapped in a net of capitalist economic class structures that always prey and suck (predatory and comprador classes).

Traditional fishermen in catching prey (fish, shrimp, shells, etc.), still use simple tools, such as Nets (Fishnet), Fishing, or catch shells. With very limited results and ultimately sold to Chinese tauke with standard prices following Tauke. The capitalist pattern is packaged with patron-client so it becomes social capital for the tauke. Assistance from the Government, in the form of a motorboat, which is managed by a group of fishermen consisting of 20 fishermen, apparently the use is less than the maximum, why? as well as the use of fishery resources, is still not maximized.

Meanwhile, the culture of catching fish, shrimp, shellfish, etc. Very much influenced by season or waters condition. Fishermen have tried their best, but the results have not

been maximized. This is where the importance of this research is to cut off the economic capitalist network of fishermen to improve the welfare of traditional fishermen, without damaging the environment and even preserving the waters of this region.

In the theory of Subsistence Ethics, Scoot explains that traditional fishermen in their lives are always looking for safety, even though they have to be paid handsomely, for this reason, Tauke's role as village capitalist, comes as a person who can provide protection and guarantees to fishermen.

In Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province, Boat Peoples fishermen in Tanjung Pasir Village and Sei Bela Village, Tanah Merah District, apparently fishermen reject social settlements built by the government because they are not under the tradition of floating (wandering) at sea as well as the socio-cultural environment and values their local wisdom. Fishing gear aid program is of poor quality and is widely sold. Aquaculture and the waste processing industry are not yet developed. This dilemma forced some fishermen, women and children to work as day labourers with low wages. The fishermen empowerment model tends to be imposed from above, so it is not under local aspirations and needs. The main catches of fishermen namely fish, shrimp, crabs and shellfish are increasingly difficult because the fisheries ecosystem is polluted by coal waste, the valley of the palm oil mill (PKS), the waste of the coconut processing factory and "Kayu Teki" as raw material for mangrove charcoal by Sambu Inland Company which has long damaged the habitat of shrimp, shellfish and crabs, as well as the opening of oil palm plantations on a large scale by the local government. This tightly squeezed condition forced the boat people fishermen to have no choice but to depend on the "Patron-Client" relationship with the traditional skipper (Tauke-Tionghoa) through a one-sided friendly relationship [4]-[5].

The concept of the social welfare development program for Isolated Indigenous Communities of the boat peoples which is carried out by the central and regional governments to boat peoples fishermen so far, shows the role of the state is still very centralized in pursuing economic growth and less attention to aspects of protection, participation, advocacy and social empowerment to develop the objective conditions of the community and the culture of fishermen towards progress, such as social capital, traditional communal rights and values of local wisdom that should be protected by the state. As stated, the ILO convention of 1989 and the 1995 United Nations Declaration have emphasized the global commitment to the protection of the rights of indigenous and boat peoples because it has become an international concern. Such is the urgency of local wisdom as a form of environmentally friendly development under the principles of sustainable development in Indonesia, it has also been included in the 1945 Constitution Article 18 B paragraph (2) which states that: *"The state respects the customary law community units along with their rights traditionally as long as it is still alive and under the development of society"*. Then, Article 28 I paragraph (3) confirms that *"Cultural identity and traditional community rights are respected in line with the times and civilizations"* [6]-[7]. Therefore, it is necessary to study scientifically the existence of Boat Peoples fishermen who have traditional rights concerning cultural wisdom values inherited from generation to generation as a strategy of adaptation to the environment of fisheries resources which are increasingly damaged due to human greed exploiting natural resources without control, suck (comprador) and prey (predator) anyone who blocks it for the sake of profit, commercial and hegemony of power formed in the economic structure of capitalism. The formulation of the main problems that will be analyzed in this study are as follows:

1. What are the types of utilization of fishery resources that are utilized and managed by the Boat Peoples fishermen in maintaining their survival in Inderagiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province and how are the social relations of Boat Peoples fishermen production



formed in the economic structure of capitalism that tend to be controlled by social class networks of predators and compradors?

- b. What is the form of local wisdom values of Boat Peoples fishermen who grow and develop as part of the culture of boat people fishermen in the utilization of fishery resources in Inderagiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province, which has gradually experienced environmental degradation due to massive exploitation without control in the economic structure of capitalism designed by the government?

The aim of the research to be achieved is to find out the types of fisheries resources utilized by Boat Peoples fishermen to meet their needs, including the pattern of social relations of production that are intertwined in maintaining their survival amid fisheries ecosystems that are experiencing environmental degradation. Besides, it is also to study the existence of local wisdom of Boat peoples' fishermen in the capitalist economic structure that is dominated and controlled by predatory and comprador classes. The theory used refers "Ethics-Subsistence" theory which states that fishermen are often claimed to be the poorest of the poor. The characteristics of fisheries resources are difficult to predict, wild catch targets and full of physical risks. thus forcing fishermen to act carefully so that the lives, equipment and survival of their families are guaranteed [8]. Farmers in Southeast Asia including fishermen and small traders, with the consequence of living close to subsistence margins, limited techniques, weather, low income, small land, large families, little outside employment opportunities and various outside demands, have led to a choice of technical behaviour-economic, moral and social rules of farmers/fishermen tend to prioritize the principle of "Safety-First", "Social-Reciprocity" and establish a "Patron-Client" relationship. If conditions are the opposite, then such a thesis is not consistent.

Patronage is the relationship of a person or more who has a higher social, economic and political status (superior) with a person or other party vertically who has lower social, economic and political status (inferior). This pattern of patronage social interaction with different statuses and roles has long been the subject of the study of the paradigm of Karl Marx's inherited conflict in Sociology. One Marxian theorist, argues that every society is always in a process of change, conflict is a phenomenon inherent in society [9]. Every element in society contributes to the disintegration and change as well as the integrated society over control or domination by several people over several other people. Those involved in the conflict consist of two (2) groups, namely pseudo groups and interest groups. Pseudo Group, is a collection of power or position holders with the same interests because of the emergence of interest groups. Interest Groups are groups formed from a wide pseudo group [10]-[11]. The interest group called Dahrendorf as the source or trigger of the conflict became the focus of serious attention by neo-Marxist theorist Paul Baran from Latin America, who stated that "the State" was involved in taking economic enterprises in 3 types, namely:

- a. the directly administered colony, which uses its resources to develop its resources of raw material and which operates a "full belly policy.
- b. the Compradors, or agents, governments, which rules on behalf of western capitalism, concentrates on developing its military and ideological apparatus, and which cures most for the tastes of the rich and least for the welfare of the masses.
- c. the "New Deal" type of government, which is the arena for competition classes of the national bourgeoisie, feudal and compradors elements, among which the only common factor is nationalism.

The substance that marks the relationship of conflict according to the experts, can be seen to take place in the economic system of capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system where trade, industry and means of production are controlled by private owners to gain the maximum profit in a market economy. According to that the characteristics of the economic system of capitalism include [12]:



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- a. Broad recognition of personal rights.
- b. Ownership of production equipment is in the hands of individuals.
- c. Individuals are free to choose a job or business that is good for them.
- d. The economy is governed by market mechanisms.
- e. The market will provide price signals to producers and consumers.
- f. Government intervention is as small as possible.
- g. Humans are always seen as economic beings who always pursue their own interests.
- h. The understanding of individualism based on materialism is increasingly fundamental.

Meanwhile, the general conception of local wisdom according to experts in all forms of knowledge, beliefs, understanding, or insight as well as customs or ethics that guide human behavior in ecological life [13]. According to that local wisdom is an environmental policy that grows and develops in a place or region [14]. Then confirmed that local wisdom is the intelligence and management strategies of the universe in maintaining ecological balance that has been tested for centuries by various disasters and obstacles and human negligence [7]. In detail, the dimensions inherent in local wisdom values according to namely [15]:

- a. Local knowledge: Related to climate change and dry and rainy cycles, types of fauna and flora, and geographical, demographic and sociographic conditions.
- b. Local values: Every community has local rules or values that are adhered to and agreed upon by all its members. These values usually regulate the relationship between humans and humans, humans with nature and humans with their God.
- c. Local Skills: The ability to survive for life (survival for the fittest) such as hunting, gathering, farming until making a home industry.
- d. Local Resources: Are natural resources, those are non-renewable and renewable resources. such as forests, gardens, water sources, agricultural land, and settlements.
- e. Local Decision-Making Mechanisms: Each community has its own traditional local government and different decision-making mechanisms.

This research was conducted in 2 Boat Peoples fishermen village settlements in Indragiri Hilir Regency. Concong Luar Village, Kuala Indragiri Subdistrict is determined as a location that has not been fostered by the government, and Tanjung Pasir Village, Tanah Merah District that has been fostered by the government. The research subjects were boat peoples, fishermen, with a unit of analysis families. Because the subject of the study is an abstract social reality in the dimensions of social structure and culture, the type of research chosen is a qualitative method. explain qualitative research is to produce descriptive data in the form of speech or writing and the behaviour of the people observed [16]. Researchers can recognize the subjects and feel what they experience in daily life, engage in the situation and setting of the phenomenon under study, focusing on the context under study [17]. In addition, key informants were also taken to represent the elements of the district government, namely the Social Service Agency, the Fisheries and Maritime Service Agency, the Village Head and the elements representing the private sector. The boat peoples' fishermen informants were determined to represent the social structure of fishermen, namely fisheries company, the motor in boat engine fishermen, motor boat engine fishermen, clam fishermen, caught fishermen workers and fish/shrimp picking workers. Data collection methods are in-depth interview, participatory observation, documentation with methods of visual materials, internet information retrieval, photography and others. Data were analyzed with "Cultural Themes" that is through the analysis of the "ethical and emic" process of a cultural event and reveal how the cultural event was interpreted or interpreted by the object or subject of research [18]. To obtain the degree of validity of the data used "Triangulation" theories and data sources [19].



2. Methodology

The locale of Research. The research location was in the villages of Tanjung Pasir and Sei Bela, Tanah Merah District, Indragiri Hilir Regency. This location was chosen because the two villages have the potential for potential fisheries resources, but their management is controlled by the tauke, so that boat fishermen (traditional) remain in the cycle of poverty.

Participant. Subjects in this study, including Boat fishermen, Tauke and Fisheries Department. The key informants were the Chair of the boat fishermen in Tanjung Pasir (senior fishermen) and boat fishermen, the Tauke and the Fisheries and Maritime Affairs Office as the informants. Selection of informants, using Purposive sampling techniques.

Method of collecting data. Secondary data, obtained from the Village Office, Sub-District Office, Office of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs, regarding data on fish catch production, type of catch, number of fishermen and types of fishing gear used. Primary data, including, Utilization of fishery resources, how fishermen catch fish, shrimp, shellfish, etc., how to negotiate with tauke, assistance from the Department of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs and the economy of boat fishing families. Data Collection Techniques, conducted with guided interview techniques and observations. So on the data analysis method. Data analysis used Qualitative Analysis and will also use Triangulation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Profile of Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province

Geographically and physiographically, the area of Indragiri Hilir Regency has a wide and potential sea and public waters that can be developed for aquaculture business, opportunities for investors for capital investment, both in the field of fishing, especially in offshore waters and in the field of fisheries (ponds, cages, shellfish and ponds) [20]. In addition to the rivers and straits in Indragiri Hilir District, there are many ditches, both natural and human-made, which mostly function as water drainage and transportation for the community. Indragiri Hilir Regency holds great potential in various economic sectors, especially in the fields of plantations, fisheries/marine and industry, which until now has not been maximally exploited. In the plantation sector, some of the leading commodities are local coconut, hybrid coconut, palm oil and sago. Indragiri Hilir Regency is divided into 20 Districts, 174 Villages and 18 Kelurahan. The Indragiri River is the artery of the waterway. Kuala Enok is a port city that has the potential to become a centre for the coconut industry, which was previously only used by water transportation and can now be reached by land because it has opened a road as access to the ocean port. Gunung River in Ketaman District is another interesting place to be used as a centre for trade and industry.

There are four export-import-oriented sea and river ports namely ports; Kuala Enok, Kuala Gaung, Sungai Guntung and port of trench 21 Tembilahan. The potential of capture fisheries in sea waters is 109,212 tons/year with the utilization rate in 2008 of 35,277.76 tons/year (32.30%). In the field of aquaculture, this area has potential land for developing aquaculture ponds covering an area of 31,600 ha with a utilization rate of 1,399 ha (4.42%) and freshwater cultivation (minatani) with a potential of 1,657 ha and only utilized 166 ha (10%). While in the field of marine culture in the form of fish maintenance in floating net cages there is a potential area that can accommodate around 20,000 bags of cages, which until now has not been utilized [18]. The potential of plantation products in Indragiri Hilir Regency is coconut production reaching 390,924.28 tons per year with an area of 295,380.24 Ha. For hybrid coconut, production was recorded at 67,055.69 tons from an area of 28,770 Ha, while for oil palm production a total of 567,802.56 tons from an area of 76,353.45 Ha. For rubber commodity with an area of 4,861 Ha, coffee 1,338 Ha, sago 17,656 Ha, cocoa 2,170 Ha, areca nut 15,413, nipah 17,435 Ha and various other plantations 303 Ha. With this potential, making Indragiri Hilir Regency listed as one of



the largest coconut regions in the world even dubbed as "The Expanse of Coconut World". Potential land for the development of coconut plantation commodities is an area of 722,806 hectares and has been utilized around 600,691 hectares.

The consequences of land use for various agricultural commodities, plantations, livestock and fisheries, there are also various opportunities to develop the natural products management industry, including the development of the food crop industry in the form of processing drinks from fruits with raw materials of oranges and pineapples. Another opportunity is an integrated coconut processing industry with production in the form of oil, cake, coir, shell charcoal (activated carbon), "nata de coco" and furniture. This industry is export-oriented with destination countries Singapore and Malaysia, especially to be developed into home furnishings. Other than that, the palm oil processing industry is growing rapidly, which can be seen from the many Palm Oil Mills (PKS) operating in Indragiri Hilir Regency. So far, these factories have only produced CPO and have been sent overseas. Based on the Minister of Industry Regulation Indonesia Government No. 13/M-IND/PER/1/2010 dated 29 January 2010 concerning Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister of Industry No. 111/M-IND/PER/10/2009 concerning Road-Map for the Development of the Palm Oil Downstream Industry Cluster, it is necessary to perfect the Oil palm Downstream Industry Cluster Action Plan, so that crude palm oil (CPO) will become a variety of derivative products that will provide greater added value. In line with the mandate of the Minister of Industry Regulation, the Government of Indragiri Hilir Regency has formed a Team for the Development of Action Plans for the Development of Agricultural and Oleochemical-Based Industries of the Palm Oil Industry with Decree of the Regent of Indragiri Hilir No. KPTS. 315/VIII/HK-2010, August 23, 2010. Another area that can be developed is the animal feed processing industry and fish feed with available raw materials, such as soybeans and corn.

Indragiri Hilir Regency has sufficient potential labour resources. The population of Indragiri Hilir Regency is approximately 683,354 inhabitants. Of that amount, 37% are in the productive age workforce. At this time, an industrial estate is being prepared, namely the Kuala Enok Industrial Estate, which is very strategic facing the Malacca Strait, the Natuna Sea and the Kuala Enok Ocean Port. This area has very high development prospects for the fish and shrimp freezing industry, fish oil and shrimp flour, corn oil, copra meal, palm oil processing, margarine, stearin, oleic acid, fatie alcohol, polyaxilated derivatives, fatty alcohol ester and metallic industries salt. The area of an industrial estate that will be developed reaches 880 Ha. Copra trade increased 25.09 percent, coconut oil rose 32.7 percent and cooking oil fell 48.47 percent. There are 5 types of commodities whose export quality is monitored, namely:

1. *Copra meal*, copra meal produced by Sambu Island Company Kuala Enok Branch, officers from BPSMB
2. *Coconut Oil*, Coconut oil commodity produced by Sambu Island Company and CV. Brother's Company, sampling officer conducted by BPSMB Pekanbaru.
3. *Cooking Oil*, Cooking oil commodity produced by Sambu Inland company Kuala Enok Branch with sampling officers from Pekanbaru BPSMB
4. *Palm kernel meal*, Commodity Palm kernel meal produced by Sambu Island company with sampling officers from Pekanbaru BPSMB
5. *Frozen shrimp*, frozen shrimp commodity is produced by Karya Utama Company in Loncong Luar with sampling officers from the Indragiri Hilir Level II Fisheries service. Potential mineral resources are indicated in the form of gold mining materials in Batuampar Village (Kemuning District) and titan on Kijang Island, while the potential for oil and gas (oil and gas) is still in the exploration stage carried out by Chevron Company in Tempuling and Gaung Districts, Santa Fe Company in Sembilahan and Enok Districts, and Wirabuana Company in Enok and Tanah Merah



Districts. Forestry potential includes limited Keritang River Production Forest, Gangsal River 54,731.34 Ha, Bukit Tiga Puluh National Park 24,761.92 Ha, IUPHHK Bhara Induk Company 47,687.00 Ha, IUPHHK Pearl Belt Company of the Equator 44,959.00 Ha, IUPHHK Bina Duta Laksana Company 28,890.00 Ha, IUPHHK Satria Perkasa Agung Company 41,292.00 Ha, IUPHHK Riau Indo Agro Palma Company 9,570.00 Ha, IUPHHK Sumatera Riag Lestasi Company 48,635.00 Ha, IUPHHK KTH Sinar Merawang Company 8,600.00 Ha. The area which is still potential for investment is \pm 51,535.63 Ha, a former mangrove forest concession area of Thai Rajvithi Company located in Tanah Merah, Reteh and Sungai Batang Districts.

3.2. Local Population and Capitalism Economic Expansion

Indragiri Hilir Regency is located on the east coast of the island of Sumatra, is the southern gate of Riau Province, with a land area of 11,605.97 km² and 7,207 Km² of waters consisting of various ethnic, including local Malays, Banjars, Bugis, Chinese, Boat Peoples (indigenous peoples) and others total 749,315 inhabitants people. Total Sub Districts 20, Kelurahan 18, Village 175. (See Annex District Map). In the past, Indragiri Hilir Regency was nicknamed "Negeri Seribu Trench" and is now famous for the nickname "Negeri Seribu Jembatan" surrounded by waters in the form of large and small rivers, trenches, marshes and seas, which are located at an altitude of 0-4 meters above sea level and is affected by tides. One of the population groups that still need to get serious attention in development is the genius peoples or Boat Peoples or known as isolated tribes in the past. Boat peoples is a tribe where the population is a fishing community who live on the coast. It is called the sea tribe because it lives in the sea and lives in boats/ canoes. At this time, many boat peoples' fishermen have built houses on the coast and in the waters. The pattern of residing in the boat peoples is on the beach at the location of the island, lake, peninsula which is protected from natural disasters. Nomadic settled patterns, depending on sea products. Forms of houses on stilts, planks, round wood and leaf roofs and without rooms, which avoid the heat of the sun. Concentrations of the boat peoples' settlement in Indragiri Hilir Regency, among others are in Concong District, Concong Luar Village, Panglima Raja Village, Kuindra District which includes Sungai Bela Village and Perigi Raja Village. Kateman District in Kuala Selat Village. Mandah District in Bakawan Village and Belaras Village. Tanah Merah District in Sungai Laut Village and Tanjung Pasir/Sungai Rumah Village.

3.3. Utilization of Fisheries Resources Managed by Fishermen

Catch fishermen, which are found are small fishermen or traditional fishermen. Their fishing area, only around the beach with a very simple fishing gear, which uses a boat/canoe equipped with a net/net. Sometimes by fishing, putting up splints, looking for seashells, in his boat also installed longlines, and various efforts in utilizing fishery resources, continue to be done.

Large catches, deposited into tauke to get the money that will be brought home. Besides catches that are not sold, such as fish and shrimp are small, taken home to be cooked or consumed alone. Or some are processed into various Fish Crackers and Shrimp Crackers, some are made into Terasi / Belacan. These are all beneficiaries of the remaining catches brought home. While the money from the sale of fish, shrimp and shellfish is used for household purposes, such as School fees, or repairing houses and boats.

The development of post-regional autonomy a decade ago, encouraging the increasing need for settlements, agricultural land, plantations, forestry, fisheries and industry, in fact, spurred local governments to give licenses for exploitation and exploitation of natural

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resources, both on land and at sea in various sectors, so that eventually led to several problems in the management of coastal and marine resources, among others as follows:

- 1) *Aspects of environmental degradation*, including: (1) pollution, (2) physical degradation of habitats, (3) overexploitation of natural resources, (4) coastal abrasion, and (5) conversion of protected areas (mangrove forests) to other development uses.
- 2) *Aspects of Human Resources*, problems in the development of coastal and marine areas are also haunted by the lack of human resource education.
- 3) *Aspects of Technology Mastery*, fishermen and fish farmers are generally also very low in technological mastery. The fishing equipment and equipment used by fishermen are generally still traditional.
- 4) *Social aspects*. The life of fishermen is synonymous with harsh living, poverty, misery, low level of education, poor quality of health, and slum-dwelling environment.
- 5) *Capital Aspect*, the low interest of banking institutions to channel business loans in the fisheries sector is often complained of by fishermen and people in coastal areas [20].

One of the problems revealed in the development of the fisheries sector in Indragiri Hilir Regency is that the standard of living of fishermen is low and difficult to escape from poverty, the low quality of human resources and the limited development facilities and infrastructure available. However, if fisheries development policies and programs and fishermen empowerment cannot be prioritized, then the existence of fishermen, such as long-term boat peoples' fishermen, will be difficult to develop, even feared they can fall into the trap of the economic net of profit-oriented capitalism and always favour social classes in power. In other words, the survival of boat peoples' fishermen with their local wisdom culture is trapped in the economic structure of the confession of capitalism, as shown in the following figure.

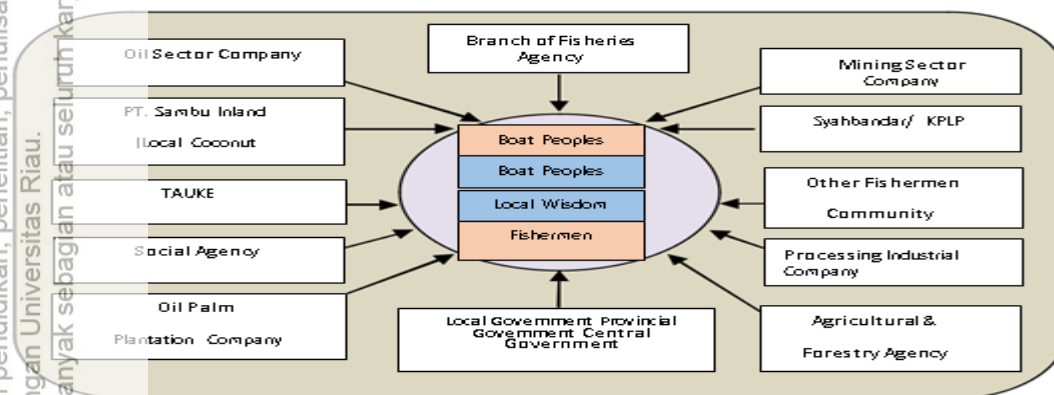


Figure 1. The local wisdom of boat peoples' fishermen is trapped in the net structure of the capitalist economic class in Indragiri Hilir Regency

The Boat Peoples fishing community in Indragiri Hilir Regency is in a capitalist economy class structure. It can be explained that there are currently, as many as 12 ruling social classes in marine and aquatic resource habitats, so that the values of local wisdom of the boat people fishermen are difficult to develop and survive in the long term. The twelve ruling social classes are all oriented to exploiting various potential waters, lands and marine areas for various development interests, both in the agriculture, forestry, plantation, fishery, mining and industrial sectors that have personal links with government bureaucratic apparatus, both local governments, provincial and central. Indications of the economic system of capitalism that apply in the social structure of boat people fishing communities, including development policies and programs implemented by the

government tend to be centralized, free-market monopolies to reap maximum profits and exploitation of natural resources without the principle of sustainable development. As a result, it is evident that the local wisdom values of boat peoples fishermen who have lived for hundreds of years, such as chopping shells, searching for crabs with pento, traditional knowledge and skills about medicinal materials derived from marine and mangrove resources, skills in making tools traditional fishing gear, diving skills, art-cultural activities, sea-shore traditions, traditional leadership, native languages and else cultural and social capital wealth the boat peoples will gradually sink and drift in waves of capitalist economic structure or be trapped in the social net of economic production relations capitalists who will suck and prey on boat peoples fishermen until they disappear from the competition. Some prominent economic indicators of capitalism in the lives of boat peoples' fishermen include:

- 1) Land and water area are exploited on a large scale of private investment in all business sectors by the local and provincial government.
- 2) The territorial waters and the sea in Indragiri Hilir Regency are open for free capture, without the regulation of local capture areas and protection of certain habitats, such as mangroves, beaches, coconuts, palm trees, rivers and others.
- 3) There is no concrete effort to explore, develop and resonate the local wisdom values of the boat peoples' fishermen and its protection in the form of knowledge, skills, values and technology.
- 4) The boat people fishermen with their subsistence ethics are forced to submit to the patron (Tauke) and oscillate in the free market economy of profit-oriented capitalism.

3.4. The Existence of Local Wisdom of Boat Peoples Fishermen

The local wisdom of Boat Peoples Fishermen can be traced from the philosophy of life, local knowledge and technology or local skills of boat peoples' fishermen. The philosophy of the life of the boat peoples that places "the sea as a source of life", "a boat as throne", and "the boat peoples like firewood or mangroves", clearly contain sacred values that can be used as guidelines in designing empowerment programs while still paying attention to local wisdom. The life philosophy of the boat peoples is contained in proverbs in the form of poetry as follows:

*"Name is developed into a teacher
Sea source of life,
The boat is throne, mainland stopover"*

The meaning contained in the boat peoples' proverbs above is very philosophical which shows that the culture of the boat peoples fishermen has actually been very advanced. They already have an awareness of the religious beliefs of monotheism that are very strong as a result of historical contact with Minangkabau culture as revealed in the legend of "Rakit-Kulim" who was assigned to pick up "Raja to Johor" under the leadership of "Datuk Perpatih Nan Sebatang" special envoy of the Pagaruyung Kingdom.

Likewise, their cultural contacts have been recorded in history with the Malay Kingdom of Melaka and in Riau. This interpretation of the legend implies that the adage "Name Becomes a Teacher" is also found in the Minangkabau and Malay traditional culture that is strongly engraved in the culture of the boat peoples' fishermen and becomes a philosophical worldview that the sea has the potential to be dug up, managed and utilized by boat means to maintain continuity his life. Then, there are also perceptions and rational assumptions that "land is a temporary haven", both for resting, processing food sources such as tubers and vegetables, as well as settlements and their boat/canoe moorings so that they can be protected from the threat of natural disasters such as wind, rain and storm.

The philosophy of life of other boat peoples' fishermen shows a very deep and deep meaning in the form of the meaning of the

*"Instead of paying tribute,
Thick bush,
thousand rice
Better to choke and floating"*



values of freedom and unity which are conditions for the formation of democratic values at present. This is reflected in the following proverbs:

This philosophy grows, develops and is strong in the principle of the life of the boat peoples who were born in the past when they were asked by their ancestors "Datuk Perpatih Nan Sebatang" to become a military force (Dubalang) to escort the "Rakit Kulih" mission group to take "the Raja to Johor" and be enthroned in the Indragiri Kingdom. After the mission was completed, they asked for compensation by offering to Indragiri Kingdom to be freed to pay tribute in the form of "hard bush and thousand rice" with the intention that they would be allowed to control the sea and become a boat people (floating) and look for shells (chewing) that we can still witness until now. In addition to the values of local wisdom that become the philosophy of the life of the boat peoples' fishermen, it can also be seen that their local knowledge passed down through generations, namely; local knowledge of nature developed so that the teacher turns out to provide insight into thinking about the living environment that is familiar with the sea, among others, namely:

- 1) Knowledge of the location of settlements on the seashore that are safe from storms and natural disasters, such as in the headlands and lakes that are far from the swirling currents of seawater currents, settlement areas rich in sources of clean water and marine products, fertile land conditions, unspoiled and suitable for development descendants and burial of death.
- 2) Knowledge of the formation of stars, moon, sun and clouds in the sky and the types of flying birds (white gulls) that mark the number of fish or coming disaster, so that it becomes a guide for fishermen to floating in the sea by calculating the period of "Johor" (tides and high tides) seawater.
- 3) Knowledge of the fisheries eco-system, such as certain plants on the seabed and on land for traditional treatment of various diseases, including skin diseases, fevers, possession, adulation, traditional cosmetic ingredients, sea-worship ceremonies, and others.
- 4) Knowledge of the benefits of mangrove wood (leaves and roots) and other sea animals (barfish, stingray tails, tilapia fish, sea eels, pufferfish, dolphins and so on) that are used for thinning of pregnancy, abortion, medicine for menstruation and vaginal discharge for women, a man's strength concoction, the antidote properties can be wild animals, healthy food and fertilize to drink herbs that contain alcohol.
- 5) Knowledge of the types of wood on land that can be used and last a long time in the water, such as nibung wood for boat mooring poles, house poles and bridges that are very resistant to marine animals and weather pests. This is also the case with several other types of wood, such as *meranti*, *kempas*, *kulim*, clay and coconut which are very useful and of high quality to be used as pillars/house poles and household equipment, making boats /canoes, flatboats (clamshells), netting equipment and tools other traditional fishing gear (a fishing line, pento, bubu, togok, sondong, trawler, paw, and so on).
- 6) The local skill of the boat peoples' fishermen is to dive on the seabed for a long time without oxygen and is difficult to compare to any tribe, making it a rare and expensive skill for jobs such as damaged ships and boats, damaged bridges and houses as well as taking and lifting items or treasure which sank in the sea.

The existence of local skills and technology capabilities of boat peoples' fishermen today, it turns out, is increasingly less reliable as the main means of production in utilizing fishery resources, because the habitat on land, sea, coast and river has decreased environmental quality. *Pento*, as a typical crab fishing tool, does not function much as a result of mangrove areas as crab habitat is increasingly extinct exploited for mangrove charcoal. The technology and local skills of boat peoples' fishermen do not damage the ecosystem, but instead, preserve fisheries resources. *Menongkah*, for example, taking

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shells at low tide with a skateboard called a stick board. Then with a skateboard on the mud while taking shells one by one without destroying the habitat as is done with a chop or trawl system that uses engine power. *Ngagau*, is the activity of taking shellfish during the height of an adult's chest, then being taken by hand and simple tools without damaging the environment in which he lives. *Numbo*, is the activity of searching for bucket shrimp or actually analogous to grandma's shrimp by inserting a foot into the shrimp hole and being taken one by one. The ceremony to honour the sea *Semah tradition* is also an activity of the boat peoples' fishermen who have wisdom values for the preservation of fisheries resources, where after conducting the sea *Semah ceremony* the community must not go to sea, even though all this time the forbidden area must be used by various types of fish and shrimp that have been cooked to do spawning. After spawning, a few days later the eggs hatch into larvae. At this time, the condition of larvae is very vulnerable to changes in the natural environment, which is caused by fishing activities. With the sterile waters of the capture activity, causing the larvae to grow into stronger seeds. This is what then makes the tradition of *Sea-Semah* has the value of local wisdom in the conservation of coastal resources and fisheries.

3.5. Social Production Relations of Boat Peoples Fishermen

Some of the social and economic problems faced by boat peoples' fishermen in maintaining their survival include economic problems, such as limited fishing gear, daily laborers' wages and low fishing, social relations of exploitative production, undeveloped fisheries cultivation, legal certainty of using fishing gear and capture area is unclear, non-fishery income sources are not available, the potential for fishery waste has not been processed. This subsistence economic situation forced the boat peoples' fishermen to depend on the skipper (Tauke) in the Patron-Client relationship. The Strata of boat peoples' fishermen are very layered consisting of fisheries company, Tauke, motorboat engine fishermen, motor outboard engine fishermen, motorboat fishermen, clan fishermen and shellfish fishermen, and workers' fishermen apparently having the freedom to sell fishery products to other parties. Meanwhile, local traders who come from outside the area market their fishery products to the capital of Tembilahan Regency, Tanjung Balai Karimun, Guntung, Pekanbaru and Batam. Specifically, Tauke, residents of Chinese descent sell fishery products for export to Malaysia and Singapore. The boat peoples' fishermen are more closely tied to *Tauke* in patronage relations. *Tauke*, which is a larger fishery business, is always in contact with the branch agencies fisheries, SS and bandar and KPLP Branches of Concong Luar Village and Tanjung Pasir Village. On the other hand, the Fisheries Service Agency Branch introduced the shellfish cultivation program to boat peoples' fishermen in Concong Luar, but the implementation of the program in the field failed. Likewise, with the help of motorboats and fishing gear for fishermen in Tanjung Pasir also failed.

The data shows that basic needs facilities such as lighting and drinking water are more widely used by other ethnics, such as Chinese, Malay, Banjar, Minangkabau and Bugis, while the boat peoples' fishermen known as the *Duano Tribe* are not touched at all. Development programs originating from the sub-district and village governments and related service/agencies have not been able to reach the lives of the boat peoples. During this time, the survival of boat peoples' fishermen is highly dependent on the skipper (tauke) in the fisheries sector. They cannot compete with middlemen, tauke, collectors' and traders and large-scale business class who have various advantages of resources to exploit natural resources and fisheries, such as superior commodities of shrimp, fish, crab, bilis and shellfish with an export-import orientation to the outside country. As a result, boat peoples' fishermen experience a very tragic decline in fishing yields just for the necessities of daily life that is in harmony with poverty and simplicity. The helplessness of the boat peoples' fishermen is further exacerbated by the presence of capitalist

economic actors in the structure of the ruling and licensed social class exploiting a variety of natural resources that are available without control in various development sectors. Fisheries habitats that have experienced environmental degradation have been proven to hurt the existence and development of local wisdom values that are increasingly trapped in the economic web of capitalism and liberalism.

This bitter truth, seen from the beginning of the existence of groups or company classes of Sambu Island Company which processes the local people's coconut industry and mangrove charcoal. The coconut industry waste often pollutes rivers and the sea, mangrove logging destroys crab habitat and embankment functions for coastal abrasion prevention and floods that always engulf settlements in water areas in Indragiri Hilir Regency. Likewise, the presence of companies engaged in the mining sector, oil and palm oil plantations did not contribute positively to improving the welfare of boat peoples' fishermen. The government bureaucracy seems to have allowed the conditions of seawater, rivers, lakes and beaches to be polluted and increasingly ravaged by the waste and waste of the coconut processing industry, oil palm plantations and mining and felt right to take political decisions of development without being equipped with signs of sustainable development. Even being able to stand idly by witnessing the existence of boat peoples' fishermen and their wealth of local wisdom values is increasingly difficult to develop, wither and eventually die in history [21]. To find out in detail the social production relationship of boat peoples fishermen in Indragiri Hilir Riau Regency in the economic structure of capitalism fisheries, the following figure can be seen.

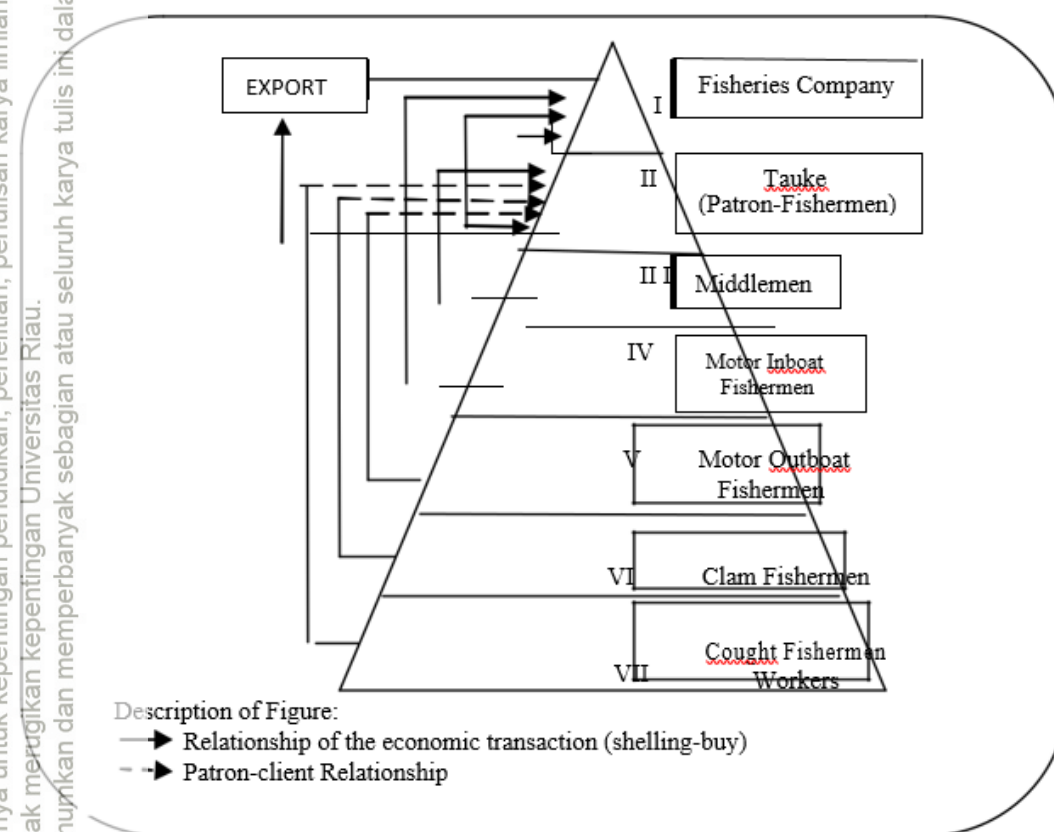


Figure 2. Social Relations of Boat Peoples Fishermen Production in the Capitalist Economy Class Structure in Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau

1. The data presented in Figure 2 explains that the lowest strata of fishermen are boat peoples' fishermen and fishing workers who are forced to establish social relations of
- 2.

production with Chinese descendants, both as fishermen looking for fish, shrimp, shellfish and crabs or working with *Tauke* as shrimp picking workers and bilis and labourers who take mangrove wood for charcoal, including girls and children of the boat peoples. Most of the boat peoples' fishermen do not have motorboats, namely boats within the boat and outboard engines, moreover, motorboats which are mostly owned by other Malay locals, namely Bugis and Banjar fishermen who are also able to play a role in the trading relationship as traders of fishery product collectors. to then be sold to *Tauke* or local fisheries Company or export-import to Batam, Jakarta, Singapore, Malaysia, and others. Sometimes these Banjar and Bugis fishermen and *Chinese Tauke* directly sell fishery products to buyers from Singapore who deliberately come or stop by the Indragiri Hilir area to buy anchovies, shrimp, senteng, squid, clams, crabs and so on.

Most of the women and children of the boat peoples' fishermen work as fishing labourers with *Tauke*. They are paid according to the amount of work done by picking up shrimps, anchovies, salted fish, mangrove wood, etc. calculated per kilogram or per stem for mangrove wood. The wage obtained was only enough to buy 1 kg of rice for IDR 10,000, and the kitchen needs around IDR 15,000 plus a pack of cigarettes for IDR 8,000 to IDR 10,000, so that the income of the boat peoples' fishermen earns an average of around IDR 40,000 – IDR 50,000 every day. The working hours of fishermen and pick-up labourers from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. were given one meal by *Tauke* but not enough. They may borrow/owe money or daily goods to *Tauke* on condition that they continue to work every day and must sell fishermen's catch every day, such as *shells*, *senteng*, *squid*, *crabs* and others at prices set *betake*. Therefore, it is difficult for boat peoples' fishermen with a subsistence level of the economy, so it is difficult for boat peoples' fishermen to escape from biased patron-client dependence. To get quality fish and shrimp catches they do not have a motorboat that can go to the open sea for 2 days, they only rely on motorboats/*pompong* with the limited fishing area so that the yield for deposit to *Tauke* is also minimal. If, going to sea fishermen do not have the capital for the costs of oil, ice, food, cigarettes and others needed during fishing. So, *Tauke* where they complain and owe up to Rp 150,000 at sea/day, while the catches that are obtained are often even overdrawn and can rarely save. For boat peoples' fishermen who only have a canoe they only look for fish for consumption only, while shellfish and crabs are sold with *Tauke*. Once upon a time they also cut down mangrove trees which could be sold to the Sambu and Company, or as other local residents do coconut gardening with a relatively low coconut selling price, they are forced to look for mangrove wood to sell.

Case notes on productive business development programs for boat peoples' fishermen in Tanjung Pasir Village that have been resettled through a package of assistance for several motorboat units have failed. In every motorboat, fishermen must work together to sea and look for catches. But, because the material of this motorboat is made of low-quality wood, the motorboat is leaking, damaged and destroyed quickly. The results of going to sea obtained in the collaboration of the boat peoples fishing group are also inadequate for sale, only enough to be consumed. Difficulties encountered are that in the fishermen's working group no one is elder to arrange work and maintain motorboats when docked at the dock. They are accustomed to catching fish individually so far and it is difficult to work together. Each individual fisherman is suspicious of each other, while the costs to buy oil and operational costs often cannot be provided. Finally, motorboats are sold for nothing and are shared equally by the boat peoples' fishermen. The shellfish farming business near the coast near the boat people fishermen settlement in Concong Lan Village fared the same, which failed. After a few months, the shells will be harvested, it turns out the results of kareng cultivation in coastal/sea mud is not as good as the shells collected by boat peoples' fishermen, women and children using "Tongkah" (Pangpan Leper) fishing gear. Cultured mussels taste rather mixed with sea mud with the

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taste of the land where they live in unfavourable conditions, so many people do not want to consume them and are sold cheaply.

From the results of the previous discussion, it was obtained that the life of the boat peoples fishermen who had been wandering at sea, were still trapped in poverty and powerlessness. The role of the government through various social welfare development programs apparently has not been able to improve its standard of living in a better direction. The tendency of regional development policies and programs which are pegged to increase Regional Original Revenue (PAD) by opening as many opportunities as possible for investors to exploit natural resources on a large scale can be said to be sector biased and negatively impact the existence of local wisdom values of boat peoples fishermen who are slowly entering the trap of a capitalist economic net marked by social relations of exploitative production, open competition, mutual exploitation and preying between economic agents without prioritizing the principles of sustainable development.

4. Conclusion

The conclusions that can be formulated from research on the local wisdom of boat peoples' fishermen is trapped in the Economic Net of Capitalism in Indragiri Hilir Regency, Province of Riau include the following:

- a. Fisheries and marine resources utilized by boat peoples' fishermen to maintain their survival include, among others, marine products, waters, rivers and lakes, especially fish, shellfish, bilis, shrimp and crabs. Then, there is the use of mangrove wood for mangrove charcoal, nibung wood for piles, docks and houses, *nipah* leaves for various household equipment skills, *meranti* wood, *kempas*, *kulim* and *pulai* to make junks, canoes, boats and fishing gear. Mangrove tree roots and leaves, certain types of fish (sea animals, stingrays, eels, pufferfish, dolphins, cucumbers, etc.), certain plants on the seabed and on land, used for traditional medicine and medical therapy, sea cucumber, cosmetics and so on.
- b. The fisheries and marine resources which are the source of life for the boat people fishermen, are apparently increasingly scarce, damaged and difficult to renew due to human actions of economic system development actors capitalism and liberalism that are contrary to the principle of sustainable development and tend to strengthen the power structure of the exploiting social classes and predators (compradors and predatory classes), so that the existence of boat peoples fishermen is difficult to escape from the shackles of poverty, ignorance and helplessness and it is feared that their local wisdom values are difficult to develop and endangered.
- c. The economy of the boat peoples fishermen is still subsistence, which is characterized by the ownership of simple fishery production equipment, low fishing income, the contribution of family labour, especially women and children, is relatively lacking, aquaculture and fisheries waste processing industry have not yet developed, business opportunities and field employment opportunities non-fisheries are limited and their standard of living is low, so they are forced to forge a social relationship between patron-client production with the skipper (Tauke) for the sake of security for their long-term survival as a rational choice

Based on the results of the research it can be recommendations as follows.

- a. The appropriate policies and programs for empowering boat peoples fishermen that need to be prioritized are strategies to prioritize local wisdom values as hereditary cultural heritage in managing fisheries ecosystems and aquatic environments with environmental insight under the principles of sustainable development, utilizing firm political commitment to undertake efforts to protect and conserve natural resources and fisheries as the original habitat of boat peoples fishermen, strengthen traditional rights, communal ownership and the potential for social capital to increase mutual

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prosperity and through advocacy and education efforts on various local wisdom values which flourished in the culture of the boat peoples fishermen.

b. Economic empowerment for boat peoples fishermen needs to prioritize productive businesses in the field of social economy, through the pattern of social relations in partnership production with third parties, especially with government elements through BUMN/BUMD, cooperatives and UKMK, private parties and community organizations engaged in the field of social welfare enterprises (UKS), as well as increasing corporate/company awareness to carry out their social and environmental responsibilities (CSR Programs) in social welfare.

c. To reinforce Indonesia's commitment to the sustainable development paradigm, it is time for the principal or principle of sustainable development to be outlined and operationalized in every design of the development program. TAP MPR NO. IX Year 2001, has provided policy direction that must be carried out for agrarian renewal and natural resource management by taking into account several key features or principles of living networks, namely the principle of interrelation, diversity, usability, harmony, sustainability.

d. To describe the sustainable development policies, plans and programs in various sectors in the region, as well as social protection, education and advocacy strategies for fisheries ecosystem resources that are difficult to renew, strengthen traditional and communal rights and develop local wisdom values of boat peoples fishermen, then the government of Indragiri Hilir Regency and Riau Province need to make a legal umbrella in the form of a regional regulation (PERDA) that guarantees the existence of the life of the boat peoples fishermen in the future.

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