

The Conflict Resolution and Prevention between Fishermen in Panipahan, Riau Province, Indonesia

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Abstract

This study was focused on the conflict resolution and prevention that is related to the conflict management between fishermen that occurred in Panipahan, Bagansiapiapi, Riau Province. The conflict occurred was the burning of a trawler owned by North Sumatera Fisherman by Panipahan Fishermen. This conflict often occurs from 2000 to May 2018. The purposes of this study are; First, analyzing the roots of conflicts between fishermen that occurred in the waters of Rokan Hilir, Panipahan, Riau; Second, analyzing how to resolve and prevent conflicts in Panipahan Waters. This study is qualitative study by using data collection through observation, interviews and literature studies. The conflict resolution theory, conflict management and realistic conflict theory also a dynamic framework of conflict prevention and resolution are the theories used to support this study. The results showed that: 1. The root of conflicts between fishermen in Panipahan is certain behavior of fishing communities, which are gambling, economic problem and scarcity of resources .The trigger is the use of prohibited fishing equipment and the indecisiveness of the law. 2. Then, conflict resolution between fishermen in Panipahan uses mediation procedure that resulted in an agreement between the conflicting parties. The mediator in this case is security institution, regional governments and the two parties themselves. The content of this agreement is not to be anarchic and no to repeat the mistake in the future. Furthermore, the conflict preventions should be implemented after the conflict resolution procedure. The form of this conflict preventions are socizlization, counseling, patrolling communication with fisheries organization from the provinces and regions and also the cultivation of shellfish.

Key Words: Conflict, Conflict Resolution, Conflict Prevention, Conflict between Fishermen

Introduction

In 1986, Bagansiapi's population numbered around 500 thousand and became around 30 thousand in 2004, the declining fisheries sector greatly affected the fisheries products and shipping industry (Kusnadi, 2007). Bagansiapiapi used to have fish catches which reached around 150 thousands tons to 200 thousand tons per year. Unfortunately, fish catches are decreasing with an average catch of 80 kg only (Purnimasari, 2010). The decline in fishing

income is due to fishing using tiger trawlers. Fishermen in neighboring provinces such as North Sumatera and Aceh often use trawlers, which causes the catch of local fishermen drop down to 50%. Local fishermen cannot do anything because they are still using traditional fishing gear. The fishermen have given complaints to the concerned parties and Indonesian Navy Ships. However, the fish catching by using trawlers are often happened (Purnimasari, 2010).

Although the catch has decreased, however, the Bagansiapiapi region still has potential fisheries resources, such as the Arwah Archipelago in the middle of the Straits of Malacca, located between the Port of Klang Malaysia and Bagansiapiapi Indonesia, Halang, Panipahan and Sinaboi Island. Panipahan was the biggest producer of fish in its time.

Panipahan is a village located in Pasir Limau Kapas District, Rokan Hilir Regency, Riau Province which borders the Malacca Strait. Panipahan has a population around 20.000 people consisted of seven origins, Chinese, Malay, Bataknese, Javanese, ETC. Their daily livelihood is coming from the sea activity. Panipahan fishermen complained that the catch had dropped dramatically, because in the 1980s the catch of fishermen could reach 100 tons per week, however, now the catch may barely reach 1 ton only per week (Purnimasari, 2010). This is due to the larger number of foreign fishermen who use tiger trawlers as well as illegal fishing. Not only is the use of trawlers, but the foreign fishermen also violate fishing routes.

The fishermen from outside the Panipahan are usually coming from North Sumatera Province, namely Belawan and Tanjung Balai Asahan or even from Aceh. It can be seen that traditional fishermen felt marginalized in their own territory. This was interpreted as, while traditional fishermen was doing complaints, the trawl boats did fishing in their sea territory. This may cause conflict between the two parties.

Conflicts between fishermen in Panipahan have often happened due to the intervention of another fishermen, such as from North Sumatera, who used tiger trawlers in doing their fishing activities. Initially, local fishermen of Panipahan could only be silent because they only used traditional fishing gear. This has been reported to the parties related to the Panipahan fishermen, but still, these vessels were still there in Panipahan waters. Conflicts have begun to open up between local fishermen and fishermen from other areas which evidenced by the burning of trawlers from North Sumatera by local fishermen.

Fishermen's conflict of Panipahan often occurs with other fishermen in neighboring province, namely North Sumatera. The conflict that occurred in 2012 began when fishermen from Belawan entered and stole fish in the waters of Panipahan. Then, Panipahan fishermen burn their fishing boats. The burning of ships happened were not only because the ships stole fish in Panipahan waters, but also the ship used was a trawler type boat. There were around 350 Panipahan fishermen who caught the ship from Belawan by using 12 boats.

In 2015, there was also the burning of 2 ships by Panipahan fishermen, the burnt ship originated from Tanjung Balai Asahan equipped with tiger trawlers (Riau Pos, 2015). They used a boat without the name GT 3, which was equipped with 23 mototized engines sailing from Tanjung Balai Asahan to Tanjung Bangsi waters to catch fish using mini trawl nets. There were 6 crew members from Tanjung Balai Asahan. This incident did not occur for the first time, but according to the figure of the fishing community, the burning of this ship had happened four times in the past two years.

Furthermore, conflicts occurred between local fishermen and fishermen from North Sumatera, the Sei Berombang fishermen. The beginning of the trawl boat burning was

happened when the boat entered the Panipahan sea in 2016. Finding the ship entering their territory, the local fishermen chase the ship until it was captured precisely at Telaga Tegenang, Panipahan. Shortly after the arrest, several officers came from Water Police of Panipahan to the location. The ship used was a two-seater trawler consisting of 4 crew members with 2 captains who all came from Sei Berombang. Even in 2018, two units of North Sumatera Fishing boats were burned down by Panipahan fishermen because they had violated the territory by entering the waters of Rokan Hilir to find fish. The Chairman Indonesia Fishermen Association (HNSI) from Rokan Hilir Regency, Murkan, stated that the rampant of illegal fishing and lack of attention from the Supervision of Marine and Fisheries Resources (PSDKP) made the traditional fishermen took their own steps which could be classified as anarchists by burning ships (Riaupotenza, 2018).

In relation to the cases before, the Panipahan fishermen community leaders said that the sudden burning was due to the fishermen did not trust the law enforcement officers who seemed to ignore the incident of the foreign fishing boats entering the Panipahan waters freely. Previously, there had been an agreement between the two regions, namely Roil and North Sumatera, related to the border jointly which was stated in the agreement that each of the border fishermen had no fishing activity in the border of the region. However, conflicts still occur which mean that Rokan Hilir government has not been able to prevent the conflict.

After the conflict happened, the Rokan Hilir Government held a meeting with the conflicting parties to prevent further conflict. The Rohil Government has rules for licensing fishing boats of up to 10 GT and may not use foreign workers. The above cases reflected that the problem of ships and the crews did not violate the rules, but for the use of fishing gear types and crossing regional boundaries or illegal fishing will certainly trigger the conflict. Based on the description mentioned before, it can be seen that conflict happened due to the some factors. The main sources of conflict could be caused from basic problems such as politics, economics etc. That is why, early notices from the conflict should be found so the sources of fishermen conflict could be determined from the early stage.

2. Proposed Method

This study uses qualitative descriptive research method, which considered as the approach towards a study for natural object condition, where the researchers are the key instrument. The data collection technique uses triangulation, inductive data analysis, and the result of qualitative study focuses on the generalization value. (Sugiyono, 2008: 1)¹.

The subjects in this study were the parties involved in the occurred conflict as well as the informant based on the collected data, namely the Regional Government and staff, fishermen and society. The process of collecting data is carried out through observation, documentation or theoretical studies and also interviews with specified sources.

Furthermore, the collected data is then analyzed. The data available was also analyzed before entering the field. The activity in data analysis is done by summarizing, choosing the main cases, focusing on the important things to look for the themes and patterns (data condensation), then the data is presented in a pattern according to the study (data display).

¹ Sugiyono. (2008). *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: CV. ALFABETA.

Next, the step of conclusion drawn that produces a hypothesis and a description of an object that was previously blurry (conclusion drawing or verification) (Sugiyono, 2008: 91-99)².

3. Discussion

3.1 The Root of Conflict Between Fishermen in the Region of Panipahan Waters

There are several roots of conflict between the fishermen in Panipahan Waters, namely economic problems, fishing community behavior, social jealousy, diminishing marine resources, indecisive law enforcement and the use of illegal fishing equipment. As the result of interviews obtained, that the root of the conflict began with economic problems. This problem is due to the behavior of fishing community itself. As informed by the Head of The Fisheries and Marine Service of Rokan Hilir Regency, the fishing community behavior was one of the roots of the conflict. This behavior, which was gambling, became the activity of coastal fishermen which often caused clash between the fishermen.

In determining the root of conflict between fishermen, a dynamic framework for conflict prevention and resolution can be used. From the components of conflict factors, there are root elements of conflict, namely the most fundamental structural causes or conflict sources. In this Panipahan case, the economic problems became the root of conflict. In Malik (2013)³, it was stated that the root of this conflict was analogous to flammable dry grass. As from the interview results, it can be found that the root or underlying causes of this conflict are economic problems and the behavior of fishing communities, social jealousy triggered by the use of illegal fishing tools, declining marine resources. The root of this conflict is long-term in nature, meaning long-term impact that will be seen if it has been triggered like dry grass which is exposed to fire and became bigger by the wind blow. Similar with conflict, if the problems that occurred were entrenched, then it was triggered by something that might make the conflict worst, the conflict would break up so it would be hard to stop it immediately from spreading.

Panipahan was the 3rd poorest village in Rokan Hilir Regency. The economic problems such as small income due to the small catches and poverty which can be seen from housing that was not feasible for coastal communities. The infrastructure in this village was needed to be addressed. The main road made of concrete such as bridges and the location on the sea side that considered this village was difficult to be accessed. This made the fishing communities felt difficult to reach the center of district capital.

Coastal fishermen and fishermen who are not on the coast have a different standard of living. Fishermen who are not on the coast have a better life than fishermen on the coast. This can be seen from the residence that is owned differently from the place where the fishermen live on the coast. The habits of coastal fishermen who often gamble make the financial is poorly managed. Such a way of thinking certainly affects life and finances so that when other fishermen come from other better places, it will certainly lead to social jealousy and poverty that will continue to be attached to coastal fishermen. When something is not in accordance with the fisherman, the jealousy case will quickly emerge.

Economic problems caused by people's behavior such as gambling cause economic problems for the fishermen themselves. When marine resources have declined even though they are still within safe limits, it also makes fishing communities increasingly worried about their next lives. Fishermen's income has also declined since the presence of tiger trawlers

² Ibid, hlm. 91 - 99

³ Malik, I. (2013). *Kerangka Dinamis Pencegahan dan Resolusi Konflik*, 3.

operation around the waters where ordinary local fishermen have netted. The arrival of these trawlers triggered the anger of fishermen, because they had caught fish using fishing gear that damaged the environment. In that way, the trawler that came to catch fish in the waters of Rokan Hilir precisely in the fishing area of Panipahan was the trigger of the conflict. As can be seen after the root of conflict which is the basic source of conflict, when triggered by something it will become a conflict. Like the structural causes or the most basic source of conflict between fishermen is behavior and the economy, when triggered by the entry of outside fishermen using more sophisticated fishing gear, it will certainly lead to social jealousy towards traditional fishermen. Moreover, the use of a trawler is clearly banned due to the declining fish catches for the local fishing community and the trawler ships also damage the environment. Uncertain law enforcement can be categorized as a trigger; this unstrict law enforcement is characterized by freeing fishermen who have used illegal fishing tools, without any legal process. This can certainly be a trigger for conflicts between local fishermen and fishermen from North Sumatera, such as the burning of trawlers.

It can be said that the economic problems experienced by the fishermen are caused by the behavior of the fishing community itself, which can lead to social jealousy towards other fishing communities. So that when there are outside fishermen who enter with sophisticated equipment and extract marine products in their area, fishermen feel rivaled and their catch is reduced, besides these fishing gear can damage the sea. For this reason, when fishermen feel rivaled by their situation, the potential for conflict can emerge at any time, then a trawler will emerge which will cause the arrest of local fishermen to diminish so that local fishermen get angry. The outside fishermen who entered could be said to be allowed to enter the waters of Rokan Hilir because they were Andon fishermen, unfortunately they used these prohibited fishing gear which angered local fishermen. In this case it is unclear whether the trawlers which entered were Andon fishermen or not.

After the entry of trawlers into the Panipahan area, conflict arose. The fishermen who were angry knew that a trawler arrived and set fire to the trawler and the security forces did not have the chance to secure the boat. The entry of tiger trawlers creates anarchic actions from local fishermen as a result or reaction of the conflict. This is a conflict accelerator that is when the root of the conflict has been triggered by something sensitive will cause reactions that arise as a result of the conflict. The reaction was an act of violence or anarchism carried out by fishermen against trawlers from outside that entered their territory.

This is in accordance with the Realistic Conflict Theory that this conflict can be based on competition for resources. Competition between groups to fight for resources and scarcity of power can lead to conflict. Competition does not only occur in the struggle for resources, but also competes in the use of fishing gear. Those who have sophisticated fishing equipment are those in the middle economy, while local fishermen still use traditional fishing gear. Competition like this can lead to conflict which can lead to inequality in equality between groups. Of course this can lead to imbalances in getting opportunities for those who lose in the competitive competition.

The existence of such competition makes local fishermen feel rivaled. Like the fact that North Sumatra fishermen have sophisticated fishing gear, of course, North Sumatra fishermen are superior. Competition like this makes small-scale fishermen in Rokan Hilir including Panipahan and such competition for fishing gear occur between fishermen in the Panipahan region itself. In addition, small fishery products in the North Sumatera region make them have to look for other areas where there are still many marine products from their territory. The

competition for fishing gear and competition for marine resources is increasing that make local fishermen feel no longer accepted.

The Fish Auction Place (TPI) is of course very much needed by the residents of Rokan Hilir, not only Panipahan fishermen only considering that Rokan Hilir are a fish producing district. This TPI is a major part of the fishery, built to assist fishermen in collecting and selling fish and avoiding fishermen from cheating in the game of fish prices which certainly makes fishermen lose. If TPI can assist in efforts to improve the welfare of fishermen, then TPI must be available in this Rokan Hilir. However, there is only a fish warehouse managed by the private sector in Rokan Hilir. Therefore, it can be said that the cause of the conflict also originated from the obstacle of the absence of TPI which was very important for the fishing community.

From the results of the interview, it was said that the influence of the media which can also be a factor of conflict. The influence of the media that exaggerated the problem of the conflict made the wider community think that only fishermen from North Sumatra were using illegal fishing gear. The influence of media coverage can certainly worsen the atmosphere in the future. It would leave a stereotype of the group of fishermen from the outside. For this reason, the media can trigger conflict if the news is too excessive for a group. The stereotypes that emerge usually are negative stereotypes about outside fishermen who use illegal fishing gear. The public would never know what was really happened because of the presence of stereotypes in their minds by the media.

From the description above, conflicts between fishermen can be concluded that the behavior of fishing communities, poverty and social jealousy as the roots of the conflict. For the trigger of conflict between fishermen, this is the use of fishing gear and seizure of marine resources. While accelerator, it is burning of trawlers belonging to North Sumatra fishermen who enter the Panipahan region, Riau. Poverty experienced by coastal fishing communities has long existed, when Rokan Hilir became the largest producer of fish is still a good livelihood. However, for now, the declining condition of Rokan Hilir fisheries will certainly reduce fishermen's income. There is over fishing, added by the many users of trawlers around Rokan Hilir which make local fishermen depressed. Such conditions increasingly make poverty in fishermen; the behavior of everyday fishermen also worsens the condition of the fishermen. The competition between traditional fishermen and modern fishermen that occur also makes traditional fishermen feel unfair. The situation that suppresses these fishermen is increasingly causing social jealousy with envy. So that when there is a trigger, the jealousy and social jealousy eventually become unbearable.

The conflict between fishermen is also a non-military conflict with a socio-cultural dimension (Kementerian Pertahanan, 2014)⁴. Threats originating from within are driven by issues of poverty, ignorance, backwardness and injustice. For this reason, conflicts between fishermen can be said to be a non-military threat because of this conflict, the root of the conflict is poverty which is the basis for the trigger is the use of illegal fishing gear. Such threats can certainly disrupt sovereignty, national security and state stability. For this reason, as citizens, they should be able to maintain the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia so that there is no division in the country.

3.2 Conflict Resolution and Prevention between fishermen in Panipahan.

⁴ Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia. (2014). *Buku Doktrin Pertahanan Negara*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia .

Conflict resolution is a way in resolving conflict to reach a peace agreement, before determining a conflict resolution must be known in advance what the conflict is like.

Conflicts that occur, either between groups or between individuals, if they are not immediately resolved may lead to even greater conflict. Like the opinion of Sandole (Dennis J. D. Sandole, dkk, 2009)⁵ that a conflict must be seen from its origin as an important case and maintaining the development of the conflict and also the factors that lead to escalation and de-escalation.

In a conflict between fishermen that occurred in Panipahan, Rokan Hilir Regency, Riau, which continued to occur, making Panipahan fishermen feel disappointed with the Government itself. As said by one of the fishermen in Panipahan that, when there are trawlers from outside are arrested, but after that they will do more like that, repeating the same mistake (Marzuki, interview 12 September 2018). This indicates that the resolution of this conflict from the start does not gain too much attention by the government.

In resolving the conflict between fishermen in Panipahan, this has been done with a peace agreement as also supported by Wallensten statement (Wallensteen, 2015)⁶ that conflict resolution can be determined by an agreement by the conflicting parties to accept and to stop violence against others. As stated by the Chairperson of HNSI Bagansiapiapi and HNSI Panipahan that there was a peace agreement that was carried out to resolve this conflict between fishermen. As stated by the Chair of the HNSI that each conflict resolution has an agreement and negotiations are signed. (Murkan Muhammad, interview September 12, 2018). In making a peace agreement and seeking a solution needed by a third party, mediation has been carried out in the resolution of the conflict between fishermen, who acts as a mediator is the Regional Government and other related parties from both parties in conflict. The security apparatus also facilitated this meeting.

From the interview results on various parties, information was obtained that the resolution of the conflict was carried out with a peace agreement by both parties in conflict. In addition, the settlement is also through legal channels. The signing of the agreement letter contains points to prevent the incident. However, there are parties such as the Fisheries and Marine Service that provide solutions not only for peace agreements but provide solutions to give more attention to the community and law enforce fairly because the Fisheries and Marine Services see that the causes of conflict are not just a matter of fishing gear.

Unfortunately, based on the fact that the conflict resolution have not fully succeeded. Even though a settlement such as a peace agreement has been carried out, every conflicted fisherman will be brought to the law and peace agreement. But still this method does not make fishermen feel safe because the fishermen feel that the negotiations have no clarity. This is due to the lack of trust in the fishing community towards the regional government, and lack of support in resolving this conflict. This disbelief is due to a disappointing legal process. At the time of the arrest of the ship, the court released it.

Based on the theory of conflict resolution by Morton Deutsch (Morton Deutsch, dkk, 2006)⁷, they stated that conflict resolution is a problem solving done by people together. In the conflict resolution process there are several phases, namely diagnosing conflict, identifying

⁵ Dennis J. D. Sandole, dkk. (2009). *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*. New York: Routledge.

⁶ Wallensteen, P. (2015). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

⁷ Morton Deutsch, dkk. (2006). *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution, Theory and Practice*.

alternative solutions, evaluating and choosing solutions that can be mutually acceptable, as well as implementing decisions and implementing them. (Morton Deutsch, dkk, 2006, p. 197)⁸.

In the case of conflict between fishermen, the first thing to do is to know the root factors of the conflict. When the cause or root of the conflict is known as explained in the previous point, the second phase is carried out. Alternative solutions will be sought as discussed in several parties' interviews for solutions so that conflicts can be resolved such as peace agreements, through legal channels and alternative solutions related to improving the standard of living of local fishermen. After getting alternative solutions, the third phase is carried out, evaluating and choosing the solution received. The solutions chosen must be able to help resolve conflicts, those solutions that will become conflict resolution. In order to find the right solution, it must be seen from the diagnosis of conflict or more precisely the factors that cause conflict, by choosing solutions related to the root of the conflict, it will be easy for the fishing community to accept it. After evaluating and choosing a solution, this is the last phase in which this phase will determine whether the solution can be used as a solution to the problem. The fourth phase is to execute the decision and apply it.

Based on the facts obtained in the field, the application of the agreed solutions was only temporary in the conflict resolution process. Even though it has been carried out through peace negotiations and legal proceedings, the users of the illegal fishing equipment will come again to make local fishermen vigilant and prefer to take anarchic actions so that fishermen from outside do not dare to enter and also because of distrust to the government in implementing solutions.

The agreement that has been carried out cannot be said to be optimal because there is still a sense of concern from the fishing community if the outside fisherman violates the agreement especially in the agreement letter. Moreover, the past events made the fishermen community no longer believe in law enforcement because when fishermen trawl users were arrested but were released by the court. That is why the fishermen do not believe in the government, and prefer anarchic ways. In addition, the trawls that enter the waters of Rokan Hilir are also orchestrated by several individuals so that it is rather difficult to be prevented. Stated by the Deputy Chairperson of the Rokan Hilir Regency DPRD in the interview, there were some law enforcement officers masterminding, which made it difficult for security officers to make arrests.

All forms of conflict resolution will be unsuccessful if the coordination of the government and the conflicting parties are not good, and there are differences of opinion and misunderstandings. As can be seen from the concept of a dynamic framework of conflict prevention and resolution, it is in accordance with the stakeholder component that stakeholders are very interested in stopping conflict and preventing widespread conflict (Malik, 2013)⁹. The stakeholders in the conflict between fishermen in this case are The Department of Fisheries and Oceans of Rokan Hilir, Rokan Hilir Water Police, HNSI Bagansiapiapi, Pasir Limau Kapas and Panipahan.

The government must know the wishes of its people so that there is no suspicion and the community should help the government in working for its people. However, the government must not cheat for the satisfaction of some people, because this act can lead to an impact on the lives of the people themselves. The prohibition to use fishing gear is contained

⁸ ibid

⁹ Malik, I. (2013). *Kerangka Dinamis Pencegahan dan Resolusi Konflik*, 3.

in Keppres No. 39 of 1980, however only limited to the prohibition. If there is indeed a ban, the Government must also provide an alternative in anticipating community complaints about the ban and applying the regulations correctly. Based on the dynamics concept of conflict prevention and resolution, that the stakeholder components must contribute to the resolution and the political will of the authorities to use legal products in preventing and resolving conflicts.

5. Conclusions

Thus, there are several conclusions that can be drawn from the study. First, the root causes of conflict between fishermen based on research results are caused by the economy, community behavior such as gambling, problems of increasingly depleted resources and social jealousy. It was triggered by the presence of a forbidden fishing gear that entered the waters of Rokan Hilir which was free from the forbidden fishing gear case. After the trigger, a conflict emerged between fishermen from North Sumatra and Panipahan. The conflict was the burning of a ship with a prohibited fishing gear belonging to North Sumatra. The root of the conflict between fishermen is caused by fishermen's behavior, economy, marine resources, fishing equipment competition and social inequality. The trigger for the conflict was the use of illegal fishing gear by North Sumatra fishermen in the waters of Rokan Hilir. Then, the accelerator is the burning of trawlers belonging to North Sumatra by Panipahan fishermen. The depleted resources are the reason for outside fishermen to come and enter the waters of Rokan Hilir. The root of the conflict is a threat to either the local area or the NKRI. Second, the conflict resolution carried out in resolving conflicts between fishermen in Panipahan is carried out with a peace agreement, namely mediation that presents parties in conflict. The role of mediator is the Security Apparatus. This mediation is bridged by the Rokan Hilir Police and Labuhan Batu Water Police Unit to mediate the last conflict.

The local government also facilitates this mediation so that the meeting can run smoothly. The results of the mediation are agreements between the two parties whose essence is not allowed to do anarchy things and will not repeat the mistake again. For other solutions, providing subsidies to fishermen.

Prevention of conflicts by stakeholders varies according to their respective duties and functions. From the Fisheries and Marine Service, conflict prevention can be overcome by modernizing fishing gear, shellfish cultivation. The Water Police party patrols and assists fishermen in cultivating shellfish and also maintaining the social order. The Navy of Dumai conducted socialization and counseling to fishing communities and coordinated with relevant stakeholders. Whereas from the HNSI party, they are communicating with HNSI both from the province and the regions.

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