



**THE PARADOX OF REGULATION AND REALITY: AN
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF INEQUALITY IN ACCESS
TO FISH RESOURCES AMONG FISHING
COMMUNITIES
IN TANJUNG LUAR, EAST LOMBOK**

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ABSTRACT

Research on fishing gear conflicts has been conducted extensively by experts, but conflicts related to space, policy, and the existence of *awig-awig* (local knowledge) have not received much attention. This study aims to analyse fishing gear conflicts caused by spatial exploitation, while also examining them from the perspective of government policy and the existence of local knowledge that regulates space in *awig-awig*, which is shared among fishermen. This study uses a qualitative approach with the Ethnohistory method. The research data comes from primary data in the form of interviews and observations as well as document reviews, while secondary data comes from articles, books, and other written documents. The data analysis techniques used are domain analysis, taxonomy, component analysis, and cultural theme analysis, with data validity reinforced using triangulation techniques. The results of the study show the following: 1) Historically, since the 1970s, there have been frequent conflicts between fishermen in Tanjung Luar, mainly caused by competition for fishing grounds between traditional and modern fishermen; 2) In Tanjung Luar, there are local customs and government policies that regulate fishing areas between traditional and modern fishermen, but in practice, modern fishermen have so far operated in small-scale fishing areas; 3) Conflicts over fishing gear in Tanjung Luar are due to the gap in access and income between small-scale and modern fishermen, both those who use Kerakat Mini and Rumpon.

Keywords: *Regulatory Paradox, Access Inequality, Fishing Communities.*

INTRODUCTION

Conflict among fishing communities in Indonesia is a problem caused by highly complex factors, one of which is unequal access to resources (Tarigan et al., 2019; Ariputro et al.,

2024). This inequality of access then leads to social jealousy, especially among small-scale fishermen with limited access who compete very actively for increasingly scarce resources, while on the other hand, medium-scale fishermen sometimes freely ‘exploit’ the available resources (Triyanti et al., 2021; Limbong, 2020).

Access to resources is influenced, among other things, by the fleet and fishing gear used. Small-scale fishermen with small-scale fleets and fishing gear tend to pay attention to ecosystem sustainability, while large-scale fishermen with modern fleets and fishing gear tend to pay less attention to ecosystem sustainability, which in turn poses a risk to species that are not targeted. This often causes social tension between fishermen (Quimpo et al., 2019).

The use of different fleets and fishing gear by traditional and modern fishermen is not a problem in itself, but there are other factors that trigger conflict, one of which is competition for space, which is essentially regulated by law. However, in practice, the fishing grounds that should be reserved for small-scale fishermen also become the operating area for modern fishermen. This often causes fish crises for small-scale fishermen (Grati et al., 2018), which in turn often exacerbates dissatisfaction among small-scale or traditional fishermen (Arai et al., 2022).

Friction in the ‘competition for resources’ at sea has so far been a common feature of maritime communities in Indonesia. However, through deliberation, which has resulted in government policies and local regulations, social and economic issues affecting fishing communities can be resolved. The following are some examples of conflicts between fishermen and their resolutions in Indonesia: *first*, conflicts between traditional fishermen in Borgo Village, Tombariri District, Minahasa Regency, were resolved by: 1) dividing fishing areas between traditional and modern fishermen; 2) establishing fishing routes; 3) direct government involvement in handling violations; 4) establishing business partnerships between small-scale and traditional fishermen (Zalukhu et al., 2017); *second*, conflicts between fishermen caused by the use of Arad in the waters of Tegal Barat Sub-district, Tegal City. This conflict was resolved through arbitration, compromise, and elimination (Yasyfi et al., 2022), and various other examples of fishing conflicts in Indonesia.

In Tanjung Luar, where this research was conducted, fishing practices remain part of the traditional culture, particularly in relation to ecological sustainability. This is actually found among most other small-scale fishermen in Indonesia, who adapt modern technology while still adhering to reducing ecological impacts so that fish production can continue smoothly (Lakenarine et al., 2024). However, in practice, many fishermen who are investors or who collaborate with third parties (investors) try to obtain fish without regard for sustainability and other small-scale fishermen.

The current situation, as is often the case with other fishing communities in Indonesia, is also occurring in Tanjung Luar, Kruak Subdistrict, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara, where conflicts over resources caused by the use of modern fishing gear have become part of a unique dynamic. starting with conflicts between fellow fishermen in Tanjung Luar between traditional fishermen and fishermen who use modern

equipment such as Kerakat Mini in the 1990s until now, as well as with fish aggregating device (FAD) owners, the effects of which have been felt by small-scale fishermen since the 2010s.

In the case of the Kerakat Mini fishing gear conflict in Tanjung Luar, there are also *awig-awig* (traditional rules), which were initially quite effective, and this type of indigenous knowledge can play an important role in managing social conflicts between fishermen (Lakenarine et al., 2024). However, in practice, there have been many violations and this has left social conflicts to this day, especially since of the seven *kekadusan*/areas in Tanjung Luar, Kerakat Mini is only owned by fishermen from South Toroh.

As for the fish aggregating devices (FADs), although they are not installed around the Tanjung Luar area or 3 miles from the coast, their impact is directly felt by the fishing community, especially after the government issued official permits, even though the issue of licensing is still a question for the small community due to the large number of FADs installed. Fish aggregating devices have been a problem since the 2000s because they have caused several fish species, which had been the main source of income for small-scale fishermen in recent decades, to migrate to the devices, automatically reducing the income of small-scale fishermen. In addition, fishing around fish aggregating devices involves third parties (companies) that own fishing boats, which has led to overfishing.

METHOD

This study utilizes a qualitative approach with the ethnohistory method. Ethnohistory research emphasizes the perspective of the research subjects (*emic*), but in the context of analysis, it requires an ethical approach (the researcher's view based on theoretical studies) in both the current context and historical perspective. This is what is used to capture the social and cultural aspects of the community in Tanjung Luar (Hamzah, 2018; Fetterman, 2024).

The resources used came from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained from interviews with officials from Tanjung Luar Village, community leaders, cultural leaders and fishermen who had long experience in Tanjung Luar. In addition, primary data in this study was obtained from observations and documentation. Meanwhile, the secondary data used in this study were published works such as books and scientific journals.

The data analysis techniques used in this study were as follows: 1) domain analysis; 2) taxonomy analysis; 3) component analysis; and 4) cultural theme analysis. The data validity technique used in this study was triangulation of all sources, both primary and secondary.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of the Research Location

Administratively, Tanjung Luar Village is located in Keruak Subdistrict, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara, with an area of 106,985 hectares. The population is 9,859

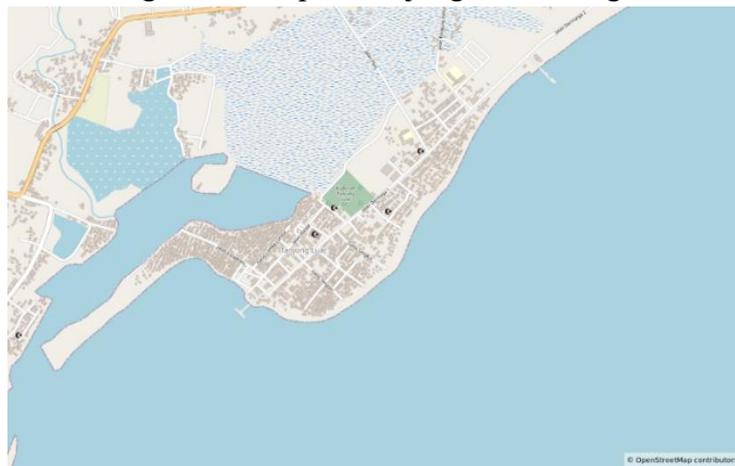
people spread across seven hamlets/villages/areas, namely: South Toroh, Central Toroh, Central Village, Koko Village, Muhajirin Village, South Baru Village and Baru Village (Profil Desa Tanjung Luar, Tahun 2025; Murdi et al., 2023; Habibuddin, 2023).

The majority of the population of Tanjung Luar are fishermen, with the following breakdown: 2,975 are owner-operators, 46 are fishing entrepreneurs, and 1,570 are laborers or vendors. Based on the total population of 9,859, it is evident that the number of people engaged in the maritime sector is small. However, it should be noted that almost half of the population, or 4,581 people, are aged between 0 and 19 years old or are not yet employed, and only 101 people work in fields other than fishing, ranging from civil servants, traders/entrepreneurs, industrial workers, and retired civil servants (Profil Desa Tanjung Luar, 2025).

As the majority of the population are fishermen, the people of Tanjung Luar are synonymous with their fleet and fishing gear. There are 1,100 vessels/means of sea transport used by fishermen in Tanjung Luar, consisting of: 40 non-motorised boats, 800 outboard motor boats, 260 motorboats with 3-10 GT, and 1,505 ketinting canoes (Profil Desa Tanjung Luar, 2024; Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan Pelabuhan Perikanan Tanjung Luar, Tahun 2024).

The fishing community in Tanjung Luar also consists of a multi-ethnic community comprising the Bajo, Bugis, Mandar, Makassar (Sulawesi), Sasak (the majority tribe in Lombok), Madura, Javanese, Flores, Mbojo (Bima), Samawa (Sumbawa), Balinese, Padang (West Sumatra), and Fakistan tribes. They all live side by side and are united by cultural adaptation, including the use of the Bajo language as the main language, alongside the Sasak and Indonesian languages (Habibuddin et al., 2023; Kesuma; Murdi, 2015; Murdi et al., 2023).

Figure 01: Map of Tanjung Luar Village



(Source: Profile of Tanjung Luar Village, 2025)

The Tanjung Luar Fishermen Conflict: A Historical Perspective

The conflict between fishermen in Tanjung Luar in contemporary history has been ongoing since 1977, then in the 1990s and 2010. These conflicts have arisen due to many factors, one of the most fundamental being violations of operational areas by fishermen using modern fleets and fishing gear. In addition, policies have been implemented that are considered ‘unfriendly’ to small-scale or traditional fishermen. The following is a brief overview of the fishermen's conflict in Tanjung Luar from a historical perspective:

1. Conflict over Fleets and Fishing Gear in 1977

Purse seine fishing was first initiated by the Tanjung Luar Village Cooperative (KUD) in 1977, following discussions attended by the then KUD chair, M. Syaifullah, and several members in Mataram. The KUD was concerned with the need to modernise fishing gear, one of which was the purse seine, which was the focus of much attention at the time. This fishing gear was considered the first modernisation of fishing gear in the contemporary history of Tanjung Luar (MS, 31 August 2025).

This first modernisation also gave rise to the first conflict between fishermen in Tanjung Luar. This occurred at the beginning of the purse seine trials, when this fishing gear was able to produce no less than 2 tonnes of fish sold at the Tanjung Luar market. According to sources at the time, the Tanjung Luar market was likened to a ‘sea of fish’, which surprised many fishermen. It did not take long for fishermen to become provoked by various parties who said that if this fishing gear was allowed to continue, it would cause the fish in Tanjung Luar to be depleted. On the second night, the community was very angry about the existence of the purse seine, so the seven trainers brought in by the KUD were attacked by the community, who brought all the weapons they had.

News of the conflict reached the regent of East Lombok, who summoned all parties to provide explanations. In the end, the regent of East Lombok supported the modernisation of fishing equipment and even added three more units so that more fishermen could use modern fishing equipment. This conflict also provided insight to the initiators to be more cautious and provide more comprehensive education, even though the goal was to improve the fishermen's situation (MS, 1 August 2025).

2. Fleet and Fishing Gear Conflict 1990s - 2025

The fishing gear conflict of the 1990s was a continuation of the previous conflict. The difference was that the 1977 conflict was quickly resolved because, although it involved the government, it was owned by a group, and its area of operation was in accordance with policy, which was more than 3 miles from the coastal area. Meanwhile, mini kerakat, which are smaller versions of purse seine nets, often operate within 3 miles and are no longer owned by groups but by individuals, which has led to conflicts between fishermen in Tanjung Luar (WD, 19 May 2025).

Purse seine began to be used by several fishermen from Kampung Baru Selatan, Kampung Muhajirin and several other villages around 1992, but at that time fishermen from Kampung Toroh Selatan objected, so that before long the fishermen from several

villages stopped using mini kerakat (K, 21-05-2025). However, around 1997, the mini kerakat was revived by fishermen from Kampung Toroh Selatan who had initially rejected this fishing gear, which is what essentially caused the conflict (K, 21 May 2025).

The conflict was described by HM, a fisherman from South Toroh, as follows:

"In the past, because of these mini rafts, we often fought with the people of Lungkak, as well as with our fellow fishermen here. There used to be frequent battles at sea, *saling tebok uah* (slashing each other with weapons). In addition, they would sometimes destroy rafts in the middle of the sea. I used to have an *amaq saiq* (uncle) who operated his fishing boat around Lungkak, and the Lungkak people protested and damaged his boat (Interview, 5 June 2025).

These physical conflicts were eventually resolved, but even today (2025) there is still 'resentment' between villages, especially from those villages that do not use mini kerakat fishing gear. In addition, in recent decades, many fishermen who use mini kerakat have been operating within 3 miles (DJ, 19 May 2025).

3. Rumpon Conflict 2012 – 2025

Through the Directorate General of Capture Fisheries (DJPT), the government supports the use of fish aggregating devices (FADs) in Indonesia, especially for fishermen who catch tuna (Wudianto et al., 2019). In its development, FADs were then also introduced in East Lombok, including to fishermen in Tanjung Luar. With several considerations, ranging from fears of social conflict and damage to the ecosystem, they refused to build or install fish aggregating devices, even in the open sea, because they could damage fish distribution, especially for small-scale fishermen. Moreover, most traditional fishermen use simple fishing gear, making it difficult for them to reach these fish aggregating devices (S/AD, 13 April 2025).

The effects of these fish aggregating devices were felt by small-scale fishermen around 2010, but they only staged a demonstration at the East Lombok Regent's Office in 2012 (S/AD, 13 April 2025). There are several fundamental reasons why fishermen in Tanjung Luar staged a demonstration and rejected the installation of fish aggregating devices, including the following: 1) several types of fish that were previously the main commodities, such as cakalan/preang, migrated to Tengah, making it difficult for small-scale fishermen to catch these fish, which in turn had an impact on the poverty of fishermen; 2) overfishing due to the involvement of third parties or corporations.

Policies and *Awig-awig*

The occurrence of various socio-economic conflicts among fishing communities, both between fishermen in the same area and with other areas, formed the basis for the creation of the *awig-awig* in 2001. One of the interesting points in these regulations relates to fishing areas according to the fishing equipment used by fishermen. This is important to note because these conflicts are still ongoing, one of which relates to the Kerakat Mini fishing area.

Before the *awig-awig* existed, there were unwritten rules that were obeyed by the fishing community because there were respected and feared figures who would punish fishermen who committed violations at sea. One of the figures who is often mentioned and was once considered capable of preserving the culture, including by the people of Tanjung Luar and its surroundings, who is still alive today, is Haji Daeng Muhsin. One resident, who is also considered by the community to be one of the figures in this matter, said: ‘So, Kerakat Mini is not allowed to operate on Maringkik Island and they operate outside of it. These unwritten *awig-awig* existed during the time of Mr. H. Muhsin, because in the past, this figure was very influential’ (S/AD, 13-04-2025).

The same information was conveyed by other fishermen as follows:

In the past, there was a regulation from here to Maringkik Island that no fishing was allowed, and the village government even set up a boundary with flags because Maringkik Island and Lungkak had not yet developed, so it was easy to mediate. One of the most famous people here was Daeng Muksin, who was appointed as an influential figure. He was not only the village head but also a respected traditional leader. During his time, outsiders who wanted to operate in this area were prohibited, especially those from Java. Even the Bugis people were not given permission unless they had permission from the village. The atmosphere was very safe (DJ, 19-05-2025).

After H. Daeng Muhsin stepped down as village head, especially after his death, many violations occurred, so that in 2003 a research project was conducted to collect traditional *awig-awig* from all tenalayan in East Lombok, including Teluk Jukung, by the *Co-Fish Project* with support from the World Bank. One of the interesting findings of the research was that it highlighted the importance of reinstating these *awig-awig* because, to date, there has been overfishing; destruction of coral reefs through the use of booming and poison fishing; competition between traditional and modern fishing gear, both within one area and between fishermen in different areas; and so on (MS, 29-06-2025).

One of the figures who was heavily involved in the drafting of the 2003 *awig-awig*, particularly from Tanjung Luar representing Teluk Jukung, was M. Syaifullah, who at that time served as chairman of the Marine Fisheries Management Committee (KPPL) in Tanjung Luar. M. Syaifullah was also a driving force behind fisheries development in East Lombok, and in 2008 he was awarded the ‘Adibakti Mina Bahari’ award as ‘Exemplary Figure in the Development of Capture Fisheries - I National Level 2008’ by the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia, Freddy Numberi, in Jakarta in December 2008.

What is interesting about the *awig-awig* initiated by the Co-Fish Project is that it employs foreign consultants who are professionals in their fields, such as Dr Noil Teller, Dr Gerris Killer from Canada, and Prof Moore from Australia. They began directing the drafting of the *awig-awig* from the bottom up, starting with each maritime village according to the region, identifying old customs that could be used as rules at the hamlet level, then at the village level, then at the sub-district level, and finally at the district level. The process of drafting the *awig-awig* is described as follows:

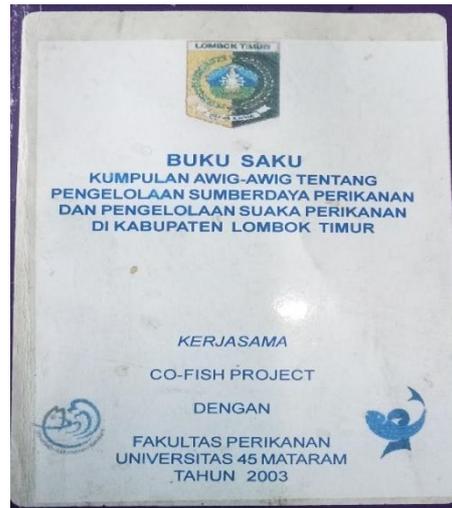
“They began their meetings in the new hamlets of the village, exploring the unique characteristics of each maritime village in East Lombok to be incorporated into the *awig-awig*, because indeed there were billions in funding. They also had a lot of pocket money, so even though we invited 50 people, sometimes 60 people would show up. But they said that was okay because it was a *co-fish project*. After the village meetings, the plans were further discussed at the sub-district level, with representatives from Jerowaru, Jor, and Ekas all present to report on the results of the village-level discussions” (MS, 04-06-2025).

An example of this *awig-awig* substance is in Teluk Serewe, where fishermen at that time used three lamps. Therefore, if other fishermen were fishing around Serewe, they also had to use three lamps at night. If they used four lamps, they could be fined by the KPPL in Serewe and its surroundings. Conversely, if fishermen from Serewe were fishing, they had to follow the *awig-awig* according to the area they were visiting. These rules also regulate the boundaries of fishermen's operational areas according to the type of fishing gear used. For example, Kerakat Mini boats are not allowed to operate within 3 miles; similarly, rules prohibiting bombing and other activities are regulated in these rules (MS, 03-06-2025).

Because the sea is an open access and open resource area, the division is not based on territorial boundaries but on regions, for example, the Sambelia, Labuhan Haji, Teluk Jukung, Teluk Serewe, and Teluk Ekas areas for East Lombok, but Awang (Central Lombok) is also included in Teluk Serewe. The KPPL is responsible for regulating the implementation of these *awig-awig*. This is explained as follows: “Dulu ada nelayan Awang yang mengejar Penyu, disidangnya di Batu Nampar karena KKPL-nya di Batu Nampar. Komite Pengelolaan Perikanan Laut (KPPL), disini saya ketuanya, tapi sekarang tidak ada disini lagi karena provisi yang mengawasi. Karena itu terjadinya kasus kemarin seharusnya KPPL yang sidang. *Awig-awig* itu yang membuat itu masyarakat, biasanya *awig-awig* itu tidak menghukum tapi mendenda. Yang membiayai dulu *Co-Fish Project* (MS, 03 Juli 2025).

Following the termination of the Co-Fish Project and the absence of the KPPL, conflicts over fishing gear have continued to this day. A small example is the Kerakat Mini, which is supposed to operate more than 3 miles offshore, but most operate closer to shore, even alongside other traditional fishermen who use makeshift fishing gear. This has caused ‘resentment’ among small-scale fishermen towards fishermen who own Kerakat Mini in Tanjung Luar.

Gambar 1. Buku Saku *Awig-awig* Nelayan Lombok Timur 2003



(Sumber: Dokumentasi Pribadi, Lalu Murdi, 07-09-2025)

Competition for Space and Conflict over Fishing Gear

Several figures in Tanjung Luar have identified several causes of the decline in fish stocks around Tanjung Luar, including: 1) the destruction of coral reefs, which serve as breeding and playing grounds for fish, due to bombing, potassium extraction, and extraction for use as a base material for lime; 2) excessive logging of mangrove trees for use as fuel and for household needs; 3) a decline in natural carrying capacity; and 4) overfishing, especially with the use of fishing gear that is not environmentally friendly and does not support sustainable fish stocks (S/AD, 13-04-2025; MS, 04-06-2025).

This contrasts with several figures who understand the complexity of the decline and extinction of several fish species around Tanjung Luar (approximately 3 miles) since the 1990s. Almost all of them understand that the decline in fish stocks is caused by modern fishing gear such as Rumpon and Kerakat Mini/Sret. For small-scale fishermen, the management of these two types of gear, which is not in line with government policy or the *awig-awig* (local regulations) established in 2021, has led to migration and a further decline in fish stocks in the surrounding area.

The understanding of these small-scale fishermen is based on stories and confessions that they indirectly reveal, sometimes without being asked by researchers. They sometimes suddenly talk about how difficult it is to be a fisherman, especially because it is increasingly difficult to find fish in nearby areas. Ultimately, they say that all this is happening because of the presence of fish aggregating devices and mini-cages, which are installed and operated in a manner that does not comply with existing policy procedures. The following is a portrait of the competition between fishing gear from the perspective of small-scale fishermen in Tanjung Luar:

a. Rumpon/Fish aggregating devices

Rumpon which are essentially tools or, according to the people of Tanjung Luar, 'like homes and playgrounds' for fish, are actually very good for fish production.

However, according to small-scale fishermen, the problem is that their management is not in line with government policy, which was agreed upon before the installation of fish aggregating devices in the early 2000s.

The following are some of the complaints from small-scale fishermen regarding the existence of fish aggregating devices:

First, there are too many fish aggregating devices and they are too close to areas usually used by traditional or small-scale fishermen. Although this is essentially subjective, the large number of fish aggregating devices installed by some fishermen has led the Tanjung Luar community to believe that the fish aggregating devices are installed too close, when in fact very few fishermen can reach those locations. Furthermore, the location of fish aggregating devices in East Lombok is not as clear as in South Sulawesi, for example, where fish aggregating devices are divided into three categories according to their location: 1) near fish aggregating devices, which are installed 20 miles closest to the coast at a depth of 20-50 metres; 2) middle fish aggregating devices, installed at a maximum distance of 100 miles from the coast at a depth of 200 metres; and distant fish aggregating devices, installed approximately 200 miles from the coast at a depth of around 1,000 metres (Arief, 2022).

Secondly, there has been a migration of several fish species, particularly tongkol and cakalan, which were previously the main fish caught by traditional fishermen. Most fishermen understand that several fish species that were previously one of the main sources of income, such as preang, cakalan and tongkol, have migrated to the rompong area. However, some figures understand it differently, namely that the decline in preang or cakalan is because they do not play around the periphery. This group of fish migrated from Madagascar (Africa) and then, after arriving at several places in Indonesia, settled there, including in the rompong, and did not reach the peripheral areas. Only the remnants arrived (MS, 30-07-2025). Regardless of the migration pattern of these fish, it is clear that the presence of fish aggregating devices has eliminated the main fish that were previously a commodity for small-scale fishermen, especially in Tanjung Luar, and even for other fishermen in Indonesia.

Thirdly, the involvement of third parties in catching fish in the fish aggregating devices has led to excessive overfishing. The community of Tanjung Luar believes that, in a certain context, the main purpose of these fish aggregating devices is good, one of which is that fish can breed and stay in that place. However, the problem so far has been the involvement of entrepreneurs or third parties. Large companies use purse seine or ring net vessels to encircle and catch fish in the fish aggregating devices. Instead of the original goal of making it easier to catch more fish using fishing rods, these fish are ultimately caught using large vessels, meaning that even the smallest fish are caught.

One fisherman's testimony regarding this matter is as follows:

Because this circle causes the fish to disappear, for example, now the side that owns the fish aggregating device (FAD) continues to work with the Company to circle the FAD, and later the results are divided into three, for example, 15 tonnes, where the company that owns the ship gets 10 tonnes and the owner of the FAD gets 5 tonnes.

Once the fishing grounds have been fished out, it is not certain that there will be more fish in a month's time, because the equipment is also sophisticated and they can measure the amount of fish. If there is less than 10 tonnes, they usually do not want to fish the grounds. I saw for myself that around 50 tonnes were loaded onto the boat at that time" (S, 13-04-2025).

Fourth, access to fish aggregating devices is not easy for small-scale fishermen. Only a small number of fishermen in Tanjung Luar have gone fishing using fish aggregating devices, and they are usually fishermen who are considered brave, because in addition to the location being far away, it also requires great 'courage' due to the strong waves and winds in the open sea. More than that, it requires a large amount of capital. Several fishermen who have fished around the fish aggregating devices confirmed that the fish aggregating devices from Tanjung Luar are located more than 60 miles away, with some even installed around 80 miles away (S, 13-04-2025). According to several fishermen, no more than 10 people from each hamlet in Tanjung Luar usually go to the fish aggregating devices. This means that only a few fishermen can enjoy the benefits of the fish aggregating devices, and those who have been to the fish aggregating devices only go a few times a month, so the majority only feel the impact of the fish aggregating devices.

b. Mini Kerakat

The conflict over fishing gear among fishermen in Tanjung Luar began in 1977 with the introduction of Purus Sine. It was introduced in Tanjung Luar by M. Syaifullah, who at that time served as Head of the Tanjung Luar Village Cooperative (KUD). The training on how to build the fleet and fishing gear was brought in from Bali. The conflict began with the first trial, where those who used Purus Sine caught more than two tonnes in a single haul, causing jealousy among the community. According to MS (83), this was provoked by several companies. As a result of this jealousy, the seven trainers from Bali were almost killed by the people of Tanjung Luar. They were chased with swords and spears, but they managed to escape by swimming to Labuhan Haji (SM, 30-06-2025).

In the process, the people of Tanjung Luar were persuaded to compromise, and the issue was resolved through deliberation. Even after the incident, the Regent of East Lombok, Saparwadi, through the relevant department, provided three Purse Seine units, which were paid for in instalments. As a result, the people of Tanjung Luar still refer to this fleet and fishing gear as the 'Group Fishing Gear'. However, this fishing gear did not last long due to fraud among its members, leading to bankruptcy. Several years later, including in the 1990s, the community in Tanjung Luar began using Kerakat Mini (SM, 30-06-2025).

Mini trawlers in Tanjung Luar have been around since the 1990s, brought by fishermen from Muncar, Banyuwangi, East Java. Since their arrival, these fishing vessels have been met with both support and opposition from the community in Tanjung Luar, mainly because their fishing operations are considered too close to shore by the local community. In addition, there is a tendency to be suspicious because the income from

Kerakat Mini is currently abundant, and many fishermen are concerned that the fish in Tanjung Luar will be depleted (J, 15-05-2025; DJ, 19-05-2025; MS, 04-06-2026).

There are no official documents that can be used as a reference to determine the number of mini trawlers, but according to the collective memory of the Tanjung Luar community, initially there were no more than five mini trawlers, and even in the 2000s there were only about five units. Initially, the kerakat were operated manually, requiring a large number of crew members, up to 15 people (J, 15-05-2025; DJ, 19-05-2025).

The initial introduction and use of the mini kerakat in Tanjung Luar did not go well due to friction and conflict between fishermen. However, around the 2010s, especially since the 2018s, the Mini Kerakat has grown again in Tanjung Luar, especially in South Toroh (J, 15-05-2025; N, 16-05-2025; DJ, 19-05-2025). The development of mini kerakat in recent years has once again become a topic of discussion, and the majority of small-scale fishermen regret the existence of mini kerakat for several reasons, namely:

Firstly, the operating area is less than 3 miles, and hundreds of Kerakat Mini operate in traditional fishing areas. Kerakat Mini are not only owned by fishermen from Toroh Tengah, Tanjung Luar Village; many fishermen from Gili Maringkik (about 1.5 km from Tanjung Luar) also use the same area, especially small-scale fishermen. However, fishermen who own Kerakat Mini boats from Tanjung Luar continue to operate within 3 miles or in small fishing areas, while those from Maringkik Island usually go to more distant places such as Sumbawa or beyond 3 miles (J, 15-05-2025; Z, 19-05-2025). This situation was also described by another fisherman as follows: 'Not only that, they also operate on the edges here, when they should be going out to the open sea like the people in Gili Maringkik do. They even circle the fish at the pier, so that the young fish are all gone. We want to speak up and fight back, but it's a difficult situation' (DJ, 19-05-2025).

Secondly, small-scale fishermen's income has become very low because most of the fish are caught by Kerakat Mini. In addition to operating in small-scale fishing areas, the problem is that mini trawlers catch all types of fish, from the very small to the large. One fisherman explained: *'These mini trawlers catch everything from small to large fish, so fishermen who use traditional fishing gear lose their catch'* (Z, 19-05-2025). Another fisherman expressed a similar complaint: *'Another obstacle for us is the mini trawlers in South Toroh because they catch not only the fish that are usually caught by small-scale fishermen, but even the small fish are gone'* (DJ, 19-05-2025).

Fishermen who catch small fish, including trijo, have been greatly affected by the Kerakat Mini in Tanjung Luar. Even in July 2025, fishermen who usually catch trijo felt that the number of trijo had greatly decreased. However, fishermen who use mini trawls often catch large quantities because they operate in coastal areas, and trijo is essentially a fish that lives in coastal areas (S, 24-07-2025).

Other fishermen have expressed similar concerns, as follows:

Trijo also has a season, and although it is still available now, most of it has been caught by the mini trawlers. It is actually trijo season now, but I don't know why it hasn't appeared yet this year, even though there used to be a lot of it. Perhaps it has been caught by the mini trawlers. But now, trijo is very rare. In the past, when it

was the season for peteng, the sea was full of trijo. Last year there were a few, but this year, even though it is the season, I have not found any ciro' or trijo fish. I think it might be because of these mini kerakat (AF, 24-07-2025).

Another issue that causes small-scale fishermen to feel that there is injustice in the jointly formulated policy is that small-scale fishermen are prohibited from catching tuna with kubal nets, while Kerakat Mini fishermen are allowed to catch them using kerakat. Meanwhile, small-scale fishermen are only allowed to use pacing (AF, 24-07-2025).

Similar complaints were not only voiced by fishermen from different villages; some fellow Toroh Selatan fishermen even used more 'harsh' language to describe their "dislike" of Kerakat Mini, such as 'the devil's fishing gear' or 'the idol of fishing gear'.

"Mini trawls catch almost all types of fish, such as langor and preang, which is why fish populations are declining. Mini trawls don't just catch fish, they wipe them out. Fishing is sometimes carried out every day, especially when fish are abundant. The mini trawl is like a demon and a tool of destruction, because it not only catches large or standard fish, but even small fish are wiped out" (J, 15-05-2025).

Thirdly, the existence of mini Kerakat, which is currently often complained about by almost all fishermen from six regions or kekadusan because mini Kerakat are only owned by fishermen from South Toroh, while the other six regions no longer operate mini Kerakat. Around the 1990s, several fishermen in other regions, such as Kampung Baru and Muhajirin, had Kerakat Mini, but fishermen from South Toroh rejected it and staged demonstrations, causing Kerakat Mini to cease operations. However, in its development, especially at present, fishermen from South Toroh, who had previously rejected it, causing fishermen from other villages to stop using it, have now revived it. The condition of the Toroh Selatan fishermen, who were once very anti-Mini Kerakat, is well remembered by one of the fishermen, who explained as follows:

"In the past, the Toroh people were actually very opposed to these dragnets. Even if someone had one, no one would bring it to Tanjung Luar; instead, they would leave it somewhere else, such as Labuhan Lombok. But over time, there are now many like today. In the past, if outsiders used dragnets around here, they would definitely be protested. There was even a conflict with the Lombok people because they used dragnets. When I was young, I once went to Lombok with a canoe and was spotted from Tanjung Luar. Many people surrounded us because they were angry and wanted revenge, as they were often chased away when they came near here using seret *dipaleq-paleq* (HM, 05-05-2025).

These contrasting conditions and behaviours have caused most fishermen from other villages to feel 'hurt'. A source explained:

"Only the people of South Toroh have Kerakat Mini. Initially, they refused and even protested, but now they are the ones who make it, and they complain about the small kerambe. However, there has never been any conflict between villages. In Koko village, for example, most of us just give in" (Z/WD, 19 May 2025).

The same information was conveyed by another fisherman: *'That's why no one around me has a mini kerakat, even though they exist in South Toroh. Because of this,*

some people wanted to protest, but until now it hasn't happened because we are not united" (DJ, 19-05-2025).

Both problems, whether caused by the existence of Rumpong or Kerakat Mini, are caused, according to the people of Tanjung Luar, by the lack of firmness in implementing existing policies, both from the government and the existence of *awig-awig* that were created by the community itself long ago.

CONCLUSION

The conflict over fishing gear among fishing communities in Tanjung Luar, East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, has been going on for quite some time. In fact, according to contemporary historical records, this conflict has been ongoing since the 1970s, particularly between small-scale/traditional fishermen and modern fishermen and/or investors.

Although there are basically different regional operating policies for traditional and modern fleets and fishing gear, in practice there are often violations, and these are not dealt with seriously by the authorities who have the power to act in accordance with existing policies, so that small-scale fishermen are the ones who suffer. Similarly, the existence of *awig-awig*, which are considered to originate from the cultural aspirations of the lower classes, has often been unable to make much of an impact, especially since *awig-awig* do not have binding legal force.

In Tanjung Luar, the existence of rompong and mini kerakat is considered to be a factor or cause of the decline in the income of small-scale fishermen. Rompong causes several types of fish that were previously the main commodities of traditional fishermen, such as cakalan and preang, to migrate to the centre, while mini kerakat causes many fish on the periphery to disappear.

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