

# DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT POLICIES TO IMPROVE THE WELFARE OF COASTAL COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY IN BANGKALAN, INDONESIA

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## Abstract

This research discusses decentralization policies in Indonesia, especially related to the management of capture fisheries resources and coastal resources in relation to community empowerment. This study aims to analyze decentralization policies in relation to coastal community empowerment in Bangkalan Regency, with case studies in Labuhan Village (pseudonym), Tenjang Village (pseudonym), Bangkalan District, and Gunung Village (pseudonym) Kwanyar District, Bangkalan Regency. This research uses a qualitative approach consisting of two stages. The initial stage is research related to public policy in terms of decentralization policies in general and decentralization of fisheries and marine resource management in particular. Similarly, research related to coastal community empowerment, especially in Bangkalan Regency. This research is in the form of literature studies as well as discussions and consultations with experts, and observation of supporting data. The next stage of this research is field research which includes direct observation of field conditions, and interviews with actors and figures. Based on the analysis and research findings, it can be seen that decentralization has an impact on the empowerment of Bangkalan coastal communities first because of the administrative impact of Law 23 of 2014, where district authority over marine areas is eliminated, making regulations regarding fishing irrelevant. Which threatens the survival of livelihoods) Bangkalan fishermen by fishermen from outside are increasingly difficult in terms of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution can be mitigated through the initiative of the provincial government with the establishment of Pokmaswas but is still constrained because the provincial government does not have a bureaucratic apparatus in Bangkalan Regency. Second, the impact of political and fiscal decentralization which then affects the socio-economic aspects of the community with the activities and programs of the regent in the context of politically charged community empowerment in the use of local government budgets. The results of this study recommend that the authority of the district/city especially in Bangkalan Regency over the sea area needs to be restored for effective governance of fishing community empowerment. If the authority of the district/city over the sea area cannot be restored to its original state, then law enforcement against violations of fishing areas needs to be strengthened. The next recommendation is that government intervention in community empowerment still needs to be improved because, in the three villages where this study is conducted, there is only one village that has received support from the Bangkalan district government. Then considering that this research is a case study, further research is needed in other fields related to decentralization and empowerment of coastal communities.

**Keywords:** Decentralization, Community Empowerment, Coastal, Social, Economic.

## INTRODUCTION

Decentralization is an integral part of democracy (Foa, 2022; Kulipossa, 2004; Roy et al., 2019). This can be explained by several arguments: First the reason for increased public participation: Decentralization provides greater opportunities for citizens to participate in decision-making that affects their lives (Fossati, 2021; Lewis, 2017; Los, 2003). Second: More responsive decision-making: Decentralization enables more responsive decision-making to the needs and preferences of local communities (Qiao et al., 2019). Third More equitable control of power: Decentralization can reduce the concentration of political power in the hands of the central government and divide it into lower levels (Kulipossa, 2004).

Along with democratization and decentralization, community empowerment is a logical consequence of decentralization because less empowered communities will not be able to accept the decentralization process. Indonesia as a democracy has carried out decentralization since the country was established, but its implementation has experienced ups and downs in dynamics (Fossati, 2021; Hadiz R., 2004; Sopaheluwakan et al., 2023). Decentralization in Indonesia refers to the delegation of some government power and responsibility from the central government to local governments at the provincial, district, and city levels (Nugroho & Sujarwoto, 2021). The main objectives of decentralization in Indonesia are to realize regional autonomy, increase efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability of government, and improve public services and development at the local level (Hadiz R., 2004; Permana, 2019). Decentralization also aims to increase community participation in decision-making related to local issues (Lewis, 2017).

Indonesia is geographically a vast country consisting of tens of thousands of islands with the longest coastline in the world and a vast coastal area (Tranter et al., 2022). With more than 17,000 islands, Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest number of islands in the world. Indonesia has the longest coastline in the world, stretching about 54,716 kilometers (Arianto, 2020; De Clippele et al., 2023). In addition to a long coastline, Indonesia also has a large sea area. Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) covers more than 5.8 million square kilometers and is one of the largest in the world (Luth et al., 2022). This EEZ protects Indonesia's marine natural wealth, including stunning coral reefs, diverse tropical fish, and other marine species. Coastal Indonesia also has a rich cultural diversity. Various tribes and ethnicities live on the coast, with different traditions and languages. The coast is also a major center of economic activity, including trade, the fishing industry, and tourism.

Indonesia is demographically a country consisting of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds with their own uniqueness. Indonesia has more than 300 different ethnic groups. The largest ethnicity is Javanese, who are the majority and dominant group. Other significant tribes include the Sundanese, Batak, Minangkabau, Betawi, and Madurese. In addition, there are also ethnic groups of Chinese, Arabs, and Indians, Religion is also an important aspect of Indonesia's diversity. Although the majority of Indonesia's population adheres to Islam, there are also large communities of Christians, Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists. Each of these religions has different religious celebrations and traditions.

Most of Indonesia's population is still not prosperous. Most of Indonesia's population is still not prosperous due to several factors that affect the country's economic and social conditions. Here are some reasons why most Indonesians still face difficulties in achieving the desired level of well-being. 1) Economic inequality: Although Indonesia has experienced significant economic growth in recent decades, economic inequality remains a serious problem. Most of the income and wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small group of people, while the majority of the population lives on low incomes. This inequality hinders their access to resources and economic opportunities that can improve their well-being. 2) Poverty: The poverty rate in Indonesia is still high, especially in poor rural and urban areas. Many Indonesians still live below the poverty line, with limited access to adequate food, clean water, sanitation, education, health services, and other basic infrastructure. This poverty hinders their ability to meet basic needs and improve their quality of life. 3) Regional gap: There is a huge gap between urban and rural areas in Indonesia.

Urban areas, especially on the island of Java, are generally more advanced in terms of economic opportunities, access to public services, and good infrastructure. On the other hand, rural areas often face limitations in terms of infrastructure, access to education and health services, and limited employment opportunities. This difficulty causes most rural residents to live in more difficult conditions. 4) Unemployment and informal employment: The unemployment rate remains a serious problem in Indonesia. Many recent graduates find it difficult to find jobs that match their skills, so they are forced to work in the informal sector with uncertain working conditions and without social security. Informal employment often does not provide a stable income and is inadequate to achieve adequate levels of welfare. 5) Limited access to education and healthcare: Some Indonesians still face difficulties in accessing quality education and affordable healthcare. Especially in rural areas, schools and health facilities may be remote and difficult to reach. This lack of access affects the development potential of the population and their health.

What is unknown: 1) As a democracy, Indonesia has not implemented better decentralization. 2) The practice of decentralization in Indonesia so far has not reflected fairness. 3) The welfare of the Indonesian people as a whole has not been evenly distributed, especially in remote islands and coastal areas. 4) The welfare of Indonesian society as a whole has not been evenly distributed, especially in areas far from the center of power. 5) Development and its results have not been evenly distributed, especially for coastal areas.

## 2. RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design This research is a qualitative approach Qualitative research methods are research approaches used to understand and explain phenomena or events in depth. This method aims to explore and understand meanings, perceptions, experiences, and social contexts involving research subjects (Fresnoza-Float, 2023). Qualitative research focuses on the interpretation of data obtained through observation, interviews, or document analysis, with the aim of understanding the qualitative and complex aspects of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2016). Population is the population of villages in the research location and the sample is taken

purposively Instrument / Procedure is carried out through sample interviews. Data Analysis consists of three lines of activities that occur simultaneously, namely: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification.

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Some important characteristics of qualitative research methods include. 1) Focus on context and case studies: This method seeks to understand the social, cultural, and historical context in which phenomena occur. Researchers often focus on a specific case or unit of analysis. 2) In-depth data collection: Qualitative research uses a variety of data collection techniques, such as participatory observation, in-depth interviews, group discussions, and document analysis. The data collected tends to be descriptive and in-depth. 3) Qualitative analysis: This method emphasizes subjective and interpretive data analysis. The collected data is analyzed using an inductive approach to identify themes, patterns, and meanings that emerge from the data. 2) Active role of researchers: Researchers are actively involved in the research process, often as the primary data collection tool. They can have an influence on research results through interpretation and decision-making. 3) Validity and trustworthiness: Qualitative research methods emphasize the internal validity and trustworthiness of research results. Trust can be strengthened through triangulation, i.e. combining multiple data sources, and through reflexivity, i.e. researchers' awareness of their role and influence in research (De Clippele: 2023).

Qualitative research methods are often used in the fields of social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, and education, where the purpose of research is to understand and explain complex and subjective aspects of human phenomena.

This research took case studies in three places in Bangkalan Regency, namely in Labuan Village, Tenjang Village, and Mountain Village. All of these place names are pseudonyms. The selection of the three locations was based on the consideration that the locations were affected by the decentralization process, related to this in the case study locations often experienced fishermen conflicts. These fishermen conflicts occurred when decentralization began to roll out in Indonesia, namely with the existence of the Law. Number 22 of 1999. The phenomenon of fishermen's conflict is a process of social change related to the decentralization process in Indonesia (Satria, 2007). In that location, in addition to fishermen conflicts, another phenomenon of social change also occurs, namely the process of community empowerment. This community empowerment is a corollary of decentralization (Syiri, 2011). Community empowerment in this case study occurs with the characteristics and potential of each community. The term empowerment is often associated with economic aspects, but in many ways, it is also related to social problems (Friedmann, 1992).

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

### Labuhan Village

Labuhan Village (pseudonym) is one of the fishing villages in Bangkalan District, Bangkalan Regency. Bangkalan is an area on the westernmost island of Madura and is the closest location to Java Island as the center of social and economic change in Indonesia. West Madura has a strategic position and role in social and economic change on Madura Island. Bangkalan (West Madura) became the main gate from the time of the kingdom, the Dutch colonial era, until the independence era, where Bangkalan Regency is located a port that became the main transportation gate to Madura Island, namely Kamal Port. But now its function is more replaced by the establishment of a bridge between the islands of Suramadu that connects Madura Island (in Bangkalan) with Java Island (in Surabaya).

Labuhan Village is a traditional fishing village typical of Madura, but along with the development of the times brought by the flow of information and transportation caused socio-economic and cultural changes in this village. This can be seen from the typical Madurese housing architecture which is famous for *its lanjang tanean* (elongated courtyard) which is very difficult to find in Labuan Village. From ancient times, before the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, the people of Labuhan Village relied their livelihoods on marine products, especially fish. The main seafood is in the form of orange fish and crabs. These two commodities are the mainstay of Labuhan fishermen because of their high selling value.



**Figure1. Rows of fishing boats in Labuhan Village**

Source: Documentation of research site observations

In terms of social ties, the residents of Labuhan Village have a fairly strong attachment because of family relationships among its residents, for example between fishermen one trip (boat trip) there is still a cousin relationship, between collectors (intermediary traders) there is still a brother-sister relationship, as well as between many neighbors who have family relationships. With the strong family relationship, it becomes common if the economic relationship of service

in this village is not only purely a business relationship. By profession, approximately 90% of the population in Labuhan Village are fishermen, the rest are traders fish collectors and fish catch processors<sup>1</sup>. Social interaction and working relations in this fishing business were said by a community leader in Labuan Village:

*The arrangement for the distribution of fish catches between fishermen and their bosses is not regulated in writing but with local wisdom, for fuel costs borne by those who have boats, as well as for boat maintenance costs<sup>4</sup>*

The fishing gear used in fishermen's operations in Labuhan Village is a drift net often called a gill net with several variations so that it can be used to catch fish and crabs. In fishing activities, fishermen of Labuhan Village catch *a day trip* or sail without spending the night at sea because the area of operation is not too far from the coast, which is about 4 miles<sup>1</sup>. This was said by a figure in this village:

*All fishing boats here are small in size, which is under 5 GT and most are even around 3 GT. So the operation is not far from the beach. The boats in this village have permits. Permits here are relatively easy to obtain with the help of fisheries extension workers in Bangkalan Regency<sup>9</sup>.*

The main catch in the fishing village of Labuhan is crab because the fishing *ground* is not far from the beach and the factor of bandaran fishing boats is generally small, which is under 5 GT (*Gross Tonnage*) whose sailing ability is not far from the beach. After completing the fishing trip, the distribution of proceeds is carried out. The average catch per fisherman per trip is 5 kg. With the least catch is about 0.5 kg. And at most 10 kg depending on the season of fish affected by weather<sup>1</sup>. The catch of crabs per month per trip per fisherman in kilograms with the influence of weather conditions that vary each month can be simulated as follows:

**Table 1: Simulated catch per fisherman per trip (in kg)\***

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	From	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Some	Average
10	10	5	5	5	5	5	0.5	0.5	5	5	5	5.4

\* processed from interview results

The data in the table above shows that the most catches are in January-February while the least is in August and September, in other months is the range of fish catches commonly obtained. Based on the simulation calculation above, it can be seen that the average catch per fisherman per trip is around 5.4 kg. The value of 5.4 kg is not much different from what was told by the informant that the result of catching fish by Labuhan Village fishermen per trip per fisherman was around 5 kg.

The calculation of fishermen's income from crab catch is as follows: With an average yield of 5.4 kg crabs per catch per fisherman and with the price of crabs at the time of interview is Rp. 100,000 / kg, the income level of the fisherman is Rp. 100,000 x 5.4 kg = Rp. 540,000. Fishermen catch an average of 20 days per month, so the monthly income is around Rp 10.8 million (Rp 540,000 x 20). The distribution of the catch of one boat with 2 fishermen is divided into 3 (three), namely with a ratio of 1/3 for fishermen: 1/3 for fishermen: and 1/3 for boat

owners. Fuel costs and boat maintenance costs are borne by the boat owner so as not to reduce the value of the fisherman's income. This income is outside the catch of other types of fish that are considered minor because they are often consumed alone or shared with neighbors<sup>1</sup>.

Socioeconomically, livelihood as fishermen in Labuhan Village can support welfare at a decent level of life, from informant interviews it was found that the level of education of their children was quite good, some to college. The houses in Labuhan village are of quite good quality, namely houses with cement-coated brick walls, not even a few are covered with ceramics, as well as the floor, most of which have been coated with ceramics. Two-wheeled motor vehicles are also almost present in every household. Some households also already have a car and some even have more than one car.

Socio-economic life in Labuhan Village is quite good, especially with the attention of the Bangkalan Regency government to Labuhan Village, thus adding to the success story of fishermen's lives in Labuhan Village. This form of government attention includes assistance with facilities and infrastructure, such as basic food assistance (maduranewsmedia.com, 2021), assistance with net fishing gear for fishermen, assistance with facilities such as communal wastewater treatment plants (Figure 18)<sup>3</sup>, as well as assistance in celebrating the day *of rocket tase'* (thanksgiving for abundant marine products). Household wastewater treatment facilities built by the government are an extraordinary thing to happen in a fishing village, but this happened in Labuan Village, Bangkalan.

Regarding assistance from the government, this was said by a fisherman leader in Labuan Village:

*There is assistance from the government through the district fisheries office in the form of net equipment which is distributed to members of fishermen groups, ..... There is also financial assistance from the Regent 3 success team*

In the social life of the people of Labuhan Village, the role of ulama or kiai is very significant. The role of the kiai begins when saving the aqiqah of newborn children, educating children in reciting the Qur'an, marrying family members, and in the death procession of citizens who all require the presence of ulama or kiyai. The interesting thing about the importance of the role of the ulama in Labuhan Village is that when the kiai is still at sea because he is still fishing, his delayed presence is still awaited by those who have hajjat (for example in the selamatan event) until the ulama arrives on land and finishes packing. So important is the presence of ulama in the social aspects of the people of Labuhan Village that it gets attention on the welfare of the ulama's life from the district government, in this case, the regent. The attention of the regent is in the form of living allowance funds<sup>5</sup>. Of course, the attention from the government is inseparable from the non-formal relationship between the kiai and the power of the regent in regional head elections (Adiyanto, 2020).

Other typical Madurese types of leadership in relation to other regent powers such as *blater* are not very dominant in Labuhan Village. The reason for the minority role of *the blater* is that it is still inferior to the charisma of the kiai.<sup>5</sup>

The form of power relationship between the regent and the "klebun" (lurah/village head) in this case is Lurah Barisan as the administrative head of Labuhan Village, where Labuhan Village is included in the Barisan Village area. The power of the regent over the lurch here is of course very significant because the lurch in Bangkalan Regency is an ASN (State Civil Apparatus) whose fate depends on the regent. In this case, the lurch in Barisan willingly or unwillingly will be loyal to the regent as his superior in the local government structure. In relation to the election of the regent, the lurch will obey the command of the regent who has the power to order. In Bangkalan, the village head is different from the village head. The village head's position is determined through the election of the village head, while the head of his position is determined by the Regent through the mechanisms and procedures of local government personnel (Indrayati *et al.*, 2021).

In the social life of the community, there are things that become a burden that blocks the minds of residents in Labuan village. The burden is social disharmony in the form of fishermen's conflicts. Today there are often conflicts that lead to violence and even cost lives/deaths. Conflicts occur between local fishermen and migrant fishermen from outside the island, namely from the Lamongan region. This conflict occurred because larger migrant fishing boats also used fishing gear such as tiger *trawls*. *This trawl* is dangerous for local fishermen because it can drag gill nets used by Labuan fishermen, as a result of which Labuhan fishermen's nets can be destroyed or lost. By law, *trawling fishing gear and the like* are prohibited according to the Regulation of the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Number 59 of 2020.

Ecologically, this trawl also endangers the sustainability of coral reefs on the seabed in the waters around Labuan Village. This trawl is operated by being pulled by a ship with a powerful engine, by dragging it along the waters to catch fish. This trawl net reaches the bottom of the sea so that it can destroy the coral reefs that it passes and drags. In the view of marine ecology, coral reefs function as a place for fish to live starting from spawning (birth), and enlargement (*nursery*), and also as a place of food sources (*feeding ground*) (Aditiyawan, 2017). If the place of life is destroyed, the fish will also be destroyed and lost from the waters. The loss of fish in the waters around Labuhan Village has a bad impact on the livelihood of fishermen.

Concern over the conflict was expressed by a fisherman leader in Labuan Village:

*The main problem today is the conflict caused by fishermen from outside. This is very disturbing for us fishermen here to go to sea. Often these conflicts are brought into the realm of law but the resolution makes a question mark that the case disappears with impunity. This is what makes them not deterrents* <sup>3</sup>

Efforts to reduce disruption to the harmony of social relations are carried out by the existence of fisheries Supervisory Community Groups (Pokmaswas). This Pokmaswas was initiated by the East Java Provincial Government (Fisheries and Marine Service) in response to the enactment of Law number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government where with this Law the waters around the coast are no longer the responsibility of the district/city government. In the previous Law, namely Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government, it was stated that the district or city government had authority over other water areas as far as 4 miles



from the coastline. Pokmaswas in carrying out its activities, according to informants in Labuhan Village, there is no assistance for operating costs provided by the provincial or district governments. The East Java provincial government provides assistance for the operation of Pokmaswas only in the form of a boat and communication equipment. The district government does not have authority in management, including monitoring of water areas, so it is natural not to provide assistance for pokmaswas operations because there is no legal basis to hold a budget for this. It can be said that in carrying out its duties, this Pokmaswas is carried out by the self-help of the people of Labuan Village. In its operations, Pokmaswas conducts surveillance in the surrounding waters if there is a potential conflict or there are signs of the presence of trawling vessels from outside, which will then coordinate with the water police. Pokmaswas also conducts monitoring activities on potential disturbances to the coastal environment in the form of mangrove logging and monitoring the destruction of coral reefs<sup>9</sup>.

### Tenjang Village

Tenjang Village (pseudonym) is the second research location of this study. Tenjang Village is not much different from Labuhan Village, but in terms of age, Tenjang Village is not as old as Labuhan Village in terms of the world of service. Initially, this area was covered with mangrove forests but gradually later developed into a fish and shrimp farming pond area, but as the demographic structure changed more and more while the fish pond was no longer economically viable, this village then grew into a fishing village<sup>2</sup>.

Economically, the life of fishermen in Tenjang Village is almost the same as the life of fishermen in Labuan Village, as well as the value of income, is not much different, the main production of capture fisheries in this village is crab crabs, and fish similar to the catch in Labuan Village. However, there are interesting things when observed in terms of government attention. The attention of the district government is not as big as that obtained by the fishing community in Labuan Village, for example, Tenjang Village does not receive assistance from fishing infrastructure, even to drive the coastal economy of the fishing group in this village to carry out independent businesses financed by the villagers themselves or fishermen in this village<sup>2</sup>.

The main concern of fishermen in Tenjang Village is the presence of fishing boats from outside that come to catch fish in the waters where Tenjang Village fishermen operate, namely on the west coast of Bangkalan. The problem is the same as what happened in Labuhan Village, namely that the migrant fishing boat uses a type of tiger trawl in operation. So the concern that occurs is the future of the fishermen of Tenjang Village if *their fishing ground* is "destroyed" by the trawler from outside. In the face of disruption to their livelihood security, the community in Tenjang Village formed a Supervisory Community Group (Pokmaswas) whose system and way of working are the same as the Pokmaswas in Labuan Village.<sup>2</sup>

The role of the ulama in socio-economic aspects in Tenjang Village is quite important where in this village quite a lot of Habib are settled. Habib is a term for Arab descendants who are said to still be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The habits here act as preachers and traders who then also penetrated the world of service<sup>2,5</sup>. The presence of Habib (the habits),

in Tenjang Village is inseparable from the existence of a historical site, namely Pasarean (Tomb) KH. Mohammad Khalil (Figure VIII.5).

KH. Mohammad Kholil, often called Mbah Kholil, was a great scholar of his era who contributed greatly to the spread of Islam in Madura and Indonesia. According to the narration of KH. Mohammad Kholil is a teacher of great kiai-kiai in Indonesia and even KH. Hasyim Asy'ari (Founder of NU) and Sukarno (first President of Indonesia) were once students of KH. Kholil (Muniri, 2018).

The role of ulama Habib in Tenjang Village as a pioneer of progress for fishermen is as an example carried out by M. Atthariq who formed a fishermen's group with expansion programs in the sense of not fixating on fishing at sea. These efforts include mangrove crab farming, fish farming with floating nets, fiber boat making, and e-marketing of local village products<sup>2</sup>. The existence of Pasarean KH. Kholil which is a religious tourism object, where visitors are mainly from Banten, West Java, Central Java, and East Java, as well as from outside Java, is the center of economic driving for the people of Tenjang Village, namely as a place to sell souvenirs and souvenirs typical of the Bangkalan area and sales of tourist needs (Figure 21), as well as a guesthouse lodging business for pilgrimage tourists who stay overnight.<sup>5</sup>

In the midst of economic activities in the Pasarean complex, thuggery once arose triggered by the *blater* group who wanted to take a portion of economic activities. However, this problem was overcome by the regent at that time KH Fuad Amin who was also a descendant of KH. Kholil<sup>5</sup>. The *blasters* stopped their thuggish efforts because of the regent KH. Fuad Amin in addition to scholars is also respected by the *blater* (Abdussalam, 2015).

### Gunung Village

Gunung Village (pseudonym) is one of the villages located on the south coast of Bangkalan Regency. Socioeconomically, this village has similarities with the two villages discussed earlier, namely Labuhan and Tenjang, however, the captured fishery product that is the mainstay of the residents here is sea shrimp (the people of Gunung Village call it *Odeng pote*). *Odeng Pote* is the mainstay of the villagers' income because the price is quite good and easy to sell because there are several special collectors of this shrimp in the southern coastal area of Bangkalan Regency. This product has advantages over shrimp from pond cultivation because it lives naturally in the free sea without human intervention with the use of chemicals so that in the export market the value is better.<sup>8</sup>

This Mountain Village, like Tenjang Village, rarely receives assistance in the form of fishing facilities and infrastructure from the local government. It was recorded that it only received financial assistance from the central government through the PEMP (Economic Empowerment of Coastal Communities) program in 2002.<sup>8</sup>

Gunung Village became quite famous among the mass media at the beginning of the reform period in the 1990s because of the frequent conflicts of its fishermen with migrant fishermen from outside, especially from Pasuruan who operate in the waters around this Gunung village. These conflicts often lead to violence and often result in casualties<sup>8</sup>. From 1999 when the era

of decentralization began to roll, there were 49 conflicts until 2010 (Bangkalan Fisheries Service, 2022). Efforts have been made by the district government and the East Java provincial government but can be said to have failed to stop it. It was noted that several attempts at peace agreements between the warring fishermen had been carried out but in the end, the conflict took place again. One of the peace agreements with government mediation has even been carried out at the Ampel mosque in Surabaya in the hope that the warring can remember that this agreement was "witnessed" by the spirit of Sunan Ampel as an elder who spread Islam in East Java adjacent to the waters of this fisherman conflict area.<sup>8</sup>

The conflict in Gunung Village occurred because migrant fishing vessels used trawl fishing gear that endangered local fishermen's fishing gear and endangered the sustainability of coral reefs in the waters.<sup>8</sup> The causes of the conflict are the same as those in the two villages discussed earlier (Labuhan and Tenjang), namely differences in fishing gear that endanger local fishing gear and the aquatic environment.

The peace meeting between the conflicting fishermen held at Sunan Ampel Mosque (as explained in the previous paragraph) was held on September 14, 2001, an agreement was obtained that fishermen of Nguling, Lekok, and Pasuruan are prohibited from using *Minitrawl fishing gear and the like* as prohibited according to the Decree of the Director General of Fisheries Number: IK.340 / DJ.10.106 / 97 and Minister of Fisheries Decree No. 392 / Kpts / IK. 120/4/99, do not fish using explosives (bonded), complete personal data as and on fishermen based on the Decree of the Governor of the Head of the Level I Regional of East Java No. 9 of 1983. Meanwhile, Gunung fishermen are willing to report the actions of outside fishermen to the authorities and do not act vigilant. Both parties also agreed to forgive each other, not interfere with each other between fishermen, and are obliged to give hull and flag numbers to each other's boats/boats in accordance with Minister of Agriculture Decree No. 392/Kpts/IK.120/4/99. If one party violates the agreement, then both parties are willing to reiterate, if unsuccessful it will be dealt with in accordance with legal channels. A few months after the agreement, it turned out that conflicts still occurred (Zainatul, 2008).

The conflicts that occurred then failed to be resolved with a peace agreement initiated by the government because there were strange things felt by the community. For example, when there is a conflict, the community manages to arrest the perpetrator of the violation of the agreement, and then the prisoner is handed over to law enforcement. But then the community saw the suspect free from punishment and even committed the offense again.<sup>8</sup>

The conflict began to subside in the 2010s with the efforts of the Head of Gunung Village who visited the village of origin of migrant fishermen in Pasuruan to approach culturally. The immigrant fishermen from Pasuruan are generally from Madurese ethnicity which in fact is the same ethnicity as the fishermen in Gunung village. With this cultural approach, conflicts have been reduced and even very rare until now.

This is as said by a senior fisherman in Mountain Village: <sup>8</sup>

*Klebun dinna' entar ka Pasuruan kaangguy asaporah sopajah oreng majangannah ta'atokaran pole polana on nyare rejeke from Allah, on Madurana ban on Islama. (The village head here came to Pasuruan with a peace mission to ease conflicts between fishermen for the livelihood of fellow fishermen who hoped for fortune from Allah with an approach as fellow ethnic Madurese and fellow Muslims)* <sup>8</sup>

### **Comparative analysis of Labuhan Village, Tenjang Village, and Mountain Village in relation to Bangkalan district government policies in the context of decentralization implementation and community empowerment**

The decentralization dimension which includes administrative decentralization, political decentralization, and fiscal decentralization, (Schneider, 2003) can be found in the social and economic impact of the people of Labuhan Village Tenjang Village, and Mountain Village with the implementation of the decentralization policy.

Community empowerment which is a logical consequence of the decentralization process is a mandatory choice to make (Siry, 2011). Labuan Village, Tenjang Village, and Mountain Village, in which there has been a process of community empowerment. Community empowerment in these villages and villages is rolling according to the characteristics of their respective communities. Labuhan Village experienced "faster" empowerment with stronger ties with the district power center, the other two villages although support from the district government is more minimal can carry out empowerment that is more cultural, based on local wisdom, and of course with self-help.

### **Administrative decentralization and its implications, the policy response of Bangkalan district government, and community empowerment**

Decentralization, which became one of the main pillars of the post-Suharto political transition by various circles, began to be realized to have run without a clear design, the Law (Law) and PP (Government Regulation) that regulate decentralization policies are realized to contain fundamental weaknesses and not just a matter of poor implementation in the field (Tirtosudarmo, 2007).

The legal basis of decentralization policy (regional autonomy) has been regulated through Law No. 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government, then revised into Law No. 32 of 2004, along with various government regulations under it, including Government Regulation No. 129 of 2000 concerning Requirements for the Establishment and Criteria for Regional Expansion, Abolition, and Merger. From observations on the ground, these legal rules have been interpreted and used by political actors as an opportunity for regions to seize power that has been dominated by the central government. It is in this context of seizing power that political actors in the regions have seen pemekaran as the most open political opportunity. Behind the reason to bring public services closer to people who have been geographically isolated, pemekaran is a very complex socio-political process. The formation of new provinces and districts has turned out to be an arena for political actors to achieve the short-term goal of

gaining political power. Seizing power from the central government and dividing it among the political elites in the regions is a crucial issue that has been under scrutiny. Power struggles at the local level have caused tensions and conflicts, both before and after the successful regional expansion. As a reactive measure, the central government issued Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning regional governments that are more centralistic. The law abolished the authority of the regency/city over the sea area (previously the district/city government had authority over the sea area up to 4 miles from the coast). Further details regarding the authority of local governments (provincial and district/city) related to marine and fisheries affairs can be found in Annex 1.

In implementing Law Number 23 of 2014, the Bangkalan Regency Government has issued Regional Regulation (Perda) Bangkalan Regency Number 7 of 2016 concerning the establishment and arrangement of regional apparatus. One of the contents of the bylaw is that the authority of the Service related to marine affairs and fisheries has changed to the Service related to fisheries affairs only. Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 is in its implementation in the form of changing the Marine and Fisheries Service of Bangkalan Regency to the Fisheries Service of Bangkalan Regency. The change of the Bangkalan Regency Marine and Fisheries Service to the Bangkalan Regency Fisheries Service is basically a form of local government obedience to the central government. In fact, after the implementation of Law Number 23 of 2014 jo Regional Regulation of Bangkalan Regency number 7 of 2016, the situation of capture and coastal fisheries resource management has become increasingly leading to negative impacts. As the handling of fishermen's conflicts is getting longer and more complicated<sup>1</sup>. This also has an impact on hampering the process of community empowerment in coastal Bangkalan Regency which experiences fishermen conflicts.

The reality that occurred on the ground did not seem to be anticipated by the drafters of laws and local regulations related to decentralization. This suggests that the inability to anticipate the problems that arise may stem from the perspective and frame of mind adopted by decentralization policy thinkers in this country. The drafters of the decentralization law and the various accompanying PPs departed from a framework that strongly emphasized legal-institutional and public-administrative aspects. A perspective that emphasizes the importance of legal-formal and public-administration approaches then referred to as *Public Administration School* (hereinafter abbreviated as PAS) is a "*mainstream*", both in the *discourse* and in the practice of decentralization policy in Indonesia. The magnitude of PAS's influence is because it substantively provides the foundation for *governance* and directly provides the *software* needed by the government bureaucracy (Tirtosudarmo, 2007).

Thus, a critique of PAS that has dominated post-Suharto decentralization discourse, as Smith (2005) argues that decentralization is too dangerous to leave to political actors alone, social scientists must take a role in thinking about the methods, approaches, and assumptions that affect power relations and the state. The *Public administration school* (PAS) approach in implementing the removal of sea areas from the authority of districts/cities does not consider the sociological and economic aspects of coastal communities.

Administratively, the enactment of Law Number 23 of 2014 means the loss of authority of the district government in managing its coastal sea area as far as 4 miles. The Bangkalan Regency Government also issued Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Establishment and Arrangement of Regional Equipment, in which there was a change in structure and function from the Marine and Fisheries Service to the Fisheries Service.

Regarding the abolition of the authority of the district government's sea area as far as 4 miles from the coast, from interviews with figures in Labuhan Village and Tenjang Village, it was concluded; According to the fishing community, there are impacts, namely, the first is more difficult in terms of managing fishing boat operation permits; which previously was adequately managed at the Bangkalan Regency Transportation Office, with the enactment of Law number. 23/2014 then it must be taken care of by the East Java Provincial Office which is further located. However, the problems arising from the withdrawal of permits to the province can be mitigated with assistance from extension workers from the Bangkalan district fisheries office in its management. In terms of this permit, there has been centralization which can make it difficult for small fishermen in Bangkalan Regency. However, this condition of helplessness of fishermen can be re-empowered with the helping hand of the Bangkalan Regency government through district fisheries extension workers who coordinate fishing boat licensing matters with the East Java provincial government. Of course, this is carried out outside the structural authority which is actually not good for governance because the matter of permits for district sea/boat transportation modes has no legal basis.

In terms of coastal community empowerment, the Bangkalan Regency government through the Fisheries Office has carried out activities to provide assistance for fishing facilities. Since the enactment of Law No. 23 of 2014, namely in 2015, the provision of fishery equipment assistance has experienced obstacles so it has not been implemented, as well as in 2016. The obstacle that prevented the aid process from being carried out was the transition period of changes in the organizational structure of the regional apparatus including the fisheries service due to the implementation of Law Number 23 of 2014.

In 2017 fishery equipment assistance was not carried out due to the lack of socialization in the community where the beneficiary community must be in a fisherman group with a legal entity (Basri, 2017). In 2018 the Bangkalan district fisheries office provided assistance in the form of *coolboxes* and fish baskets to fishing communities (Basri, 2018). In 2019 the Bangkalan district government provided assistance in the form of fishermen's insurance and fishermen's land certificates, Kusuka cards, and crab nets, as well as the delivery of marketing and processing facilities to fishermen's farmer cooperatives (Setda Bangkalan, 2019). For 2020, fisheries facilities assistance cannot be carried out because proposals to the central government have not received a response (Abdi 2020).

In 2021, the Bangkalan Regency government distributed social assistance in the form of rice. A total of 1,250 bags of rice were given to fishermen in Bangkalan Regency. (Dinsos, 2021) In 2022, the Bangkalan Regency Government provided assistance to fishermen and fish farming groups, but the number was not much. Only 4 community groups received assistance. 1 from fishermen, 3 groups from fish farming. Assistance to fishermen is in the form of one boat

engine with a value of IDR 10 million (Saed, 2022). The value of this assistance is relatively small when compared to the number of fishermen in Bangkalan district which is 7,955 people (Setda, 2019).

Seeing the relatively small value of Bangkalan district government assistance, it can be suspected that the empowerment process cannot be accelerated in line with social changes and economic growth of the general community. In this kind of situation, the community is required to be empowered with self-help based more on their own potential abilities such as local wisdom as happened in Tenjang Village and the cultural capital experienced by the people of Mountain Village.

Another negative impact of the implementation of Law Number 23 of 2014 is in terms of supervision of marine areas, where the Bangkalan sea area is often vulnerable to fishermen conflict events at sea, or vulnerable to the use of prohibited fishing gear (such as *trawl*) (Arfa, 2021), with the implementation of Law no. 23/2014 the Bangkalan district fisheries service, which previously had the task of supervising the district sea area as far as 4 miles, no longer has the authority to carry out supervision and security measures because the marine service institution has been abolished and turned into a fisheries service through Bangkalan Regency Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 concerning the establishment and arrangement of regional apparatus. Regarding the security measures of sea areas with the decentralization policy with Law Number 23 of 2014, the implementation of supervision and security of marine areas including the coast of Bangkalan Regency is carried out by officials from the Fisheries and Marine Service of East Java Province-based in Surabaya whose span of control is longer and farther because the East Java Provincial Government is based in Surabaya City on the opposite island (Java Island). Related to this, coordination of case resolution is slow and the legal process is often "lost" <sup>3</sup>, this happens because the provincial government does not have an extension or apparatus in the Bangkalan Regency area.

When compared to the handling of fishermen conflicts in the era before Law number 23 of 2014 when the district government still had the authority to supervise sea areas as far as 4 miles away, at which time the handling of conflicts was faster to resolve due to cooperation (coordination) between the Bangkalan Regency Marine and Fisheries Service (which has now changed to the Fisheries Service only) and the water police (Polair) of the Base Police. As an illustration, when there is a finding of a fisherman conflict, the Bangkalan Regency Marine and Fisheries Service which has an integrated marine security post that is also filled with police officers can immediately follow up on the conflict incident by securing (arresting) the perpetrators who are then processed legally (Ramadhansyah, 2008).

The impact of the slow resolution of fishermen conflicts after Law number 23 of 2014 as described above is; fishermen conflicts and violations of the use of *trawl* fishing gear by fishermen from outside (Lamongan) that damage coral reefs as a habitat for fish and crabs in Bangkalan waters will continue. This event will also have an impact on the catch of Bangkalan fishermen (Labuhan, Tenjang, and Gunung), which will decrease. A decrease in catch also means a decrease in fishermen's income, a decrease in income will have an impact on social and economic welfare<sup>123</sup>.

The socio-economic life in Labuhan Village Tenjang Village and Mountain Village is a portrait of the socio-economic life of fishermen in Bangkalan. However, decentralization, which is a government policy in Indonesia, has a significant impact. Decentralization of administration that removes the authority of Bangkalan district over sea areas as far as 4 miles from the coast has an adverse impact on the lives of small fishermen on the coast of Bangkalan, namely from the aspects of environmental sustainability and livelihood (livelihood). In terms of environmental sustainability, *trawling* operations that damage coral reefs are becoming uncontrollable in use with reduced marine surveillance by the district government. Coral reefs here as a place for fish to live are a source of livelihood (livelihood) of the community which in turn damage to coral reefs will have a negative impact on the economic life of fishermen. Then, judging from the social and economic side of the Bangkalan coastal community, the use of *trawling* by outside fishermen has a negative impact on the lives of Bangkalan fishermen. Socially it causes conflict and economically interferes with income from fishing fishermen in Bangkalan. Conflict causes trauma and casualties (Zainatul, 2008), as well as conflict has an impact on decreasing fishermen's income.

The social and economic impact of these fishermen not only disrupts the socio-economy of the fishing community in coastal Bangkalan Regency but will also have a further *domino effect* on the welfare of the people of the entire district, considering that coastal communities, which geographically dominate the demographics in Bangkalan Regency, carry out social interactions and economic transactions with the population of Bangkalan Regency as a whole.

However, regarding the issue of monitoring coastal marine security in Bangkalan Regency, the establishment of Pokmaswas (Supervisory Community Group) has been carried out. This Pokmaswas was initiated by the East Java provincial government with the aim of continuing to activate marine surveillance activities in connection with the loss of authority of the district /city government with the existence of Law Number 23 of 2014. This Pokmaswas is more of a non-governmental activity because in its activities the energy and costs are provided by the village community or the village itself. It can be interpreted that with the helplessness of the community due to the reduced role of the government in coastal sea supervision, there has been a process of community empowerment with the establishment of pokmaswas. This Pokmaswas when compared to marine surveillance activities carried out before Law number 23 of 2014 jo. Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2017 looks still ineffective because Pokmaswas are carried out by communities whose funding is limited and smaller when compared to what was budgeted by the Bangkalan Regency government in the period before Law No. 23/2014.

### **Political and fiscal decentralization and policy implications of Bangkalan district government and community empowerment**

Political decentralization makes local power at the district level more dominating self-regulation in regional elections (*pilkada*) including in regional fiscal management which then gives rise to local political games. This then has an impact on different socio-economic aspects among villages due to discrimination in treatment by the district government due to differences in the attitude of villagers towards regent candidates during the election process. If you look at the case example, Labuhan Village received more attention in terms of assistance to improve



the welfare of its community from the district government compared to the community in Tenjang Village. Examples of this assistance are in the form of fishing facilities and infrastructure, village health facilities in the form of household waste treatment plants, teacher ngaji honors, to food assistance such as rice. This happened inseparably from the difference in community response in the two villages during the election of the regent.<sup>1,2</sup> The people of Labuhan Village during the campaign and implementation of the regional elections gave support to the elected regent and received various attention in the form of facilities and infrastructure assistance and funds from the district government, while Tenjang Village whose community at the time of the regional election did not try to support certain regent candidates, especially to the winning regent of the regional election, resulting in the absence of district government assistance.

The things mentioned above according to Aspinall and Sukmajati (2016) are a form of money politics where the mode of money politics in campaigns can also be done through giving gifts, free medicine, the project promises, and assistance to successful teams if the candidate is elected, assistance in the form of money and goods given by candidates when conducting face-to-face meetings in mosques, village halls, or people's homes, to *social gathering* events such as sports championships, dangdut music, and cooking competitions. All of this in turn creates a hierarchical model of reciprocal relationships between candidates, winning teams (or so-called "success teams"), and voters. The degree of depth of this relationship does vary. If he is limited to periodic material gains on the part of the electorate in exchange for voting support for candidates in elections, this relationship is called patronage. Patronage is defined as "the distribution of material resources for specific purposes and providing political benefits, and in particular, material resources distributed through clientelistic networks based on personal power relations.

Regarding political decentralization, in practice, the implications are elected 3 Bangkalan Regents from 2003 until now (in 2022) who are regents who are still related by family blood, namely hereditary from father to his children, as described in Chapter VI. This dynastic government ultimately has an adverse impact on government management, especially on regional financial accountability (Kautsar, 2016). The reality obtained from this research case study shows the negative impact of discrimination in the treatment of villages and villages (Labuhan and Tenjang and Gunung) where one village experiences better economic and social growth but pseudo receives a lot of material and financial assistance from the district government, while the other village experiences social and economic stagnation because it is ignored by the district government. This phenomenon is said by Aspinall and Berenschott, (2019) as a phenomenon of buying and selling democracy, where one village (Labuhan) sells electoral votes (*votes*) in regional elections while other villages do not.

Fiscal decentralization in Indonesia is marked by Law No. 25 of 1999 which concerns the regulation of the sharing of *financial resources* between the Center and the Regions and is a logical consequence of the division of authority from the decentralization process in Indonesia. Law Number 25 of 1999 which contains the Financial Balance between the Central and Regional Governments is designed using the principle of *money follows function* or "*money*

*follows authority*". That is, if the authority is delegated to the Regions, the money to manage the authority must also be delegated to the Regions (Kharisma, 2013). With the implementation of fiscal decentralization in Indonesia, local governments play a role in managing their finances independently so that all potentials must be optimized through effective and efficient planning mechanisms. This is a challenge for all autonomous regions in Indonesia, both at the provincial district, and city levels. However, what happens in the field of regional financial regulation authority is inseparable from the political interests of regional heads. This happened to Labuhan village which received allocation of assistance for both funds and infrastructure from the Bangkalan Regency government, while on the other hand, Tenjang Village and Gunung Village did not receive any assistance.

The difference in the treatment of regional leaders (regents) towards these villages is certainly not in accordance with the principle of public service which must prioritize justice for all members of the community in accordance with the preamble to the constitution of the 1945 Constitution, namely "The State protects the entire nation, promotes general welfare". The words "all nations" have the meaning of the whole citizen, as well as the words "general welfare" which means welfare for all citizens, without discriminating between citizens in one place and citizens in another.

Villages or regions that receive assistance, facilities, or funds will have an impact on improving the community's economy and subsequently have a social impact which in turn will improve the welfare of the community. However, for villages that do not receive assistance, of course, they will not experience economic improvement as fast as the assisted areas. Such are the policy implications of the Bangkalan Regency government in "responding" to political and fiscal decentralization that occurs in Indonesia.

Labuhan Village received maximum government assistance, while Tenjang Village Mountain Village, and possibly other villages received minimal assistance. This happens because the government budget is quite limited. (Fisher & Easterley, 1990). Limited budget conditions should make local governments think about acting more fairly with a more even distribution of aid even though it seems small,

Tenjang Village and Mountain Village which are minimal in receiving assistance from the government but with the character of their independence people can do their own empowerment. Widayanti (2012) stated that community empowerment can be done by 3 elements, namely the government, the business world, and the community through Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

Tenjang Village empowers with character building. Tenjang Village where many habibs live, where the habibs carry out Islamic character education that is quite firmly institutionalized. They chose not to sell votes in local elections because they suspected the potential negative impact after the election of the regent by buying citizens' votes, namely corruption (Aspinall and Berenschott, 2019). In Tenjang village, it can be seen that many surau-surau are still standing strong even though the condition of the building is old. With an Islamic character that is quite independent and not too dependent on the government, the people of Tenjang

village can run their economy well, it is proven that Tenjang village is a dynamic economic center, especially around the KH cesarean (tomb) complex. Kholil Bangkalan. The existence of the KH Khalil market is a kind of a *blessing in disguise* for the villagers. The community empowerment process in Tenjang Village can be categorized as empowerment carried out by civil society (Widayanti, 2012) based on local wisdom (Sumaryo and Kordiana, 2015).

Gunung Village experienced a social disaster for quite a long time, namely with the conflict between fishermen and fishermen from outside (Zainatul, 2008). The fishermen's conflict can finally be managed so that it has minimal negative impact. These social conflicts can be overcome with a cultural approach. As explained in subchapter VIII.3 efforts to resolve the conflict have been carried out repeatedly with government mediation but all failed, and what succeeded was the efforts of the Gunung village head (Kades) who took a local cultural approach. The approach taken by Kades Gunung can be categorized as empowerment based on local *wisdom*.

This local wisdom is often also said to be local knowledge, as well as local *genius*. This *local genius* exists because the truth adopted has been traditional or established in an area. Local wisdom has been integrated with belief systems, norms, and cultures (Sumaryo and Kordiana, 2015).

## CONCLUSION

This research discusses decentralization policies in Indonesia, especially related to the management of capture fisheries resources and coastal resources in relation to community empowerment. This study describes decentralization and community empowerment in terms of concepts and practices and analyzes the impact on coastal communities.

The study yielded: conclusions:

1. Decentralization in Indonesia has occurred from the Dutch colonial period to the present. From the colonial era to the New Order era, decentralization tended to be administrative. In the era of decentralization reform, it was carried out close to ideal with Law number 22 of 1999 concerning regional government followed by Law number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government which divided the authority of sea areas between the central government, provincial government, and district/city governments. When Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning regional government was issued, where the authority of the district/city government over the coastal sea area was removed, this had a fairly complicated impact related to the social and economic aspects of coastal communities, especially in Bangkalan Regency.
2. Community Empowerment which is a consequence of decentralization experiences quite complex dynamics and variations. Law number 23 of 2014 which abolished the authority of Bangkalan Regency over coastal sea areas, had an impact on empowering fishing communities facing conflicts with fishermen from outside (Lamongan and Pasuruan). Administrative decentralization (Law number 23 of 2014 which abolished district authority over sea areas) makes it difficult for coastal communities to make a living as fishermen

because conflicts increase with outside fishermen. Political decentralization with direct elections also causes patronage politics which makes empowerment in some villages and villages where the research is not run fairly. Fiscal decentralization with the political influence of patronage makes the distribution of coastal community empowerment budgets unfair and balanced between the villages and villages where the study is located.

3. Policy recommendations that need to be done are; related to administrative decentralization, namely reactivating the authority of the Bangkalan Regency government over coastal sea areas. If this cannot be done, law enforcement needs to be strengthened. Regarding political and fiscal decentralization, it is necessary to make central government regulations on fair public service standards to avoid favoritism in public services as a result of support in regional elections. It is also necessary to make a regulation that prohibits dynastic politics in regional elections because dynastic politics has the impact of collusion and corruption that continues and grows. The above is a concern for community empowerment in Bangkalan Regency, especially its coastal communities.

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#### Interview:

- 1) Interview with informant H. Abd. Fatih (pseudonym), community leader and fishery business actor in Labuan Village, January 8, 2022
- 2) Interview with informant Mohammad Athhariq (pseudonym), community leader/head of a fishing group in Tenjang Village, January 15, 2022
- 3) Interview with informant Sutian (pseudonym), a fisherman from Kampung Bandaran, dated January 15, 2022
- 4) Interview with informant H. Abd. Fatih (pseudonym), community leader and fishery business actor in Kampung Bandaran, on January 17, 2022
- 5) Interview with informant H. Abd. Fatih (pseudonym), community leader and fishery business actor in Bangkalan, January 27, 2022
- 6) Interview with informant H. Zulkifli, Chairman of DPC Perindo Party, Bangkalan Regency, dated January 30, 2022
- 7) Interview with informant Asmoro (pseudonym), ASN Official at KPU (General Election Commission) Bangkalan Regency, dated January 29, 2022
- 8) Interview with informant Abdul (pseudonym), a fisherman leader in Gunung Village, May 31, 2021
- 9) Interview with informant H. Abd. Fatih (pseudonym), community leader and fishery business actor in Labuan Village, January 27, 2023