

Empowerment of Fishermen Communities Amidst Elite Interest Conflicts: A Study on the Implementation of Integrated Cold Storage Policy in Jember, Indonesia

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Abstract	This study examines the complexities surrounding the Empowerment of coastal communities amidst conflicting elite interests, mainly focusing on the political-economic dynamics of cold storage management in Puger Kulon, Jember Regency. Utilizing descriptive qualitative research methods, data were gathered from coastal community leaders, local government officials, and fishermen. The findings reveal significant challenges stemming from cultural and economic factors in empowering coastal communities. The presence of interest groups seeking to maintain influence exacerbates these challenges. The power struggle between politically influential figures and external investors leaves the community disadvantaged. While the government aims to maintain regional stability, its limited authority impedes effective action. The inability to implement large-scale empowerment initiatives or delegate responsibilities due to a high conflict of interest among entrepreneurs hampers efforts to enhance fishermen's welfare.	
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1. INTRODUCTION

Conflict of interest is a phenomenon that often occurs due to differences in various economic, political or social interests. Interest groups, often referred to as interest groups, can be explained as individuals who have similar goals and are then involved in political competition with other interest groups (Benditt, 1975). These groups are generally organized and have common goals to influence the government policy-making process (Janda, Berry, & Goldman, 1997). The main focus of interest groups is to influence the government policy-making process to suit the interests they are fighting for.

There are various types of interest groups in society, including professional groups, labour unions, traders, entrepreneurs, religious organizations, traders' associations, student organizations, think tanks, intellectual or expert associations, company associations, universities, ethnic-based organizations, regions, hereditary (dynasty), and so on. The strength of these groups depends on their membership



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status, human resources, funds and networks. They often play an agenda-setting role, mobilizing issues, spreading ideas, and formulating policies and urging the government to act.

Although interest groups' main goal is to represent their members' interests, which should essentially be related to the public interest, sometimes members of interest groups also have personal ambitions. Some managed to enter government in their names rather than in the name of the interest groups they represent. This shows the complexity of internal and external dynamics influencing interest groups in policy-making and decision-making.

Every group in society has interests that need to be recognized, including vulnerable groups. They realize it is essential to fight for their Empowerment so that they can live a decent life and have a more active role in society. Empowerment refers to a series of efforts to increase the abilities of individuals, especially vulnerable and weak groups, in several aspects of life.

First, Empowerment aims to fulfil their basic needs of broader freedom. This means providing the right to voice one's opinion and freedom from conditions such as hunger, ignorance, and disease. Vulnerable individuals and groups can build a stronger foundation to actively contribute to society by ensuring basic needs are met.

Second, Empowerment seeks to help them access productive resources to increase their income and obtain the goods and services they need. This includes providing them access to the education, training, and infrastructure necessary to improve their overall quality of life.

Finally, Empowerment also aims to enable them to participate in the development and decision-making processes that affect their lives. This involves giving them a voice in policymaking that affects them directly and providing opportunities to contribute to the development of society as a whole.

Thus, Empowerment provides opportunities for vulnerable and weak groups to live more decently and actively in society. This benefits these individuals and groups and society as a whole by creating a more inclusive and sustainable environment.

Thus, Empowerment is not just a goal but an ongoing process. Empowerment involves a series of activities to strengthen the power or abilities of weaker groups in society, including individuals who face poverty problems (Batubara, 2023). This empowerment process does not just provide temporary assistance, but also strengthens the capacity of individuals and groups to become more independent and empowered.

On the other hand, as a goal, Empowerment refers to the desired conditions or results through social change, namely, people with the Empowerment, power, knowledge and skills to meet their life needs. These needs include physical, economic and social aspects, such as self-confidence, the ability to voice aspirations, having a decent livelihood, participating in social activities, and independently carrying out daily life tasks.

Thus, Empowerment is an end goal and an ongoing process to achieve more empowered and just social conditions (Ulum & Anggraini, 2020). This process requires long-term commitment and continuous efforts to address societal inequality, injustice and marginalization. Through this effort, society hopes to develop to be more inclusive, empowered, and sustainable for all its members.

Conflicts of interest and community empowerment efforts are inseparable in the modern era of social dynamics. Conflict of interest is a phenomenon that often occurs at various levels of society, where economic, political, and social interests collide. On the other hand, community empowerment is one of the solutions sought to overcome inequality and social injustice, often the root of these conflicts.

However, the main challenge is how community empowerment can overcome complex conflicts of interest. Previous research has revealed that conflicts of interest often arise in various contexts, from implementing empowerment programs at the village level to community empowerment efforts in specific sectors such as mining.

In this context, it is essential to understand that community empowerment is not only an end goal, but also a process that requires active involvement from the community. This process aims to overcome inequality and social injustice in vulnerable communities, as Sumodiningrat (2001) and Kartasasmita (1996) explained.

Several studies that are relevant to this research include research titled "Dynamics of Conflict of Interest in the Implementation of Community Empowerment Programs in Bina Sejahtera Village, Central Java". This research analyses the dynamics of conflicts of interest in implementing community empowerment programs in Bina Sejahtera Village, Central Java. Through a qualitative approach using interview and observation techniques, this research found a conflict of interest between the village government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local communities. These conflicts often arise due to differences in understanding regarding budget allocations, program policies, and participation in decision-making. This research implies the need for collaboration and dialogue between various parties involved in community empowerment efforts to achieve more effective and sustainable goals (Rini Setyawati, 2019).

Research titled "Analysis of Conflict of Interest between Regional Government and NGOs in Community Empowerment Efforts in Mandiri Regency, West Sumatra". This research aims to analyze conflicts of interest between local governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in community empowerment efforts in Mandiri Regency, West Sumatra. Using a qualitative approach and case studies, this research highlights the differences in views and objectives between local governments and NGOs in formulating community empowerment policies and programs. The analysis results show

that conflicts of interest often hamper the effectiveness of empowerment programs and give rise to distrust in the community. This research implies the need for better coordination mechanisms between local governments and NGOs to achieve common goals in community empowerment (Ali Akbar, 2017).

Research titled "Case Study of Conflict of Interest between Mining Companies and Indigenous Communities in Community Empowerment in Maju Sejahtera Village, East Kalimantan". This research examines the conflict of interest between mining companies and indigenous communities in community empowerment efforts in Maju Sejahtera Village, East Kalimantan. Through a case study approach and descriptive analysis, this research finds a complex conflict of interest between mining companies that want access to natural resources and indigenous communities that seek to defend their traditional rights. This conflict often hampers community empowerment efforts and worsens the socio-economic conditions of local communities. This research implies the need for a more inclusive and participatory approach in formulating development policies that accommodate the interests of all parties involved (Budi Santoso, 2020).

Even though the concept of Empowerment has been the focus of attention in various previous studies, a research gap still needs to be filled. Previous studies focus on theoretical and conceptual aspects but lack an in-depth understanding of the practical implementation of Empowerment in the context of complex conflicts of interest.

In this context, there is a need for a deep understanding of how community empowerment can be implemented effectively to face the complex challenges faced by vulnerable communities. Through an analytical approach that integrates the concept of Empowerment with the dynamics of conflicts of interest in society, this research aims to significantly expand our understanding of how community empowerment can effectively overcome conflicts of interest in the social development process.

To achieve this goal, this research will analyze several case studies that include conflicts of interest between various parties, such as local governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), companies and indigenous communities. Thus, it is hoped that this research can provide more comprehensive insight into how community empowerment can be an effective strategy in dealing with conflicts of interest that arise in the social development process.

With an integrated approach and in-depth understanding of conflicts of interest and community empowerment efforts, it is hoped that this research can provide valuable guidance for stakeholders in formulating policies and programs that are more inclusive, sustainable and positively impact society as a whole.

2. METHODS

The method used in this research involves a theoretical approach from Social Conflict Theory to analyze and understand the dynamics of conflict in the Madurese fishing community in Puger Kulon Village. This theory, put forward by Dahrendorf (1959), emphasizes that conflict results from inequality in the distribution of resources, differences in interests between individuals or groups, and interactions between social structures and individual or group actions. By applying this theory, this research aims to identify the root causes of conflict, the dynamics of interactions between the parties involved, and conflict resolution efforts carried out by the Madurese fishing community and other related parties.

Data verification was carried out by triangulation using a multiple data source approach. This approach involves collecting information from various sources, such as local communities, conflict actors, village heads, village officials, religious leaders, youth leaders, and security forces. Using the triangulation method, it is hoped that the data obtained will be more valid and reliable because information from various sources can mutually strengthen and complement each other.

The data analysis process was detailed by considering various aspects relevant to the conflict. Data from various sources will be analyzed comprehensively to identify patterns, trends and relationships between conflict-related variables. Data analysis will be conducted by considering the social, economic and political contexts influencing conflict dynamics in Puger Kulon Village.

In dealing with potential bias, this research will implement several strategies. First, research will pay attention to the diversity of data sources used, thereby minimizing the possibility of bias arising from one source. Second, the research will use triangulation techniques to verify and validate data from various sources. Third, the research will adopt a reflective approach in considering the implications of researcher subjectivity in data analysis and interpretation.

Thus, this research provides a descriptive picture of the conflict that occurred and provides a deeper understanding through analysis based on social conflict theory and careful data verification.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Government Program Policy for Empowering Fishermen Integrated Cold Storage

The government has issued various policies to protect fishermen including the Fisheries Law, presidential instructions, Ministerial Decrees, and the Fishermen Protection Law. Content of Law no. 31 of 2004 and Law no. 45 of 2009 concerning Fisheries, especially in Chapter In 2011, the President also issued Presidential Instruction no. 15 concerning Fisherman Protection, which directs 3 coordinating ministers, 10 ministers, 5 state ministers, TNI Commander, National Police Chief, 2 Agency Heads, Governors, and Regents/Mayors to take the necessary steps to provide welfare guarantees, certainty and legal protection for fishermen who operate fishing vessels up to 60 GT. The Minister of Maritime

Affairs and Fisheries was given instructions to prepare fishing vessels of up to 60 GT in the framework of fleet restructuring. At a lower regulatory level, the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries also issued Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 12 of 2014 concerning the Protection of Fishermen, Fish Farmers and Salt Farmers Affected by Natural Disasters. In this regulation, only fishermen, fish farmers and salt farmers affected by natural disasters receive assistance, including emergency response and rehabilitation assistance, which includes facilities and infrastructure for their business activities.

2016 Law Number 7 was issued concerning protecting fishermen, cultivators and fish farmers. This clause in Law No. 7 requires the central and regional governments to plan living spaces which include facilities and infrastructure, accessibility, business certainty, business risk guarantees, as well as security guarantees and legal protection for small, traditional fishermen, fish farmers and small salt farmers. Existing conditions related to efforts to protect fishermen are regulated in the Fisherman Protection Law, where article 3 points a to d assigns the central and regional governments to: a. provide infrastructure and facilities necessary for business development; b. provide certainty of sustainable business; c. increase the ability and capacity of fishermen, fish farmers and salt farmers; and D. strengthen institutions in management.

In line with this goal, the government established an Integrated Cold Storage program using APBN funds in 2018-2019. This cold storage program aims to become a buffer stock accommodating fish from production centres. This aims to ensure that during the fishing season, no fish is wasted and the price of fish does not experience a significant decline. On the other hand, fish stocks stored in cold storage during the lean season can meet the needs for industrial raw materials and public consumption. Thus, this program is expected to guarantee the availability of fish throughout the year and control price stabilization. Apart from that, this program is also an implementation of the National Fish Logistics System (SLIN) as well as the implementation of the mandate of Presidential Instruction Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the National Fisheries Industry, as well as Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2017 concerning the Action Plan for the Acceleration of Development of the National Fisheries Industry, which was implemented in 2018-2019.

Jember Regency is a strategic area considered a maritime axis and is expected to significantly contribute to the economy at both regional and national levels. This region is located in the eastern part of East Java, with an extensive coastline of 54,000 km². It has great tourism potential and abundant natural resources, especially in the marine fisheries sector. Jember Regency is known as one of the marine fisheries in the region. The production of sea fish catches in Jember Regency reaches around 40,000 tons annually, spread across several fishing areas such as Tempurejo, Ambulu, Puger, Gumukmas and Kencong subdistricts. According to data from the Jember Regency Fisheries Service,

Puger District is the largest area for fishermen and the marine fishing industry, where almost 87% of the population depends on the fishing profession for their livelihood (Arieni, 2019).

Jember Regency is a region that has an economic base based on agriculture, plantations and fisheries in both the marine and freshwater sectors. Marine fisheries have a significant role in fish catch production in East Java. Statistical data shows that there are 6,199 fishermen in the Jember Regency, with the most significant number of fishermen in Puger District reaching 4,460 people. The high potential for marine fisheries around the Jember Regency area, especially in the south, concerns the Central Government, especially the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. This is reflected in the construction of Integrated Cold Storage (ICS) located in Pancer, Puger Kulon Village, Puger District, with a capacity of 100 tons. This project is funded by the APBN, amounting to Rp: 15 billion, and continued use by the Jember Regency Government (Suriski, 2023).

The development of Integrated Cold Storage (ICS) is expected to act as a strategic fish storage center, where this program is expected to maintain price stability and fish supply during harvest season and during times of supply shortage (famine). With the existence of ICS, it is hoped that fishermen in Jember Regency will no longer depend on the barter system with land bosses or *pengambe'* in selling their fish catch. Apart from that, the Central Government hopes that fisheries businesses around the ICS area can grow in a partnership pattern through ICS. Apart from the construction of the ICS, in 2019, there was also the construction of 3 piers in the Puger area, Payangan Beach (Ambulu) and Getem Beach, which were funded through the APBN budget. This step is necessary considering that Jember Regency is a coastal area directly connected to international waters.

3.2. Conflict of Interest in Implementing the ICS Community Empowerment Program in Puger

The integrated cold storage (ICS) program has been in development for quite some time, namely since 2018. This program is the central government's response to the existence of coastal communities that earn their living as catch fishermen. Efforts to establish frozen warehouses are closely related to the existence of fishermen who are at the poverty line even though the fishermen's catches are very abundant. This indicates that many fundamental problems affect the lives of fishermen.

Regarding social analysis, the essential thing is that interests influence the existence of ICS, which is not yet operating smoothly. Several interests are directly or indirectly related to the existence of ICS. The first interest is the interest of fishing fishermen (consisting of fishermen who own boats and work). The second interest is the fish collectors, who, in this case, have a significant interest in the fish trade. The third interest is the interest of fish-freezing entrepreneurs in Puger District. The fourth interest is

the interest of the Regional Government. In between these interests, there are still interests that try to play a role, such as groups of non-government organizations that identify themselves with the interests of society. More details will be described below.

I hope an integrated frozen warehouse will be a blessing for the fishing community in Puger Kulon, particularly in general, for the fishing community in Puger and its surroundings. This hope seems to have not been achieved due to several reasons. A trusted Jember Regency Fisheries Service informant stated that the conflict was hidden. This is unlike the conflict in 2013 where the Puger community was hit by a conflict that was considered ideological, namely the Sunni-Shia conflict. This conflict is a conflict of interest involving the cultural and economic systems in the Puger community environment. An informant answered normatively when asked whether there was any progress regarding implementing cold storage in Puger Kulon. He answered quickly, "There hasn't been anything since I have been in Puger District as District Secretary for two years; there hasn't been any progress." This indicates that the existence of the ISC is stagnant and does not function for fishermen.

Conflicts of interest occur between the interests of storage owner groups. The government does not immediately decide who will manage it, so the community will follow. Even fish production here is enormous. Nothing to worry about. No matter how much cold storage is needed for production, fish from Puger fishermen will still be accommodated. The primary key lies in the central government and district governments. The informant himself did not know precisely what the problem was. The informant knew that it belonged to the government and would be used for the benefit of the Puger community. In the past, the one who launched the frozen warehouse program was Minister Susi, who then had an MoU with Jember Regency Puger. So cold storage was built here (Interview).

Investor interest is very high in terms of frozen warehouse management. The critical question in this case to ask the informants is whether there is a conflict between investors and the community. The informant does not know precisely whether there is a conflict; what is clear is that if there are investors who will manage it, then the priority is fish from buyers caught by Puger fishermen. It cannot be from outside Puger. This ensures that the interests of Puger fishermen are better protected. However, this hope has not come true because the fish management carried out by ICS has not been implemented.

To date, no action has been taken by the central government regarding this issue. Maybe this is left entirely to local governments. However, the Jember Regent's response to this problem was also considered to be insufficiently fast. One of the main concerns is the deteriorating condition of machinery and warehouses, resulting in the inability to utilize them. Regarding the steps taken by the Regional Government of Jember Regency, the information I received about efforts to deal with this problem has not yet been heard. It can be seen that the Jember Regency Government is facing difficulties in resolving this problem. The impact is that the public can only observe the existence of the frozen warehouse

building without being able to use it. Efforts from the Regional Government and its staff are only focused on maintaining the frozen warehouse building.

In contrast, efforts to find a solution regarding its non-operation have still not been implemented. Also, the Jember Regency Government and sub-district and village governments did not provide significant steps to solve the problem. All parties are still waiting for a decision from the Jember Regency Government, so no concrete action can be taken regarding the frozen warehouse problem.

The sub-district authorities stated that they did not take any steps regarding this issue because they did not have the authority to do so. Likewise, the Puger Kulon and Puger Wetan villages stated they did not have the authority to act on this problem.

An interview with the Head of Fisheries Section, Puger District, provides a clear picture of the state of Integrated Cold Storage (ICS). It was explained in detail and firmly that there was no progress at all regarding cold storage. "Until now, there has been no news, and we have not received orders from the district to do anything here. However, I have been monitoring it every day. To be honest, there is no problem here. If the government wants to operationalize it, the people will accept it."

Regarding the fishing community's response to the existence of cold storage, in general they do not say much. They seemed to feel that everything was fine as if they had nothing to do with the cold storage. "No problem at all." However, is that what happened? Some parties stated that the community did not want to be involved. They see that many programs provided by the government are not running well and are not sustainable.

What about cold storage businesses owned by local entrepreneurs? Is a cold storage in Puger Kulon owned by the community/private traders? There are 2 large cold storages, one belonging to a wholesaler with a capacity of 400 tons and the other one located across the road in the same neighbourhood near Habib Isa's house with a capacity of 100 tons. Meanwhile, ICS has a capacity of 200 tons. People generally traditionally freeze fish, namely with stereo foam and just add ice. Meanwhile, other traders also use freezers with a capacity of approximately 1-2 quintals.

What types of fresh fish freezing are used by the fishing community here? Here, fishermen generally do not use freezing when catching fish at sea. Fish that have been caught are simply laid out without freezing. Even minimally, for example, styrofoam. Moreover, a more permanent form is needed, such as a hatch. A hatch is a fish storage area that is integral (integrated) with the body of the fishing vessel/boat. So that the storage area cannot be removed (even during the lean season) and the storage can be sold. Only a few fishing vessels have carried out mechanization. There are still not many

fishermen who have plastic tubs filled with ice. So, in general, fish catches in puger are not good because they are exposed to the sun for a long time and are crushed by other fish, so the bottom ones rot quickly.

Are there concerns among private cold storage owners regarding the operation of ICR? Big cold storage owners have little thought about the fish supply; however, the big fishers have their egoism and feel that it would be prestigious if they could master the management of ICS. So the tug-of-war for ICS to operate under its control is very visible in the fishing environment today. So, can the new cold storage / ICS still obtain fish to be frozen? It is still possible because the fishermen's supply is vast; however, the influence of penname is huge on Puger fishermen. Fishermen who own boats generally already have debts and receivables. These debts and receivables cause fishermen to have to sell their fish to their fishermen. Whenever the debt continues, fishermen must always sell fish to their fishermen. Usually the Pengambe will deduct Rp. 1,000,- per basket containing 4 kg. Usually, 4 kg of fish (one basket) costs Rp. 50,000, so because of his debt, he will receive Rp. 49,000. Whatever the fish production capacity of the fishermen,

Regarding the Puger community having debts and receivables tied to the pengambe, does the community desire to store them in cold storage? There is a lot of data presented by informants that fishermen are still unable to store in ICR for two reasons. The first is that there is an opinion that the quality of fish from puger fishermen is of secondary quality. This is because the storage used by fishermen is not suitable for good quality fish according to the quality desired by Palka entrepreneurs. Fishermen catch fish in the sea armed with stereo foam storage with just ice. This causes the Puger fishermen's fish to be quality 2.

On the other hand, the Puger fishermen are very attached to the Pengambe, so there is no freedom for the Puger fishermen to sell to other traders or store them in cold storage. The fish will be purchased immediately and automatically by the fisherman. Fishermen cannot move freely. ICS cannot be used to freeze fish already in poor condition.

Cold storage entrepreneurs in Puger District cannot buy fish to freeze. Generally, these entrepreneurs buy fish from Sendang Biru beach in Malang. So these entrepreneurs only take advantage of selling fish during the fish 'field' season, namely the fish lean season. This is what private cold storage entrepreneurs in Puger profit from. They don't lose out if they don't buy fish from fishermen at harvest time, but during times of famine, they sell fish to the general public who need fish consumption by exploiting the image that Puger is the basis for tuna fish.

The main interest of these cold storage entrepreneurs in ICS is apparent: they want to become ICS managers. So the storage capacity is enormous. That is around 200 tons (Interview). This is a very lucrative business. But why isn't there an agreement between the Jember district government and this private cold storage entrepreneur? Several informants stated that the rent set by the Jember Regency

government was very high. The Jember Regency Government asks for a management rental fee of more than Rp. 300 million per year. This makes some entrepreneurs back off and prefer not to access it. Meanwhile, the Jember Regency government, who was asked for confirmation, stated that the rental fee of Rp. 300 million was made through the provisions provided by the central government, namely through KJPP (Public Appraisal Services Consultant), which stated that the capacity and value of the ICS was a minimum rental value for the management. Rp. 300 million. So, currently, no cold storage entrepreneurs have submitted offers (Interviews).

This fact cannot be denied, and it turns out that all parties feel that no solution can be taken. The Jember district government itself feels it cannot appoint managers from the government itself. For example, ICS will be treated like a BUMD (regionally owned business entity) because the government does not have sufficient business capital for its operations. So currently, the Jember Regency government can only turn on the electricity. Electricity costs alone are considered expensive because the Jember Regency Government pays Rp every month. 30,000,000- for electricity costs for the frozen warehouse. This is a dilemma for the Jember Regency Government. The Jember Regency Government is an interested party but cannot manage what is considered incomplete. This is what fishermen think is that the Jember Regency government is not playing a sufficient role.

On the pengambe' side, several important informants (Pak Hanan) stated that all pengambe have fishing networks. Each pengambe has approximately 10 to 20 people and some even have up to 50 fishermen. It is certain that all fishermen with a relationship with the pengambe' have a debt and receivable relationship. Fishermen are very dependent on pengambes because pengambes require them to sell to them. If the fisherman rebels, he immediately asks for all his money to be returned.

On the other hand. Pengambe' will also not buy fish that fishermen get during the fishing season, so fishermen will automatically be unable to sell their fish. Fishermen will also feel pressured because the fish they catch in a few moments will rot, and prices will be damaged.

The Pengambe' group enforces the same rules that apply to fishermen in Puger. If a fisherman gets away from one of the fishermen, carrying out this fishing business will usually be challenging. This happens even to large fishermen, such as fishermen who own large boats with a crew of up to 30 people. A large penname is a penname that can buy and sell fish in large capacities. Usually, big fishers sell fish outside the city, namely in Surabaya, Jakarta, and Bali. Pengambe's relationship with buyers outside the city means that Pengambe can buy Puger fishermen's fish in large quantities.

Pengambe's interest in freezing fish is not that big. Several informants stated that pengambe were people who wanted access to become ICS managers only because they wanted to show their power to

access government programs. In this way, the Pengambe's authority becomes more respected among the community. Pengambe wants to establish his 'political and social' prestige among the Puger community. The image that fishermen are partners and not exploiters of fishermen is always promoted. There is a term "partner" for pengambe. Pengambe is a partner who is not completely detrimental. Partners provide employment benefits and provide access to finance. Many fishermen, like Pak Hanan, have good relationships with fishermen. But other fishermen who do not have a good economic level are always in debt, even up to 8 million to hundreds of millions. However, many fishermen have complaints about pengambe because the pengambe do not know the real price of fish. The pengambe completely controls the price of fish'. \

] Because pengambe has a network with other pengambe and with other traders. Traders cannot go directly to fishermen to buy fishermen's catch/fish. This condition only occurs in Jember, not Sendang Biru, Malang and Muncar, Banyuwangi. There, fishermen get off the boat and face the traders directly, selling their fish to them. In Jember, fishermen are co-opted by seafarers through debts for business capital (in the form of fishing boats) and this could result in debts for diesel and food for lunch at sea for the crew. Family meals while being left at sea. More or less the cost of diesel fuel and food (approximately IDR 300,000 plus family expenses at home covered by IDR 100,000. So, once going to sea, it costs approximately IDR 500,000 for one jukung fisherman with 2 fishermen.

The relationship between pengambes and fishermen is culturally very 'close'; many say that pengambes control everyone. Several critical analyses have given rise to the view that the government is also trying to eliminate detrimental cultural relationships by creating government programs to cut the chain of fishermen's dependence on seafarers by paying off fishermen's debts.

The estimated total debt of puger fishermen is approximately 300 billion. This number is considered to have been a challenging part to complete. However, this is considered small considering that this situation makes life very difficult for fishermen and is a chain of poverty that must be immediately broken. The government has tried to include banking institutions that are expected to solve Puger fishermen's problems. The program is the SWA Mitra Mina program, which was implemented in collaboration with BUKOPIN. Other banking financial institutions have also entered with credit systems designed specifically for fishing communities. This program is less effective. The development of this financial program for fishermen lasted only a few years, after which there were many bad loans and poor management. And next, the program becomes unsustainable. Efforts to break the chain of debts and receivables that ensnare this are complicated to eliminate.

Pengambe is an ordinary group interest, but banking institutions cannot replace him. He can provide credit easily, cheaply and quickly. He didn't calculate the interest percentage charged, but he could quickly determine the price of the fish, deducting one thousand rupiah per kilogram of fish he

had to buy. And if you have a lot of power by not buying fish produced by fishermen if fishermen don't comply with the rules. This is something that any bank cannot do. Not even daily bank (Bank Thithil).

Other government programs have suffered the same fate. This can happen in the ICS program. This frozen warehouse program aims to improve fish prices by improving fish quality. Implicitly, this is something that the fisherman does not want because it will directly or indirectly interfere with his authority in buying fish and unilaterally determining fish prices. The more accessible the fishermen are, the more they can become a separate part of the community that is not dependent on the relationships created by the fishermen. The correct analysis is that any program that will develop the economic independence of Puger fishermen will always face social and cultural challenges that have been formed, namely the culture of patron-clientelism.

Likewise with the port opening program in Getem hamlet, the building is currently damaged. The harbor building was a shame. This large building has not been used since it was first built. So, the TPI building is empty and never visited by fishing boats. Fishermen cannot unload their fish at the fish port in Getem. The port here is a place for small pengambes, which usually cannot compete with the big pengambes at the TPI port in Puger Kulon. Another development program is the port in Getem, which is stalled even though fishermen need an alternative port because Puger is full and cannot accommodate fishing boats. The big port (TPI) seems to be controlled by big seafarers. Meanwhile, in Getem, many small traders step aside and buy fish directly at the small port. Other government programs may suffer the same fate, such as the TPI Getem program as an alternative port, the Swamitra Mina program and the 300 M fishermen debt relief program.

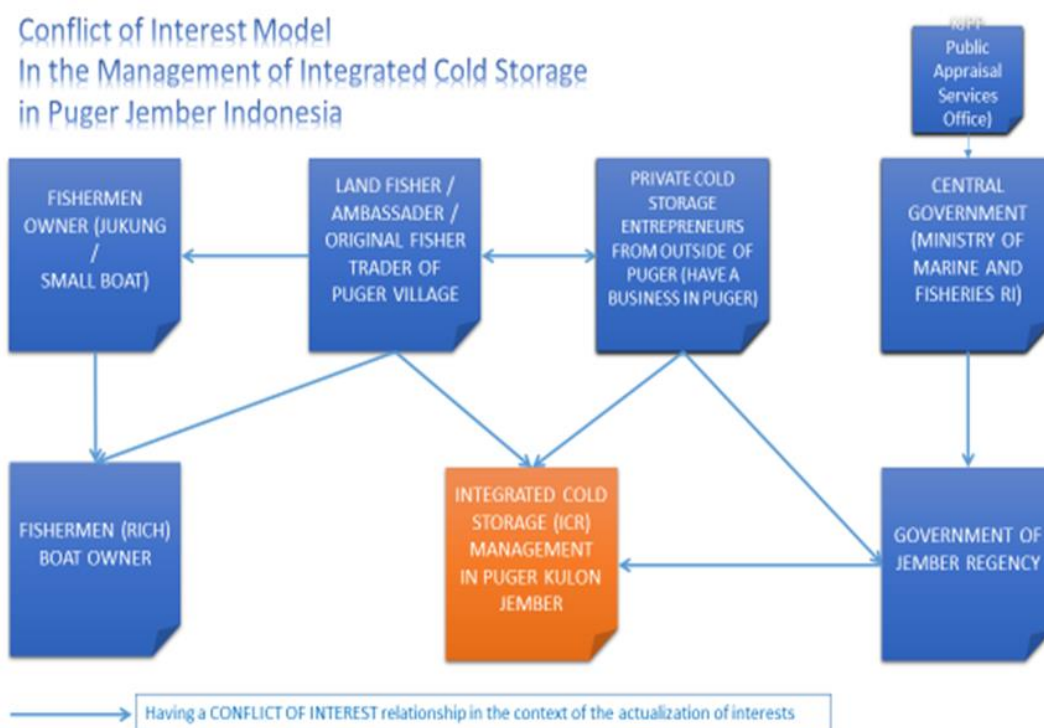
Cold storage programs may face the same fate. ICS can't get fish supplies because fishermen sell directly to fishermen without getting a definite price benchmark. The customer solely determines prices. The existing market price is the price determined by the buyer. So, the relationship between fishermen and traders is entirely controlled by the fishermen. So how does this relate to the existence of ICR? As in the analysis above, fishermen and fishermen have a patron-client relationship. In this case, it is clear that the pengambe is the person who benefits from the existence of fishermen who do not have alternative marketing because the condition of the fish is quickly damaged, so if fishermen can store their fish in ICS automatically, the pengambe' cannot manipulate the price of the fish. The quality of the fish will be more guaranteed, and fishermen can choose when to sell when prices are high. In this situation, the interests of the pengambe' are threatened. They feel rivaled by the existence of ICS.

However, the management wants ICS to be under the control of its management, which is in line with its interests. The interest in controlling the fish stock that will be sold at a particular time according

to market prices is a business interest. Thus, the pengambe' did not carry out any activities when the government program was stalled because of his interests.

The private cold storage in Puger does not take fish from the catch of Puger fishermen. Instead, they take/buy from outside traders (Sendang Biru, Muncar, Situbondo) whose quality is still good and in general, the fishermen already use hatch coolers on their boats. Pengambe and private cold storage entrepreneurs have no conflict of interest, because Pengambe' is not threatened by anything from cold storage entrepreneurs. As we all know, cold storage entrepreneurs buy fish from outside. Do not take fish from Puger fishermen at all. Perhaps it can be said that the cold storage entrepreneurs and Pengambe' have different interests, namely that the cold storage entrepreneurs want to sell fish during the lean season in Puger and its surroundings by taking advantage of Puger's image as the most significant fish port, while Pengambe' wants to control the purchase of fish and sales to other areas outside Puger. during the fish harvest season. This fact makes it possible to analyze that their interests intersect. However, they are united in the desire to manage cold storage. As a fish-freezing entrepreneur, this cold storage entrepreneur will feel profitable if he has an additional frozen warehouse. Regardless of whether the fish to be frozen does not come from Puger fishermen. They still want to be partners with the government by renting the frozen warehouse, of course at a low price.

On the other hand, Pengambe also wants to become an ICS manager. This competing interest shows a conflict of interest that causes no party to safeguard the interests of empowering fishermen appropriately. More details are in the following image.



Analysis of the impact of implementing the Integrated Cold Storage (ICS) Program in Jember Regency, especially in the Puger area, can be seen from several aspects, including conflicts of interest, socio-economic impacts, and obstacles in implementing the program.

First, there is a conflict of interest between various parties related to ICS management. The fishermen are interested in increasing welfare and independence in marketing their fish catch, while the *pengambe'* is interested in maintaining control over the fish trade. On the other hand, local cold storage entrepreneurs are also interested in utilizing ICS for their economic benefit. This conflict can hamper the process of managing and utilizing ICS effectively.

Second, the existence of ICS is expected to improve the welfare of fishermen by providing better access to markets and stability in fish prices. However, this positive impact has not been fully achieved due to conflicts of interest and operational constraints. Fishermen are still linked to a system of debt and receivables with *pengambe'*, which can hinder their economic independence. ICS development should also contribute to local economic growth, but obstacles in the management and operation of ICS hinder this potential. In addition, high rental fees set by local governments can be an obstacle to local entrepreneurs' participation in managing ICS.

Third, implementing the ICS Program in Puger is hampered by various factors, including lack of clarity in management, lack of response and action from the central and regional governments, and conflicts of interest between related parties. Operational problems, such as the deteriorating condition of machinery and infrastructure, also hinder the program's effectiveness. Lack of coordination and collaboration between central, regional and local stakeholders is also an obstacle in implementing this program. The absence of concrete steps that regional and sub-district governments take in dealing with ICS operational problems shows a lack of commitment to resolving this problem.

4. CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this research illustrate that conflicts of interest in the context of government programs such as Integrated Cold Storage (ICS) in Puger are a complex phenomenon and are often not directly visible. Competing interests between the government, elites, and fishing groups are highlighted by a lack of attention paid to empowering fishermen to implement the program. Economic interests, both on the part of fish freezing entrepreneurs and fishing communities, seem to take priority over community empowerment efforts.

In this complex dynamic of conflict of interest, the helplessness of the community is a reflection of the helplessness of the government, which is faced with various pressures and obstacles, including regulatory pressure, limited capital, and intervention by the interests of local elites. This research shows

that effort Community empowerment is often marginalized in the program implementation process, dominated by economic and political interests.

The author provides several simple solutions to overcome conflicts of interest and improve the empowerment community in the Integrated Cold Storage (ICS) program in Puger. First, regular meetings should be held between the government, entrepreneurs, fishermen, and local communities. This discussion helps understand the needs and concerns of each party and find solutions together. Second, ensure that information about the ICS program is easily accessible to all parties. That way, people can understand the benefits and impacts better. Third, training and technical assistance should be provided to fishermen to improve their skills in fisheries management and business. This will help them become more economically independent. Fourth, a fair mechanism must be built to resolve disputes between parties involved in the program. This will help avoid costly conflicts. Fifth, the rules and supervision related to the ICS program should be strengthened to ensure that all parties follow fair and responsible procedures.

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