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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Challenger's Social Skills: Bengkalis *Panglong* Business

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| ABSTRACT
This article focuses on the social skills possessed by the challengers, in this case, charcoal *panglong* (a place for wood processing and charcoal production) owners, entrepreneurs, and their workers who are able to survive the regulations on the utilization of mangrove forests. The battle in this field began in the days of the Dutch government. The purpose of this study is 1) to reveal how the contestation of stability and change in the charcoal *panglong* business in Bengkalis. 2) to analyze the social skills possessed by the owner of the charcoal *panglong* and his workers, hereinafter referred to as challengers, in maintaining the existence of his business until now. The ability to maintain the charcoal *panglong* business and its business existence. A series of research studies using a qualitative approach, using interviews and observations, were conducted by the author to reveal a series of strategic action fields in the forestry business. The findings obtained show that challengers have always competed with incumbents (mangrove forest policies and regulations) and governance units for a long time. This field contestation has occurred since 1853, starting from the time the Dutch government established a *panglong* in Bengkalis to meet the demand for wood and charcoal from Singapore and Malaysia. The challenger always maintains its business existence by fulfilling all obligations as a holder of a community forest license granted by the president and also as a charcoal export license holder to Malaysia; of course, to meet these export needs, another skill it has is maintaining a stable supply of charcoal for export. The patron client relationship is one of the challenger's skills in maintaining good relations with the local community and its workers. The market field analysis using Fligstein and McAdam's Field Theory of Strategic Action Field (SAF) helps explore the elements of social skills in SAF so that the structure of stability and change in the forestry charcoal *panglong* business arena can be illustrated more clearly.

| KEYWORDS

Strategic Action Field, Mangrove Forest, Social Skill, Forestry Business, Charcoal *Panglong*.

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Mangroves were first extensively exploited in the early 1800s, particularly in Sumatra. Both the Second World War and the War of Independence saw more of this exploitation (Wirjodarmodjo & Hamzah, 1982). Significant mangrove exploitation operations were involved in this vast mangrove logging, which was the second most important stage of mangrove exploitation. With a combined mangrove area of 400,000 ha, Aceh, North Sumatra, and Riau were the three provinces that exploited mangroves the most at this time (Bodegon, 1929; Kreemer, 1923; Van Goor & Kartasubrata, 1982).

According to Van Heurn et al. in Goor et al. (1982), Bodegom (1929), and Kreemer (1923), logging had to be prohibited between 1923 and 1936 as a result of ongoing overexploitation. This implies that over 200,000 hectares, or at least 50%, of the mangrove forests in Aceh, North Sumatra, and Riau had been degraded or cleared of trees. According to estimations of mangrove area in

the three provinces by Giesen and Onrizal's research of satellite images of mangroves in North Sumatra, by the end of 1970, the majority of the degraded areas (75%) had probably been recolonized (Giesen, 1993; Onrizal, 2017).

Mangrove forests are an inseparable part of the daily lives of coastal communities. Through the availability of mangrove forest resources, coastal community members can do things that are very important in fulfilling their needs, such as finding mangrove wood for raw materials for making charcoal. Forest resources provide jobs that can be continuously renewed as long as they are utilized for basic needs and provide time for natural recovery or assisted recovery carried out by coastal community members. The coastal community that lives around mangrove forests generally utilizes mangrove forests as raw material for charcoal.

One of the utilizations of mangrove forests is the utilization of its wood as raw material for charcoal. Coastal communities in several tropical countries utilize mangrove wood for domestic consumption and supply overseas needs (Malaysia, Singapore, Japan), and commercial markets for mangrove firewood and charcoal are established. Commercial markets include the charcoal *panglong* business, which is a forestry business that utilizes mangrove wood as charcoal wood for raw material and fuel for charcoal production. The distribution of utilization of mangrove wood starts from the logging community, mangrove wood collectors (according to their interests), then the consumer community, and charcoal *panglong* business owners.

The mangrove wood business as a raw material for charcoal has a high economic value (Genta et al., 2018; Nurliah et al., 2019). Mangrove timber is used to make charcoal, and the Bengkalis coastal community has long engaged in this long-standing charcoal business that is passed down from one generation to the next (Rosaliza, 2018a; Soerianto, 2020). The *panglong* charcoal business is represented as a forestry business battle related to the prohibition of utilizing mangrove forest potential or resources. The number of people involved in the charcoal *panglong* business arena, both forming collective actions (both individuals and organizations) will be a prominent discussion in this study. The arena of the charcoal *panglong* business battle is a dynamic field. The discussion of dynamic field models involving a series of collective actors is the basis for this research choosing Fligstein and McAdam as the basic concept to analyze (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

The charcoal *panglong* business does not only focus on the economic dimension, but there are many layers of interest in it, including relations with the dimensions of bureaucracy, administration, politics, society, environment, and, of course culture and security. These various dimensions are interrelated with each other to shape and determine the stability and dynamics of the charcoal *panglong* business arena. The charcoal *panglong* business in the coastal area accommodates the demand for charcoal both for the Bengkalis region as well as the demand of Malaysia and Singapore (Miswadi & Firdaus Ramses, 2017).

In line with the main problems that have been described, several research questions are formulated, namely as follows: 1) How is the contestation of stability and change in the *panglong* charcoal business in Bengkalis? 2) What are the forms of social skills possessed by *panglong* charcoal business owners and their workers in maintaining the existence of their business until now? These two questions will guide how this article is presented.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Mangrove Forest

Mangrove forests, sometimes called brackish forests, tidal forests, or mangrove forests, are frequent tropical ecosystems found in river estuaries and on protected coasts. They are a type of transitional environment between land and water. As the meeting point of the terrestrial and marine environments, mangroves are distinct ecosystems distinguished by high saline concentrations, high temperatures, murky sediments, anaerobic soils, powerful winds, and tides (Giesen et al., 2007; Hochard et al., 2019; Kathiresan & Bingham, 2001). For many tropical and subtropical nations, this kind of habitat is one of the most valuable, both commercially and environmentally (Biswas & Biswas, 2020; Hochard et al., 2019). and provide social functions to coastal communities (Rosaliza, 2018a; Rosaliza & Somantri, 2021; Salampessy et al., 2015).

Only a few species of mangrove trees can grow and thrive in tidal areas because they are a zone of transition between the land and the sea, with a large gradient of environmental qualities. This coastal plant community is dominated by several mangrove tree species, which are able to grow and thrive in tidal areas (Biswas & Biswas, 2020; Hochard et al., 2019; PRIANTO et al., 2006). As we know, an environmental trait gradient is a continuum of states that range between extremes, for example, from a cold environment to a hot environment.

Mangrove forests serve a variety of purposes, such as giving an environment for a wide extend of creatures and angles, directing water, giving assurance against storms and tsunamis, serving as a source of biodiversity, and creating both timber and non-timber timberland items (Alongi, 2009; Giesen et al., 2007; Mitsch et al., 2009). Mangrove forest ecosystems supply nutrients and offer aesthetic value to ecotourism destinations in addition to their aesthetic value. Mangroves have the ability to store and sequester

more carbon than earthbound woodlands in both tropical and calm locales, making their part in relieving climate alter another critical function (Kauffman & Donato, 2012).

The two primary sectors in Indonesia that oversee all mangrove forests are forestry, fisheries, and marine. The nation's mangrove forests are all managed by the forestry sector, with the mangroves outside of the woods falling under the purview of fisheries and marine affairs. Therefore, the interests and powers of these two sectors, which are sometimes conflicting, ultimately influence current mangrove management policies. Laws and government duties are applied inconsistently in mangrove areas due to complex social and economic circumstances and ambiguous authority distinctions. To improve the welfare of coastal communities and manage mangrove ecosystems sustainably, various action plans or strategies must be created to support policy implementation. These plans should build on the concept of sustainable development (Friess et al., 2016; Karlina et al., 2016; Kusmana, 2014).

Communities in the Bengkalis coastal area of Riau Province utilize mangrove forests to support their needs. The utilization of mangrove forests traditionally carried out to meet the needs of life began to be disturbed by the logging of forests carried out through the *panglong* business. The destruction of the ecology of the mangrove forest environment will affect the surrounding community. Communities in the mangrove forest environment generally view the forest as their source of life. Here, the ecological economy applies where various uses of biodiversity in mangrove forests are used to meet the needs of life. Besides that, they also try to preserve it, as Brigitte Holtzner called the "natural economy"(Dasgupta, 2007).

2.2 Strategic Action Field Bisnis panglong arang

The forest business is a market where many actors, both business and non-business, interact with each other. They battle against one another in a volatile setting to keep their business from changing despite their wide range of interests. The analysis in this study was carried out by Fligstein and McAdam (2011) using Field Theory on Strategic Action Filed (SAF). The elements of SAF help in this analysis so that the structure of the *panglong* business arena can be better described (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). The policy prohibiting the use of mangrove forests is a source of arena instability. This policy became ineffective and threatened the stability of the long-established forestry business.

The dynamics of the charcoal *panglong* business policy within the social space referred to as the field is the focus of this research study. Further discussion of the stability and changes in the forestry business arena due to the policy of prohibiting mangrove forest utilization is constructed as a dynamic market field by relying on the concept of Fligstein and McAdam (2011). Fields can be identified and explored through several elements in field theory. Fligstein and McAdam's (2011) field theory framework is able to explain the dynamics of the forestry business field in more structure and detail.

Researchers have examined the fundamental differences between theories and concepts that address fields. He recognizes that White's (1981) (White, 1981) and Bourdieu's (2005) (Bourdieu, 2005) field conceptions are typically static field models, as stated by Beckert (Beckert, 2010). The forestry industry is depicted as engaged in a conflict over Indonesia's ban on the use of mangrove forests, as per Beckert's (2010) assertion and Fligstein and McAdam's (2011) assertion that their field model is dynamic. The involvement of actors in forming collective action is the discussion of this article. This battle arena is a dynamic field. The discussion of dynamic field models involving a series of collective actors is the basis for choosing Fligstein and McAdam (2011) as the basic concept of this article from the fields of Beckert (2010), Bourdieu (2005), and White (1981).

The forestry business field is formed from relations between collective actors, both individuals and organizations, who are in the market field. They form groups collectively by adjusting the similarity of strategic interests to compete with other groups. The competition will end when one of the actors gains the strategic advantage contested by them. The root cause of the emergence of competition is differences in relative positions between actors who inhabit the battle arena at the meso-level social orders(Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

Fligstein and McAdam's (2011) theory was chosen as the main frame work for this research because it helps in the exploration of the structures that make up the forestry business arena. The elements that makeup field theory are described as follows: what are the interests at stake; what is the form of the rule of the game; who are the actors involved; the various groups of actors involved in the fight; how the social capabilities of each actor maneuver in the field; what is the position space of the forestry business arena; what is the beginning of change and how the dynamics take place. Fligstein and McAdam (2011) explain that stability and change are fundamental elements for understanding social life.

Moreover, a sophisticated network of strategic action fields (SAF) dominates the field. These are a few of the crucial field theory components that are examined in this study in order to understand the forestry industry.

3. Methodology

A qualitative approach was employed in the research. To explore the forestry business field in Bengkalis, Riau Province, this location was chosen to continue previous research on *panglong* arang, mangrove forests (Rosaliza, 2017, 2018a, 2018b; Rosaliza & Somantri, 2021). The subjects chosen are determined by the players' standing in the charcoal *panglong* industry. Diverse interest dimensions frame players' interactions with one another. The subjects chosen are determined by the actors' roles and positions as incumbents, challengers, and governing units. Actors in the forestry industry frequently interact with other actors who have a wide range of interests.

These various interests frame the *panglong* charcoal business as a form of interaction between the actors involved in it. The actors fight each other to improve their relative position. Incumbent is said to be the policy issued by the Minister of Environment and Forestry, in this case, the Minister of Forestry, while challengers: Charcoal *panglong* business owners, mangrove encroachers, charcoal *panglong* workers. And what is meant by Governance Units: Governor of Riau Province, Regent of Bengkalis Regency, DPR field and government officials.

In addition to the research subject, there are also key informants. Informants are chosen for in-depth interviews in this study based on recommendations from the snowball approach since their competency is sufficient to enable the anticipated data collection. The competence of informants in in-depth interviews in this study is knowledge and experience in the charcoal *panglong* business field. In-depth interviewers aim to gain access to the hidden perceptions of their subjects (Brosziewski, 2006; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008).

Interviews were conducted with several key informants at the research location (Rosaliza, 2015). However, in this research, not all informants conducted in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were only conducted with local residents, namely coastal communities. Sub-district Head, Batin, Lurah, Regent. In-depth interviews were also used to obtain direct (primary) data from a number of key informants. This information will greatly assist researchers in analysis and interpretation. In addition, the interviews were also useful for exploring SAF elements. In particular, to elaborate on the SAF elements of the actors involved.

Primary and secondary data are the two types of data sources used in this charcoal *panglong* business field research. Primary data was gathered through questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and on-site inspections. For the purposes of this study, secondary data is gathered from publications, including publication reports from pertinent government agencies, data on business licensing for the charcoal *panglong* industry from related agencies, and articles about the Bengkalis mangrove forest published by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 The History of Bengkalis Forestry Business

Communities in the Bengkalis coastal area of Riau Province utilize mangrove forests to support their needs. The utilization of mangrove forests traditionally carried out to meet the needs of life began to be disturbed by the logging of forests carried out through the *panglong* business. The destruction of the ecology of the mangrove forest environment will affect the surrounding community. Communities in the mangrove forest environment generally view the forest as their source of life. Here, the ecological economy applies where various uses of biodiversity in mangrove forests are used to meet the needs of life. Besides that, they also try to preserve it, as Brigitte Holtzner called the "natural economy"(Dasgupta, 2007).

A fundamental problem in the lives of communities living around forests that is commonly faced is the conflict of interest in forest management rights and forest utilization, both between the community and the government and with other related parties. The arrival of diverse interests in the management and exploitation of forests in their surroundings disrupts the everyday routines of the populations surrounding the forests. Numerous environmental, social, and cultural issues have arisen as a result of this type of exploitation of natural resources. This study will look at how mangrove forests were used and what effects they had in the Bengkalis region at the end of the 19th century and in 2023. The logging of mangrove forests is now increasingly worrying, damaging the ecology of the environment. Almost all beaches in Indonesia experience abrasion at moderate to severe levels (Laksono, 2000).

Bengkalis area was not spared from the damage to its beaches due to abrasion. Almost all beaches in Bengkalis villages are affected by abrasion with damage along ± 129,000 km, which resulted in several damaged public facilities such as mosques and roads. The condition of mangrove forests in the Bengkalis area is severely damaged because of extensive and ongoing logging. This logging began to fulfill various needs of life during the Johor Malay Sultanate Siak Sultanate and increased during the Dutch colonial period to cause damage to the ecosystem until now. In 1992, the Bengkalis area received attention from the media regarding logging and smuggling of wood from Bengkalis to Singapore and Malaysia.

The logging and smuggling of timber by "*panglong*" businessmen in Bengkalis both to Singapore and Malaysia is not a new incident. The same case also occurred during the Dutch colonial rule, which caused severe damage to mangrove forests in this area. The author will invite the reader to see how the exploitation practices of the *panglong* entrepreneurs in Riau, especially in Bengkalis, and how the Dutch colonial government organized the exploitation of the mangrove forest. There has long been environmental harm due to the exploitation of Bengkalis' forests and a drop in the quality of the region's natural resources.

Damage to the forest environment is caused by many factors related to social, economic, demographic, and political aspects. The destruction of Bengkalis mangrove forests is more or less related to the political economy policies taken by the Dutch colonial government and the market demand from port cities, in this case, Singapore (Nurjaya, 2005).

Through the *panglong* business, the exploitation of mangrove forests was expanded beyond the limits and principles of forest conservation, resulting in damage to the survival of mangrove forests, which means that it is possible to hamper the improvement of the welfare of life and cultural development of the surrounding community. When the Dutch colonial power began to enter the coastal area of the East Coast of Sumatra, especially the Siak Sultanate area, it aimed to instill its political power and then carry out economic exploitation. February 1st, 1858, The Sultanate of Siak and its conquered areas were controlled by the Dutch through the Siak Treaty (Broersma, 1919).

The Dutch then placed representatives of their government in Siak, namely, an Assistant Resident and a Controleur. In 1873, the Dutch changed the administrative division of the colony. Initially, the Sultanate of Siak area was included in the Riau Prefecture. After the East Sumatra Prefecture was formed with Bengkalis as the center of government, the Sultanate of Siak area became part of the East Sumatra Prefecture (Nurjaya, 2005; Soebadio, 1977).

In 1877, the center of the East Sumatra *Karesidenan* was moved to Medan so that Bengkalis became an afdeling under the government of an Assistant Resident. During the Siak Sultanate, one of Bengkalis' areas (Figure 1), Bengkalis Island, developed into a bustling trading port due to its favorable location in the middle (Lekkerkerker, 1916).

Figure 1. Map of Bengkalis Afdeling
Source: J. Tideman, "Land en Volk van Bengkalis" in Tijdschrift van Het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Deel LII, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935 (Tideman, 1935).

The emergence of forest tenure rights or *panglong* is closely related to the demand for wood for shipyards, port city development, household needs, and the gambier industry in Singapore. The development of Singapore's development and sea transportation facilities requires good quality wood, while Singapore's small area cannot meet these wood needs, so Singaporean entrepreneurs use the Riau region because it has extensive mangrove forests that can meet the city's need for wood. In fulfilling this wood need, Chinese taukes in Singapore created a business called *panglong*.

This *panglong* business is located in a mangrove forest adjacent to Singapore. Geographically, the *panglong* area is found in several areas, namely the Riau Islands-Lingga, the area along the Indragiri coast, Bengkalis, and the surrounding islands. In addition to Bengkalis and Riau Islands, *panglong* areas are also found in Aceh and Jambi, which began to be cultivated by the Dutch colonial government in 1924. The Bengkalis *panglong* area includes areas located on the east coast of Sumatra. The rivers and tributaries of the Bengkalis area and the islands adjacent to it are mangrove forest areas.

Mangrove forests in Bengkalis and other areas are formed from the deposition of mud carried by river currents and then formed mangrove forests. There are three types of forests found in the *panglong* area. First, those located on the periphery of the island

of Sumatra and the small islands adjacent to it are of the saltwater swamp forest type. Second, on the coast and along river estuaries are called mangrove forests, and third, dry-land forests are found in the Riau-Lingga Islands.

In the Bengkalis area, there are 4 types of *panglong*s operating (Tideman, 1935), namely: board *panglong*s, log *panglong*s, charcoal *panglong*s, and firewood *panglong*s The timber trade to Singapore is increasing due to the development of ports, industries, and household needs, causing the need for wood to also increase. Freshwater swamp timber species, such as Meranti, Punak, and Kelat, are expected to fulfill the demand. When the demand for firewood for industry and households increased, firewood *panglong*s were built in mangrove forests.

The way firewood *panglong*s work in mangrove forests is the same as logging *panglong*s; the difference is that they carry out clear-cutting instead of selective logging. This clear-cutting has caused the destruction of mangrove forests in Bengkalis, which has resulted in ecological changes with a decrease in fish population levels, especially tuna, which is one of the economic commodities traded in Bengkalis (Departemen Kehutanan, 1986). Forest clearing that ignores the environment in pursuit of profit has damaged the ecosystem of the mangrove forest environment.

People who live near coasts should support the preservation of mangrove forest ecosystems since these trees provide many of their basic needs, particularly those for protein sources. The community benefits economically from the mangrove forest environment since it yields a variety of fish, shrimp, shellfish, crabs, bird eggs, and honey. However, businesses find the mangrove forest to be a very valuable location as they want to turn the forest into a "mine" for timber.

This is due to the fact that mangrove plants are one kind of plant that can be used to satisfy consumer demands. The market needs of Singapore have caused the Dutch colonial government to make policies to exploit mangrove forests in Bengkalis. In the second decade of the 20th century, the Dutch colonial government offered forest exploitation with a long-term *panglong* system to the penguaha, who were mostly Japanese. This type of exploitation was known as government *panglong*s. The licenses granted are limited to the area of logging specified by the government, but in reality, the area of logging often exceeds the specified area. As the demand for timber in the Singapore market increased, *panglong*s sought to produce as much timber as possible by finding good forest areas, so without regard for the environment, they continued to clear forests. Reports from the Colonial Forest Service indicated that logging in the Bengkalis area was in a dangerous state. According to Freek Colombijn, forest exploitation in Riau began on a large scale in the 19th century, not only for gambier processing but also for the *panglong* business. This *panglong* business had the obvious ecological impact of de-forestation, with extensive ecosystem damage and biodiversity loss (Colombijn, 1998). In 1916, Dutch forestry officers (houtvester) noted that the forest in Bengkalis would become an emergency, and by 1933, the condition of the Bengkalis forest was very worrying because of the *panglong* business which exploited the mangrove forest on a large scale without regard to ecological damage.

4.2 Social Skills Actor and Charcoal Business

Contestation Utilization and access to mangrove forest resources are influenced by the behavior of the people who use these resources, as well as government regulations and policies that regulate these resources. This is a battle in the forestry business arena. The behavior of people who use mangrove forest resources must work based on these regulations. Mangrove forest resource policies include forest governance, utilization, protection, and preservation, as well as licensing rules and procedures, which, in this case, affect the stability and change of the *panglong* charcoal business in Bengkalis. Although locations or regions differ greatly in policy implementation (Soerianto, 2020). There are some policies that have been implemented, but some policies are not in accordance with the rules issued. This is what results in competition or fighting in the field based on the history reviewed earlier until now, where this business is still standing and being cultivated by the Bengkalis coastal community.

A powerful state or government regime that sets the rules, customs, and laws that apply to a particular matter or activity. Mangrove forest utilization and governance occurred before the existence of government laws, such as laws, ministerial regulations, and regional regulations. Mangrove forest governance and utilization are also based on the values, norms, and philosophies of the local community. Likewise, the policies and regulations that apply in the Bengkalis region, the lack of synchronization between the policies issued by the state is different from the facts of exploitation carried out by the coastal communities of Bengkalis in running the charcoal *panglong* business to the point of exporting charcoal to Malaysia. Of course there are social skills possessed by these business actors.

Although they have different conceptualizations, some field approaches include Fligstein and McAdam's strategic action field (SAF) theory (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012), Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 2005), and the institutionalist field approach (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This article presents a Field Perspective that partially recombines institutionalist and Bourdieu methodologies with components from Fligstein and McAdam's elaboration. A field, according to Fligstein and McAdam,

is "a meso-level social order in which actors, who may be individual or group, engage with one another's knowledge through shared understandings of the field's goals, its relationships (including power dynamics and reasons), and its regulations."

As a result, the following components are crucial: (1) a minimum of two actors who are conscious of one another, (2) communication, (3) mutual rules or frameworks, and (4) hierarchical relationships. Actors in a field vie with one another for hegemonic roles and advantages that already exist. They are driven by superior status and possession of resources, including cash, social skills, and knowledge, among other things. Because institutions dictate what happens in the field, they are limited in their strategies, such as accepted beliefs, guidelines, and customs. The "rules of the game" (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2003; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017) define legitimate and illegitimate actions. Similar beliefs, guidelines, customs, and action models will influence field operations and frequently result in actors exhibiting the same behavioral patterns (DiMaggio, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

In addition, competition leads to the formation of hierarchies. SAF theory proposes to distinguish between defenders and challengers (Fligstein, 2001, 2008; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012). On the other hand, challengers want to overtake the incumbents and establish a dominant position. Conversely, actors who have already established a dominant position and hence have the greatest ability to influence the field are known as incumbents. Since their influence is derived from the current structures in the field, incumbents have an interest in keeping things as they are, while challengers typically advocate for changes to the existing structures in order to bolster their own positions.

The terms "incumbent" and "challenger" are employed in SAF theory to highlight the competitive element. But as Fligstein and McAdam (2012) point out, great degrees of cooperation can also be found in some industries. "Social skills" are a key component in actors' cooperationIt's related to "the idea that people want to produce collective action by involving others" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011), as social skills allow people to think about the interests of others in addition to their own before acting. Actors can forge relationships and organize others with the help of these abilities. Thus, socially adept agents are essential to the field building process (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 46, 92). Perplexing queries regarding the bounds of fields Frequently, there are lax laws or oversight organizations that decide who can.

States and fields are subject to change over time. There are three distinct states of fields, according to Fligstein and McAdam: emerging, stable, and crisis (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011: 11-19). While established domains have acquired reasonably defined routines, norms, regulations, and interactions between actors, developing fields lack them. When events, either internal or external to the field, threaten its structure and have the potential to bring about significant changes, a field crisis arises.

Fligstein and McAdam's Strategic Action Field seeks to integrate the micro dimension or actor with the macro dimension or structure within the SAF or at the Meso level. Integrating also the existential (ideational) and instrumental (material) dimensions, it is generally thought that this theory criticizes approaches to sociology that focus on actors seen in organizational theory and voluntaristic or structure-focused theories that are widely seen in social movement theory. Both absorb many concepts and at the same time criticize them but also absorb them, so that the concepts of the concepts become typical of Fligstein and McAdam; for example, criticizing using some concepts in Bourdieu's thinking Social Skill is similar to habitus, both at the same time criticize that Bourdieu does not discuss collective actors, and Bourdieu discusses more on individual actors, so collective actors how the relationship between collective actors in different fields is like what.

Meso-level social order in a structure where actors either individually or collectively interact, so actors with actors interacting in interactions can cooperate or compete so the realm can cooperate with other actors can compete with other actors. This is predicated on mutual understandings regarding the field's goals, the power dynamics among its members, and the legitimacy of the norms that govern an actor's behavior.

It can be seen in the forestry business arena where the challenger is the owner of the charcoal *panglong* business; this is how he maintains his business. Cooperation with workers and the local community is very close. This relationship of interdependence and interaction makes it possible to form collective action in the form of opposition to policies issued by the state or governance unit that prohibit coastal communities from utilizing mangroves, let alone cutting and exploiting them. The policy can be seen in Table 1. The policy outlined in the table states that it is not allowed to utilize mangrove forests, let alone exploit them for commercial purposes.

Table 1. Indonesian Government Regulations Regarding the Organization and Management of Mangrove Forests

Regulation	Description	Ministry Support
Law No. 5 of 1990	The Preservation of Ecosystems and Living Natural Resources	Ministry of Environment and Forestry and Ministry of Marine and Fisheries
Law No. 6 of 1994	the adoption of the Framework Convention on Climate Change by the UN;	Ministry of Environment and Forestry and Ministry of Marine and Fisheries
Law No. 26 of 2007	Spatial Planning	Ministry of Public Works 2. Regional level conducted by BAPPEDA
Law No. 27 of 2007	Sustainable Coastal and Small Island Management juncto Law No. 1/ 2014	Ministry of Marine and Fisheries
Government Regulation No. 34/2002	Utilizing forests, creating plans for their management, and using forest areas are all aspects of forest management.	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Government Regulation No. 45/2004	Preservation of Forests	District and Provincial Government
Government Regulation No. 26/2008	National Spatial Planning	District and Provincial Government
Government Regulation No. 76/2008	Concerning Reclamation and Rehabilitation of Forests,	District and Provincial Government
Government Regulation No. 24/2010	Regarding Forest Area Use	District and Provincial Government
Government Regulation No. 73/2012	The Mangrove Ecosystem Management National Strategy.	District and Provincial Government
Regulation of the Minister of Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia Number P.16/Menhut-II/2011	About General Forestry National Forestry Independent Community Empowerment Program	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 52 Year 2014	Regarding standards for acknowledging and safeguarding indigenous peoples	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2021	In relation to the design and development of forest management plans, as well as the utilization of forests in protected and production zones.	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 2023	About the Management of Social Forestry in Special Management Forests	Ministry of Environment and Forestry

Based on the previously mentioned regulations, the state is responsible for maintaining a balance between the utilization, enhancement, and sustainability of forests. Furthermore, it is necessary to find a type of community economic enterprise that is in accordance with these regulations. The use of forests must, therefore, involve consideration of social, ecological, and economic factors. The Ministry of Forestry is the technical organization in charge of managing forests because mangroves are coastal forest ecosystems. The open and integrated management of mangroves is the responsibility of the government, as stated in Article 2 of Law No. 41 of 1999 on Forestry. Based on Government Regulation No. 25 of 2000 on the Authority of Government and Provincial

Government and Law No. 12 of 2008 (now Law No. 23 of 2014) on Regional Government, the central government has the power to create macro plans, set standards, supervise and control, and establish general patterns of forest and land rehabilitation (including mangrove forests).

The Coastal communities of Bengkalis have seen changes in the use of mangrove forests since the government established regulations on Forest Concession Rights based on the Minister of Agriculture's 1969 Decree. In areas where coastal communities live, such as on the banks of the Liung and Jangkang rivers, there are large charcoal kitchens (*panglong*). Coastal communities have long utilized mangrove wood. Now, they can utilize the mangrove forests provided by HPH. They work as laborers for Chinese toke from Malaysia (Erman, 2017; Nurliah et al., 2019; Soerianto, 2020; Yuliana et al., 2022).

Access to mangrove resources in coastal communities is restricted to the applicant, who is permitted entry into the region (Brooks et al., 2020; Hochard et al., 2019; Kusmana, 2018), collect the products, and manage the area, of course in accordance with the rules of the owner, in this case, the company. This is in line with the idea of a package of rights). Bengkalis Regent Decree No. 824 was issued in 2004 regulating community-based mangrove forest management in Bengkalis Regency. Village and sub-district governments gave special verbal permission to coastal communities to continue utilizing mangrove forests because coastal communities live in mangrove forests that have been going on for generations. This strengthens their existence in utilizing mangrove forests to continue supplying wood for the charcoal business.

Coastal communities are the only ones who have the right to access and utilize the mangrove forest. They are prohibited from living or farming in the forest. This is detrimental to coastal communities who initially believed that the forest was their customary right. When the state established various legal regulations, coastal communities were excluded from mangrove forest resources. Coastal communities continued to live under pressure, but they could only access and use with verbal permission from special village governments. With these access and utilization rights, coastal communities only utilize mangrove wood for their survival.

The policies and regulations described above do not favor the charcoal *panglong* business owners, because the origin of the charcoal produced from mangrove forests has no legal legality. In other words, this business contestation is a competition between challenger actors (charcoal *panglong* business owners) and also incumbents (policies issued by the government and governance units as power holders in the forestry business field.

The ability of the actors to utilize their positions to compete with each other to produce new SAFs or, reproduce existing SAFs, or change existing SAFs. So that later, the position can change, maybe the challenger can increase its position, or the incumbent remains strong and the SAF does not change. Challengers remain challengers; such is the Strategic action field analysis. This is proven by the history of the establishment of the *panglong* charcoal business in Bengkalis, as described earlier. Challengers have traditionally included workers, encroachers, business owners and their equipment, and coastal populations that rely on mangrove forests. One could contend that the Dutch Trading Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), which started operations in Indonesia (then known as the Dutch East Indies) in 1853, is credited with starting the commercial exploitation of mangrove wood in the 1700s. However, widespread exploitation began in the late 1800s as major ports for international trade between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore were established.

Social skills basically discuss the micro foundation or agency of the role of actors in SAF; Fligstein and McAdam define Social Skill as The capacity to foster collaboration through the attraction and facilitation of shared purpose and collective identity. So actors in both incumbent and challenger positions will encourage others to work together by creating shared meaning or shared identity so that others are interested in joining as challengers or as incumbents. Social Skill is owned by every actor, although the weight is different; some are strong, and some are weak. Social skills can be seen from the extent to which individual or collective actors have sufficient cognitive capacity to understand people in their social environment to form a framework of action and always mobilize them based on that framework of action.

However, in competition, there are actors who are called micro dimensions in SAF; SAF is the meso dimension; if social skills are micro dimensions, in challengers, incumbents, and governance units, there are actors who occupy them, and each actor has social skills. This is the theoretical building of SAF, which is the contestation of the charcoal *panglong* business field that has survived until now.

5. Conclusion

The forestry business of *panglong* charcoal is a market field in which many actors are interrelated, both business actors and non-business actors. The market field also involves state actors. They have interacted with each other and even competed since the beginning of the Bengkalis' afdelling during the Dutch Government Era to compete for the profits at stake and improve certain positions and dominance until now with the same field. This condition makes them form collective actions such as collaboration,

cooperation (patron client), and coalitions in utilizing mangrove forests and fulfilling charcoal supplies for export. Then they fight in the instability of the market as an effort to seize the position, on the other hand, trying to secure and protect their business from change.

The results of this study conclude that the forestry business is a market field where various actors compete and cooperate for positions in order to exist (social), dominate (political), and accumulate (economic) directly or indirectly. The market field perspective emphasizes that the forestry business is inseparable from the various dimensions of complex social life. The market field involves many actors who gather collectively. Meanwhile, the struggle for strategic advantage always frames every interaction in the field, and the field mechanism shapes the reality of actors' positions with all its issues and problems. This can be seen from the complexity of the upstream and downstream of the forestry business, reflecting that the strategic action field of this business is so complex.

Actors collectively seek to compete for market share and network with home-based *panglong* businesses to obtain charcoal in quantities that meet their abundant and efficient export needs and seek to influence government actors and policies. These strategic actions are nothing less than an attempt to improve their position and those of their groups. Small communities, *panglong* workers, mangrove encroachers are in a dominated position because the volume of capital they have tends to be small, and lack social skills. The interests that are contested in the market field are identified from strategic action market fields as the unit of analysis of this article.

The existence of strategic social actors, both as individuals and organizations, has a great influence on forming collectivity among workers, small charcoal *panglong* owners, and coastal communities. This is because they understand their position in the field. They know who is in the field. This knowledge provides clarity on who are friends and who are opponents and their roles. The position of actors involved in this field as incumbents, challengers, or governance units. This grouping is important to understand the position of each actor during the field dynamics.

In order to meet these demands, the challengers have the ability to read the environment and their own position. This is characterized by their extensive knowledge of the ins and outs of *panglong* charcoal and mangroves and criticism of mangrove forest utilization policies. The challengers, Tauke and forestry business owners, have the ability to create an agenda and mobilize workers in obtaining labor, consolidation and social activities as well as meeting the living needs of workers and home-based charcoal *panglong* owners. The findings in this study show that the social skills of the actors always adjust to what they are fighting for in the forestry market field.

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