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ABSTRACT
The Chain of The Fisherman Poperty
The study of structure and Poverty Trap on their Patron-Client Realation
In the Bugis-Makassar Fisherman

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Abstract

The main problem that causes difficulty of the Bugis-Makassar fishermen to out of poverty is a structural limit of strong institutional structures and curb actors in social relations. This condition the actor has also been difficult for fishermen to do diversification in augmenting the family incomes. This study saw that how the power of the structure of patron-client, directing, and socio-economic measures to limit fishing, so they get stuck or trapped in structural poverty.

The findings indicate that the process of formation of a network structure that includes "structural significance", "structures of domination", and "structural legitimacy", starting from the interest and suitability relationships among actors hope fishing, namely "pinggawa as the owners of capital and the production of mustard as a follower". The relationship lasted through repeated interactions in a very long period of time and has established institutional structures (patron-client) are very strong and curb. Instead, the structure is then directing, shaping, limiting, and even the actions of the actors limited the fishermen autonomously.

In fact, due to strong institutional constraints patron-client structures, so that on the one hand, actors mustard greens are very difficult to access economic opportunities that exist outside of the structure. Being on the other hand, the power of the new elements (economic opportunities) outside the structure, it is also very difficult to penetrate the cultural space of social exchange of patron-client structure. This condition is also constructing a "poverty trap" in the fishing community of Bugis Makassar. As a conclusion of this study, that the
chain of poverty trap experienced fisherman pinggawa mustard and small are: (1) low income (poverty), (2) the remoteness/isolation (Isolation), (3) powerlessness, (4) physical weakness, and (5) insecurity/vulnerability accident, intertwined with each other and accumulate in different strengths in each chain, and has become a "poverty trap" for most fishermen Bugis – Makassar.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Generally, the fishing activities by fisherman in South Sulawesi, often seen as a Unique work and the most exciting, thrilling, and very mysterious as well as with high risk challenges. Unconsciously the actors have conditioned the fishermen, especially the sawi and small pinggawa, isolated from the social and cultural exchange space.

In groups of large-scale fishermen (Pa'rengge) and small scale (Pajolloro), the results obtained by a large pinggawa as owners of production capital (machinery, boats and fishing equipment) grew larger numbers than a "ordinary sawi" that only works as a laborer fishermen. This means that the system of relations pinggawa-sawi is done in a way of production that separates Sawi (clients) with the tools of production (capitalism way), then the profit (surplus value) is not for Sawi, but for pinggawa. The Capitalism system is called by Karl Marx (2005), in his theory "Historical- Materialism " which is then to prove it, called "Mehrwert theory".

Furthermore, if the theory used on sharing system in the fishermen community, the system of capitalism that took place on patron-client relation has led to a "excess price" (Mehrwert) for pinggawa, which then happened concentration (Konzentration) capital, which further accumulation of capital, and in turn creates misery (Verelendung) for Sawi. Then, finally there will be a crisis which causes the Sawi no longer have the power for buying because of the poor, so it would be a collapse (Zusammenbruch). Specially for circumstances last mentioned, namely "zusammenbruch" (collapse) during the research we did, have not occurred in the fishermen of Bugis-Makassar ethnic in South Sulawesi.

In South Sulawesi, there are many experts from various disciplines of the social sciences concerned and carry out a review of the fishermen community, which then has produced scholarly works in the field of maritime. Some experts who have been doing research and writing
scientific papers in the field of maritime, such as, Sallatang (1982), which studied group of Pinggawa - Sawi with sociological perspective that focusing on the Small. Then, Resusun (1985) which studied the socio-economic aspects of the bagang fishermen in Pulau Sembilan. Karim (1985), studied about fisherman aspirations for children's education in Cambayya, Ujung Pandang. Then Rizal (1985), that analyzed by using sociological approaches of the treatment pattern of society lady sailor. Furthermore, Ahimsa Putra (1988), which studied pinggawa - Sawi through history and political approaches. Nurlan (1993), which saw the role of fisherman women in Structural Functional.


In a patron-client, especially for fishermen as Sawi (fishermen workers) only have the opportunity to conduct social relationships (interactions) intensely with fellow members in the group, when the group was doing the shipping and fishing. Social relationships with others outside the group has been very limited. Likewise, social relationships with relatives and neighbors where they, has been very limited and almost none at all. So there is a tendency sawi fishermen is excluded from the socio-cultural environment. Furthermore, the meaning operationally demonstrated that the actors of fishermen will not be able to achieve its objectives without using the resources owned by other actors. Although the role held by each actor of sawi is different each other in the organization of group. but the whole system is a single unit of work (team work) that can not be separated or can not walk alone. Medium, patron-client structure can be viewed as intermediate (medium) interaction as well as instruments for members of the sawi as an actor network. In addition, it is also a functional requirement on economic adaptation, the attainment of political objectives, patterned behavior in achieving integration and maintenance of the action pattern (latency) in the socio-cultural that processed in a very long time through the process of "usages" (the ways), "folkways" (habit), "mores" (system - behavior) and custom. Fishermen activities are concentrated daily on the ocean, unciously become a trap for them. The enjoyment of doing the job as a fisherman, has also influence their opportunities to acquire

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other skills and economic opportunities and wider social culture to improve their capabilities. This condition has made sawi do not conscious that accumulation of the structural pressures that occur internally and externally structure, had constructed themselves into a condition that is trapped in poverty. This situation is referred to by Giddens (2010: 64), as "unconscious motivation" or inability of sawi in giving verbal expression to the action, even if it is the desire which is potentially direct their actions. The condition, commonly felt by actors of sawi as a result of their ignorance of how the power structure of signification, domination structures, and the structure of legitimacy work in social exchange space with pinggawa of boat (small pinggawa) and pinggawa of capital owners (big pinggawa).

The formation of a network structure that includes "structure of significance", "structure of domination", and "structure of legitimacy", starting from the interest relationship between the actors of fishermen, namely "pinggawa as the owners of production capital and sawi as a follower", and interact repeatedly in a very long period of time, which made the strength of the network structure. On the other hand, the network structure that has been formed strongly, then redirecting and restricts the actions of actors autonomously. Even, limit power of the network structure that also has formed strongly, so that on the one, actors of sawi is very difficult to access economic opportunities outside of the structure and on the other hand, the power of the new elements on the outside of the structure, it is also very difficult to penetrate the structure pinggawa - sawi.

Social relations of Pinggawa - Sawi that take place in large and small-scale of fishermen group in ethnic Bugis - Makassar in South Sulawesi, showed that inequality of the exchange of power, position and wealth in every big pinggawa (owners of capital production), can be seen in the incarnation of function and role of Pinggawa as an institution to open employment, function and role of pinggawa as an educational institution; function and role of Pinggawa as an insurance; function and role of Pinggawa as credit, as well as the function and role of Pinggawa as an institution for sharing the profit. In this position, structures of domination role that held by pinggawa, is part of a larger structure (structuration) that helped existence of significance structure and legitimation structure in association of patron-client relation (Scott).
B. STRUCTURATION IN PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP

1. Structure of Significance In Patron - Client Relationships

The signification structure that took place in the patron-client relationships tend to resemble the things pertaining to the symbolic schemata (structure of signing), meaning, mention, and the discourse to a small sawi and their big pinggawa or vice versa.

The level of stability and fluctuations in patron-client relationship, is determined by a balance between the structure of signification that happen between big pinggawa and Pinggawa pa'rengge (juragang) and Sawi. The strength of significance structure in the patron-client relationship, is largely determined by the process of becoming praise action (recommendation), the act of soliciting (domestication), and recognition as the family or the family imitation (pseudo kinship). The accumulation of actions above, has made sawi respect to pinggawa, loyalty and obedience of Sawi to Pinggawa.

2. Structure of Significance In Patron - Client Relationships

Structures of domination in a patron-client pa'rengge fishermen, is not limited to the control of shipping equipment and gillnet fishing gear, as well as operational and marketing capital production (control of money or goods), but also including control over personal pinggawa/juragang and the Sawi (politics) by big pinggawa as the owners of capital. This means that the domination or control of Big Pinggawa to the small Pinggawa and Sawi are "political domination" and "economic domination".

"Middle Tools" on the structure of control or domination between Big Pinggawa against and small pinggawa, are on the existence of "facility" to each actor of fishermen (pinggawa and sawi), on the other hand "interactions" that take place between Big Pinggawa actors, small pinggawa, and Sawi, is through "economic and political power" as the owners of capital and as a person who occupies a highest position (strata) in the group.

3. Structure of Legitimacy In Patron - Client Relationships

The structure of justification or legitimacy structure (legitimation structure) that related with schemata normative rules are understood by every member of the group on patron-client of pa'rengge fisherman, who revealed in "Indigenous Fishermen" and the rules of the game in group (the group rules). Structure of legitimacy or justification structure of the small pinggawa and sawi to Big Pinggawa, is also not limited to the ownership of the
facilities, such as the dominance of shipping equipment ownership and gillnet fishing gear, operating capital and marketing of production, as well as decisions for sharing profit set by Big Pinggawa. However, it also includes political decisions concerning the economic interests of big Pinggawa as owners of capital. This means that the control structure or structures of domination includes also the structure of justification or legitimacy of structure Big Pinggawa towards Small Pinggawa and Sawi.

"Middle Tools" on the structure of justification or legitimacy structure between small pinggawa (juragan), and sawi toward Big Pinggawa (owners of capital) or otherwise, are the system of "norms" that applies (customary fisheries provisions and rules of the game) in the patron-client, on the other hand "interactions" that take place between actors in a group of fisherman, controlled through the power of "sanctions" that exist and apply in the social relations of patron-client culture pa'rengge fishermen.

Thus, it can be said that endorsement structure or structure of legitimacy (legitimation structure) which takes place in the relationship between Big Pinggawa, small Pinggawa and Sawi, are likely to be in generalizing the values and norms of the patron-client relationship. The structure involves symbolic schemata which manifested in regulations Pinggawa-Sawi group, through the frequency of the action takes place in a relatively long time span. So that all forms of decision established by big and small pinggawa, especially decisions about marketing authorities including the selling price and profit-sharing system, has been understood by every member of the Sawi (labor) in a group of fishermen.

4. Duality of Structure - Actor In Patron-Client Relations of Bugis - Makassar Ethnic

Nowadays, the existence of the power relations of structure that built by fishermen pa'rengge actor. Besides the maintenance of "the value of obedience" and "the value of compliance", and also the existence of interdependence and cooperation among them through the control system of values and norms strictly. Likewise, system optimization of management system and utilization of actor relations in the group of pa'rengge performed autonomously by Big Pinggawa (Pa'palele) and small pinggawa (Juragan). Thus, in such conditions, the strength of the relation Pinggawa-Sawi is still showing its existence as a very strong institutional structure in the Pa'rengge fishermen community of Bugis-Makassar ethnic.
Basically three major structural groups, namely the structure of signification, structure of domination, and the structure of the legitimacy in patron-client relationships, have a very close relationship each other and the level of stability and network fluctuation are determined by the balance relationship among them. Furthermore, the existence of interactions that occur repeatedly based on the interests of praxis (areas of life), which will shape and change the structure (Giddens, 1984: 162-213).

The dimensions of the duality of structure - actor as well as how the structure of signification work in a large group of fishing assets (rich pa'rengge) and a group of pa'rengge fishermen with small assets (poor pa'rengge) through the means between the "frame of interpretation" of the fishermen actors in each group, which are observed and implied meanings network between their actions, through communication in social interaction based on a system of values and norms of the group.

Therefore, the significance process which occurs in a large group of fishing assets (rich pa'rengge) and a small group of fishing assets (poor pa'rengge) has the distinction of strucuration, domination, and legitimacy, where the duality of structure that occurs in a large group of fishing assets (rich pa'rengge), "structure" here is tend to more directed to something that is "external" to the actor of fisherman (small pinggawa and sawi), as the source of constraints. On the other hand, the process of signification, domination, and legitimacy that goes on poor pa'rengge fishermen groups, where "structure" here tend to still be "internal", the actor of fishermen (pinggawa and sawi), as a source of empowerment (enabling).

Therefore, the capacity space of the social structure in a group of poor fishermen with small asset is more likely to accept new elements to be integrated as part of the patron-client system. In the group of rich pa'rengge fishermen, the space of structure capacity is still possible to receive new elements, but it seems more difficult to see the condition of the structure is more curb (constraint) and capitalistic. Nevertheless, it is possible if it is done through the power of the Local Government intervention, then the space capacity can be enlarged to accept new elements as integral to the structure of patron-client of rich pa'rengge.

All forms of signification that takes place in relation pinggawa - sawi, initially formed and simultaneously reinforce the structure of patron-client, which then conversely,
the structure is re-constructing the actions of the actors in the social relations in group of fishermen. The structure of significance relating to the symbolic schemata and discourse, manifested through interactions in the form of action taming (domestication), the act of praise (recommendation) is manifested from the success of the production, and the acts process as a recognition as relative from Pingga towards sawi (pseudo kinship).

Therefore, structuration theory does not look at the structure and actors (agents) as the two things that are dichotomous or can not be understood in a state mutually separated each other; agent (pinggawa-sawi) and structure (norms, resource, and relationships) like two sides of the same coin; agent (pinggawa-sawi) and structure (norms, resources and relationships) intertwine each other in the integral social practices in the patron-client relationship. In the meantime, the whole social action of fishermen always need structure (relationships) and the whole structure (norms, resources, and relationships) always requires social action of fishermen actor.

Furthermore, if we use structuration theory to look at the problem in a patron-client relationship, we are more tend to focus our attention on a recurring social practices among big pinggawa as venture capital owners (capital production), small pinggawa as the leader of shipping and fishing, and Sawi as followers, which is then connected to the structure that includes a set of rules, resources, social and cultural relations. Therefore, the fundamental goal of structuration theory is to explain the dialectic relationship and interplay between agency and structure affect (duality of structure - actor).

Furthermore, that the relationship between the pinggawa-sawi in a group of fishing with small assets (poor pa'rengge) tend to still have a relationship structure that is relatively stronger compared with the group parengge with big assets (rich pa'rengge), where the elements are linked to one another in the achievement of goals in each group. Because of this, each of the relations that exist in this group is referred to as the working group that have the same mains and goals in fishing. The division of labor in a group of pa'rengge fishermen is the right fundamental to linking between actors in order to strengthen the institutional structure pingga - sawi. Through the frequency of the action between fishermen actors that held continuously in space and time that is relatively long, then the structure of relationships between pingga - sawi growing stronger or institutionalized.
In the groups of fishermen, the power structure of the relationship is not only taking place horizontally, it means that the relations between sawi only, but also occurs in the vertical reinforcement, i.e. between the sawi and small pinggawa, as well as between small pinggawa (juragang) and big pinggawa (pa'palele). The relation between small pinggawa with big Pinggawa tend to still have a relationship that is relatively closer or stronger than the relationship between large Pinggawa (pa'palele) with the sawi. On the other hand, the relation between small pinggawa (juragang) with the sawi tends to be very closely, except with freelance Sawi.

In fishermen social practices in a group of fishing with big assets (rich pa'renenge), and the small assets (poor pa'renenge), which accumulation of significance act from Pa'palele has constructed action of fishermen actors (pinggawa and sawi) which has helped build and a strengthened structure of fishermen (duality of structure - actor) in a patron-client relationship. The manifestation of the process, is on rule schemata of fishermen on the system of values and norms that have been embodied in social order of pinggawa – sawi structure in a large-scale fishermen (pa'renenge, Pa'GaE, etc.).

C. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP WITH POVERTY TRAP

Based on the horizontal phenomenon of the relationships among the Sawi actors in fishermen communities, where the network theory is based on the assumption that the actor’s relationship is mutually dependent on each other (interdependence). Therefore, the operational meaning can be understood that the fishermen actor will not be able to achieve their objectives without the use of the resources owned by other actors in the group of pa'renenge fishermen.

Although firstly there are members of Sawi who do not know each other, but when each member must play a role, then they are easily work with each other. The linkage role between one another in the structure of pinggawa - sawi has made them always strive to adapt themselves into the group integratively. They have dependent relationship each other that is very close and interrelation role as a united. Thus, when there are one or two roles that can not run well, the other part would be distracted too, or at least the production process does not run as expected.

There are five chains of poverty that is felt by Sawi fishermen, intertwined each other and accumulate in a different force on each chain, which include:
Poverty or low income of the fisherman is the most important factor and the most decisive of the other factors, which are interwoven as a single unit chain that becomes a trap for fishermen. Income of sawi fishermen from profit sharing at each of the full moon, is generally not sufficient to meet the needs of everyday life for their family. Insufficiency of income make sawi family have diets that are less than it should be and the fulfillment of very low nutritional patterns. This situation has affected the physical condition of sawi fishermen and their families, which are vulnerable to get disease. Likewise, for the needs of their children education, can not be fulfilled. Moreover, for the fulfillment of other needs urgent, such as labor costs wives, the cost of treatment to the health center when there is a family illness, and life cycle cost of the ceremony (Birth celebration, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death). Urgent conditions typically felt by sawi fishermen, make them vulnerable towards helplessness, because they have to lend money to big pinggawa or small pinggawa. In such condition, the position of Sawi is weaker and trap in any form of decision is determined by a big pinggawa.

Alienation or isolation is a result of the nature of the work requires the fisherman is always in the ocean, so it was manifest their skill level is very low, which then causes the fisherman has a very low capabilities in other fields. In addition, they are also extremely difficult to access other work as a side job, because they are isolated from working condition as fishermen. In the meantime, have made sawi fishermen experiencing poverty then the accumulation of conditions experienced has become a trap for them. Therefore, the chain also has a very strong force in the poverty trap embody the patron - client relationship.

Powerlessness of Sawi fishermen is caused by very low incomes, poor housing owned, very low access to education, physically weak, isolated which have made them alienated from the social - cultural world. Later, this has implications for the disability in meeting the needs of everyday life for the family. So that, sawi fishermen have a very high dependency life to their pinggawa. Debt has also been involved in making sawi fishermen in a very helpless position or very weak in any decision-making in groups. Generally, they do not have the strength to fight against the exploitation system applied by big pinggawa. Sawi Fishermen as people who are in a very weak position in the group of pa'rengge, always strive to embody action -abiding and adhere to any decision taken by big pinggawa and small pinggawa. The sawi did not brave to fight or oppose big pinggawa decision about inhuman sharing of profits, because they are tied to the lending that could force them to repay if they have committed insubordination hard, for
example if they are lazy and did not participate or go to sea without obvious reasons. Therefore, the chain also has a strength that also embody poverty trap for sawi fishermen.

Vulnerabilities or potential accident is a risk of fishermen. They are easily get accident anytime, so that small pinggawa become hope that can provide protection for their Sawi while at sea. In the event of accidents at work in groups of fishermen, the big pinggawa (owners of capital) becomes a beacon of hope to pay for cost care which is counted as debt.

Vulnerability of job that experienced by fishermen, can also be associated with physical weakness experienced by the average sawi fisherman, for example, are easy to get any disease because of physical weakness. Thus, the chain also has a strength that also embody the poverty trap fishermen, but its strength is not comparable with the chain of low income (poverty) and the chain of alienation (isolation).

Physical weakness that is generally experienced by the sawi is a result of the nature of the work that has conditioned themself to work all day and all night with very less nutrition, without knowing the rest, irregular eating and sleeping, as well as the work done on the open space any time in the wind and storms, and excessive sunlight.

Furthermore, physical weakness caused them powerless to follow the social activities that take place in the environment where they live, especially when they do not go to sea (the full moon) and got an invitation from a neighbor. Physical weakness experienced by fishermen, also has affected the productivity of the current working group set sail and fishing. Therefore, sawi often get reprimanded from Pinggawa, for being a lazy or less able to work optimally.

Thus, the chain of physical weakness also has strengths that embody poverty, but not as strong as with the chain of poverty (low) and isolation (alienation). Thus, it became clear that the description of the five chain of misfortunes that mentioned above, the study raised can not be separated from each other, because they have been very close relationship and have become a power that trap fishermen into poverty conditions.

D. CONCLUSIONS

Based on description above, it is proposed some conclusions in this paper:

1. Existence of the power of structure relations that built by actor of pa'rengge fishermen, in addition caused by the maintenance of "the value of obedience" and "compliance value", as well as the expectations of conformity between pinggawa and sawi, also because of the
interdependence and controlling cooperation among them through the system of values and cultural norms of fishermen that goes strictly.

2. The value of compliance that related with "the value of obedience", "the value loyalty" between pa'palele, pinggawa pa'rengge, and sawi, it resembles the "social contract" in the, so that the patron-client relations in Bugis fishermen - Makassar still survive and continue till today. In fact, it does not realize that has given energy or force which then has emerged as poverty trap for members of the sawi on fishing groups Bugis - Makassar.

3. The process of signification, domination and legitimacy that occurred in the big capital of fishermen (rich pa'rengge) and small capital (poor pa'rengge) has the distinction of structuration, where the duality of structure that occurs in a group of fishermen with big assets (rich pe'rengge), "structure" here is more directed to something that is "external" to the fisherman actor and as a source that restraint or constraint.

4. On the other hand, the process of signification, domination and legitimacy that took place on a group of fisherman of small assets (poor pa'rengge), where the "structure" here tend to still be "internal", for the fishermen actor who tends to be a source of empowerment (enabling).

5. The fifth chain of unfortunately intertwined each other and have the power of in transforming poverty trap for sawi. At each existing chain that have different strengths, but each other intertwined whole or a unity that can not be separated.

References


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