World Wide Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development



WWJMRD 2017; 3(9): 395-399 www.wwimrd.com International Journal Peer Reviewed Journal Refereed Journal Indexed Journal UGC Approved Journal Impact Factor MJIF: 4.25 e-ISSN: 2454-6615

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Social Capital in the Devevelopment of Fishing **Business (A Study in Fishing Community of Makasar Island of Bau-Bau City**)

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Abstract

The study aims to describe and explain the role of social capital in the development of fishing business in Makassar Island of Bau-Bau City, Southeast Sulawesi Province. Using qualitative methods, this study demonstrates the important role of social capital in transforming fishing businesses from traditional fishing, which are usually more subsistence-oriented, to fishing businesses with the use of better technology. Social capital in the form of social networks based on kinship is very important in the mobility. For the development of social capital in Makasar Island by adopting Coleman's thought, this research proposes three pillars: the first pillar is strengthening the socio-economic organization so as to facilitate the interests of fishermen. The second pillar, attempts to facilitate the internal organization of fishermen to link external networks. The third pillar is in an effort to encourage social solidarity and trust in fishing communities.

Keywords: Social Capital, Social Network, and Fisherman

Introduction

People in Makasar Island, Bau Bau City Southeast Sulawesi Province, since many decades ago mostly lived as fishermen. Their presence has directly or indirectly contributed to the surrounding community in terms of providing various types of fish. Fishermen's community on the Island of Makassar can be understood as a type of mutual support community which is dependent on various kinship ties (family relations, friendship and socio-cultural relationship). This is what causes the fishing business to survive sustainably, which is directly related to the support of social capital.

Nevertheless, most of fishermen in Makasar Island are still in the low-income category, as they still practice traditional techniques and tools which tend to rely on the human strength and range more in coastal areas. The idea of the dimension of social capital in this issue is, in fact, so important, as it will contribute to the development of fishing business and, at the same time, to the empowerment of fishing communities. In line with the view of Kastasasmita (1997), it can be learned in various studies that in the community itself stored a number of potentials and strengths which if utilized properly will contribute positively to the

Salman's research in Badaruddin (2006) found that the collective work (collaboration) by utilizing the potential of social capital in an effort to increase incomes within the fishing community has shown satisfactory results. Salman proved that the collective work done by fishermen in Pulau Cadi Island of South Sulawesi not only succeeded in increasing the income temporarily, but also in breaking the dependent bonds of small fishermen (client) on a number of large-scale fishermen (patron), changing profit sharing structure in the community to a more democratic system, and embedding awareness of importance of the collective work among them in overcoming the problems.

The social capital owned by the fishing community on the Island of Makassar is in the form of, among others, social and cultural values that can potentially create solidarity in society. These values are still lived and practiced by fishermen which then generate social ties based on family relation and friendship bond. The ties then encourage fishermen communities in

Makasar Island to build a fisheries business network.

The pattern of relationship has occur for a long time that can be interpreted not merely economic ties but also transformed into social and cultural bonds that become a social security for fishermen to face various social problems and scarcity of economic resources. In the fishing community of Makasar Island, the owners of capital will always provide help to the laborer fishermen to obtain various facilities in the field of fishing and any other assistance demanded by the clients. As the laborer fishermen, they will repay the patrons' kindness in the form of support of power services in the fishery activities.

As Najib explained in Satria (2002) that the patron-client mechanism in various cases is seemingly be a mutually beneficial bond. However, the results of some studies indicate that the degree of profit varies. In these cases, the patrons benefit more from clients. Thus, they concluded that the mechanism of such relationships is often exploitative and is deliberately maintained by patrons.

However, the case in the community of Makasar Island is in line with Satria (2002) that Patron-Client Pattern has positive side and is not exploitative side like patron-client relationship in general, because it is able to drive vertical mobility of fisherman in that island. The question that will be answered in this paper is how social networks have supported the development of fishing business on the island of Makassar?

Piere Bourdieu in Rhonda Phillip and Robert H. Pittman

Review of Literature

(2009) defines: Social capital is an attribute of an individual in a social context. One can acquire social capital through purposeful actions and can transform that capital into conventional economic gains. The ability to do so, however, depends on the nature of the social obligations, connections, and networks available to you. Putnam in Purwanto (2013) defines social capital as the organizational traits, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve community efficiency by facilitating coordinated actions. Affiliation in various groups or associations within the community is a form of citizen engagement network that increases public confidence. The network of citizen involvement raises the potential cost for

the person who commits a violation of the norm in every individual transaction, promotes reciprocity norms, facilitates communication, improves the flow of information about trustworthiness of individuals and realizes past successes on cooperation that can be useful as a cultural example for future collaboration.

The main pillar of social capital is social structure that creates confinement in a social network that keeps everyone in touch so that obligations and sanctions can be imposed on everyone who belongs to the network (Coleman, 1988). Meanwhile, Lawang explains that the social network is basically formed because of sense to know each other, inform each other, remind each other, and help each other in implementing or overcoming something. In essence, the concept of network in social capital refers to all relationships with other people or groups that enable activities to run efficiently and effectively (Lawang, 2005). Furthermore, in analyzing the social network, Granovetter in Gede (2009) explores the idea of the influence of social structures, especially those formed based on the network, on economic benefits, especially regarding the quality of

information. According to him there are four main principles that underlie the idea of the influence of relationship between social networks and economic benefits are: First, the norm and network density. Second, the weak and the strong of bonds on economic benefits that tends to be derived from weak bond networks. In this context, it is clear that on the empirical level, new information, for example, will tend to be acquired from new acquaintances compared to close friends who generally have an almost identical insight to the individuals, and the new relatives unlock the horizon of outside world of the individuals. Third, the role of structural holes that are outside the weak bonds or strong bonds that apparently contributes to bridge the relation of individuals with outsiders. Fourth, the interpretation of economic and non-economic actions namely the existing of non-economic activities carried out in the social life of individuals which apparently influenced their economic actions, in this case, Granovetter said that the bound of the non-economic actions in economic life is as a result of the social network.

Methods

Types of research

The type of research used in this study is a qualitative study. Through this qualitative approach, this research attempts to analyze social network in fishermen community in Makassar Island of Bau-Bau City. Thus, the emphasis is not on the measurement but rather on the in-depth explanation of value and meaning, so that the relevant methodological design is community study.

Research Location

This research was conducted in Makasar Island. It is a small island within administration area of Baubau City. The selecting of Makassar Island as the research location is based on the following considerations:

- (1) People of Makasar Island since decades ago have lived as fishermen and have great affection to the sea. As a form of their love to the sea, they have a tradition Tuturangiana Adala that is a ritual in the sea held every year which then known as the Makassar Island Festival of Waters. Fishermen community in Makasar Island believes the event can open the doors of sustenance in the sea as well as an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT in order to remain comfortable in doing all fishing activities.
- (2) Most people in Makasar Island work as fishermen. They seine the fish by a boat which commonly by Buton people called ngkuru-ngkuru and koli-koli. It is a common fishing boat owned by fishermen on the island of Makassar which is usually operated by several people. Ngkuru-ngkuru is a kind of boat consisting of 2 canoes which connected with bamboos to each other and installed with petromax lamps in the middle of connector.

Informants

This research used informants from fishermen as well as from community leaders and local organizations. The determination of informants was done purposively to select those who have the ability to provide in-depth information. In this study, the selected informants were grouped in three levels. First, at the individual level, the selected informants were the fishermen from community. Secondly, at the organizational level (local level), the informants were the

Village Head and Staff, Head of the Sub-District and Staff. Thirdly, at the level of community elites, the selected informants are community leaders or chiefs of custom/tradition.

Data collection technique

The field data search is emphasized more on the discovery of primary data, but the need for secondary data sets is still required. The goal is to get additional field data variations. Thus, the existence of quantitative data is only to support qualitative data. For most researchers using a qualitative approach are required to position their-self independently and at the same time to optimize they role as the "main instrument" in research. It means a qualitative researcher functions as planner, implementer, field data collector, and simultaneously performs data analysis, to present the report of research results. Therefore, in this study, it was used several techniques (variants) field data collection; Observation, interview, and Focused Group Discussion (FGD). In addition, this research data was also collected through various official documents, both from local government and non-government which of course have a fundamental relevance to the needs of this study.

Research Instruments

In order to collect primary or secondary data toward interpretive data, several instruments were used: (1) interview guides as guidelines for researcher specifically addressed to informants of fishing communities, community leaders, chiefs of custom, government officials. (2) Tape recorder as a recording device used when an interview was underway on agreement with the informant concerned.

Data analysis

After all data was collected either in the form of primary data or secondary data, the data was then processed and analyzed according to research problem. Data analysis in this research was done through qualitative-descriptive technique. Basically, by adhering to qualitative principles, then the process of data collection and data analysis was performed simultaneously during the research process took place, because at the time of data collection, indirectly, also has occurred a process of data analysis.

Results and Discussions

Coleman (1990) argues that social capital is determined by its function. Although, there are, in fact, many functions of social capital but he says that basically, they all have two common elements: first, (1) social capital includes a number of aspects of social structure, and (2) social capital makes people easy to do something in the framework of the social structure. It emphasizes two aspects of social structure that are essential in facilitating the creation and development of social capital in various forms. First, the aspect of social structure creates confinement in a social network that makes everyone connected in such a way that obligations and sanctions may be applied to any person who belongs to that network, and second, the existence of a social organization that can be used to achieve common goals. Furthermore, Putnam' (1995) argues that the existence of social networks allows the coordination and communication that foster mutual trust among fellow members of the community.

From the results of observation, it was found the forms of social network of fishing communities on the island of Makassar that have encouraged fishery business as follows:

Kinship Network

In the fishery economic activity in Makassar Island there are three interconnected parties, namely intermediary traders, boat-owner fishermen, and laborer fishermen. A boat owner in initiating his business attempts to develop a business network by relying on familial ties. When there is agreement with other fishermen, he will introduce the various ways to do in fishing. Thus, at first, it is for learning purpose.

Then, it is created a bond of cooperation between them in a family-based social network and neighborhood. A rich fisherman will provide help to his relative or neighbor fishermen, and assisted fishermen will reciprocate with the readiness of providing physical-power assistance. The relationship of cooperation in various studies is called patron-client relationship. The attachment of cooperation in patron-client relationship in the fishing community on the island of Makasar is increasingly strengthened by creating interdependence between patron and client. Patron has the ability to provide various facilities in the fishing business, while the client as a power contributor.

If they are difficult to get fund, they will asked help to the families either close family or distant family. But if the fund cannot be obtained from the relatives, then they will ask elsewhere. Here, it appears that the family network plays an important role in supporting their business. The cooperation is also seen in the maintenance of the means of production. For example, when the net is torn, all members of fishermen group will get involved to fix it. Such condition also can be seen when they are patching up leaked bodies of boats, lugging and painting boats, and it never been a source of discord within a group of fishermen. Boat owners are also involved in the maintenance of fishing equipment. Here, there is a sense of togetherness among fellow fishermen in overcoming various problems they face as the results of interviews with Hamid (61):

I am as the boat owner feel there is no problem in the maintenance of our tools. I immediately mend the net when it is torn, so do the others, without waiting order, they always throw the moss on the boat, unless there is a damage we cannot fix, like having machine failure, we usually take it to the garage (Interview, Hamid November 2016).

The explanation demonstrates the patron-client relationship is taking place in a familial way. If they encounter problems related to the means of production, they will work hand-in-hand to cope together, unless a matter that requires a skill they do not have, then handed over to the other party. The boat owners are usually the ones who are highly expected to cope with the financing of such problems.

Here, it appears that the pattern they develop in the working relationship of procurement and maintenance of fishing equipment is not merely an economic relationship. Between boat owners and fishermen develop the principle of kinship to help each other as a form of togetherness in meeting their needs.

In general, laborer fishermen are economically still expecting great support from boat-owner fishermen. The economic support for labor fishermen from boat-owner fishermen is also very necessary at certain times during difficult times to get fish, for example, for the financing of children's education, and health costs. Generally, at such moments, the boat-owner fishermen become the supporters for the fisherman laborers to obtain social protection. The pattern of relationships developed by fishermen on the island of Makassar is in line with the principle of life as described by the Head of Tourism and Culture of Bau Bau City:

In the past, giving the capital or other personal belongings is reflected in the principle kandeiyakaingko kandemouka yaku (if I eat, you will also eat). Today, such principles are still hold by the community. (Interview, H. Razinudin, Dec 2016).

Furthermore, family-based cooperation networks are also seen in fishing activities, which are generally done at night. Before they go to the fishing spot, fishermen have to make sure that all fishing equipments are ready and in good condition, especially nets and machinery and meal supplies. Then they work together to lug the boat to the sea. They do this in group of 4 to 6 fishermen. The division of tasks within a group of fishermen does not apply explicitly. Activities such as casting and hauling back nets are conducted alternately by fishermen. For profit sharing, the fisherman-owners get a larger share. They obtain more shares because it is they who give contribution in supplying fishing. The system of income division that they agreed is: Net owner gets 3 portions as well as motor owner. For boat owner and fishermen, each of them gains one portion.

Cooperation based on kinship ties in the effort of exploiting coastal resources is a common phenomenon in the fishermen community in Makassar Island. This can be identified as one of the driving factors in fishing business that, it is able to survive until today.

Internal Networks

The kinship bond for the fisherman community on the island of Makassar is a social capital in the exploitation of coastal resources, which then encourages the emergence of socio-economic organizations. In line with Fukuyama (2007): people with sufficient supply of social capital will be able to adopt new organizational forms faster than those who do not.

The forms of socio-economic organization in the internal context of fishing communities on the island of Makassar are not well developed. During this time, the key supports of fishing business are the family and kinship institutions. Cooperative which is a very important institution in improving the welfare of the fishermen community recognized has ups and downs in its development and has not been able to support the fishing business. But since 2000, has born a fisher cooperative with the establishment permission from Minister of Law and Regulation through Decision Letter, SK. Menkumdang R.I. Date. June 28, 2000 No.C-439 HT.03.01-Th.2000. Since 2011, the fisher cooperative in Makasar Island has made significant efforts to improve management and goal by providing services with various facilities, as explained in the interview with the chairman of the cooperative (Saudin):

Our cooperative provides a relatively low interest rate of 1.5% with a guarantee that is not too burdensome. We also do not mind to give service to anyone who is not the member of the cooperative if he/she wants borrow money, but should be on behalf of one of the cooperative members. We provide loans on a trust basis and with very low interest

rates of only 1.5%. (Interview, Saudin, December 2016).

Currently, there are 106 members of the cooperative and generally are fishermen's wives. The fisher cooperative in Makassar Island can be said to have a proud development. In the last two years, the cooperative was awarded as the best cooperative in Bau-bau City.

One of the factors driving fisher cooperatives on the island of Makassar to be successful is the spirit of kinship among the fishermen's wives (95% of the cooperative members are women). The wives of fishermen have motivation to cope with the various problems of their lives, and they have confidence that if the activities carried out together based on the spirit of kinship, it will bring success.

It is this social capital which then encourages the trust of members and administrators of cooperative to continue to work together, and it is entrusted to the administrators to manage the cooperative in order to meet the joint-objectives. Here can also be identified that the key element of success of socio-economic organizations, especially cooperative on the island of Makassar is the familial spirit and togetherness.

External Network

In marketing their catch, the fishermen communities in Makasar Island generally try to create relationship with other traders as their customers. It provides them easiness to sell their fish because they already have a wide network although still in local coverage. So, it can be said that they have succeeded in their marketing.

However, compared with fishermen with large-scale business, of course, there is still very big difference because large-scale entrepreneurs as Satria (2002) called as commercial fisher namely kind of fisherman who has been oriented to increase profits by using a lot of skilled manpower and utilizing modern technology. For example, it has already used trained personnel to operate fishing gear and vessel

Fishermen on the island of Makassar are still in the peasant fisher scale, namely traditional fishermen who are still oriented to meet their own needs. But lately there has been a progress compared to other traditional fishermen. They have already had the skills to use more advanced fishing tools. They have abandoned the use of traditional supported fishing equipments such as oars and traditional non-motorized boats. They have already switched to using motorized boats, although the range of waters to catch fish is still within the bay area of Bau-Bau and its surroundings, and the utilization of labor also still on the scope of families and relatives with unclear division of tasks. With the advancement of fishing equipment utilization, the fishermen can also increase the number of catches.

Several factors can be identified that fishermen can market their catch through a network to be their customers are: First, the huge stock of fishes in Bau-Bau bay and its surroundings and the great interest of the people towards the catch of fishermen make the fishermen and middlemen being so close and interdependent. The fishermen want their fish to be quickly sold and brokers can benefit from the sale of the fish. The price of fish is determined from the results of their agreement.

Lately, a number of fishermen can have loans to cooperative. In line with the increasing income of fishermen due to the use of motorization in fishing, their ability to raise the number of loans is also increasing. The

cooperative on the island of Makassar currently becomes a socio-economic institution that has served loans to its members who are generally fishermen's wives.

As other fishing communities that the main objective of doing business in the field of fisheries is to meet the needs of households, as well as fishing communities on the island of Makasar with natural condition which not enable them to open a business in the field of plantation or agriculture while the field of fisheries is an opportunity to improve the home economy although sometimes they face a variety of obstacles to realize their dreams.

This motivation encouraged the fishermen of Makassar Island who, a few years ago, still used rowboats or non-motorized vessels, now they have switched to using outboard-motor vessels, so openly give them the opportunity to catch fish in the wider waters. However, their desire to obtain a better household economy in the fishery business requires them to strive harder as an encouragement given by H. Gimaruddin (60) one of the community leaders who also the only successful trader on the island of Makassar from the result of the interview:

As my effort to the fishermen, Alhamdulillah (grateful to God), I give them assistance of capital and equipment, I buy their catch without reducing the purchase of others, I tell them, in developing the business we must maintain the quality of goods, the quality of goods must be guaranteed, one thing I emphasize to them, if we want go forward, we have to work hard and keep trust (Interview, H. Gima, Dec. 2016).

As an entrepreneur and a community leader, he is the only successful trader with a trading network that can reach areas outside of Sulawesi. He also has experience in the field of fishery business. Haji Gimaruddin wishes fishermen in Makasar Island to be able to develop their fishing business with marketing not only in Makassar but it should to reach wider marketing. But to accomplish the expectation, according to Haji Gimaruddin, it should be done with hard work and maintain trust.

Encouraging fishermen in Makasar Island to make their business grow according to the idea of Haji Gimaruddin is a rationally acceptable because the land in Makasar Island is very narrow (the area is only about 2 sq. km) and is infertile. This is what then encourages people in the island of Makassar to develop a fishing business. With the spirit of poangka-angkataka (mutual upgrading among members of the community), he thinks the fishermen should strive to improve their lives. Since the last few years, Haji Gimaruddin has helped some fishermen through supplying of equipments and venture capital in order to run business productively.

Conclusion

This study is in line with Putnam's assumption that citizen engagement networks enable the emergence of social solidarity. Social network in fishermen community in Makasar Island is based on the kinship which then encourages the formation of social institution/organization with client-patron system. Patron has the ability to provide various facilities in the fishing business, while the client as a power contributor. Furthermore, the existence of client-patron institutions has encouraged the development of fishing activities by forming cooperative and associated with traders outside the community.

Recommendation

For the development of social capital in Makasar Island by adopting Coleman's thinking, this study proposes three pillars: the first pillar, strengthening the socio-economic organization of patron clients so as to facilitate the interests of fishermen. The second pillar, seeks to facilitate the internal organization of fishermen to conduct external networks. The third pillar, in an effort to encourage social solidarity and trust in the fishing community, it is necessary to instill the principle of pobhinci-bhinciki kulli, the values and norms derived from the philosophy of Buton people in the past that are still lived and fully practiced by the fishing community on the island of Makassar today.

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