

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AMONG THE URBANIZED FISHING COMMUNITIES IN CITY OF MAKASSAR

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**ABSTRACT.** Fishing activities along the coastal areas of Makassar City are influenced by the type of technology used and also the social structures of production process that involved key players, such as wholesalers, exporters, and small-scale fishermen. This article aims (1) to explain the trajectory of fishing development of Makassar City and its impact to the creation of social stratification and (2) to analyze the economic factors that influenced the decision-making processes among producers, especially related to its impact towards small-scale fishermen. Data and information were obtained based on interview and field observation that had been conducted in three fishing communities in the City of Makassar, between September 2019 and January 2020. It is found that globalization impacted the issue of underdevelopment of the small-scale production among poor fishermen; which also indicates the powerlessness concerning the possession of high capacity harvesting equipment commonly owned by the capitalist producers. Social stratifications that were formed among fishermen had placed the small-scale fishermen at the lower level, while the middlemen who have control over capital also have access to the marketing networks and opportunities, thus placing their position at a higher level.

**Keywords:** small-scale fishermen; social stratification; social class; Makassar

## STRATIFIKASI SOSIAL DI KALANGAN MASYARAKAT NELAYAN PERKOTAAN DI KOTA MAKASSAR

**ABSTRACT.** Aktivitas perikanan di sepanjang Kawasan pesisir Kota Makassar dipengaruhi oleh beberapa jenis teknologi penangkapan yang digunakan dan juga struktur sosial dari proses produksi yang melibatkan beberapa pemain kunci, seperti pedagang borongan, eksportir dan nelayan berskala kecil. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk (1) mendiskusikan perjalanan pembangunan perikanan di Kota Makassar dan dampaknya terhadap pembentukan stratifikasi sosial di kalangan nelayan, dan (2) menganalisis faktor-faktor ekonomi yang mempengaruhi proses pengambilan keputusan di antara pelaku produksi, khususnya dampak terhadap nelayan berskala kecil. Data dan informasi diperoleh berdasarkan wawancara dan observasi lapangan yang telah dilaksanakan di tiga masyarakat nelayan di Kota Makassar, antara September 2019-Januari 2020. Melalui penelitian ini diketahui bahwa globalisasi memberi dampak kepada permasalahan keterbelakangan dalam produksi perikanan berskala kecil di antara nelayan-nelayan miskin; yang juga mengindikasikan ketidakberdayaan dalam konteks pemilikan peralatan produksi berkapasitas besar yang umumnya dimiliki oleh kelompok kapitalis. Stratifikasi sosial yang terbentuk dalam kalangan nelayan telah menempatkan nelayan berskala kecil pada strata yang lebih rendah, sementara tengkulak yang memiliki kendali terhadap alur modal dan juga memiliki akses terhadap jaringan dan peluang-peluang pasar, menempatkan diri mereka pada strata yang lebih tinggi.

**Keywords:** nelayan berskala kecil; stratifikasi sosial; kelas sosial; small-scale fishermen; social stratification; social class; Makassar

### INTRODUCTION

The impact of the international market and investment in the fishing industry had influenced the development of fishing technology, social transformation among producers, and changes in environmental quality (Casola et al., 2021) with positive outcomes often linked to ecological modernization theory and negative outcomes often linked to treadmill of production theory. We contribute to this literature with a qualitative case study of Bahamian fishing communities which underwent rapid modernization during the latter half of the 20th century. We interviewed 31 fishers on Andros Island, ranging from 49 to 90 years in age, about how they experienced modernization. Participants identified consequences of

modernization consistent with treadmill of production theory, including economic system restructuring, introduction of new technologies, increased market demand for natural resources, environmental degradation, and a struggle to maintain quality of life. They identified international tourism, market demands for fish, and employment opportunities outside the island as primary drivers of change and expressed both positive and negative attitudes towards the consequences of modernization. Local fishers described modernization as incorporating elements of world systems theory and telecoupling, including 1 This article aims (1) to explain the trajectory of fishing development of Makassar City and its impact to the creation of social stratification and (2) to analyze the economic factors that influenced the decision-making process among

producers, especially related to the export market and its impact towards small-scale fishermen.

Most fisheries management studies have paid more attention to analyzing resources dynamic than exploring the dynamic and social articulations that being utilized by producers (Kuo H, Fu Y, 2021). Some global-scale non-government organizations also indicate their works to emphasize the importance of socio-economic justice for petty producers in the fishing sector, as well as the balance condition of environmental sustainability (Mendo et al. 2023). Globalization had brought significant changes in managing the resources (Casola et al., 2021) and its impact has been observed that be created by an ill-adapted fisheries system (Kusuma Mustika et al., 2021). Besides that, significant competition in the fishing ground and several uncertain conditions have placed the petty producers in vulnerable conditions (Maya et al., 2023). The decline of fish stocks had triggered the fishermen to rearrange their fishing methods (Makwinja et al., 2021). However, the fishing business not only could benefit by adjusting to the current market but also by using a transformative process to lead this market to be a socially and environmentally responsible business (Kuo H, Fu Y, 2021).

Consequently, the creation of new social strata is inevitable. At the same time, it is obviously found in urbanized areas. In Northwestern China, it was found that urbanization triggered different compensation and inequality among villagers (Song et al., 2020). The basic assumption of this study is that social stratification had been compartmentalized as a result of traditional and cohesive social relations and their existence in the urban economic growth (Surya, 2016). This study elaborates on the phenomena of a traditional fishing method with the massive growth of urbanization in Makassar City.

## METHOD

In general, this study discovered a holistic overview of how social stratification was being formed. Discourse was started by an explanation about a retrospective of fishing development that was indicated from development trajectory. It emphasized the role of capitalism in reshaping the market. However, capital penetration has stratified the community. Social stratification in this study refer to a process that had compartmentalized the fishing community. As the study was conducted in qualitative method, the fundamental source of data and informations were depend on the interview with informants.

## Interviews

As this article is developed from traditional social relations of fisherfolk in urban settings, several significant data were drawn in-depth, conducted between September 2019 and January 2020. By employing a qualitative approach, in-depth interviews had been conducted with twelve informants from the three research sites. The characteristic of informants was indicated by their involvement and knowledge concerning fishing activities in the research sites. They were chosen based on their availability to participate in the interview. This has become the concern of the researcher as they were interviewed while they were in fish landing and auctions activities. Besides, their willingness to share information usually depended on assumption that the interview was purely for research purposes. For personal reasons, the informants commonly refused to share information. It is also important to be declared that some of the informants preferred to be interviewed in the local language. To do so, this research involved two local interpreters to analyze the contents of the discussions.

## Study areas

One of the main concerns of this study is that it was developed by combining rural and urban contexts as the trigger of the emergence of social stratification in Makassar City. This study was carried out in three areas of Makassar City (Figure 1), which are Cambayya, Untia, and Lakkang. These sites are well-known fishing bases in Makassar and for the local people of Makassar, these locations are not too difficult to reach. Therefore, the traditional fish market will always become a prospective market in this town. However, small-scale fishermen and any informal sectors are dominantly found since their activities are conducted in a modest way. Among the three chosen areas, Cambayya is known as an urban fishing area. In this area, the busiest fishing market –Paotere- is found. This market is surrounded by dozen types of the urban informal economic sector where marine resources are the main commodity traded. Some types of fishing merchants also can be found, mostly they play their role as middlemen.

Among these three sites, Cambayya is the main fishing base, compared to Untia and Lakkang. Its economic activities have attracted traditional capitalists to invest in the traditional fishing sector. They utilized social relations tied among them to strengthen their power in this market. They control the flow of resources, while they also ensure that conflict among the lower status can be overcome. So, ‘pseudo-market’ will always perform well. *Punggawa* can be affiliated with political affiliation,

marine-based natural resources had been exploited to fulfill the global market, particularly the sea cucumber (Roberts et al, 2022). Commonly, this commodity was sold and controlled by Chinese merchants which were highly supported by local capitalists and skillful local divers.

As a rapid economic growth city, Makassar possesses a prospective location to support the global economic trajectory and participated in various kinds of global trading, particularly in marine resources trading. These included the distribution of high-price commodities global, ranging from Java, Borneo, and Moluccas. Their influences were also identified in lesser Sundas, Sulu sultanate in the Philippines' archipelago and penetrated global markets such as European, China, and India. They traded along with traditional methods such as the marine and forest resources and moved beyond to inter-islands trading that connect certain big islands and penetrated extensively, from the Philippines to Europe, India, and China. To ensure the stability of its global markets, Dutch functioned Makassar as a satellite to watch and control the eastern route of global since the conquest of the VOC in the 1690s (Henley & Schulte Nordholt, 2015).

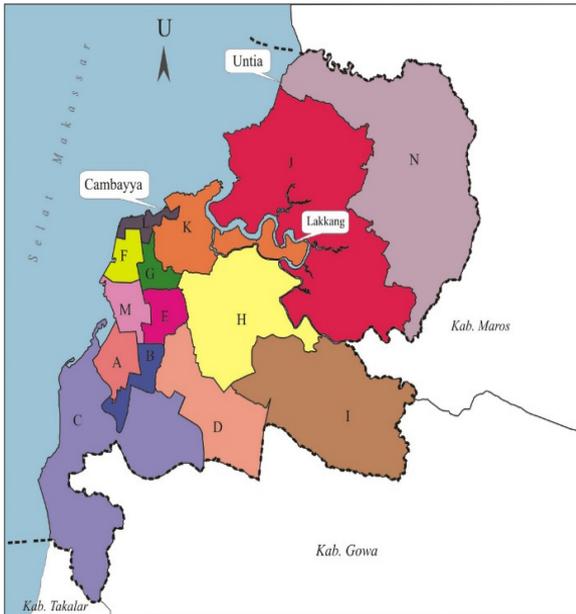
The glory of Makassar was slowing down in 1819 when Singapore showed its role as a big port where various commodities is brought to China via Singapore rather than Makassar. This port site offered a more attractive value for import commodities such as Opium and textiles. Besides, taxes policies also brought significant growth and at the same time eliminated the attractiveness of Makassar. Moreover, the monopoly of Makassar declined and had lost its trading monopoly in eastern Indonesia. Since 1821, Makassar underwent a significant decline. The number of ships that landed in this city became smaller. In 1828, it was reported that the ship landed was the last. This blew the economic circumstance of the city, while Singapore was growing rapidly. The highest value commodity, trepang fall down when there were less than twenty vessels sailed. This dramatic decline depicted a diversion of trepang exports. However, in the mid of nineteenth century, this commodity recovered and seemed to have triggered slow economic growth after its great falls (Macknight, 2011).

The development of the export market played an important role to support the exploitation of commodities along the Straits of Makassar and Sulawesi. The history of fishing development in Makassar explained the high fish production and the potential of fishing commodities for the export market. It can be explained through various production

methods. Economic factors such as the demand for the international market, fishery finance, price determination, and the relationship between seller and buyer highly influenced capital availability, the political situation in the country, and the social structure existed in the fishing industry (Cordeiro, 2019). The price of the fishing commodities fluctuated weekly, even daily. The price of these commodities is not only dependent on the supply and demand relationship but also determined by the marketing techniques used, local price and quality of goods, and consumer perceptions. This phenomenon then stimulates to increase in the exploitation of resources to reach customers' demands. In addition, other scholars also found modernization in the fishing industries has a mutual correlation with the foreign direct investment that invested in the processing and distribution industries. Most of the foreign investment in the fishing sector in Makassar was driven by a global market based in Singapore, China, and Taiwan that had been existing in Surabaya. Their penetration can also be found in the pattern of fishermen's migration. If they invest more in certain fishing bases (mostly in the eastern part of Indonesia), the commercial fishermen will follow the direction of investor. For instance, the industrialization of tuna usually involved advanced instruments that cannot be operated by traditional fishermen. To do so, educated and skillful crews should be recruited. This condition pushed the local and traditional fishermen to follow this capitalistic pattern. Otherwise, they wouldn't able to fulfill their catch target. Even though it substantially has stimulated the rise of export value, some adaptation has to be carried out. For local traditional fishers, modernization is reacted as a threat to their livelihood, but some others assume that they have to follow the dynamic. (Ameyaw et al., 2021; Kadagi et al., 2021).

From the lens of environmentalism, over-exploitation of marine resources in Makassar Straits had degraded the biodiversity in the fishing grounds. Destructive fishing methods that are pushed to fulfill the needs of the global market suggested new approaches to recover the sites. The loss of coastal habitat in this fishing ground was formerly identified when marine debris contaminated massively the coastal area. Some people threw their rubbish on the beach without thinking about the worst impact of their behavior. For sure, serious actions are needed to recover this issue. However, a comprehensive people-center system has been implemented partially, followed by a lack of legal control. Empirically found that these conditions were implemented inefficiently and didn't bring a good impact to reduce the poverty

traditional-inherited leaders, and rich family members; but mostly originated from fishing family members. As a consequence, their social status penetrated into deeply into non-economic activities.



**Figure 1. Map of Makassar (research sites)**

A contrast situation is shown in the second research site, Lakkang. This site represents the fishing community in a rural area. Lakkang is famous for its geographical landscape. This delta is surrounded by rivers and has made Lakkang stands alone as a ‘small island’ and become a unique geographical setting as this site is found in the middle of the city. Contrast conditions are also reflected by the traditional social relation of the people. Titaley & Watloy (2021) stated that traditional community strive to sustain their traditional value. Therefore, social cohesiveness was obviously shown during the data collected were conducted. People occupied wood houses and they were commonly dependent on rice farming and traditional fishing production. However, as they realized that modernization has surrounded their livelihood, their young generation went to school and begin to move to non-farming activities, such as went to the city for living. Mostly, they entered informal sectors and also continued to pursue their academics in the universities for a better future.

The third research site is Untia. It represented a semi-urban fishing community. This area is characterized by the domination of sea-farers and traditional fishermen who are not originally come from Untia. It is argued that the current citizen of Untia is not originally from Untia. They migrated to Untia from several places, such as Pangkep, Maros, Lae-Lae island, and Java and Madura islands, and shaped the social landscape of Untia. However, Makassarese still became the dominant traditional

way of living that was followed by the current citizen in Untia.

From these sites, traditional money-lend activities, controlled by merchants were commonly found. This method was identified as the easiest way to lend money. However, it seemed like an ‘economic trap’ as they prefer to lend money rather than make small-scale businesses. Regarding fishing activity, most of their fishing activities were conducted in Cambayya. It reflects that the artisanal fishing activities would depend on the availability of markets in an urban area.

The effort of fish harvest in Makassar City is highly supported by the existence of fishing ports. It also grows as a fishing commodity auction place and becomes a strategic area surrounded by small and medium-scale industries, navy harbor, and business centers. However, this phenomenon stimulates the area to become a high-density area for job seekers in the informal sector. Fishing traditional communities which are adopted open interaction and are well organized usually perform more prospective market dynamic (Mabe & Asase, 2020), while others that cannot establish a well-organized fishing method is easy to be found along the coastal zone of Makassar City.

Artisanal fishery depicted in the study is multi-species but still focused on coastal fishing and marine resources activities, which the fishing ground is less than ten miles. The traditional fishermen utilized low-tech fishing gear (hand lines, fish traps, beach-seines, gillnets) along Makassar coast area. Mostly, catches were landed at Cambayya, Paotere.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Trajectory of fishing development of Makassar City and its impact to the creation of social stratification

Historically, fishing activities that grew in a different ecological condition had created different social and cultural systems. A study by Minasny et al. (2020) indicates that in the late 19th century, Indonesia experienced colonization through over-exploitation of unused lands, particularly in the rural areas. This exploitation is mainly related to deforestation to fulfill the needs of the Dutch administration and development. Not only destructed the forest, but it also reshaped the agrarians’ social structures tied among the community where the social value system was embraced and performed in the recent three decades (Minasny et al., 2020). From other studies, overexploitation also occurred in marine resources, particularly in Makassar. By occupying the territory,

in this area. People will be more focused on how to earn money for a living than they assumed that conservation is not an important thing to recover. (Nasuchon & Charles, 2010; Okeke-Ogbuafor & Gray, 2021).

The fisheries management also places the spatial as an important variable (Kadagi et al., 2021). Spatial distribution will protect small and artisanal fishing producers from the expansion of capital-intensive fishing activities. Not only ensure equal access to resources, but spatial-based fishing grounds also help the local government to compartmentalize the ground for conservation purposes and for the sustainability of indigenous biodiversity. In a more specific view, the complexity of ecological and social structure has challenged conservation-oriented interventions even in settings with a small number of actors involved (Ameyaw et al., 2021; Kadagi et al., 2021).

The fishery export market in Makassar has a significant relation to the consumption pattern and demand from importing countries. This scenario influenced the pattern of production and the selling of fishery commodities that involves all producers, from small-scale to large-scale enterprises. All export commodities should fulfill the standard set by the importing countries to ensure the commodity is sustained in the international market at a high value. Most of the technical aspect of this custody is handled by small-scale fishermen, while the storage processes are commonly handled by low-wage laborers. If the processes were poorly handled, the importer is usually notified that the process must be more hygienic. On the other hand, the middlemen can make the decision as to whether to cancel the transaction that had been made.

The vulnerabilities of fishing communities represent the major issue in the efforts to eradicate urban poverty. This also has challenged the local government to ensure food and nutrition security among this traditional community. However, the local government covered only a few local communities, compared to the huge number of people who were eligible to be recovered financially. This research agreed with the statement of Radjawali (2019), in which it is urgent to sustain the livelihood of the biodiversity so the vulnerable groups have been recovered (Radjawali, 2019). In this case, local knowledge and social network among the community seem to be more important than others. In the area of study (Cambayya, Lakkang, and Untia), it was found that traditional kinship that tied the local people, as well as the social relation, become an important instrument for fishermen to sustain their livelihood and minimize their vulnerability.

However, social networks have a close relationship with the existence of social stratification. It provokes class awareness which has become an embedded tradition in the field of sociology and social stratification studies. It is generally accepted that class awareness constitutes the economic relation to become inter-class interaction and enrich the study of the moral economy of traditional fishermen (Andersen & Curtis, 2012). Looking back as far as Marx in 1847 (Lewis, 2017), it was argued that the concern of social awareness tends to be stronger if class differences have obviously appeared. A social institution among fishermen brought a significant contribution to sustaining the fishing activity. However, conflict among fishing producers potentially happens. Weak competence in fisheries management, exclusive social increased fishing effort to exploit (Maya et al., 2023).

Social class structure observed along coastal zone of Makassar has placed the small-scale fishermen as the lower class and this situation will weaken their bargaining position. The formation of class in the social structure among the fishermen showed that there exists certain power, either power that came from financial and capital possession, or informal power which usually determined the decision-making process. This social formation also showed the existence of capital accumulation among large-scale producers; while small-scale fishermen indicated by their powerlessness and vulnerability.

### *3.2 Decision-Making Process among Fishing Community*

The social reality of fishermen along the coastal area of Makassar City can be identified through their involvement in several modes of production. By using this perspective, this article tries to discuss the factors that influenced the decision-making process among fish producers, those are forces of production along with social relations tied among producers. It had been discussed by several scholars that the mode of production combines these two variables and describes through the articulation resulting from the combination between variables. Forces of production were identified through labor, production gears, materials, production technology, finance, and management of production. Production relation is the social structure that manages the relationship of producers (Escamilla-Pérez et al., 2021). Besides being impacted by the force of production, the decisions were also analyzed through the social relations of production. It discusses the structure that elaborates the relations among producers. The social relations of production consist of class structure, the

progress of force of production, and efficiency of production (Siddique M., et al, 2023; Stringer C et. al, 2022; Khalid & Yang, 2021).

By using traditional forces of production, small-scale fishermen usually operate their fish harvest less than one or two miles. Due to inadequate productivity, fishing activities would consider the reasonable range of fishing ground. As a result, their fishing aimed to fulfil daily food consumption and accumulating larger profit was not their main target. This study also discovered that most of the fishing gear used in the fishing operation was conducted as shared-based among the fisherfolks. Once the trip was done, the gear would be shared to the others fellow. These could be boat, engine as well as fishing gear, such as the nets, long line and other fishing gears. However, the concept of social capital apparently tied the people closely. It is probably descended from relatives, colleagues or others social networks.

Productivity in this traditional fishing industry was also configured by the uncertainty of climatic events, such as heavy rains, extreme storms and any others unpredictable weather conditions. For this sake, the fishermen would repair their gear, replace the broken net with the new one and maintain the machinery. Sharing method also found during this period. A fishermen could borrow certain tools, so they didn't need to buy a new one. Traditional technology cannot overcome bad weather conditions. They usually tried to be more adaptive regarding to this situation and worked to maintain the gears efficiently. They limited their operation, not only for production reason, but also to maintain the nature. Asriwandari et al. (2021) and Nain (2022) also stated that the using of gear should be limited for sustainability reason. Unfortunately, besides the decreased production, it also affects the average monthly income of the fishermen.

To penetrate the market, some of traditional fishermen had been involved into peripheral capitalized mechanism. This method is directed by senior middlemen who had retired from fishing activities and entered to maritime commodity trading, such as sea cucumber, high-valued fish and frozen fish. The traditional fishermen tend to give their capture and let the capitalized mechanism determined the commodity prices. As their commodity were not refrigerated, it was necessary to shorten the supply-chain by deliver it to the middlemen. Also, some restaurant can be an alternative for selling the fresh fish. This method usually carried out by fishermen who capture their fish by using long-line. As Makassar city is a well-known tourism destination, some restaurants put the fresh fish as their signature culinary This

phenomenon created business opportunity for the local people, including the middlemen. The urbanity of Makassar is characterized by open market where business opportunity ranged from one sector to another. The net linked based on the principle of capital accumulation and efficient market procedures positioned as priority. Somehow, the fishermen were not affected by rapid economic growth of the city (Mendo et al., 2023). Petty producers would only exist when they were accumulated, while the middlemen controlled the whole process.

The main variable of decision-making process among this traditional community still tied on the fluidity of social relation embedded among them. It was unable to map the traditional economic probability. The social relation brought significant influenced in persuading the people, whether to follow the government or expressed their resistance to government policy.

It can be concluded that urbanized traditional fishermen in these research sites were identified as a multi-social entity of and had been compartmentalized into three mains group and still embedded as one community. Due to the penetration of capitalism, the structure of the fishermen's community had been reshaped dramatically. Ownership of equipment can differentiate the fishermen into three groups, those (1) *sawi*, fishermen labor as the lowest class or seen in the local term; (2) independent fishermen in the middle class, and (3) the bosses as the highest social class or in the local term called *punggawa*.

As in the lowest class, *sawi* works by using harvesting equipment owned by other people. They offer their physical abilities as their main aspect of production. They are totally dependent on the low wage that would be spent on their family. It is usually found that this social class always strengthens their social safety net as a way to overcome their struggle for a living. Horizontal social dynamics among this social class showed that subsistence activities were embedded, especially identified through the usage of family members to generate family income.

In the middle class, there are independent fishermen. It is commonly found that they work and operate using their own equipment. Sometimes they are assisted by someone usually from a kinship relationship. For marketing activities, they sell their fishing commodities directly to the buyer, unless if they are still tied down under the patron-client relationship, they must sell their fish products to the capital provider. Usually, this social class comes from the lower class or vice versa (Siddique M., et al, 2023).

The last and the highest class is the *punggawa*. They usually played a role as the middlemen or capital

providers. This social class usually comes from the independent fishermen who had succeeded to accumulate their capital. However, some *punggawa* also emerged from generation to generation. They are rarely involved directly to the harvesting operation, but they always controlled the operation process. Besides that, they are very progressively determined the market flow.

Most fishermen rely on the existence of middlemen, particularly for the distribution of commodities and selling the catch of fishermen. The middlemen will be advantaged by the margin of product selling and also by the strength of the network. Middlemen would be highly dependent on the extensive networking where they would be able to eliminate added costs during the distribution process. The stronger networking available, the lower cost spent. To ensure this condition run well, some middlemen provide both financial and non-financial assistance for petty producers in various ways. Although the middlemen provide some assistance to fishermen in different ways. It was shown when the fishermen in emergency condition and needed some money. Therefore, the middlemen can control the price and control the flow of further distribution (Mabe & Asase, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

Social stratification among fishing communities is not only triggered by global capitalization but this condition was also driven by structural differences among the producers. The global fishing industry in Makassar City that had been established since the involvement of Makassar people in the international trade during the Dutch colonialism has stimulated globalization among the local capitalist producers. Besides that, it also has developed the underdevelopment situation among small-scale fishermen. This underdevelopment is indicated by the powerlessness of fishermen with regard to the possession of high capacity harvesting equipment which is commonly owned by the capitalist producers. Underdevelopment also means a weak bargaining power in the social relation of fishing production. Sidiq (2020) stated that underdeveloped community has a strong relation to the level of education. The possession of harvesting equipment also determined the process of decision-making. Even though this is not the only significant variable, the policy implemented in the community usually follows the dynamic of the local economy. This study found that capitalism has shaped the socio-economic landscape which is followed by the traditional social formation that emerges in an urban setting. This is also

discovered that social stratification formed among fishermen had placed the small-scale fishermen at the lower level in the socio-economic strata, while the middlemen that controlled the trajectory of marketing had placed their position at a higher level. This means that globalization in the fishing industry does not indicate the development of the entire fishing community in Makassar City. Unfortunately, these social dynamics had placed small-scale fishermen in a vulnerable situation vis-à-vis the industrious fishing sector of Makassar.

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