

Poor Fishermen Community as Social Laboratory; Constructing Change from Resignation to Awareness

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Abstract: The poverty in the fisher community viewed clearly in lower education level, lower of social participation, the quality of home dwelling is under standard, lower income, etc. Many research found the poverty is in two aspect, they called structural poverty and cultural poverty. Structurally, the poverty regarded to the less of access by the fishermen to public sphere, political sphere, and broader social-economic sphere. Culturally, the fisher have less rational instrumental ethical work, non-oriented long term, tend to fatalist, resigned and deterministic. In the university, the social-culture of fisher community is knowledge space and social laboratory for developing the community change. The fisher community has its social-culture system evolutionary, meanwhile the university has its scientific basic progressively, constructively, futuristically as well as oriented to human wellbeing. University is always identically to knowledge and science that involving rational instrumental and rational of value. Meanwhile, in the fisher community both rational occur unbalancing. This condition bring the fisher to poverty. In that context, university has its legal in science and knowledge with collaborating to fisher community in life changing to prosperity life by constructed their human awareness.

Keywords: Fisher Community, University, Social Laboratory, Poverty, Wellbeing, Awareness

Introduction

The Indonesian fishermen community is identically linked to poverty and underdevelopment. The lower education occurs heredity, lower income, their dwelling house is under standard, woven bamboo walls, leaf thatched

roofs, bamboo floors or sandy soil, and limited furniture, and daily consumption under standard. Moreover, the conflict is an important part of their life, burning and sinking of boat, pegging in coastal areas as a sign and border for other fisher picking up fish.

Anriani (2012, vi) research about conflict between modern fishermen and traditional fishermen in seizing the marine resource found that the modern fishermen who has cut-edge fishing gear spent up all of kind of fish, so that the traditional fishermen who has non modern fishing gear and limited area in the sea did not get fish anymore.

Hakim's research (2013, 9) about social-culture aspect of fishermen community under constructed of past history, found that the traditional fishermen personality was deterministic, fatalistic, resigned, less passion for developing, short-term oriented, and low work ethic constructed by sufism by a long history of Islam spreading in southern coastal of South Sulawesi.

Kamaruddin research (2010) about social stratification of fishermen community consist of 3 stratas, namely: (1) '*punggawa*' in the highest strata as capital owner, (2) '*sawi*' in the middle strata as labor to support '*punggawa*', and (3) '*pa'palele*' or '*pa'bilolang*' in the lowest strata as fencers and fish sellers at auction.

In the fisher community social stratification, there is a strong working relation between them called '*patron-client*' relations. This working relation explained by Sallatang (1982) that the relation between '*Punggawa*' and '*Sawi*' is an interest relation that supported by kinship relation or likely. The relation is the most appearing, particularly between top '*punggawa*' and little '*punggawa*' and between top '*punggawa*' to '*Sawi*'. This is also supported by Salman (2006) who found the fisher situation in South Sulawesi that has '*patron-client*' relation significantly if it compared to agricultural society or urban society. Therefore, the developing in production that caused by the modernization is not followed yet by the changing of '*patron-client*' relation to industrial-relation that is contractually.

Based on the fishermen community poverty above, trillion of fund disbursed in past implemented in various government programs. The programs such as Jaring Pengaman Kemiskinan (JPS), Bantuan Tunai Langsung, PNPM Mandiri are not shown yet the good results.

In this part, the fishermen community has complex problem with its characteristics as particular community. Based on them, it is interested by everyone to explore unfinished various issues. Fisher community has a commercial value of various aspects that I call '*social laboratory*'.

Term 'social laboratory' is identical to academic space. In it, the academicians explored many problems and their roots based on the rational-empiric as science indicator and also keep solutions. This will be strong if the fisher community not only as the data source but also they find by their selves solution.

The Realities of Fisher Community as Social Laboratory The Most Strong of Social Structure

Mukhlis and Kathryn Robinson (1985) in their research found that fisher community in South Sulawesi has organized in functionally grouped and driven by '*Punggawa*'. The working relation between '*Punggawa*' and '*Sawi*' formed social system that involving the society and their groups. Therefore, '*Punggawa*' has a honour status by its role. '*Punggawa*' role is lead the team in seizing fish by using trawl, butterflyfish, boat controlled by '*Sawi*'. In this case, '*Sawi*' follow '*Punggawa*' and both are functional group with strong group-awareness. It could be said that member in one '*Punggawa*' is under the open-group and the relation between them functionally.

'*Punggawa*' has role as owner of fish equipment like trawl, butterflyfish that controlled by some '*Sawi*'. *Pa'ppalele/Pa'bilolang* distributed fish to consumer. This grup has about 20-40 members and called compatible with the equipment, such as: *lanra*, *panambe*, trawl, butterflyfish, and bagang.

The working relation of '*punggawa*' and '*sawi*' in the group is in temporary situation because the '*Sawi*' is freelance. The working relation occurred only in one sailing. In fact, the working relation would be permanent because of some factors, such as '*Sawi*' has credit to '*Punggawa*' and '*Sawi*' pay by work to '*Punggawa*'. The relation between '*Punggawa*, *Pa'palele* or *Pa'bilolang*' and '*Sawi*' stated by Mukhlis and Robinson (1985) has specific motives that explain separately as follows:

1. Relationship between *Punggawa* with *Pa'palele/Pa'bilolang*

The relation in the three side of this group caused by some factors, namely; firstly, *pa'ppalele/pa'bilolang* sometimes were being two layers by '*punggawa*' itself or by family member of '*punggawa*'. Motive of the relation called family relation. Secondly, The relation happening because of debt factor. Thirdly, the common relation everywhere about distributor function by *pa'ppalele/pa'bilolang*. *Pa'ppalele/Pa'bilolang* helping was

need in accelerating and popularizing the catching production. *Pa'ppalele/Pa'bilolang* is a freeman for their selves or for other people.

2. Relationship between '*Punggawa*' and '*Sawi*'

Generally, relationship between '*Punggawa*' and '*Sawi*' based on some relation motives, such as; firstly, '*sawi*' is a member of kinship of *Punggawa* that work together based on their family. Secondly, the relation motive based on the same work orientation. In this case, *Sawi* is an outsider kinship as freeman and without bond. The diligent '*Sawi*' often respected until '*sawi*' stand with its '*punggawa*' as in its status called '*juragang*'. If the relationship of '*Sawi*' and '*Punggawa*' take place for a long time, there could be a willingness for *Sawi* to repay '*Punggawa*'. This condition fetter '*Sawi*' to work forever in '*Punggawa*'.

3. Relationship between *sawi* with *pa'palele/pa'bilolang*

Between *sawi* and *pa'palele/pa'bilolang* there is only each functional relationship. '*Sawi*' is not follower of *pa'palele/pa'bilolang* but follower of '*Punggawa*'. Duty of '*Sawi*' only catching fish, meanwhile duty of *pa'palele/pa'bilolang* is distribute fish to consumer or to the market. They work together based on the same interest. Structurally, their group relation seen as follow:

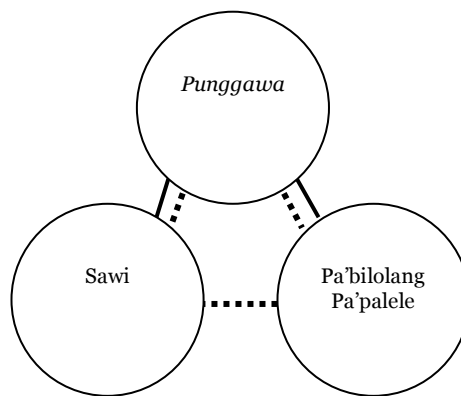


Figure 1: '*Punggawa*' – '*Sawi*' Relations

Notes:

- structural relations
- functional relations

Unfinished Conflict

Fishery has a complexity system due to many people has interest in it. The vital component in it is traditional fishermen as the most level. Part of them live in out of area with limited alternative job, so their life is in poverty.

In the social-economic aspect, use of marine resources is still limit to corporate business and foreign business. The whole fishers in Indonesia are the poorest profession (Sumintarsih *et al.* 2005).

Generally, the fishery conflict related to utilization of sea resources that rare is. The rare resources related to production aspect, it is less and less of fish in the sea. This condition make difficult to fisher community life. Generally, the sides get involved in that conflict are local fishers. The various of conflict caused of the different perceptions between fishers in managing the resource of fish. It is also caused of the hunting principle where the fisher must hunt fishes everywhere. This will be impact to the fisheries competition. In this fact, there is a moment that all of fishers will be in the same place and the same time in catching fish.

The fish and others in the sea are common property and the count of the common property are many. From the sea aspect or territorial aspect, Indonesia is also a common property in practicing with many members of them. Sea is owned by all Indonesian people. By the nature of sea resources like that, both of modern fishermen and traditional fishermen together in catching fish from the same and the linking resources, even from the same fishing ground. In this situation, Bailey (1988, 26) state “...*the situation in fisheries is even worse than in agriculture because fishers directly compete with one another over a finite resource*”. This has potential in happening ‘the tragedy of the common’ that state by Gareth Hardin (1970). In this competition of sea resources, the traditional or local fishers will lose from the modern fishers.

Deterministic Culture

Deterministic culture in a half of fisher community, set the fatalistic personality as a central of historical research. Along historical research, the religion appreciation formed cognitive assumption of basic problem in fatalistic life, caused the instrumental value undeveloped and at the end become poverty.

The spreading Islam in South Sulawesi was under the protection and the power of Bugis Makassar empire. Therefore, Islam in South Sulawesi has a special character differently in other area. The people beliefs Islam but inside part they still also believe to animism and dynamism.

For the labor fisher, deterministic culture in social structure of fisher community excursed by character called a strong feeling of marginality, such as; fatalistic of destiny and prodigal. This also excursed by their appreciation

to five basic problems as Kluckhohn (Koentjaraningrat, 1982, 31) state, namely; nature of life, nature of work, the human perception of time, mankind's view of nature and the nature of human relationships with each other that determines the value orientation of human culture.

The application of nature of life momentarily, signed in working just for subsistence, life orientation more for hereafter, devastating to nature, as well as more dependent to others therefore it is no need to effort hardly. This cultural human orientation is in fatalistic personality. In Islamic psychological view, this belief called '*jabariyyah*' theology and tend to be apathetic and less of instrumental value.

Most part of fisher community in South Sulawesi particularly, they accustomed to the old tradition and belief that in the faerie as in the real world every space lived by ghost. The fisher community communicated to the ghost's soul by giving offerings and praying. This ritual occurs from pre Islam in the past until today. Fortune, fate, destiny believed from the faerie because it is from God. The faerie controlled by God messenger, therefore the better life aspect (better income, prosperity, luckiness) must be reach by supra natural way. It done by esteem the controller of sacred sphere. This meant that there is a dual belief, one side believes to the ghost as fortune source and other side believed to Allah as fortune giving.

This inmost aspect shown the fisher community tend to be passively, therefore their rational instrumental value is undeveloped. They prioritized pray and mystic ritual than effort to develop their rational instrumental value. In this aspect, McClelland (1987, 48) relevantly state that a cultural is in lower *nAch* has more attention to their tradition maintaining especially in religion aspect.

Ritual as symbol of cosmology

The fisher community generally work as fishermen when the catching fish season is coming, when the rainy season comes they work as peasant. Sea makes them as fisherman and rice field makes them also as peasant. They must work both in different time to sustain their family life.

In their life as fisher and peasant, they occurred two important social imperatives namely; duty of social relation to their kinship and outsider for intimating the family bond. In the other hand, they must cooperate each other to stabilization, securing the pre requisite to obey the law so as there is a sense of security in their life.

In the fisher community, social relation is not based on the pragmatic consideration but every social relation encircled by symbolic constructions that explain, justify and set it. Therefore, whatever ritual related to public phenomenon the actors must shown to public how the event happen. All of social relation surrounded by rituals must be pay by work, money and property. This must do because the ritual is a traditional obligation.

In the other side, the fisher community believed the ritual and even they obligate their selves in doing the animistic rituals for example thank full ceremony of plenty full production, inauguration ceremony of new ship or boat, and inauguration ceremony of ship or boat reparation.

In occurred all three ceremonies above mentioned prioritize the compatibility between place and space, as well as best time and kind of event that will done. The important thing in the ceremony is every ceremony related to sea resources utilization, the ceremony must face the sea.

Through the ceremony, the fisher hoped avoiding any disruption of supernatural beings, especially when the group performs the shipping and fishing. In addition, they also hope to get protection from the ancestors and from the Almighty to safety, happiness, and prosperity in their daily survival. Therefore, the meaning of religious ceremony and custom ceremony, not only for people who still alive, but also for people that died, especially to the ancestors.

Various types of fisher traditional ceremonies that part of the belief system that must occurred by groups of fisher, among others, are:

Production thankful offering ceremony

The production thankful offering ceremony is one of ceremony in the fisher community. This ceremony occurred by fisher groups when there are many beneficiary they get from catching fish. Therefore, the fisher is in obligation to do the ceremony.

This ceremony is a custom ritual occurred by fisher community by slaughtering goat or buffalo. The fisher slaughtered animal as a symbol of thankful of getting successful in catching fish in the sea. The thankful ceremony equipped by some materials, such as; glutinous rice, white and sticky rice, coconut, banana, bamboo rafts as a place for offering. The material unit from eggs, betel leaf, white and black sticky rice, other confectionary wrapped by banana leaf, four color of rice (black, white, red, and yellow), candle, cock and hen.

The accumulation of material ceremony mentioned before is the main equipment must be prepared by the fisher before the ceremony occurred. For the boat '*punggawa*' and ship '*punggawa*' called '*juragang*' that have got successful in catching fish, generally they slaughtered a buffalo or a goat.

Generally, the fisher community in who live in the southern of south Sulawesi province believe on the thankful ceremony. Through occurring the ceremony, it have a function to neutralize the sea from the supra natural dimension. At least, it could quite the sea guard that they believe can make troubles their work. The fisher community also believed that by doing ritual it could influence more of fish production. At least, the meanings of this ceremony are giving an easy and continuity for them in sailing and catching fish.

This production thankful offering ceremony is also same with another ceremony that led by a priest called '*Sanro*' or '*Daeng Imang*'. This conducted in the beach and start by slaughtering a buffalo or a goat. In the mean time, the other material of ceremony prepared for conducting '*barzanji*'. When this step over, so the all process of this ritual is finish. At same time ritual finished, other people who attended the ceremony taking the offering concurrently. This offering put in a vessel from woven bamboo called '*rakit-rakit*' resemble mats. The content of the offering are four kind meals. This is also as main equipment for the ritual. The '*rakit-rakit*' floated in the sea as an offering to the sea guard.

About the slaughtered animal, they brought to boat '*punggawa*' home after '*barzanji*' finish. When the meat enter there, the wife prepared the meat and other meals for dinner. This activity conducted together with other wives of '*Sawi*', '*Punggawa kecil*', their kinship., as well as their neighbor.

New ship releasing ritual ceremony

This New ship releasing ritual ceremony occurred by fisher community at the time the ship used in the first time to sail in the sea by its owner. Through this ceremony the fisher community have big expectation in utilizing the ship in order it gives a safety in the sailing and also get much results in catching fish. In this ritual ceremony, there are some materials as requirements in its occurring. The fisher must prepare that, such as; layer cake, bananas, white and black sticky rice, Arecas, banana leaves, eggs, griddle with water inside, tobacco, sugar, rooster and hen.

All of material ceremony mentioned above put in a crock called '*Loyang*' or brass. Meanwhile, the other materials such as eggs, betel leaves,

Arecas, and sticky rice collected and wrapped by using banana leaf. This material wrapped called '*pa'rappo*' means bear fruits. The substantial meaning of it that the ship the fisher use as the main tool of their work in the sea will be better. At least, the new ship is better than the old ship.

When all of the needed material ceremony prepared, then the priest occurred '*barzanji*'. After '*barzanji*' over, the priest call '*sandro*' recite '*mantera*' or praying and at the same time, the priest take three betel leaves and a pan of water. The priest splashed the water in the pan to the body of the ship by using the three leaf of betel. The parts of the ships are the back part, the front part, the center as a stomach, the right side, and the left side.

When that process finish, the priest take a banana, a layer of cake, an Areca and the material put in to the fifth parts of the ship or boat. The fifth parts are the back part, the front part, the center as a stomach, right side and left side. Amount of each layer cake, Bananas, Arecas are five in every parts of the ship.

Every material ceremony mentioned above has meaning itself. Some of them are layer cake that means layers sustenance, bananas means growing sustenance, areca means upset sustenance. The fifth parts of ship mentioned above for the fisher community means a small urgent part that must be protected. Therefore, all of the fifth parts must have defense function. By ritual ceremony, the fisher believed they put in a supra natural guard as an angel.

When the ceremony process is over, the priest start to say "bismillah" and shove the boat to sea together with the other local people attend the ritual ceremony. The ritual ceremony process finish by putting the brass inside of raft made from the banana stem with its content. Then, the raft shoved to the sea. The fish community meant this process as dedication to the sea security. This last process of ceremony done carefully because of there is often trance to attendee if a mistaken came in the process.

The occurring of ritual ceremony above, generally started from boss '*Punggawa*' home then finish in the beach. This ceremony also involves the members of '*punggawa*' groups. The meaning of this ceremony is about hopefulness on safety in sailing and successful to work in catching fishes.

Safety ritual ceremony

Boat or Ship securing ritual ceremony often occurred when the fisher use their boat/ship for the first time. This ritual ceremony prevailed also for

the old boat or ship that have been renovated. This ritual ceremony resembled to ritual of release of boat or ship ceremony.

According to the belief of fisher community, when a boat or ship has used in the sea then it improved by them, so they believe that there is a ghost live in the ship and will run out. Based on that belief, they must do a ritual ceremony to call back the ghost in securing the boat/ship.

About the 'securing ritual ceremony', the fisher community celebrated once a year for every boat or ship. If there is a boat or ship has used and in damaged condition until docking, so as the boat will improve. After the boat improve, there will be a ritual ceremony again before the boat brought to the sea. In this situation, there are two ritual ceremonies at the same time, namely; '*Upacara Selamatan*' or Boat or Ship securing ritual ceremony and '*Upacara Pelepasan*' or Boat or Ship deliverance ritual ceremony. Both ritual ceremonies have orientation and meaning itself.

Viewing the ritual process above, this means that the ceremony procedure involving place and space aspect related to cultural heritage especially myth that exist there for a long time by the ancestor. In that context, there indicate a syncretic of value between value of traditional custom ritual of fisher community and value of religious ceremony that comes from Islamic teaching *al-qur'an* and *Hadits*. This shown by praying *mantera* in a ritual ceremony by starting to say "*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*" and followed by the local language *mantera* of Bugis and Makassar. The end of praying is finis by saying "*Kunfayakun*". In every ritual ceremony, there is a special thing as a leader who called '*Daeng Imang*' as a priest.

The occurring of fisher custom ceremony is a kind of honor and glory to their ancestor. They dedicated the ceremony in order they got protections of soul's harassment and get security and wellbeing.

The fisher community in the southern coastal of South Sulawesi province generally believe in Islam fanatically. Viewing their behavior, attitude, and mind, they influenced extremely by animistic belief. The conditions seems from their belief to the supra natural power exist in the sea and beach. They also sacred them by many kinds of fisher ritual ceremony. The ritual ceremony also tend to domesticate, to glorify, and to persuade the soul in the supra natural world that can bother their fisher activities (Arifin 2014).

The worship and domestication to supra natural powers in the sea and coastal, occurred by giving offering, chicken and goat slaughtering as well as buffalo. After that, there are some prays and mantras according Islamic

teaching alqur'an dan Hadist. The values sourced from immanently belief (fisher custom) and transcend belief (Islam) have been used in fisher community as power to imperishable their relation to supra natural world (Arifin 2014).

For the groups of fisher in this area, the supra natural power appreciated as a power unreached by human mind (ultimate reality), therefore they need worship, tamed and domestication through ceremony as media. Behind that all, they are expected it to create a relationship adjustment or persuasive relationship to the natural marine environment (Arifin 2014).

Collaboration between fisher community with university Positioning of university

The complexity problems of society demand the responsibility of university as the most legal institution to solve it scientifically. University is part of society, therefore the duty of it is viewing the dynamic of society. University did not decide the policy or execution problems, but it contributes in problem solving.

Regarding to description above, there are some perspective from educational expert, such as; Astin (Nurkhoiri 2012), said that the high education has substantially in resulting knowledge and sciences, technology and art. Moreover, it produce graduates relevantly to the demand of development. This addressed by Fasli Jalal (Nurkhoiri 2012), that research is one of the three pillars in the university (education, research, and community service) naturally has important role in the global era.

There are also some research function in the university stated by Suyanto, such as; establishing the academic culture, solving the human problems, renewal the lecturer's knowledge, empowering the learning method professionally (Nurkhoiri 2012).

Bambang Soehendro (Nurkhoiri 2012) also state that research in the university tend to; getting the new knowledge, resulting researcher, updating knowledge and capability in science and technology in order the university may compile, divert, spread and implementing science and knowledge for human wellbeing.

To developing the research achievement, it needed some developing steps innovatively and supported by conducive policy. Cik Hasan Bisri (Nurkhoiri 2012) state that, there are five things related to research

development, such as; developing training research to prepare and upgrade the research potentiality, developing research regarding to science and knowledge as well as developing society, also kind of solving problem models multidisciplinary, developing the science meeting to disseminate the research results and to review and evaluate the research, develop the research publication, developing the inter-university cooperation and with the research agencies. Clark Kerr (Nurkhoiri 2012) also state that to develop research net, it needed collaboration net inter-university, entrepreneurship and government.

Dedi Supriadi (Nurkhoiri 2012) state his agreement about the benefit in cooperation between university and entrepreneurship, namely; the cooperation as a media for the lecturer and student to know the entrepreneurship and industry to examine the theory in practicing. The cooperation opens chance to be research-based university, the cooperation shown the institution achievement of the university, lecturer and its institution may get income.

PRA as strategy to develop awareness

Participatory Rural Appraisal means researching the village situation in participating aspect. PRA is always in progress, so Chambers (1996) define this as a collecting method and approaching driven society to participate in developing and analyze their knowledge of life and their selves, so that they may plan action.

The principles of PRA according to Chambers (1996) are related to develop the local knowledge with indicators: learning each other and respect the diversity. Experiences and knowledge of local people and outsider may complementary each other in the same value as long as people fixing the choice. Triangulation principle in developing available knowledge and science by check and recheck. The strategy is diversification in outsider perspective (science and experiences diversification), diversification in local perspective (background, social status, sex perspective), and various of learning method. Optimizing the results in arrange the local knowledge.

Discussion

The university has status and function in developing society. As owned by society, the university must contribute and take side of society by social

change effort. The effort can erase the inequality, injustice, poverty and a marginal position society (Arkanuddin 2009).

For collaborating to society, the university research must be part of social transformation and social movement. Without it, the university will reach its aim, or only just retainer of liberal culture and economical market. The contribution to social transformation could be reach by implementing research method that taking side and integrating to social change dynamic. One of strategy to change the comfort research in the university is implementing the action research.

In the Thomas Gilmore, et.al., (1986) perspectives, action research oriented to two things, namely: as an emphasize to problems facing by fisher community as well as answering the aim of science. Therefore, action research collaborate research commitment in developing change.

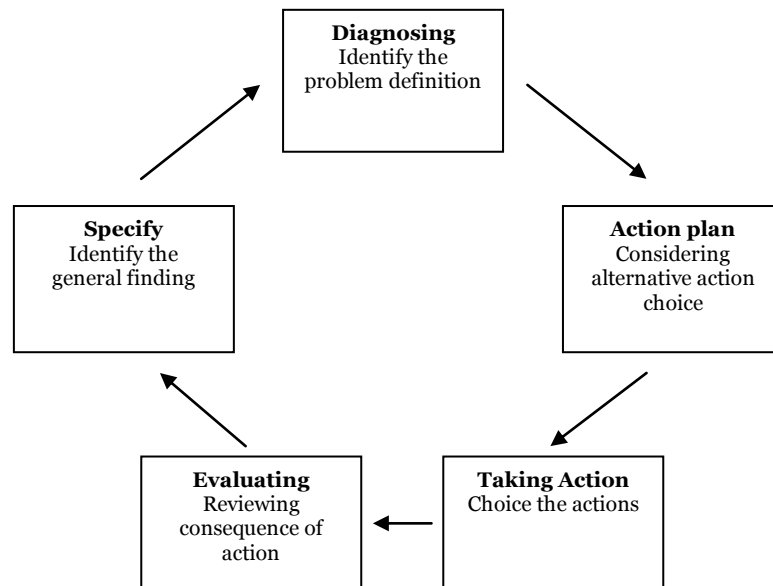


Figure 2: Action research model (Susman 1993)

Based on the figure above, research action is an related process each other. Starting from diagnosis, action plan, doing action, evaluating and identify, then diagnosis process occur sustainable until the process get results.

In the research action, the researcher and the object form a collaboration complementary in making change. Research and action plan as requirement done in early study. Student has many basic theory, concept, and capabilities integrating to society. Therefore, students prepared their

selves in understanding problems, planning action, evaluating and noting the sustainable action research (Arkanuddin 2009).

Conclusion

In the fishermen community especially the middle level turn down has complexity problem as caused of their underdevelopment. Their strong social structure, a long conflict, deterministic cultures are the grand theme inside of them.

Various approached implemented to solve the problems and most of them are not success yet. Among the implemented approached is based on the local people knowledge that called 'participatory rural appraisal'.

By using the participatory rural appraisal, university can plan things such as; Developing collaboration groups of fisher community, Constructing learning action for fisher community to raising their social awareness, Establishing a strategic policy for better life changing, Setting the fisher community to develop basic science relevantly to their need in respond to the dynamic changing by using the local resources. []

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