Cultural Dynamics in a Globalized World

Editors

Melani Budianta
English Studies Program, Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

Manneke Budiman
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

Abidin Kusno
Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada

Mikihiro Moriyama
Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Foreign Studies, Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan
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Formation of Javanese Malay identities in Malay Peninsula between the 19th and 20th centuries

L. Sunarti
Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to explain the cultural ties between Indonesia and Malaysia by examining the diaspora or migration of Indonesian people across the archipelago, especially the Javanese to the Tanah Melayu peninsula (Malaysia), from the early 19th century to the early 20th century. It focuses on searching the traces of Javanese diaspora in the states of Selangor and Johor (two areas in Malaysia with the largest population of Javanese descendants) and the culture they brought and developed in their new places in that period. This paper also seeks to discuss how they adapted, assimilated and formed their identities in the new environment. This study uses a historical approach involving both qualitative and quantitative data as well as a literature review. Qualitative data were obtained by interviewing cultural actors in both Indonesia and Malaysia. Malaysians who were interviewed were Indonesian descendants, academics and so on. Quantitative data were obtained through questionnaires completed by a group of young people in Indonesia and Malaysia. A literature review was conducted by tracing written sources, especially archives, documents, newspapers and books in both countries. These data were analysed using a historical method which includes several steps, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The arrival of the Javanese in Malaya

The Javanese are an ethnic group that has high mobility and has spread widely across the globe. According to Lockard (1971, p. 43), the Javanese diaspora had begun before the 19th century, but they migrated on a large scale between 1875 and 1940. The large migration of the Javanese was caused by various factors. In the land of the Malays, the arrival of the Javanese has a long history that makes it an interesting phenomenon. Malaya region, in this case, covers the entire territory of the Federation of Malaya, including Singapore, as depicted in Figure 1.

Although Singapore and North Borneo were also included in the Federation of Malaya, the researchers limit the scope of the discussion to the country of Malaysia. The number of the Javanese who immigrated to the Malay Peninsula reached approximately 190,000 in the 1960s. It shows that the Javanese diaspora in Malaya was larger than that in Suriname and New Caledonia, where there were 43,000 and 3,600 Javanese migrants, respectively (Lockard, 1971, p. 42).

Although it is difficult to know precisely when the first Javanese migrated to the Malay Peninsula, with the establishment of the strait settlements by the British colonial government, the arrival of the Javanese in Malaya was written in the civil records. In Singapore, for example, Kampung Jawa was established in 1836 in the western part of the Rochore River. The growth of Javanese population in the region continued to increase slowly but significantly from 38 in 1825 to 5,885 people in 1881. In Malaya, Penang and Malacca regions, it was recorded that the number of 'Indonesian' residents, mostly from Java, reached 4,683 in 1871 (Bahrim, 1967a, p. 269). Most of the Javanese migrants were workers and traders working in various sectors ranging from the plantation to services. The above situation illustrates that the Javanese had migrated before the introduction of the contract labour system.
Javanese people were familiar with emigration. As previously mentioned, the mobility of the Javanese began to increase rapidly in the late 18th century. In that period, there were several factors that encouraged the Javanese to migrate, one of which was the condition in rural Java where access to various basic amenities was difficult. Therefore, many of the inhabitants of Java were driven to migrate to various areas in search of livelihood that would allow them to be prosperous, either temporarily or permanently. Clifford Geertz (1966) described the situation in Java in his book *Agricultural Involutions* that there was a scarcity of land, an exploding population and poverty that hit most areas of Java. This condition encouraged people to migrate to other areas. Hardjosudarmo stated that in 1930 there were 1,200,000 or approximately 2.9% of people living outside Java (Lockard, 1971, p. 44).

The migration of the Javanese was not always done voluntarily. Some people migrated because of the demands of work as labourers in various business sectors. The growth of the plantations in Java and Sumatra, which was driven by the so-called 'liberal policy' in the second half of the 19th century, led the Javanese to search for work as labourers in plantations operated by the Europeans (Lockard, 1971, p. 45). The opening of the plantation in the eastern part of Sumatra in the early 1860s also required a lot of labourers from Java, but they were still less competitive than the plantation workers coming from China.

Most Javanese were under pressure to sign a contract and work in different areas. The workers, who came from Java, were sent to different areas of the European colonies, belonging mostly to the British. The Javanese were then sent to Suriname, New Caledonia and the Federation of Malaya, including Sabah and Sarawak. The distribution of Javanese labourers in Malaya can be seen in Figure 2.

Malaya was the first region to receive the Javanese as workers, as well as the biggest destination for the Javanese migrant workers. Previously, there were thousands of Chinese brought to Malaya to work in tin mining. Then, the expansion of the sugar and coffee industries in the late 19th century accompanied by the rising demand for labourers in the rubber industry caused the Europeans to bring many Javanese to work in Malaya.

In the late 19th century, the Europeans needed Javanese workers. In general, the labourers in Malaya originated from India and China. However, the Europeans feared that they would be too dependent on Chinese labourers. Moreover, the Chinese workers were considered to work optimally only under the supervision of the Chinese people themselves. In addition,
the competition for Chinese labourers was quite tough, and so was the competition for the Indian workers. The Europeans preferred Javanese workers because they could easily assimilate with the locals (Lockard, 1971, p. 46). It can also be said that since the living environment in Malaysia is similar to the environment in Java, the Europeans found it easy to open new plantations by employing Javanese workers.

In the migration process of those workers, recruitment procedures were carried out by the Europeans by using agents to collect workers in Java to be sent to various regions. The recruitment agents initially had difficulties in collecting workers from Java because the Dutch East Indies Government at that time did not allow the Javanese to migrate from the Dutch East Indies as enacted in the regulations in 1887 that prohibited the Javanese to work outside the Dutch East Indies (Lockard, 1971, p. 48).

However, after 1900, there was a rising argument from the colonial administration that outer Indonesia (Geertz, 1966) (Sumatra, Borneo and others) had a population deficit. Therefore, those regions required labourers from Java. In practice, the workers who came from Java were sent not only to other regions in Indonesia, but also to Suriname, New Caledonia and Malaya.

The recruitment centre of the Javanese workers was located in Central Java. Although many people were sent via Batavia, many companies and recruitment agencies were located in Central Java, especially Semarang (Lockard, 1971, pp. 48–9). There were private recruitment firms operated by the Europeans, and they received high commission for their recruitment services. The recruitment firms had to obtain permission from the government to recruit workers. According to Yusuf Ismail, in the works of Lockard, recruitment firms promised a prosperous life abroad. Sometimes, the agents were forced to cheat and conspire with the village heads. They would do anything to collect a commission worth 80–100 rupiah for each recruit (Lockard, 1971, p. 49).

In the case of workers in Malaysia, the Javanese were generally recruited by the Chinese agents in Singapore. Once registered as workers, they were sent to Singapore and then worked in plantations in Malaysia. After 1902, the planters in Malaya were allowed to bring a large number of the Javanese to work there. The number of Indonesian workers in the early 19th century is given in Table 1.

Before 1902, the Javanese had dominated the total population of Indonesians in Malaya. Based on the data from the civil registry between 1891 and 1901, the Javanese accounted for more than 70% of the total population of Indonesians, and most of them were workers. Then, after 1902, the population of the Javanese was reported to have increased drastically. The population census conducted in 1937 shows that there were more than 100,000 people in Malaya Java, especially in the cities mostly settled by Indonesians, such as Johor.
and Selangor. Then, in the following years, the number of people in Malaya Java continued to grow, as outlined in Table 2.

1.2 Javanese Malay: Adaptation and assimilation

Like most immigrants from Indonesia, the Javanese in Malaya settled in various coastal areas. Banjarneese and Bugis people were among the many ethnic groups who settled in Malaya, apart from the Javanese. Most of them lived in coastal areas (Ramsay, 1956, p. 124). The distribution map of the Javanese in Malaya until 1947 is shown in Figure 3.

There were three areas with the largest Indonesian population. Among the cities with the highest number of immigrants from Indonesia, Johor was the most important because there were more than 80% of the Indonesian population, which increased every year since 1911, followed by the cities of Selangor and Perak (Bahrin, 1967a, p. 276). Immigrants from Java dominated the number of Indonesian immigrants, and they had a tendency to settle permanently in Malaya. The Javanese in Malaya formed a new identity, which is known as Javanese-Malays.

The process of adaptation and assimilation carried out by the Javanese in Malaya later gave birth to a new group of Malay society called the Javanese-Malays. The Javanese-Malay groups can be defined as the residents of Malaya who have a legal status but still have a close relationship with the cultural roots of origin in Java (Miyazaki, 2000, pp. 76–7). In this case, the Javanese differentiated themselves from other immigrants who came from the other parts of Indonesia. Despite their large number, the Javanese-Malays were included under the category of ethnic Malays, which means that they were not a separate ethnic group among the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia: Malay, Indian and Chinese.

A study conducted by Koji Miyazaki in Batu Pahat, Johor, in 1991 explains that migrants from Java have much in common with the local residents of Malaya. Unlike the Chinese and Indians or ‘migrants of difference’ who had a different cultural background from that of the Malays, the Javanese were considered ‘migrants of similarity’. One of the similarities among others was the religious background of Islam, which is the religion adhered to by both ethnic groups. In
addition, the Javanese and Malays also had language and cultural proximity. It was easier for the Javanese to be accepted in Malaysia compared to immigrants from China and India.

One area where the Javanese-Malays settled in large numbers is Johor. Most Javanese people, who had arrived in the early 20th century, came from Ponorogo, East Java. Johor is the region where most Indonesian descendants inhabit, especially in Batu Pahat, which was occupied by the majority of the Javanese and Bugis. In this region, the Bugis and the Javanese lived in coastal areas and worked in palm plantations. However, there were also some Javanese who lived in hinterlands working in rubber plantations. This was parallel with a moderate rise in the rubber industry from 1911 to 1930, so there were many Javanese workers who were brought by the British colonial government to become workers in rubber plantations.

The term 'Javanese' refers to the Javanese living in Malaya who are considered different from the Javanese people of Indonesia. The Javanese immigrants who came to Malaysia before the Indonesian independence in 1945 refer to themselves as Javanese, not Indonesians.

Javanese-Malays can be identified by their language for they use the Javanese language as their everyday language. In addition, the Javanese-Malays can be identified through their names. Although the second and third generations of the Javanese-Malays and Malay-Arabs have names similar to most Malays in general, their parents still have names that possess the distinctive character of Javanese names of having the suffixes such as -man or -min in the last syllable of their names. The identification is more visible through the use of the parent’s surname in a Javanese-Malay's name.

Although the Javanese-Malays spoke Javanese in their everyday life as a marker of identity, they were capable of speaking Malay fluently. This was because Malay was the lingua franca among people in the Archipelago. The similar structure between both Javanese and Malay also made it relatively easy for the Javanese to learn Malay. However, the majority of the new generation of Javanese-Malays have difficulties in understanding Javanese and only speak Malay.

Furthermore, in general, the Javanese were associated with various mystical beliefs. Among the Malays, the Javanese were believed to have magical 'powers', which made them capable of curing diseases or solving health problems. This stereotype was in line with the fact that the Javanese-Malays considered themselves as having the 'capability' in dispensing medicine and

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performing spiritual rituals. The Javanese-Malays were often seen as medicine men (dakun) as they were able to make herbal medicine (jumus) in a village.

In addition to having the skills of dispensing medicine, the Javanese-Malays introduced the Javanese calendar, which was later implemented in Malaya. The dating system does not exist in any other areas throughout Southeast Asia, except in Java. They use a cycle of 5 and 7 days and they can determine which day would be good or bad for certain activities. The dating system and herbal medicines introduced by the Javanese are sometimes affiliated with the Islamic science.

A lot of knowledge and culture derived from Java produced a new culture in Malaya. Besides the language, they kept parts of the Javanese cultural heritage. For example, the Javanese-Malays in Johor have made a great effort to maintain the music and dance they brought from Java. Several groups of the horse dance (Kuda Kepang) are still active in the district of Batu Pahat. Another Javanese dance, Barong dance (Barongan), is often performed in a local festival. Notably, Kuda Kepang played by the Javanese-Malay girls is now included in the ‘traditional arts’ in the state of Johor, despite its Javanese origin. The dance groups are often invited to perform in various occasions as the representative of the whole of Johor.

2 CONCLUSION

Malaysian culture is made up of various elements of ethnic groups. The Javanese-Malays play an important role in establishing the identity of the Malays, despite being considered by the Malays as the ‘outsider’. Both Malay and Javanese cultures have become increasingly intertwined. This means that the Javanese-Malays are becoming Malays not only by discarding their cultural heritage, but also by incorporating their cultural elements into the Malay tradition which is continuously shaped and reshaped.

In addition to adapting and assimilating their own culture with the local community, the Javanese in Malaysia are known as a strong community in maintaining their customs. This cultural maintenance is realised through the use of the language, food (nasri ambeng), clothing, the way of life (tradition of ‘gotong royong’ like Rewang, Pukatan and Kondungan) and art.

REFERENCES

The impact of economic modernization on the lifestyle of the Palembang society in 1900–1930

N.J. Utama & L. Sunarti
Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to explain the social changes that occurred in Palembang at the beginning of the 20th century, when economic modernization also brought changes in social life. The main issue discussed in this article is how the impact of economic modernization has influenced the changes in the society of Palembang, especially the changes in lifestyle and its orientation in the period of 1900–1930. At the beginning of the 20th century, the people of Palembang were indulged by economic progress, especially in trade and plantations. There was a kind of consumerist pattern after economic development, such as the widespread and ownership of imported goods. In addition, the economic modernization also brought an impact to the orientation of people's life, from river to land. This was caused by the increase of the large number of cars and bicycles. Yet, the river transport was an obstacle. Although there are a lot of studies about social changes, only few discuss the change about Palembang. One example is a study by Masyhuri who conducted an investigation about the social changes in Palembang, but the study discusses the main factor that was caused by the political development in the 19th century. This paper, on the other hand, talks about the impact of economic modernization on the social conditions in the 20th century. It is fascinating to discuss the pattern of changes and its impact on the society in Palembang itself using a historical method. This research is also supported by relevant sources such as archives, newspapers, journals, and secondary sources.

1 INTRODUCTION

Palembang is a city that has a great reputation as a port and trade city. The primary basis for this opinion is because this region is very strategic. The consequence of the status of this city is that Palembang is open to all cultural influences brought by foreign traders. Since the period of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya, Palembang has been famous as a multicultural city (Wolters, 2011). In addition, as a trade city, Palembang can easily experience changes in social, economic, and cultural issues. Recorded until the 20th century, this region was controlled by three different powers and political cultures, namely the Kingdom of Sriwijaya, the Palembang Sultanate, and the Dutch colonial government (Reid, 2011, pp. 2–3, pp. 8–11).

The 20th century was the golden era for the economy of Palembang. Around the first quarter of the 20th century Palembang was at its most prosperous period compared to previous periods. Financially, most of its inhabitants experienced an economic increase in the early 20th century. Moreover, economic developments such as this brought about not only changes in the physical construction (especially the construction of the city), but also social changes in Palembang. In reality, the type of changes that occurred in Palembang was due to the external influence of a structural nature coming from outside of Palembang (Soekanto, 1983, pp 26–27), and one of the most dominant was the world's rubber commodity prices.1

1. During the first two decades of the 20th century, there was massive planting of rubber in Palembang. This was due to the increasing demand for rubber for industrial raw materials, especially for tires, so that rubber prices soared (Purwanto, 2002: 205–206).
There are, as yet, few studies on social changes in Palembang. One study that has sparked a discussion on the study of social change is the research conducted by Masyhuri (1993). The study portrays the era when a political transition between the Palembang Sultanate and the Dutch colonial government occurred. This political transition caused changes especially in the structures of the economy in Palembang. Unfortunately, the study does not clearly depict the social changes in the society such as changes in lifestyle.

The main issue discussed in this paper is how economic modernization has influenced the changes in the society of Palembang, especially the changes in lifestyle and its orientation between 1900 and 1930. The argument to answer that question in this paper is that there were changes (especially changes in lifestyle) in Palembang from 1900 to 1930, driven by economic development. This research uses a historical method (Sjamsudin, 2007), which first stage includes the collection of data. The second stage is the source's critique of the collected materials. The third stage is the interpretation of the gathered data. The last stage is the writing of history or historiography, which is the writing of the interpreted data into an article. Meanwhile, to support this paper the writers also use several concepts and theories, especially in explaining the issue of social changes. This article uses the concepts of social change, specifically from Piotr Sztompka that argues that social changes as a result of economic development threatens the existence of old traditions. Several forms of the old tradition are influenced, reshaped, or even swept away by the government and even by the communities themselves (Sztompka, 2011, p. 43).

1.1 Palembang's condition in the early 20th century

Geographically, Palembang was in a strategic position in relation to two major ports at the end of the 19th century, Batavia and Singapore. In addition, nine large watersheds from the Musi River, which was the longest river, also fed this area (Faille, 1971, p. 16). Because of its location which is slightly protruding into the inland areas of Sumatra (+/- 100 km), the river had an important role in the distribution of individual and economic activities in Palembang. Therefore, transport on Musi river was also dependent on the water flow and the condition of the river. For example, during the dry season, the river's water level would be low, making mobilization to the inland difficult and time consuming. The best time for traveling through the river in Palembang would be the rainy season (Sevenhoven, 1971, p. 11).

The area was also divided into two sub-cultures (i.e., upstream and downstream areas) with differences that distinguished not only the geographic conditions of both areas, but also their social, cultural, and economic conditions. The two sub-cultures were often referred to as Iliran and Uluan (Irwanto, et al., 2010). Iliran refers to those who lived in the downstream area of the river or near the city of Palembang. Geographically, this was the lowland area that was dominated by swamps. Iliran itself was often interpreted as a region of city people, and then associated as a modern society that was close to civilization. The majority of citizens in this area were traders who used to transport agricultural and plantation commodities from the rural areas to the city of Palembang.

Uluan refers to the inland areas in Palembang: the upstream areas around the Bukit Barisan Mountains, Ranau, and Ogan Komering. The natural condition of this region was mainly fertile plateau. Therefore, this region was the production centre of plantation products in demand by domestic and international markets, such as rubber, coffee, tea, hard wood, resin, and others (Abdullah et al., 1985, pp. 14–17). In terms of socio-economic conditions of the population, the majority of the region's inhabitants were plantation growers. Uluan people were also often regarded as less-developed people (in terms of education and religion). However, this condition seemed to change when Palembang entered the 20th century: extensive land holdings and estates owned by the majority of the Uluan population apparently transformed them to become a modern society.

As a major trading city, Palembang experienced a quite significant population growth, especially after the discovery of several new economic resources such as rubber and the discovery of mining sources which absorbed a lot of the local workforce as well as laborers and porters coming in from Java. The population of Palembang in 1900 totaled about 600 thousand, and it increased to reach 1 million in 1930 (Zed, 2003, p. 66; Sibbe, 1919, p. 264). The composition also included
foreign ethnic communities in Palembang, which were dominated by the Chinese and the Arabs who had inhabited the area since the period of the Palembang Sultanate (Utama, 2015, pp. 6–13). The diverse population and the rapid mobility were the driving factors toward social change in Palembang in the early 20th century. Yet, the most important factor which had a significant effect was the process of commercialization of agriculture and plantation, leading to a rapid advancement of economy. Furthermore, since the area of uncultivated land was so vast, the colonial government was unable to manage the entire land in Palembang, and the local people opened new plantations, especially for high-priced commodities such as rubber (Zed 2003, pp. 85–88).

1.2 Economic modernization

In the early 20th century, Palembang was known as one of the biggest exporters of natural resources for the Netherlands Dutch Indies, with commodities from the agricultural sector (rubber) and mining sector. In fact, the early 20th century was not only the era when Palembang was known as the biggest supplier for commodities for the market, but it was also known as a port city for transit. Palembang was not only considered as strategic in terms of geography, but it also produced natural resources as early as from the Sriwijaya Kingdom era to the Palembang Sultanate era. The commodities included gold, ivory, woods, cattle, tin, pepper, etc. (Vlelke, 2008, pp. 44–45). However, in the early 20th century, the most dominant plantation commodities in Palembang were rubber and coffee. Although the rubber plantations were dominated by small-scale holders, the management was not traditional. The method of recording and cultivation of the plantation applied by these small-scale holders were the same as that used by the Europeans (Furnival, 2009, pp. 338–339). Rubber is actually not a native plant of Palembang and it was said to be originally from the Malay Peninsula. Interestingly, in Palembang, there was a type of sap plant known as “rambang”, but this plant could not be cultivated extensively in Palembang. Then at that time, the rubber tree (Hevea Brasiliensis), which had more economic value, was introduced. Apparently, the climate of Palembang was also suitable for planting rubber trees, making this plant quickly become the target plant of many farmers in Palembang (Purwanto, 2002, p. 203).

As for coffee, although the plantation area and the profits were not as extensive as that of rubber, coffee was, however, widely grown in the inland and upland areas of Palembang. Nevertheless, the production of coffee and rubber by the local people should not have been underestimated, since the production of both commodities cultivated by the local people had even exceeded the production of the companies belonging to the colonial government and the private sector (local coffee production reached a total of 90% of the total coffee production in the Palembang Uluan region) (Zed, 2002, p. 300, Peeters, 1997, p. 123).

Interestingly, there was a difference in the management style of the plantations in Palembang compared to that of Java and east Sumatra, which was mostly controlled by the government and private companies. In Palembang, there were no agrarian conflicts, especially related to land disputes between the people and the government. The vast area of vacant lands in Palembang enabled small-scale plantation holders and the government to live peacefully. Besides that, the government seemed too focused on the mining sector, as in the early 20th century, mining commodities were discovered in Palembang in significant quantities. Therefore, there was no overlap between commercial plantation lands and farmlands, and there was no friction stemming from the interests of their management (Zed, 2003, pp. 88–90). This was unlike the condition in some regions in Java where the paddy fields were an integral part of the sugar cane plantations. A different picture could also be observed from the welfare of farmers;

2 Rubber tree (Hevea Brasiliensis) was first developed in the region of the Malay Peninsula circa 1876-1877. It is estimated that a lot of rubber seedlings planted in Palembang originated from this area. The spreading of the rubber tree was introduced by the Hajj pilgrims who transited in the region. One of the first rubber plantations in Palembang was established in Sugihwaras in 1910-1912. (Drabble, (unknown year): 570).
during the "rubber boom", farmers in Palembang became prosperous, but farmers in Java were less successful in the era of agriculture commercialization.\(^3\)

In addition, having a good network of traders and commodity brokers, the farmers were able to establish a strong collaboration between the plantation sector and the trade sector. The inland communities (\textit{Ulun}) were the actors in the plantation sector, while the urban communities (\textit{Iliran}) established the trade relations and product marketing of the estates. The network brokers in Palembang in the early 20th century were controlled by the Chinese traders. One important factor that made the Chinese traders dominate the trade, ranging from small to large scale, in Palembang was their mastery of the river transport business in Palembang and because most "wheel ship hulls" that operated in Palembang until 1920 were controlled by Chinese families (Zed, 2003, pp. 94–96. Kemoedi 3rd July 1926).

The economic progress that occurred in Palembang in the early 20th century had a significant impact on the economy of the people. Until the 1920s, the collaboration between the local people and the estate-owned mines had impacts on the colonial government and made Palembang one of the important export regions in the Dutch East Indies (Linblad, 2000, pp. 344–347).

1.3 \textit{Social and orientation change in Palembang society}

The development and economic growth that occurred during the two decades in the early 20th century brought significant changes in the lifestyle of the people of Palembang. In the 13 years of the planting and rubber tapping period, the total income of the rubber farmers in Palembang reached 95 million Gulden, not to mention the profit calculated by the brokers and traders who marketed these commodities (Purwanto, 2002, p. 218). Interestingly, besides becoming one of the largest exporting regions in the Dutch East Indies, Palembang also became one of the main destinations for importers of luxury goods. Significant transformation during the period of economic development in Palembang could be recognized by the changes that include the physical development of the city, the large number of people going for the Hajj pilgrimage, progress in education, the purchase of imported goods (particularly cars and bicycles), and the adoption of new habits that were considered modern.

The physical development of the city was regarded as a symbol of prosperity in Palembang. Between the years 1900 to 1930, Palembang was transformed into a city with a European style and culture in many corners. Construction of facilities was done in this city such as filling the rivers to build roads, and building courtyards/parks, post offices and telephone lines, pawn shops, churches, schools, theaters, hotels, meeting halls, and the construction of the most famous building of those days, the water tower (Irwanto, 2011, pp. 50–52). Yet, unfortunately, most of the facilities and buildings established by the colonial government were used for the advantage of the colonial government and the faction itself, such as the real estate development (\textit{Taiung Semut}) which was to become the future elite housing for Europeans (Ali and Suyuwati, 2015, p. 8).

The significant development not only occurred in Palembang city, but also in the suburb region in Plaju. In this region, a large oil refinery was built, and in addition to the oil refineries, the company also built various facilities supporting its employees ranging from housing, sports facilities (courtyards and swimming pools), clubs, hospitals, and shopping stores. Such transformations in Plaju are in contrast with the condition of Plaju before the 20th century, which was one of the marginal, backward region and separated from the city center. However, in the midst of late modernity and development in 1920–1930 Plaju could easily compete with Palembang (Tanjung, 2015, pp. 303–302).

Next, the economic development in Palembang also had an impact on the society in terms of performing the Hajj Pilgrimage.\(^4\) After the rise in rubber prices, the number of

\(^3\) As illustrated by Clifford Geertz on sugar cane farmers in Java at the same time also became laborers and factory workers (Geertz, 1971: 327).

\(^4\) Hajj is one of the obligatory rituals for Muslims who are physically and financially able to perform it.
people performing the Hajj from Palembang also increased significantly, especially in the years when the price of rubber was expensive. Prior to 1920, the average number of the Hajj pilgrims from Palembang was about 1,400 people, but not including the data from the years of 1915 and 1916. The significant increase began after 1920, especially in 1927, which represented the culmination of the rubber trade in Palembang. The records show that there were 7,000 pilgrims from Palembang at that time. Interestingly, when the price of rubber fell, the demand for the Hajj pilgrimage also dropped. For example, in the post-Malaise period, Hajj enthusiasts in Palembang declined to the number of 500 people (Peeters, 1997, p. 151).

Changes also occurred in the consumption and lifestyle of the urban community. There were striking differences between the periods before and after the economic modernization that occurred in Palembang. As previously mentioned, the large influx of rubber farmers in the early by 20th century was reflected by the fact that luxury goods were no longer difficult to buy. The consumption pattern also changed with the number of entry-imported goods, including food. Surprisingly, before the rise of rubber planters, rice production in Palembang was sufficient to meet the needs of the region, but after the expansion of rubber plantations, rice had to be imported from outside of Palembang. In addition to rice, other goods were also imported on a large scale such as fabric, sewing machines, Western cigarettes, and others (Purwanto, 2002, pp. 218–219).

Imports of foreign cultures also occurred during this period. Many urban people in Palembang started to adopt modern cultures. The government facilitated these habits, and the public valued them. Cinemas, which were built in Palembang, not only served the foreign (white) audience but also the local people. Several groups of young people were also interested in forming a kind of assemblage of art and sports that was considered modern. This association was named "Wy Ontwaken" that a few days later was renamed to "Madjoe Adil Setia", embracing the activities of young people, namely in music, toneel (theater), and football (Kemoedi 3rd July 1926, 10th July 1926).

However, the most important import items that changed the orientation of Palembang were land vehicles such as cars and bicycles. Having an increased income the people could afford to buy bicycles and cars that were then considered super luxury goods and were complementary goods for the rich in Palembang. There were about 300 cars in Palembang in 1922; this figure then increased to about 1,400 cars in 1924. Meanwhile, for bicycles in Palembang, the number reached 19,000 and they were imported between the years 1910–1929 (Purwanto, 2002, pp. 219–220). Even a year later in 1925, the number of cars in Palembang increased sharply to more than 3,000 cars (Peeters, 1997, pp. 135–136).

Between 1900 and 1920 these land vehicles had no effect on the existing river transportation. Indeed, the cars at that time were only the size of a cart, but the superiority of these vehicles lays in their speed. Nevertheless, before 1920, river transportation was still in demand because the operational costs were much cheaper than that of cars which needed infrastructure such as roads and bridges (Zed, 2003, pp. 110–112).

However, the rampant spread of cars after the 1920s then brought a negative impact on the river transportation in Palembang. The traders and farmers in Palembang apparently had enjoyed the economic progress of Palembang and were quite content in those years. Therefore, these farmers and traders did not consider developing their business by investing more to expand water transportation. In contrast, many people in Palembang spent more on cars rather than buying or repairing ships. As a matter of fact, the commodity trading business was very strategic to be further developed with its important function to support the distribution of goods, although they mostly relied on foreign groups. Meanwhile, cars were more widely used as a symbol of prestige for leisure or just driving around town (Pertiye Selatan 15th July 1926).

In the end, the economic growth in Palembang during this period (1900–1930) ended with the onset of the Great Depression (Malaise). The crisis in 1929 hit the industrial sector and greatly weakened the rubber business that was "booming" in Palembang. Great losses as a result of the decline in rubber prices struck the region in 1928. The economic boom and the large money in-flow were not put to good use, so that when the Great Depression struck, the people of Palembang had no money. Most of the money was spent to meet the consumptive desire to buy cars for leisure, and was even used for the pilgrimage journey as a social
prestige rather than for religious purposes \( \textit{Moesi} \text{ 11th May 1928} \). As explained above, most of the people in Palembang did not have any intention to develop their commodity business. In subsequent years, the price of rubber continued to rise and the consumptive pattern between 1900 and 1930 continued to repeat itself, even to this day.

2 \textbf{CONCLUSION}

Major economic development in Palembang in the beginning of the 20th century brought changes not only in the economic sector, but also in the social aspect of the society in Palembang. The rise of rubber prices in the world market led to significant improvement in the standards of living in Palembang during the period of 1900–1930. Modernization was apparent in the city's significant development. The city's progress was mainly around \textit{Talang Semut} area as indicated by the European-style buildings such as public service buildings, theatres, housing complex, roads, and bridges. In addition, the economic development also brought significant social changes in the community, such as the rise in the number of people going to the Hajj pilgrimages in line with the growth of the economy. Furthermore, western culture was also adopted, such as watching films in cinemas and establishing art clubs and spo:ts clubs. Another impact of this economic boom was the increasing consumption pattern among the people of Palembang. Imports of goods also increased, ranging from imported food up to luxury goods. Cars, as luxury goods, seemed to be used only as a prestige of that era rather than being utilized for its actual function. Besides that, the use of cars also began to cause a decline in the river culture. Apparently, the Palembang people were happier to travel to places using a car rather than going by boat or ship. This last point brought an unfavorable impact for the development of businesses which were mainly owned by natives/locals of Palembang as they spent more money for consumptive purposes and for prestige rather than for business development. These issues show how developments in the economic sector had affected the people's lifestyles and also changed the public perception on certain values, such as a shift in the meaning of the river.

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Newspaper Hanpo 1926.
Newspaper Kemoedi 1926.
Newspaper Moesi 1928.
Newspaper Pertja Selatan 1926.


ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the impact of modernization on the economic development of fishermen in Makassar. In general, fishermen are considered as a group of people who are poor with a subsistence oriented economy. However, the fishermen in Makasar tend to show a more commercially oriented economy compared to those in other regions in Indonesia. More advanced living began to emerge as they started to use modern technology, such as actuator boats, fish preservation (cold storage), and trading networks. With modernization, the economic life of those fishermen developed significantly as seen from their income per capita, which is higher than that of the workers in the field of construction and those working at sugar and rice mills. With higher incomes, every family of the fishermen could afford to buy a ‘golden ringgit’ as a symbol of wealth in the Bugis-Makassar tradition. This research is a historical study using a qualitative approach. The data were obtained through interviews with fishermen and entrepreneurs of the local fisheries. Furthermore, the data were processed using the historical method, which includes heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography.

1 INTRODUCTION

In general, fishermen are considered as poor and marginalized people. BPS recorded that in 2011, the number of poor fishermen in Indonesia reached 7.87% or 25 million people, and 14% of the national total poor population reached 31.02 million people (Koran Sindo, the 4th April 2016 edition). From the record compiled by Koran Sindo (2016) there were 16 million fisherman households, which had revenues of 1.1 million rupiahs per month. From an economic perspective, most fishermen are known to be more oriented towards subsistence economy rather than commercial fishing. However, the fishermen in Makassar tend to adopt a market economy such as those in Singapore. This economic orientation began to appear after they started to use modern technology in fishing. At the macro level, in 1973 they had a surplus of 2000–3000 tons of catch. Cooperating with Japan, companies like Swadil and Bonecom successfully exported 400 tons of catch (Pedoman Rakyat, edition XXVII No. 1, Saturday, the 5th May 1973, and Pedoman Rakyat, edition XXVII No. 77, Friday, the 1st June 1973). At the micro level, most fishing households in Makassar would possess several “golden ringgits,” which symbolize success in the tradition of the Bugis-Makassar people. The annual income per capita was Rp.69,800,000, with a monthly income of Rp.5,816,000 (Harian Fajar, the 11th October 1973, and Pedoman Rakyat, edition XXVII No. 77, Friday, the 1st June 1973). Their income was higher than that of workers in other sectors. Based on the data from the Statistical Pocketbook 1968 (as cited in Booth, A. and Sundrum, 1981, p. 263), the income of sugar factory workers and those working at Gilligan rice mills was Rp.2,179,000/month, while the highest salary received by professional and technical workers in the private sector was as much as Rp.4,479.00/month. Therefore, the fishermen’s income was twice as much as that of sugar factory workers, and in fact it was even higher than that of workers in the engineering field.
Prior to modernization, such a phenomenon would have been almost hard to find. With fishing areas located along the coast, the fishing production was greatly influenced by climatic conditions. During the western monsoon between October and April, it was difficult to catch fish, since the fishing boats could be used only in the area near the coastline. The study of modernization and its socio-economic impacts on fishermen was carried out by Sumardiati (1999). The findings show that modernization does not necessarily help improve the fishermen's livelihood. Instead, it may cause conflicts between the modern and the traditional fishermen. However, in the case of Makassar fishermen, modernization does not seem to inflict such conflicts.

According to de Jonge (1989), modernization will attract new investors. However, as the operational costs increase due to modernization, fishermen will have to borrow money from investors. In addition, their catch is usually monopolized, since investors will determine the selling price of the catch, which leads to further dependence on the investors. This would create an unfavorable condition for the fishermen. Nevertheless, Makassar fishermen do not experience this problem. The income of the sawi (small fishermen) is higher compared to the income of workers in other sectors. Social mobility occurs vertically upward among fishermen. From the above statement, it is necessary to further understand the factors related to the economic progress among Makassar fishermen and the impact of modernization on their livelihood.

In view of the above circumstances, this article aims to analyze the impact of modernization on the lives of Makassar fishermen. The “golden ringgit” owned by most fishermen households, which have a relatively large income per capita, serves as an entry point in analyzing the factors of economic development. Progress in science is always correlated with advances in technology, which will eventually alter the production means used by fishermen. According to Schoorl (1980, p. 1), modernization is a process of transformation and a change in the community in all aspects. The real modernization should be understood not only as a change from traditional practice to modern techniques, but it also changes the means of production such as marketing and preservation of fish and transforms the mindset of the society (Ahmadin, 2009, p. 29). Thus, modernization includes changes in technology, fish preservation, marketing, and people’s mindset.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a historical study using the qualitative approach. The data sources of this study are archives that include documents related to the economic activities of fishermen, taken from the Library and Archives Board of South Sulawesi, which was in the form of Municipality Government Archives of Ujung Pandang for the period of 1926–1988. In addition to these documents, there were also newspapers such as Harian Fajar and Pedoman Rakyat published around 1970s and also used as data sources. Upon reviewing these documents, we conducted an interview with Haji Abdul Rahman Baddu, one of the resource persons for historical data, who received direct benefits of technological changes in fishing boats. The information retrieved from the documents and interviews was then analyzed chronologically in a dialogue, which is separated from experience, using historical imagination (Kartodirdjo, 1992, pp. 90–92). As a result, the historical fact obtained through criticism and interpretation was written in historiography.

2.1 The living condition of Makassar fishermen

Most fishermen of Makassar live in the coastal areas and the islands around Makassar. According to Sutherland (2009, pp. 100–101), the Makassar indigenous people living in the coastal areas have long worked in the fishery sector and have trade skills like those of the Chinese. Using wangi boats, the fishermen would catch sea cucumbers for the local market in Makassar, which also serves as the center for financial transactions and commercial activities. This happened around the 1720s until the 1840s, but in the subsequent years these economic activities became rare. Based on the records, the trade export of sea cucumbers had decreased, and in fact the fishing activities for export became obsolete.
Entering the beginning of the independence era, fishing activities were still very much influenced by weather conditions. The types of boats used in the 1960s or before modern technology were *Pajala*, *Paterani*, *Balelang*, *Sampan*, *Seppe-seppe*, *Lepa-lepa*, and *Perahu Penancing* (Archive of the Municipality of Ujung Pandang Reg. 1179). The best type of boat used by fishermen was the canoe. This type of boat is made from a large piece of wood that can fit two or three people. Riding this boat was relatively easy and it was only used for fishing near the coastline. Therefore, these fishermen from Makassar in that era were considered to be traditional fishermen. From an economic perspective, these fishermen were more oriented towards a subsistence economy since their catch would mostly be intended to fulfill their own daily needs. If they were able to catch more fish, they would share them with their neighbors who were also fishermen. When they sold their catch, they would make a profit. Once they managed to collect the capital return from the sale, they would give the remaining catch to their needy neighbors. This indicates a subsistence economy rather than one oriented for profit.

After the modernization, the area of the catch expanded to the offshore area. Having boats with high-tech engine, they could overcome big waves when fishing. Therefore, fishermen were now able to fish in farther areas that had once been unreachable when using traditional boats. These modern boats enabled the fishermen to catch more fish as they expanded their fishing areas.

### 2.2 Boat modernization

Technology is one of the driving forces of human creativity in a competitive world. In this case, technology can transform input into output with a high economic value. As a result, it may help to enhance the welfare of the community. Thus, technology plays an important role in poverty alleviation (Masyuri, as cited in Bondan et al., 2009, p. 58). The use of advanced technology in the modern era is unavoidable where efficiency is required. When selecting the appropriate technology, it is necessary to avoid the extensive use of advanced technology before considering the impact or benefits for the society (Thee Kian Wie, 1981, p. 63). With the changes in technology such as the use of wind power, sails with mechanical power become a positive trend for the Makassar fishermen. The distribution of fishing boats and sailboats in Indonesia is presented in the following table:

The below table shows that Sulawesi has the largest number of motor boats and sailboats. The change of the actuator from sailboats to motorboats is quite significant. As recorded in 1970–1971, the rise of the number of motor boats in Sulawesi reached 93.81%, while other regions, such as Java and Kalimantan, only increased by 4.35% and 8.83% respectively. Thus, apparently the Sulawesi fishermen are more open for advancement in technology compared to their counterparts in other regions, especially in Java and Kalimantan. Their openness to technology became more apparent after they had established cooperation between local entrepreneurs and Japanese companies. The year 1968 marked the beginning of the development of fishing technology. At that time, the company chairman, Abdul Rahman Baddu,

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<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>41558</td>
<td>42481</td>
<td>44027</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>55.86</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>2.22</td>
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<td>3.76</td>
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<td>Borneo</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>19,216</td>
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<td>19,802</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>8.83</td>
<td>81.43</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>-6.22</td>
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<td>Sulawesi</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>11,9664</td>
<td>10,3934</td>
<td>102,640</td>
<td>102,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>93.81</td>
<td>47.87</td>
<td>7.91</td>
<td>-13.11</td>
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Source: ANRI, Ministry of Agriculture Reg 361.
entered into a collaboration with Japan (Interview Baddu Abdul Rahman, the 16th April 2016). In the 1960s, cooperation with other countries was widely open, especially after the enactment of foreign investment laws. Through Bonecome, the company that managed the fishery, Japanese businessmen provided subsidies in the form of machinery and capital for boat building.

Abdul Rahman Baddu (2016) stated that he then asked for the machinery for catching shrimps offshore, so that the boats could even face bad weather conditions where they had to deal with big waves. After he gained a lot of profit from his fishing business, he bought houses, a piece of land, and a car. With huge profits, in 1970, he again asked for a Brand Yanmar engine with the boat size of 33 PK and the capacity of 10 tons. It was a very large boat, and when compared to the largest boat today, there is a 7-ton difference between them. After that, the number of boats and their size increased. Similar to Makassar fishermen, the increasing demand for machines encouraged the government of Ujung Pandang Municipality (now Makassar) on the 12th August 1970 to provide Marcini 60 PK outboard motor with the engine number 1106048 Mark 751 model through the Fisheries Cooperative of Management Municipality of Ujung Pandang (Municipality Archives of Ujung Pandang, Reg 102). Having new machine tools, the fishermen were able to reach areas that had previously been unreachable. The fishermen of Makassar, especially those in Kampung Baru and Kampung Gusung, were able to reach up to Australian waters, and even local authorities (Police XVIII Sul-Selra) were overwhelmed in supervising them (Municipality Archives of Ujung Pandang, Reg 1190).

In the early days of the mechanization of fishing, the fishermen were not able to operate the machines properly. The most common problem among them was the damage to the actuator of the engine. According to Baddu (2016), who became Chief Executive of Bonecome, in the process of installing engines on fishing boats, his company immediately asked for assistance from a mechanic specialists from Japan. The boats were made in Ara, BiraBuluKumba, and some smaller boats were made in the islands of Makassar such as Kodingareng and BarangCaddi. However, the rapid technological development did not necessarily alienate the traditional fishermen. They tried to use the technology that they thought would bring economic benefits for them. Smaller boats were modified to adjust to the engine, but the shape of the old boats did not change much. The only change was the tonnage of the boat. The more fish they caught, the bigger their desire to enlarge their boats. Thus, the presence of motorized boats among the fishermen affected their economic status.

2.3 Marketing of fishermen's catch

According to the Accountability Report Management Board and Supervisory Fisheries Cooperative Insan PPI Paotere Makassar, in 2015 there were 120 group leaders who joined the cooperative, and every leader was responsible for “guiding” as many as three to five boats. To run the boat, the crew usually consists of one juragan (captain) and three to six sawi (fishermen laborers). The number of group leaders and fishermen who are members of cooperatives are 2206 people (LPJ Insan Fisheries Cooperative, 2016, pp. 28–78). Each cooperative serves to bring together economic perceptions between the head of the group and his fishermen. If any problems occur between the two, or between them and other parties, the cooperative is there to provide solutions to the problems.

In the context of Makassar fishermen, the local entrepreneurs have taken part in the fishing activities. Most of them later would become the heads of the group providing the capital and marketing the catch (Rifal and Linda Sunarti, 2016, p. 10). In the 1970s, the trading networks of the catch expanded. Prior to that, the trading network was limited to the local market. For the local consumption, the fish were sold at nearby markets, or sold by papalele (distributor/seller) in every house sambatu (subscriptions) in the community. In the 1960s, the marketing area was still around nearby markets, such as Pasar Sentral, Pasar Pongtiku, the outskirts, Pasar Maricaya, Pasar Cidu, Pasar Kalimbu, Pasar Sawah, and Pasar Terong (Municipal Archives of Ujung Pandang, Reg. 523). Markets were usually open early, and by riding a bicycle singking, the papalele brought the fish to the market. In addition, papalele also sold fish directly to the people who mostly came from the Paotere Fishery Port. Besides
selling to nearby markets, they also sold fish to areas such as Sungguminasa (Gowa) and Maros that led directly to nearby countries. A few years later, after the rapid growth in transport technology, cars began to be used to transport fish. Since the use of cars, the marketing network has spread to farther areas, such as Sidrap, Enrekang, and Palopo.

During the period of international trade, the development of fishing industry in Makassar was more complex. To facilitate the development of trade networks, in 1973 two exporting companies, namely Serdid and Bonecom, were established. Based on the records, until May 1973 Sendid could export 178 tons of catch, which exceeded their expectation. The target was actually 400 tons, but after entering the month of May the export increased by 50%. The target could be achieved with a surplus. Meanwhile, the company Bonecom, on behalf of Abdul Rahman Baddu and Supu in May 1979, was able to collect a catch (especially shrimps) totaling 32,210.6 tons, some of which were exported (Pedoman Rakyat, edition XXVII, Saturday the 5th May 1973, and Municipal Archives of Ujung Pandang. Reg 1182). The fishing industry in the city of Makassar was profitable for both the local traders and fishermen. Industrialization also benefited the local government as the revenue increased through taxation, market distribution, and exports. Mariso Maruani, B.A. (Head of District) delivered the message of the Mayor of Ujung Pandang, “The majority of the fish caught for our people come from marine fisheries, stretching from the District Tallo Utara Kota to the coastal region of Tamale District. The fishermen continue to improve techniques of fishing, because fish are an important source for rich nutrients (if consumed), and therefore those can support regional development” (Maruani, Pedoman Rakyat edition XXXII No. 32. Friday the 7th April 1978).

2.4 Fish preservation system (cold storage)

Besides the development of technology for the boat, the local government in cooperation with PT Astra branch of Ujung Padang on the 30th May 1972, provided cold storage facilities in every fish auction in Makasar, especially the fish auction in Paoterere (Archive of the Municipality of Ujung Pandang, Reg 279). The auction is a fish trading center in the city of Makassar, a meeting place for merchants and fishermen. The cold storage facilities could also produce ice blocks for the fishermen to preserve their catch. The catch would be stored and covered with shards of ice blocks, which could last for days. The more ice was used, the longer the fish could be kept fresh. This was the first time the production of fresh fish could be implemented by the majority of the fishermen. Before using cold storage facilities, fishermen relied on salt to preserve their fish; as a result, many people consumed dried fish instead of fresh ones. They used nets to dry the fish under the sun on their boat. The fish were cut in half or fengku and then dried. The price of fresh fish was usually higher than that of dried ones since fresh fish are more nutritious.

The new knowledge became something needed by the fishermen. Without proper knowledge, it was difficult to develop expertise in the fishing business. With the potential for sizeable fishery accompanied by the development of more advanced technology, it was necessary for fishermen to improve their knowledge. On the 7th April 1978 a course was held for the fishermen. This course was conducted for 1 month, from the 6th April to the 6th May 1978. It was attended by fishermen from 23 areas in South Sulawesi (Pedoman Rakyat, edition XXXII No. 31. Friday, the 7th April 1978). The course focused on improving fishermen's understanding in the use of technology, such as engines and cold storage (cooling devices), and in anticipating bad weather. Through this course, the fishermen could compare their prior knowledge with the new knowledge they learned from the course. For example they could combine their skills in forecasting weather using astrology with weather-forecasting machines. With more advanced knowledge and technology, they could overcome all sorts of constraints.

3 CONCLUSION

Modernization has an important role in developing the economy of the fishermen of Makassar. The increase in catch was able to improve the lives of the fishermen, who previously
could not afford to buy gold. After modernization, many fishing households could afford to buy gold as an investment instrument. Per capita income of fishermen was higher than that of those working in the technical fields and factories. Traditional boats such as canoes and seppe-seppe gradually transformed into sophisticated modern boats with a larger size. Therefore, fishermen could expand fishing areas farther from the coast. The houses of fishermen made of wood in the coastal cities and islands of Makassar were renovated with concrete. This shows that modernization could change the economy of the fishermen of Makassar and bring them closer towards prosperity.

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