



## Working relationship between local fishermen and migrant fishermen in Palu Bay

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### ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze: (1) Patterns of cooperation and profit sharing as a form of reciprocal relations between local fishermen and migrant fishermen, (2) The level of welfare of local fishermen as a consequence of these reciprocal relations. To answer this question, a study was held in Lere Village, Palu Bay. This research is qualitative with sampling techniques using Purposive sampling. Data collection was carried out with in-depth interviews and engaged observations and literature studies. Data analysis uses a three-step technique, namely data reduction, data categorization, conclusions. The results of this study are: (1) Patterns of cooperation and profit sharing as a form of reciprocal relations between local fishermen and migrant fishermen include: labor deployment, profit sharing rules, fish marketing with pattern rules. (2) The level of welfare of local fishermen as a consequence of mutual relations before cooperating and after cooperation includes: Ownership of more modern means of production, increased income, better home conditions, more varied ownership of household appliances, and ownership of more transportation facilities than before. The conclusion of this study is that the presence of migrant fishermen is very large for improving the welfare of local traditional fishermen in Palu bay.

### 1. Introduction

In the fishing community, there are rich fishermen and there are also poor fishermen. Those who have large capital, large and numerous boats, and have subordinates who are widely referred to as wealthy fishermen and placed in the upper social stratification. Meanwhile, fishermen who have nothing are said to be poor fishermen and are placed in the lower social stratification (Putri, 2020; Saleh, 2013).

The fishing business owned by fishermen in their development uses fishing tools from simple, to modern technological. To categorize the status of fishermen, the equipment

they use can be used as an indicator. The categorization consists of local fishermen and modern fishermen. Migrant fishermen are fishermen of other ethnicities who are not local ethnicities but are already locals. These immigrant fishermen are generally also modern fishermen who are rich and master many fishing gear. In general, they have a prosperous life because of the results they get from going to sea up to hundreds of millions of rupiah. Local fishermen are also known as owner fishermen, labor fishermen, and tenant fishermen, and these fishermen are still grouped as fishermen because these jobs are used as basic livelihoods. Such a state of fishermen is often grouped as part of a poor society. Even Mubyarto et al., (1984) say they are poorer than farmers or artisans. The poverty of these fishermen is more influenced by permanently formed structures (Suyanto, 2013), where they do not have the ability to compete in the mastery and utilization of marine resources. The helplessness of poor fishermen is a reflection of the social, economic, and political conditions of the country (Arifin, 2015). According to Goso & Anwar, (2017) that fishermen's poverty is more caused by inequality in ownership of production capital and lack of economic resources (production capital) owned by fishermen. The control of assets or fishing gear is dominated by migrant fishermen while among local fishermen only a small part of them owns them, while traditional equipment is owned by most fishermen.

In Palu City, residents with fishermen's livelihoods are found in residential areas along the Palu Bay area which is administratively the palu city area. They are estimated to have a livelihood of 20% as fishermen, and the results of studies show that Lere Village has 357 families of local fishermen who make a living as fishermen (Tambur & Saputra, 2021). The life of fishermen in Lere Village is generally kaili ethnicity (Saleh, 2013). Before the 1990s in terms of economy or poor standard of living or still categorized as poor whose indicators were seen from uninhabitable settlements, unfulfilled clothing, shelter and food, inadequate education of children, fishermen still relied on knowledge based on hereditary traditions and daily experiences. Although the role of the family, especially women, participates in business activities such as in marketing results, the results obtained have relatively not increased. The influx of migrant fishermen from various regions, especially the Bugis ethnicity, mandar ethnicity, Makassar ethnicity, Gorontalo ethnicity made the socio-economic dynamics of local fishermen begin to be seen. They generally have large boats or fishing boats with complete equipment (Yunandar, 2006). These immigrant fishermen are known to be very creative and rich in innovation in fishing gear ownership, fishing strategies and marketing strategies. Therefore, they are more often referred to as modern fishermen (Munafi & Tenri, 2016). Nevertheless, many of these modern immigrant fishermen do not directly engage in catching fish in the sea. Generally, they are only as capital owners and supervisors, while those who are more involved as fishermen in the sea are local fishermen themselves. At the same time, local fishermen who are immigrants began to shift the role of traditional fishermen so that traditional fishermen (Kaili ethnic) were increasingly marginalized economically. However, there is an interesting phenomenon of fishermen, namely that traditional fishermen do not feel rivaled by the existence of immigrant fishermen, even they are lifted up their families' economy by them. Many of the traditional local fishermen are helped by the existence of these migrant fishermen and they actually

coexist harmoniously and create social cohesion (Arrovia, 2021; Sanmas, 2020; Septiana, 2018).

Research on migrant fishermen with local fishermen has been carried out by several researchers, including: (1) Research on the Work Ethic of the Migrant Fishermen Community in Sodohoa Kendari Barat. The results of this study show that the migrant fishermen in Sodohoa Village come from the Pangkep, Ujung Lero, and Makassar areas. Basically, their main motive for migrating is not only due to economic factors and socio-cultural factors, but also because in the Kendari water area there are many types of fish, especially cob fish which have a high selling value. Economic factors arise because migrant fishermen do not have the capital money to go to sea, so they borrow from the boss in Kendari. Socio-cultural factors arise as a result of the instinct to work in order to earn an income to meet the living needs of his family. Being a fisherman is a hereditary legacy from their parents, there is no other job that can be done because of the limited delivery and expertise they have. Their morale is motivated by feelings of shame (*siri'*) if they have no income (Masgaba, 2019). (2) Research concerning the Interaction of Fishermen Groups in Improving Living Standards in Tewil Village, Sangaji District, Maba Regency, East Halmahera Regency, which found that the social contract is between ship owners and fishing workers or the so-called relationship between workers and employers who have a mutual agreement in the profit-sharing business system, among others, related to rights and obligations in an effort to meet the needs of (Fargomeli, 2014). (3) Research concerning the Socio-Economic Relationship between Local Fishermen and Migrant Fishermen in Eastern Indonesia which found a competition between Bebalang fishermen from North Sulawesi with Hitu and Sathean Maluku fishermen and Tobati and Enggros fishermen in Yotefa Irian Jaya Bay (Kadir et al, 2021). The studies talk about work ethic, the social contract of employers with workers, and competition between fishermen of various ethnicities and no one has yet examined the benefits of migrant fishermen to traditional fishermen in lifting their economies as this study conducted. This study examines the benefits of the existence of migrant fishermen in improving the economy or welfare of traditional fishermen who generally have Kaili ethnicity in Palu bay (Lan, 1998).

Based on the descriptions above, this study aims to analyze: (1) Patterns of cooperation and profit sharing as a form of reciprocal relations between local fishermen and migrant fishermen, (2) The level of welfare of local fishermen as a consequence of these reciprocal relations.

## **2. Method**

This paper uses qualitative research with a double Case Study approach (Bungin, 2015; Creswell, 2013) in the fishing community in Palu bay with a research location in Lere Village, East Palu District, Palu City. Data collection uses in-depth interview techniques, observations, and Literature studies. The subjects of the study were determined using purposive sampling techniques. The interview data was analyzed using a three-step technique (Miles, Matthew B; Huberman, 1999), namely data reduction, categorization, and conclusion drawing.

### 3. Result and discussion

- **Pattern of Cooperation and Distribution of Results**

**Labor Deployment.** The deployment of labor the existing fishing groups have members consisting of the closest people and one sekerabat. There are also fishermen's working groups whose members consist of people who are friends or villages.

Both patterns of cooperation and the deployment of such labor were found in the working group of local fishermen in Lere Palu Village. The two patterns of labor deployment are based on the type of fishing gear used, for example, fishermen who use panambe have 12 members, most of whom are people of the same age. The 12 members of the working group consisted of: one Balengga (local designation for the Leader of the fishermen or Juragan), 2-3 young Balengga people, and 8 other crew members.

The jala rompo fisherman whose members consist of 3 people who are of the same age, namely, the owner fisherman as a boat (*Balengga*), assisted by a younger brother or brother-in-law, and a child who is just learning as a fisherman. For fishermen who own and use trawls (gill nets) are individual workers while at sea, but after being on the beach immediately get help from relatives. The purpose of such a labor deployment is because the fishing gear it uses is heavy and complicated so it requires a large amount of manpower to lift it (Ermayanti, 2015).

In the working group of local fishermen studied, it was not clear that there was a selective selection of crew members based on physical condition and gender. But they can mobilize labor, both men and women and children. Among them there were women who acted as Balengga. Although the number of women who are members of the boat crew is relatively small, this reality is found on the ground. This finding is different from what was put forward by Smith (Lampe, 2015) that in general the deployment of members of fishermen's cooperation is carried out selectively and sharply based on physical condition and gender.

The division of labor in the working group of local fishermen does not appear to have a firm dividing line. Each member of the boat crew has the right to carry out all activities in the fishing series. For example, driving and rowing boats, dumping and trapping nets, jointly cleaning nets and preserving fish. Based on the description of the deployment of labor and the nature of cooperation of local fishing groups at the research site, it can be concluded that the life of mutual cooperation and the nature of primordialism for local fishermen are still strong.

**Revenue Sharing Rules.** The application of profit-sharing rules in the working group of fishermen -migrant fishermen as supervisors- is very important because it is an element of stimulation for each member of the group to be more active in fishing at sea. The definition of profit sharing here refers to social norms that stipulate that each crew member is entitled to one part of the income from the total amount of income in the form of fish sales within a day, a week, or a month. Among local fishermen it was found that the profit-sharing rules applied were: 1 part for *Balengga*, 1 part for boats, 1 part for fishing, and 1 part for each crew member. The distribution of income is carried out every day, sometimes also in every week or every month. Through such a profit-sharing rule,

it means that the owner of the tool or balengga acquires 3 parts of the total amount of income. Whereas each crew member only gets one part. However, according to them, such a distribution of proceeds is still considered fair because in addition to the head who has the capital, he also bears all the costs of repairing fishing gear, boats and small food/drinks while at sea.

Regarding the concepts used in profit sharing: such as the Balengga section, the boat part, the fishing gear section, and the crew member part, it appears that the terms indicate the existence of a functional meaning contained in it. The profit-sharing rule with such a functional meaning also indicates that each crew member earns income according to the value of their respective work.

The high and low income of each crew member depends on three main factors. First, whether or not fishing gear is used by certain groups of fishermen. Second, the rise and fall of fish prices in the market. Third, factors that are closely related to ecosystem elements such as climate, seasons, population and type of fish, and the conditions of the waters where the fishing grounds are located.

**Fish Marketing Patterns.** The smooth marketing of fish in certain areas is influenced by several factors, first, the existence of a market where fish are sold; second, the availability of infrastructure and means of marketing transportation; third, the existence of fish traders who actively distribute fish caught by local fishermen.

Regarding the market where fish are sold, it is not a problem because in the city of Palu there are three markets that are located relatively close, namely between 1-2 km from Lere Village. The highway that connects Lere village with the three markets is good enough that it can be reached by motorized vehicles for about 10 minutes or vehicles without engines such as dokars in 25 minutes. Thus, fish middlemen can market fish as soon as possible in fresh condition. In Lere Village, most of the mothers work as traders whom they call fish middlemen. It is the fish middlemen who take care of the fishermen's catch and distribute it to the markets. Thus the marketing of fish caught by local fishermen can take place smoothly.

To find out the pattern of fish marketing in the region, it is necessary to put forward the pattern of relationship between middlemen and fishermen, middlemen and middlemen. (a) Middleman's Relationship With Fishermen. Among local fishing communities, there are two patterns of relationships between middlemen and fishermen, namely familial and sekaum relationships between fellow local people. The first pattern is the relationship between middlemen and fishermen for which there are still kinship relationships such as husband and wife, parent-child, brothers and sisters and others. While the second pattern is the relationship between middlemen and fishermen on the basis of sekaum, that is, both local people who are in the village and have known each other for a long time. The first pattern of trade relations took the form of subscriptions, where middlemen regularly came to pick up and market their fishermen's fish. The wholesale price of fish is set by the owner fisherman based on the state of the market price. Thus, in the transaction of buying and selling fish, there is no bargaining because there has been an agreement on the profit from the proceeds of the sale. If it turns out that the middleman can sell his fish beyond the predetermined wholesale price, then the

excess price becomes a profit for the middleman. Meanwhile, the second pattern of trade relations is not in the form of subscriptions, but is free in the nature of non-permanent trade relations, namely that every middleman is free to find fishermen to make fish buying and selling transactions. So every morning the middlemen come to sit on the beach waiting for the fishermen to land their catch, then make an offer of fish to the fishermen, if it turns out that no agreement is reached at the price, then the middleman is looking for other fishermen to make a bid. In fish buying and selling transactions between middlemen and fishermen (both the first pattern and the second pattern), there is no exchange between fish and money, but only there is a verbal consensus on the price of fish and the middleman promises to pay it after returning from the market. A fish middleman said that he did not have the capital of money in fish farming, but only had the capital of confidence so that the fishermen were willing to give up their fish without the need to pay cash. The wholesale price of fish is set by fishermen who are calculated per unit bucket or basket. For example, *tembang* fish costs between Rp. 30.000-Rp. 35.000,- / bucket. Coolies between Rp. 32.000-Rp. 36.000,-/ basket. The high and low wholesale price of fish is influenced by the condition of fish prices in the market according to the information that fishermen always get through their colleagues. (b) The Relationship between Middlemen and Middlemen. In addition to the relationship between middlemen and fishermen that affect fish marketing, the relationship between fellow middlemen also determines whether or not fish distribution is smooth. In the relationship between fellow middlemen to obtain fish from fishermen does not appear to be a conspicuous competitive nature. They understand each other mainly when it comes to the fish bargaining system. For example, a middleman is bidding for the price of a fisherman's fish, another fish middleman does not make a higher bid if the first bidder is still in that place. Even their relationship helps each other. For example, a middleman who manages to reach a fish price agreement to a fisherman who has several fish baskets, then the fish is distributed to other middlemen, one person each in one basket. According to them, an average middleman can only sell out one basket of fish in one day. Therefore, if he finds a lot of fish in a certain fisherman, it is also given to another middleman friend. Based on this description above, it can be said that the pattern of fish marketing on the coast of Lere village is characterized by various traditional relationships between fish traders and fishermen. When there is a transaction of buying and selling fish, there is not an immediate exchange between goods (fish) and money, but only an exchange between goods with a price consensus is held. It can be created because between them still have a familial and *sekaum* relationship based on the nature of mutual trust between others.

- **Welfare Level of Local Fishermen**

#### **Before Cooperating With Migrant Fishermen**

**Ownership of the means of Production.** The means of production for fishermen's activities, both local and migrant fishermen, in the form of large motorboats, motorboats (*katinting*) nets, trawls, *posuyu*, fishing rods, nets and guides have long been used and are the main means of production for fishermen, both local fishermen and migrant fishermen. The distribution of local fishermen's fishing gear types is two patterns of fishing gear ownership; the first pattern consists of rowboats, fishing rods and trawlers.

The second pattern consists of rowboats, nets, fishing rods, and trawlers. Similarly, with fishermen who use technology, there are two patterns, namely; the first pattern of the boat, fishing rod, net rompo, trawl, *panammbe*, the second pattern is; boats, fishing rods, trawlers, *panambes*.

Based on the distribution of fishing gear types, it can be concluded that between local fishermen in the traditional category and in the fishermen category who use relatively the same technology in the ownership of their fishery production tools before using technology and fishing business fry and nener seeds. The pattern of ownership of types of fishing gear by local fishing households as described above is based on the cultural knowledge of fishermen, especially regarding the effectiveness of each fishing gear according to behavior patterns and types of fish, seabed and water conditions and other elements of marine ecosystems.

**Informant Income.** The amount of income earned by local fishermen in each time they carry out fishing activities is very dependent on the profit sharing rules in the fishermen's working group which have become a habit of the residents of the fishing community which has been carried out for generations. The definition of profit sharing here refers to the social norm that stipulates that each member of the boat crew is entitled to one part of the income from the total amount of income in the form of the sale of fish within a period of a day, a week, or a month. Among local fishermen it was found that the profit-sharing rules applied were: 1 Part for *Balengga*, 1 part for boats, 1 part for fishing, and 1 part for each crew member. The distribution of income is carried out every day, sometimes also in each week. By such a profit-sharing rule, it means that the owner of the tool or *Balengga* earns 3 parts of the total amount of income. Whereas each crew member only gets one part. However, according to them, such a distribution of proceeds is still considered fair because apart from the fact that *Balengga* has the capital, he also bears all the costs of repairing fishing gear, boats and small food / drinks while at sea. The high and low income of each crew member depends on three main factors. First, whether or not fishing gear is used by certain groups of fishermen. Second, the rise and fall of fish prices in the market. Third, factors are closely related to ecosystem elements such as climate, seasons, population and type of fish, and the conditions of the waters of the fishing grounds. The following is presented the average income of each fisherman studied daily. The average income of fishermen (informants) every day, local fishermen between Rp.12.500,- up to Rp.25.000,- while modern technology fishermen between Rp. 17.000,- up to Rp. 35.000,- and above. This shows that although fishing equipment is relatively widely owned by fishermen, but because the range of sea is not too far so that fish production is also relatively small coupled with the relatively low price of fish at that time, the results obtained by fishermen are also relatively small.

**Informant Housing Conditions.** Based on the results of observations, it can be explained as follows; more informants from local fishermen as well as those using modern technology have semi-permanent homes and only a few people who have permanent homes. Permanent house buildings use materials in the form of cement or tiles for floors, walls or concrete for walls and zinc roofs. While the semi-permanent house building is cement floored, the lower wall is the wall and the upper part is boards or plywood, zinc roof or *nipah* leaves. The type of building an emergency house or hut is wearing cement,

boards, wall boards, plywood or *gaba-gaba*, the roof is from *nipa* leaves or *rumbia*. In general, the building of the informant fisherman's house is divided into 3 (three), namely: (1) The front room which functions as a place to receive guests, (2) the middle room which functions as a bedroom, (3) the back room which functions as a kitchen and at the same time a place for fishing gear. Regarding the building area of informants' residential houses, in general, both traditional fishermen and fishermen who use relatively the same technology, namely the average has a relatively small house, ranging from 20 m<sup>2</sup> - 30 m<sup>2</sup>.

**Ownership of Household Appliances.** In this study, the types of such items, it is assumed, are of equal value. There are 12 types of items that each informant asks. The more types of household goods that are owned, a person is considered to be the higher his social level between his community and so on, it reflects the quality of his standard of living. These types of items include: Television, radio tape recorder, Wall clock, sewing machine, stove for cooking, refrigerator, sideboard, corner chair, Ordinary Chair, wardrobe, dining and other cooking utensils. The ownership of entertainment equipment in the form of radio and television owned by households information on the fishermen category uses much more technology than in traditional category fishermen. It seems that electoral items are important needs among fishermen, in addition to other household tools that are symbols of social status among fishermen in Lere Village such as sewing machines, wall clocks, refrigerators and other household furniture. The fundamental difference between local fishermen and fishermen who use modern technology in the ownership of household appliances is lux furniture.

**Ownership of Means of Transportation.** Details of the types of transportation used by local fishing households in Lere Village include: bicycles, motorcycles, and public cars. Considering that these types of vehicles have economic value, the more types of vehicles owned by a local fisherman, it is considered to improve the quality of his standard of living.

#### **After Cooperating with Migrant Fishermen**

**Ownership of the means of Production.** The production tools used for fishermen's activities, both in the local fishermen category and in the category of using technology and side businesses, are in the form of large motorboats, motorboats (*Katinting*) nets, trawls, fishing rods, nets and collectors. The number of ownership of production equipment that supports the lives of local fishermen is 764 pieces consisting of: 243 rowing boats / canoes, 42 motorboats / *katinting*; Fishing rods 140 pieces; *Panambe* 29 pieces; Trawling 52 pieces; Mesh *rompo* 60 pieces; *Sodo-sodo (posuyu)* of 198 pieces. The distribution of the ownership of fishing gear varies from household to fisherman. Of the 764 fishing gear distributed to the informant fishermen's households, 316 were fishing gear. The ownership of the fishing gear recognized by the informant was purchased in cash both in new and semi-used circumstances.

Local fishermen in fishing use simple rowing boats equipped with fishing gear to catch fish in addition to other fishing gear (*Panambe*, trawls and nets). Immigrant fishermen use modern technology, with large motorboats or *Katinting* equipped with quite varied fishing gear such as fishing rods, *rompo* nets, *panambes*, *sodo-sodos*, trawls (in large



capacities). This description shows that there is an increase in ownership of fishery production equipment compared to before where there are relatively few production tools for each category of local fishermen and fishermen who use modern technology in Lere village.

**Fisherman's Income.** Along with the increase in ownership of production equipment and the efforts of catching fry and nener seedlings, various efforts have been made by fishermen in improving their standard of living. These efforts have various implications for the lives of fishing communities, which always demand perseverance, efficiency and sacrifice. In this study, it was revealed about the income and responses of informants to the level of income they obtained or felt after an attempt to capture fry and nener seedlings along the coast of Lere Village, Palu City. The level of household income of informants per day for local fishermen ranges from Rp. 25,000 to Rp. 45,000,-. Meanwhile, fishermen who use modern technology get around Rp. 75,000 to more than Rp. 85,000,- The very high income of fishermen is a natural thing for fishing households to get these days, because in addition to catching fish at night, it is also during the day to catch fry and nener by using a sodo-sodo (posuyu) tool attached to the body of a motorboat (katinting) or using human thrust, along palu bay. But of course, the category or indicator of low height stated in this study, only applies to the fishing communities studied, because the size of the high low income level between peoples and each other varies. So the "rich" quality in the local fishing community in Lere Village may be different from the fishing communities in other places. So, reality shows that people's income has greatly increased after the use of technology and cooperation with challenger fishermen. Although the orientation to the market has been seen, the business of fishing households in carrying out their production activities is still strongly colored by traditional characteristics, such as each fishing household is still a family production business, from preparations to go down to the sea to the sale of production products. There is an impression that fishermen feel that they have been satisfied with the existing situation and that there is no cash income invested in increasing the business.

**Housing conditions.** The condition of fishermen's homes, both local fishermen and those who use modern technology, is almost the same as the state before using new technology. It's just that with the increase in income both because of the increasing number of ownership of production equipment and because of the use of technology and the effort of catching fry and nener seeds, there are efforts to renovate, increase the area and improve the quality of housing as a residential house..

**Ownership of Household Appliances.** Unlike the previous one, in this section, what is asked of informants related to the ownership of household appliances is related to entertainment equipment owned such as radio and television. From the collected data, it appears that the ownership of household tools specifically for entertainment facilities (radio, tape, video, television) has been owned by both local fishermen and fishermen who use modern technology. From this point of view, the level of welfare of the fishermen's lives has physically increased.

**Ownership of Means of Transportation.** In that case, the ownership of means of transportation can also be used as an indicator of the level of community welfare. Details of the types of transportation used by local communities in Lere village before

cooperating with migrant fishermen, including: carts, bicycles, motorcycles, and public passenger cars. Considering that these types of vehicles have economic value, the more types of vehicles owned by a local community resident (the higher the level of ownership), it is considered that the more it improves the level of quality of his standard of living.

This shows, that in terms of the level of ownership of various types of means of transportation, it is increasing compared to before such as two-wheeled motorcycles from before for the category of local fishermen who do not have two-wheeled vehicles as well as they already have. On the basis of this description, it can be stated, the level of ownership of various types of vehicles for local people is classified as adequate compared to before which of course this will support the creation of adequate living welfare which furthermore also reflects their level of living standards,

### **Discussion**

The migrant fishermen at the study site are fishermen who are ethnic other than the Kaili ethnicity. They have everything to have economic access, social access, and political access than traditional fishermen. However, this does not cause them to ignore traditional fishermen. Instead, they embrace and invite traditional fishermen to work together. They employ traditional fishermen both as part of the financial organization and outside of it. On the other hand, traditional fishermen also welcome this because they earn a better income than working as fishermen. Even some people no longer go to sea because the results are small and often do not even get enough catches. This means that traditional fishermen choose jobs that produce better results and less strenuous work. Theoretically, this phenomenon has to do with Robert Merton's Function-Dysfunction theory (Ritzer, 2014) that poor fishermen as one of the social entities remain functional for wealthy fishermen by means of utilizing for the common good and empowering them.

### **4. Conclusion**

The pattern of cooperation and profit sharing between local fishermen and migrant fishermen forms a reciprocal relationship which includes: labor deployment, profit sharing rules, fish marketing with pattern rules. Through such mutually beneficial cooperation, traditional fishermen have a better level of welfare before they cooperate.

The level of welfare of local fishermen before cooperating and after cooperating with migrant fishermen includes: Ownership of better, more numerous and more modern means of production. Their income is also increasing because of the catch that migrant fishermen get more. The condition of their house is better and decent because it has been renovated. Ownership of better and more varied Household Appliances, and ownership of more transportation facilities than before.

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