

The Capitalism and Economic Behavior of the Maritime Community A Case Study of the Pasompe' Community in the Bugis Makassar Land of South Sulawesi

Eymal B. Demmallino¹, M. Saleh S. Ali¹, Abd. Qadir Gassing², Mungsi Lampe³, Nurbaya Busthanul¹ & La Nalefo⁴

¹Agriculture Doctoral Program of Hasanuddin University, Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

²Academic Staff of Universitas Islam Alauddin Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

³Academic Staff of the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

⁴Department of Agriculture Economic, Faculty of Agriculture, Halu Oleo University, Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia

Correspondence: La Nalefo, Department of Agriculture Economic, Faculty of Agriculture, Halu Oleo University, Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi 93212, Indonesia. Tel: 628-12-421-6670. E-mail: lanalefo@rocketmail.com

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the influence of capitalism on the economic behavior of the maritime community, by studying the case of the Pasompe' Community in the Bugis Makassar Land of South Sulawesi. This research was conducted using the Verstehen method which is the "reversal of the burden of proof" of what is at the "back" of the Pasompe' Community's income distribution in the Bugis-Makassar area in South Sulawesi. The results showed that the underdevelopment of the maritime community, especially the Pasompe Community is rooted in the uncultured mentality characterized by the large claim made by owners of capital to the workers, a negative deflection of Western capitalism, which historically has been created since the days of colonialism. Without ignoring the positive side of capitalism, further research also found that the greater the capital invested by the owners of capital (bourgeois) on the one hand and the lower productivity of workers (proletariat) on the other hand in the socio-economic structure of the maritime community, resulted in the ever flourishing uncultured mentality, where it is very clear that people with this type of mentality can not be expected to build maritime civilizations in the future.

Keywords: underdevelopment, verstehen (reversal of the burden of proof), uncultured mentality (the large sum of money claimed), western capitalism

1. Prologue

1.1 Objective Considerations (Maritime Community in the Cultural and Historical Perspective)

In the context of the use of natural resources, there are three maritime communities that are different from each other in terms of occupation, but most people often confuse these three communities. In Bugis-Makassar Cultural perspectives, the three communities are clearly distinguishable from one another, namely: (1) Pallawa Community (Pallaonruma), refers to the community of people who are involved in the cultivation and breeding of plants or animals, in the maritime community they are known as the Pond Farmers Community; (2) Pakkaja Community which refers to the community of people engaged in catching or despoiling marine fauna, more commonly known as fishermen; and (3) Pasompe Community, which refers to the community that is engaged in marine trading and transportation activities, more commonly known as merchant seamen (Read: Abu Hamid (2005: 5). This paper limits its focus on the Pasompe Community as the object of economic behavior which will be examined through the perspective of capitalism.

In the era of kingdoms, the Pasompe Community's development was in line with the Pakkaja Community's development, especially Makassarese fishermen who fished for fish, lola, Torani fish eggs and sea cucumbers in the Makassar Strait, Flores Sea, up to Northern Australia, which were then marketed to the European and

Chinese traders (Read: Nasaruddin Koro, 2009). Pelras who quoted Tome Pires' work (as cited in Hamid, 2005: 48-49) stated :

“.....Kepulauan Makassar terdapat kira-kira empat atau lima hari pelayaran lewat pulau yang baru kita sebut (Borneo), di tengah jalan kalau kita dari Malaka ke Maluku pulau itu berdagang dengan Malaka, Jawa, Brunai, Negeri Siam, dan juga dengan Pahang. Tidak ada bangsa yang lebih menyerupai orang Siam kecuali mereka Mereka kafir, gagah, dan suka berperang. Di situ banyak bahan makanan. Orang dari pulau itu adalah perampok paling hebat di seluruh dunia, kekuatannya sangat besar dan perahunya banyak. Mereka berlayar untuk merampok dari negeri mereka sampai ke Pegu, Maluku, dan Banda, dan di semua pulau sekitar Jawa. Mereka berlayar keliling Pulau Sumatera. Pada umumnya mereka disebut Bajau atau orang Selat. Barang rampasannya mereka bawa ke Jumaika dekat Pahang, tempat mereka berjualan dan mengadakan pasar terus menerus.”

[“..... Makassar Islands there are about four or five-day voyage through the island we have just mentioned which is called (Borneo), in the middle of the voyage if we leave from Malacca to the Moluccas the island trade with Malacca, Java, Brunei, State of Siam, and also with Pahang. No nation is more like the Siamese besides them They are infidels, manly, and enjoy wars. The food there is abundant. People of the island are the greatest robbers in the world, their strength is great and they have many ships. They sail to rob from their country to Pegu, Moluccas, and Banda, and in all islands surrounding Java. They cruise around the island of Sumatra. In general, they are called Bajau or the Strait people. They bring their spoils to Jumaika near Pahang, where they sell and hold a continuous market.”]

The Sejarah Melayu Library said, that before the XVII century (the XVI century to be precise), the State of Malacca was once attacked by Karaeng Samarluka of Balului (one state in Makassar in the XVI century), along with a powerful fleet of 200 ships. They sailed for a few days with equipment towards Malacca, in an effort to open up trade paths. Historians or culturalists, such as L. J. J. Caron Noorduyn always depict the Buginese-Makassarese people as having a long history of sea voyage using the *phinisi* ship. This tribe was known as agile and brave sailors who sailed the seas to Southeast Asia and Australia. Sailing as traders and transporters of produce. Since long before the arrival of Islam in South Sulawesi in the XVII century, they already knew of the coast of Malaysia, Aceh, Borneo, Jambi, Banten, Archipelago, Maluku and Australia. (Read: Abu Hamid, 2005: 3).

The fall of Malacca to the hands of the Portuguese in 1511 led to the growth of maritime kingdoms in the archipelago, including the Kingdom of Gowa-Makassar. In a relatively short time, a massive maritime empire grew to rival the Portuguese spice trade in the Malacca Islands. This growth was also followed by the Kingdom of Bone in the first half of the XVII century in the Gulf of Bone. This situation was also found by the VOC, since defeating the Portuguese domination in the Eastern part of Indonesia (Read: Abu Hamid, 2005: 7).

However, since the Kingdom of Gowa-Makassar was forced to retreat to the land by the Dutch Colonialism, the maritime activities which used to be under the authority of the kingdom were transferred to be under the strict supervision of the colonial government. This situation continued until the proclamation of independence and even up till now in the republic era, the attention given to the development of maritime is still not as serious as the government's attention in the Age of the Kingdom of Gowa-Makassar who vigorously built a port of international standards, protecting traders who trade in Makassar and built a fleet of ships on a large scale, and established friendly relationships with Archipelago traders and merchants from Europe, China, India, and Arabs in particular, as the realization of the kingdom's policy which was more popularly known as the "*Open Door Policy*". Thus we can say that the deterioration or underdevelopment of the maritime community in the Archipelago and South Sulawesi is caused by the *Dutch Colonialism* and the lack of attention from the Government of the Republic in rebuilding the maritime civilization in the Archipelago. Without ignoring the social facts mentioned above, this study assumes that the fall of the maritime community is seen as a negative deflection of capitalism which was exhibited and imposed by Dutch colonialism to the people in the Archipelago and continues to evolve with the development of Western capitalism today, and the government continuously fails to direct their attention to the development of the nation's maritime potential.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives (Why and What for)

Starting from an objective consideration of the foregoing, this study questioned how capitalism affects economic behavior of the Pasompe community in the socio-economic structure of the maritime community in the Bugis-Makassar State, South Sulawesi. This study is the first in a series of five studies. The second series is devoted to the explanation of the influence of Sufism on economic behavior of the Pakkaja community, the third series will specifically examine the impartiality of the government and choice of technology in the development

of maritime civilization, the fourth series is planned to discuss the idea of renewing the maritime community in the Bugis-Makassar region of South Sulawesi, and the fifth series will conclude with Academic Reflections and Policy Implications. The whole series was excerpted and developed from the study results of the lead author's Dissertation entitled "Socio-Cultural Transformation : Promoting Maritime Community Renewal in the Bugis Makassar Land of South Sulawesi". This dissertation found that the deterioration and or underdevelopment experienced by the maritime community in the Bugis Makassar Land was caused by a "big affair between Sufism, Capitalism and the Continental Policy" in a long historical process. On the basis of the research question, the purpose of research or writing the first article in this series is to explore and analyze the influence of capitalism on the economic behavior of the Pasompe community in the socio-economic structure of the maritime community in the Bugis Makassar Land.

2. Theoretical Grounding

The Civilization-Will Theory as Main Reference

This study used the Transformation Theory initiated by Herman Soewardi (1995: 1), a social theory that does not only intend to explain the actual position of the community in the context of the changes but it also intends to move forward by showing the direction towards a desirable social change in accordance with the religious values which in the history of world civilization has been proven to be true. Such theory is more accurately called the "*Prophetic Social Theory*" (Kuntowoyo, 1991: 288). Soewardi called this transformation theory with the name "*Theory of Civilization-Will*", a theory of civilization based on the development of world civilization, especially the Islamic civilization that had triumphed more than six centuries (VII - XIII century AD), a civilization which was pioneered by the Prophet Muhammad SAW (VI century AD) in building a "*Capitalist Civilization*", unprecedented anywhere in the world.

The Civilization-Will theory holds that the Indonesian people are in a very weak position, or to be more exact a *weak civilization and weak willed* as the result of the negative deflection of capitalism (weak civilization) and negative deflection of Sufism (weak willed). Boeke (1965: as cited in Soewardi, 1995: 5), in his dissertation mentioned "*economic dualism*" which contradicts with classical and neo-classical economics currently used today. Boeke found that Indonesia is the very opposite of the Western World, economies are divided into two, namely the community-based economic system and economic system of the elite which are very different in characteristics. Community-based economic system is static and not likely to be a dynamic economic system, because in the community-based economic system, religion is prioritized and the economy succumbs to religion. The static nature of the community is what causes them to be poor. Soewardi called the community-based economic system which succumbs to religion as *weak-willed mentality* which is derived from the teachings of religion, particularly of classical Sufism (Early Islamic Archipelago), while the elite economic system is a dynamic economic system, but with *weak civilization mentality*, and only characterized by a small part of the Indonesian nation, and generally sourced from *Western Secular Capitalism*. More details of the Civilization-Will theory is visualized in Figure 1.

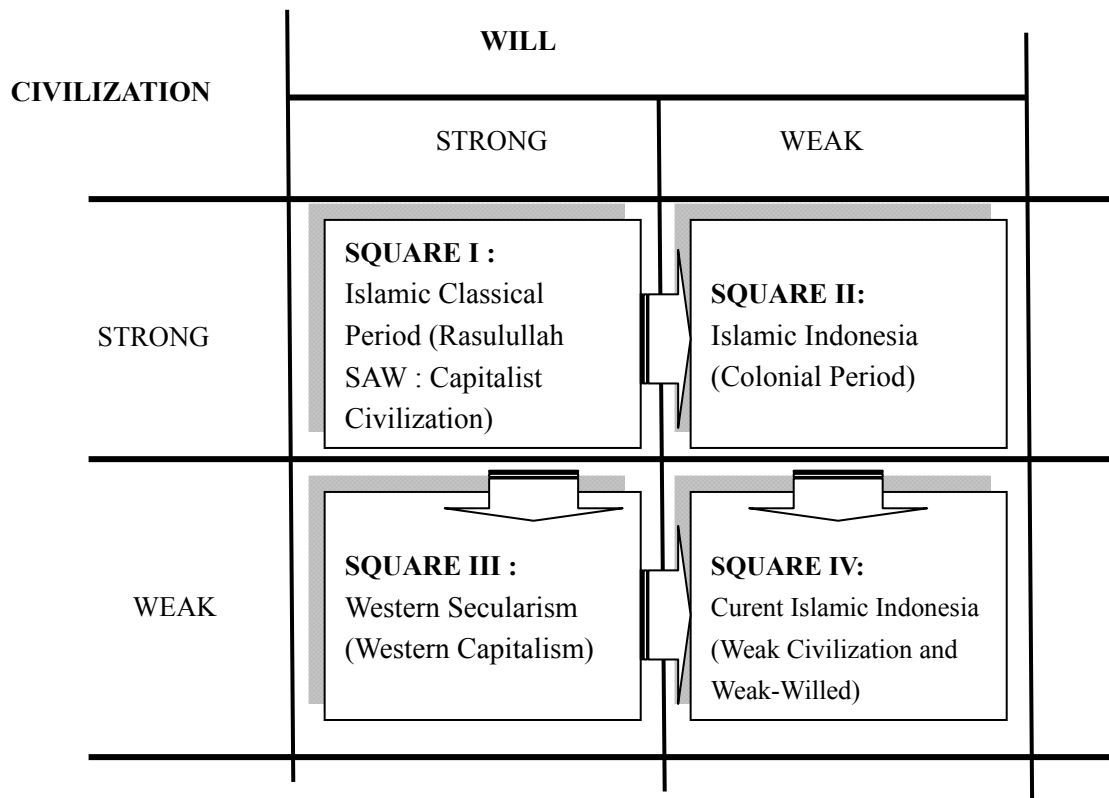


Figure 1. Civilization-Will Theory (Herman Soewardi, 1995)

Soewardi's findings mentioned above was actually inspired by the famous work of Max Weber : "*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*" (1958), who found that the development of Western Capitalism cannot be separated from religion, particularly Protestantism. The religious reform which is now known as Protestantism has given courage to people to collect riches as God's command. Therefore collecting riches through *hard work*, for the majority of propestants is seen as a *sacred duty*, or in Weber's term *ascetic*, which consists of *ascetic call* (commonly embraced by the Protestants) and *ascetic self-isolation* (commonly embraced by Catholics). The ascetic calling whipped Western capitalism that has now appeared to master today's world civilization. While the lack of progress in Indonesia as mentioned by Boeke is dominated by community-based economic system which succumbs to religion, or what Soewardi called weak-willed mentality which is more due to the *ascetic self-isolation* that comes from the teachings of Sufism (Classic Sufism), which prioritizes the *afterlife* than earthly life. This study is specifically addressed in the second series.

However, it does not mean that there are no Indonesian or other Maritime community with advanced economy or not at all affected by the *Western-Global Capitalism* or *Capitalist Civilization* which since the beginning of the construction of the City of Medina was already initiated by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and one century later perfectly practiced by Abbasids Caliphate Figures in building the Islamic civilization, as one of the chain of civilization after the fall of the Greco - Roman Civilization (in the West) and Persian Civilization (in the East). One of the influence of Western Capitalism in Indonesian society and the maritime community in particular is called "*inequality in the distribution of income*" or in the popularized term by Karl Marx (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2004) "*exploitative*" or in Soewardi's terms "deprivation". The exploitative issue is closely related to the so-called "*Social Order*" (Emile Durkheim, as cited in Ritzer and Goodman, 2004), a social order that was running slower than technological developments, so that the inaction gave way to the deprivation behavior in the community-based economic system. On the other hand, the effect of *Capitalist Civilization* derived from the *teachings of Rational Islam* on Indonesian society was parallel with the development of the nation's education (or more popularly called by *intellectual network flow*) and relations with the outside world, especially in the Pasompe Community, namely the so-called "*Divine Justice*" (Murtaza Mutahhari, 2009), a spirit of religiosity that can give assurance to every human endeavor. The influence of Western Capitalism and Capitalist Civilization will be specifically discussed in this first series.

3. Research Methodology

This study used the *existential phenomenological* method (Read: Husserl, as cited in Zubaedi, 2007: 121-134), or more specifically "Reversal of the Burden of Proof" (an inspiration from Buya Hamka, as cited in Ridjaluddin, 2008), which begins with a factual understanding of the economic behavior phenomenon, particularly in the distribution of revenue in the ponggawa - sawi pasompe social structure, by selecting the Ponggawa Sawi Group case which is considered successful in Darubiah Village Bira, Bontobahari District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. Buya Hamka defined Sufism as "*Spiritual Corruption*" (manipulation of matter to gain greater spirituality) or what is called "*Capitalization of Reward*" (Mulkam, 2007). Conversely, capitalism can also be viewed as "*Material Corruption*" (spiritual manipulation to gain greater riches). Thus, it can be understood through reversal of the burden of proof approach. Followed by a deeper understanding (*Verstehen*, Weber as cited in Ritzer and Goodman, 2004 and Kaelan, 2005) or the so-called "*intentional object*" (Berger, 1967), especially against what is "*behind*" income distribution or by assuming that the social facts which happens behind the results of the income distribution is the fruit of "*ideological belief*" that has colored the economic actors' in the maritime community minds. *Indepth Interviews* were carried out on a number of key informants (including those located outside the case) that can provide accurate information related to the "*social reality*" that is behind the distribution of profit shares. This study concludes with reflective thought, which is the intuitive of the essence of the object studied (Husserl, as cited in Zubaedi, 2007: 121-134). This study is enriched with socio-historical approach, particularly those relating to the entry of capitalism in the Archipelago since the colonial era.

4. Capitalism and the Pasompe Community's Economic Behavior

4.1 The Historical Development of Capitalism

From Trade Capitalism to Multinational Capitalism

The historical development of world capitalism can be divided into four stages, namely (1) the trade capitalism stage, (2) the colonial capitalism (Europe) stage, (3) the agricultural-industrial capitalism stage, and (4) the multinational-corporation capitalism stage. The first and second stage of the development of capitalism is based on the mercantile economic system, which is an economic understanding which states that the glory of a country is highly dependent on its ability to import resources from other countries. Trade Capitalism was adopted by the three major regions in the world, ranging from Western Asia (adopted by Arab and Indian traders, which were popularly called the Gujarat traders), Eastern Asia (adopted by Chinese traders during the Tang Dynasty) and Southeastern Asia (adopted by traders who were under the authority of the Kingdom of Srivijaya). This triangular trade relationship was estimated to last approximately eight centuries (VI - XIII century AD).

The capitalism that was born in the Middle East (Western Asia) is capitalism based on the trading of agricultural and industrial products built on the foundation of the country's fiscal financial management, known as the Baitul Mal. A capitalism which aims to increase people's welfare or prosperity, not for the benefit of certain individuals or groups, unlike the capitalism growing today. Since the beginning of the construction of Medina, which is also called the initial stage of world economy development based on religion, Prophet Muhammad SAW has instilled the *need to spur increased productivity* through management of each farms owned by the Ansar tribe by the Muhajirin tribe through the *Profit Sharing System*. In the reign of Caliph Umar bin Khattab the *Al-Futat Canal (Suez)* was excavated which functions to shorten and expedite the sea trade route from India, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Medina, Egypt, Syria and Turkey or vice versa, a very monumental construction activity but it also shows the seriousness of the government in establishing the trade supply chain.

Policies regarding increased productivity, which was pioneered by Prophet Muhammad SAW, was later continued by Caliph Ali bin Abi Thalib. At first, the capital of Islamic power was moved from Medina to Kufa, along with the growing breadth of Islamic rule. The Central Baitul Mal was also moved and along with it the Provincial Baitul Mal was also built as a result of the increasing productivity of the community. In the ruling period of Caliph Ali bin Abi Thalib, every governor was ordered to give serious attention to the improvement of the society's productivity and even forbade tax collection before the society's productivity was increased. Furthermore, Caliph Ali bin Abi Thalib also ordered to each governor to approach groups of people who were economically advanced, because according to Caliph Ali bin Abi Thalib, the economic progress of a society is the key to improving the welfare of other community groups. This clearly differs from the view of Western capitalism that is present today.

However, after trade capitalism was taken over by Western Europe, with its military and naval forces, the capitalist system subsequently changed to Colonial Capitalism, a capitalist system that is characterized by coercion, control, monopoly, and exploitation by relying more on military force. Colonial capitalist system was

mainly played by the Dutch in the implementation of colonialism in Asia and the Archipelago, taking over the role of the power of previous trade capitalism that has formed in a *Western Asia-Eastern Asia-Southeastern Asia* trade network and even having a very strong desire through the use of the military to control the entire trade in the European sea who came to Asia and the Archipelago at that time.

Growth of Industrial-Agricultural Capitalism in Europe (UK) in the XIII century marked the end of the Mercantile era that relies on sea trade or import of goods from other countries or an era that marked the third stage of the development of capitalism. Industrial-Agricultural capitalism is characterized by the so-called Enclosure Movement, a movement that intends to provide cheap labor for the fleet of new factories in the UK. The capital owners fenced open land for herding sheep. The reason for this is wool, Britain's most lucrative export commodity. The farmer or farm servant, lost their traditional rights to use "common land" to herd their goats or sheep and for cultivation to maintain economic independence. Farmers as a class were destroyed in the entire United Kingdom. An individual economy created—workers without land, did not have anything else except his ability to get whatever the market provided. Land closing dragged them out of the rural areas as trash into big and small cities as well as to new factories. In Marx's view, this fencing "liberate" the workers of agricultural production and transform them into a commodity, the owner of labor that can be sold. This is the new industrial proletariat; not the skilled craftsmen at a medieval time who were protected by laws or ancient regulations. Fencing, steam engines, and the mechanization of the textile industry wiped out the remnants of mercantile rule and this equipped the British in the late XVIII century, a new era of capitalism without borders (Read: Robert Lekachman and Borin Van Loon, 2008: 37- 41).

Entering the XX century, world capitalism was dominated by multinational companies that were not subject to regulations set by the government or free market mechanism which is widely hailed by the current monetary experts. The form of capitalism on this latest development period is known as Multinational-Corporations Capitalism. Multinational companies in their routine operations prove alignments unique to developing countries in the third world who are poorer, not only because labor is cheaper, but because the politicians are usually weaker and can be more suppressed and manipulated. They gain at least five freedoms: from corporate income tax, import duty, property taxes and special taxes as well as monetary and political incentives (such as weak workers' unions and needs for foreign capital and technology for developing countries). In developing countries, cheap and skilled labor became an important commodity in a world that is becoming increasingly sophisticated with capital intensive. For example, the pieces of high-tech silicon on which the electronic revolution rely on, assembled manually, assisted with microscopes, by semi-skilled young girls in the Southeast Asia Free Trade Zone (Read: Robert Lekachman and Borin Van Loon, 2008: 57).

Thus, the history of Europe from mercantile capitalism (imperialist-colonial), to industrial-agricultural, to multinational corporations capitalism demonstrate strategies that can be viewed as an identifier of the XVIII and XIX century capitalism, namely the so-called exploitation of natural resources, human resources (labor) and developing countries. This paper without ignoring the positive side of capitalism (both from Civilization Capitalism and European Capitalism) in particular will show the amount of exploitation (the taking of) done by a capital owner (capitalists) against a number of workers (proletariat) in a working relationship called Ponggawa-Sawi.

4.2 Capitalism in Bugis-Makassar Economic Exploration: The Role of China and the Introduction of Acceleration Technology

At first the Bugis-Makassar people became acquainted with capitalism in the form of trade as introduced by the merchants from Western Asia (Arab and India) which were popularly known as Gujarat traders and Eastern Asia (China during the Tang Dynasty) long before colonization took place in Indonesia and in the Eastern Region of Indonesia in particular. But it seems the development of trade history in the Archipelago showed that the role of China continued and even took an important role in the history of colonial capitalism. They generally act as middlemen between indigenous people in remote rural areas with the European traders who were in the center of the largest ports in the Archipelago (Read: Onghokhan, 2008). This role continued to increase in the sense of not only limited in terms of trade transactions but also slowly turned into investing in businesses of the indigenous people in rural areas, among which the most prominent was in the form of: trade partnership, transportation service providers and eventually come to have the biggest share compared to the shares of rural indigenous people. China's role actually grew along with the development of maritime technology on the one hand and on the other hand because of the financial inability of indigenous entrepreneurs to finance the development of capacity which increasingly demand the development of ship technology to be bigger and arrive faster at the destination.

At first glance sailing technological developments, especially in the early phases were very encouraging because besides the crew of the ship can more easily move and direct the ship, load capacity to the destination can be further increased. However, the continued rise of fuel prices became a major trigger for the deterioration of the maritime community. As a result, not only did the additional operating costs continue to rise, but the technology used (motorization) has also had to get the same portion as the boat and the overall sawi (ship crew). Thus, the boat (ship), machinery and crew (humans) were considered equal and even lower, where the boat and or engine were considered the same as the whole crew. Based on Soewardi's view, *weak civilization mentality* which is realized through the taking by force, or in Marx's view is called *exploitative actions*, which is a relic of European Capitalism which still survive in today's world capitalist system.

4.3 Income Distribution: Tracking of the Weak Mentality Civilization Starting Point

Analysis of the performance outcome data (income distribution based on the local profit sharing system) of maritime activity during the period of 10 years (from 1999 to 2008: See Attached Income Distribution Table) of the Ponggawa-Sawi Pasompe Group case deemed successful by the surrounding community (with criterias of the most active seafaring activities, have the most accurate bookkeeping and wisest in the profit sharing system, etc.) obtained a social fact that based on the local profit sharing laws (LPSL), big ponggawa on average earned Rp 464.437.168 (89.5%) and small Ponggawa and the sawi earned a share of Rp 54.487.042 (10.5%) per unit / period (one round voyage). At a glance we can already state that by looking at the amount of shares obtained by the big Ponggawa was very unfair or small Ponggawa and the sawis tend to be exploited. The magnitude of this exploitation will be more clear if we compare them with the use of profit sharing law (PSL) applicable in sailing (See Table 1 and detailed explanations in the Table 2, 3, and 4).

Table 1. Income distribution average based on LPSL and PSL case of the ponggawa~Sawi Pasompe Group Case (Per Work Unit/ Period)

Ponggawa Status	Shares Earned (Rp)		Amount of Exploitation
	LPSL	PSL	
Big Ponggawa	464.437.168	297.975.026	+ 166.462.142
Small Ponggawa and Sawi	54.487.042	220.949.184	- 166.462.142

Source : Data Analysis Results of 1999 - 2008

Table 2. The average of rent-trade costs and revenue (IDR/Year/Shipping Route) in ponggawa's of the pasompe community: The Case of Haji Pasompe Dg Kulle.

Year	Revenue		Amount of Revenue	Operational Costs		Net Income	
	Rent	Trade		Gasoline (X)	Meals (Y)	XY	Y
1999	45.000.000	357.300.000	402.300.000	25.531.250	10.897.562	365.871.188	391.402.438
2000	47.500.000	395.775.000	443.275.000	25.500.000	11.896.812	405.878.188	431.378.188
2001	47.500.000	391.500.000	439.000.000	24.343.750	12.784.520	401.871.730	426.215.480
2002	45.000.000	384.000.000	429.000.000	25.500.000	14.907.075	388.592.925	414.092.925
2003	47.500.000	384.000.000	431.500.000	25.500.000	15.834.657	390.165.343	415.665.343
2004	47.500.000	384.000.000	431.500.000	24.343.750	17.016.199	390.140.051	414.483.801
2005	55.000.000	706.450.000	761.450.000	45.956.250	19.308.917	696.184.833	742.141.083
2006	57.500.000	706.450.000	763.950.000	45.900.000	21.075.928	696.974.072	742.874.072
2007	57.500.000	706.450.000	763.950.000	45.956.250	22.648.562	695.345.188	741.301.438
2008	55.000.000	774.850.000	829.850.000	45.956.250	25.675.168	758.218.582	804.174.832
Total	505.000.000	5.190.775.000	5.695.775.000	334.487.500	172.045.400	5.189.242.100	5.523.729.600
Average	50.500.000	519.077.500	569.577.500	33.448.750	17.204.540	518.924.210	552.372.960

Source: Written Documents of Haji Pasompe Dg. Kulle, 2011.

Table 3. The average amount of revenue distribution (IDR/Year/Shipping Route) based on the local profit sharing law and ponggawa status in the pasompe community: The Case of Haji Pasompe Dg. Kulle.

Year	Revenue (Rent-Trade)	Operational Costs		Net Income of XY	Amount of Profit Based on Local Profit Sharing Laws	
		Gasoline (X)	Meals (Y)		Land Ponggawa	Ponggawa & Sawi
1999	402.300.000	25.531.250	10.897.562	365.871.188	327.454.713,3	38.416.474,74
2000	443.275.000	25.500.000	11.896.812	405.878.188	363.260.978,3	42.617.209,74
2001	439.000.000	24.343.750	12.784.520	401.871.730	359.675.198,4	42.196.531,65
2002	429.000.000	25.500.000	14.907.075	388.592.925	347.790.667,9	40.802.257,13
2003	431.500.000	25.500.000	15.834.657	390.165.343	349.197.982,0	40.967.361,02
2004	431.500.000	24.343.750	17.016.199	390.140.051	349.175.345,6	40.964.705,36
2005	761.450.000	45.956.250	19.308.917	696.184.833	623.085.425,5	73.099.407,47
2006	763.950.000	45.900.000	21.075.928	696.974.072	623.791.794,4	73.182.277,56
2007	763.950.000	45.956.250	22.648.562	695.345.188	622.333.943,3	73.011.244,74
2008	829.850.000	45.956.250	25.675.168	758.218.582	678.605.630,9	79.612.951,11
Total	5.695.775.000	334.487.500	172.045.400	5.189.242.100	4.644.371.680,0	544.870.420,5
Average	569.577.500	33.448.750	17.204.540	518.924.210	464.437.168,0	54.487.042,05

Table 4. The amount of social inequality in average revenue distribution (IDR/Year/Shipping Route) based on the profit sharing law and ponggawa status in the pasompe community: The Case of Haji Pasompe Dg. Kulle.

Year	Amount of Profit Based on Local Profit Sharing Laws		Amount of Profit Based on Profit Sharing Laws		Amount of Exploitation	
	Land Ponggawa	Ponggawa & Sawi	Land Ponggawa	Ponggawa & Sawi	Land Ponggawa	Ponggawa & Sawi
	(P)	(Q)	(R)	(S)	(P - R)	(Q - S)
1999	327.454.713,3	38.416.474,74	209.310.212,8	156.560.975,2	118.144.500,5	-118.144.500,5
2000	363.260.978,3	42.617.209,74	233.326.912,8	172.551.275,2	129.934.065,5	-129.934.065,5
2001	359.675.198,4	42.196.531,65	231.385.538,0	170.486.192,0	128.289.660,4	-128.289.660,4
2002	347.790.667,9	40.802.257,13	222.955.755,0	165.637.170,0	124.834.912,9	-124.834.912,9
2003	349.197.982,0	40.967.361,02	223.899.205,8	166.266.137,2	125.298.776,2	-125.298.776,2
2004	349.175.345,6	40.964.705,36	224.346.530,6	165.793.520,4	124.828.815,0	-124.828.815,0
2005	623.085.425,5	73.099.407,47	399.328.399,8	296.856.433,2	223.757.025,7	-223.757.025,7
2006	623.791.794,4	73.182.277,56	399.824.443,2	297.149.628,8	223.967.351,2	-223.967.351,2
2007	622.333.943,3	73.011.244,74	398.824.612,8	296.520.575,2	223.509.330,5	-223.509.330,5
2008	678.605.630,9	79.612.951,11	436.548.649,2	321.669.932,8	242.056.981,7	-242.056.981,7
Total	4.644.371.680,0	544.870.420,5	2.979.750.260,0	2.209.491.840,0	1.664.621.420,0	-1.664.621.420,0
Average	464.437.168,0	54.487.042,05	297.975.026,0	220.949.184,0	166.462.142,0	-166.462.142,0

Source : Written Documents of Haji Pasompe Dg. Kulle, 2009/2010

If taken into account, in one year (3-4 times of round voyage), massive exploitation of investors (large Ponggawa) to workers (Ponggawa small and the mustard) were found which can reach Rp 665.848.568,- or 75% in percentage. In the maritime community, the amount of exploitation cannot be separated from the amount of investment. The greater the investment, the greater the exploitation by the owners of capital to their workers, especially if the workers were not or less productive. In addition, the analyzed income distribution data showed

that the amount of exploitation continued to increase each year. If in 1999 the amount of exploitation only reached Rp 118.144.500,5, - then in 2008 it has reached Rp 242.056.981,7,- or it can be said that within the last ten years the amount of exploitation of capital owners to workers doubled, even more. This is in line with the increase in investment and operating costs which also increase every year.

In Marx's view, a taking by force can be seen as exploitation when the exploited party (workers) are fully aware that they themselves are being exploited. The expression of the small ponggawa and sawi the following maritime community (in the native language) may indicate that awareness is:

“ Anjo katte paboyayya, nampai a’lampaki nicukkuru’ maki, ammotere’ki sallang nigundulukki poeng, jari katte paboyayya ka’ daro’na mami kigappa, sakamma kammana mianjo katte paboyayya”

Translation :

We workers, before we leave we are shaved (burdened with substantial operational costs), after returning from work we are shaved bald again (again burdened with sales costs and commissions), so we workers only get the coconut shell (remnants) of the total financing and those commissions, that's our fate (workers) forever.

This expression is actually very popular in fishing communities, but in fact it is also similarly expressed in the pakkaja community, especially in the pasompe community using their respective local language style and terms. Thus the taking by force by the big ponggawa to the small ponggawa and their sawi in the maritime community can be seen as exploitative actions. This is one reason why the maritime community (especially those in the pasompe community) were not born as local capitalists ("from the bottom") which are expected to build the maritime civilization. A "structural fragility" in the body of our maritime economic system that must be addressed.

Other evidence of workers (proletariat) consciousness against the taking by force as mentioned above can also be seen from their act of resistance which are currently increasingly visible. For example when the pasompe community especially at the barge towboat level, sold the excess fuel from every voyage route to several gas stations along the way to the destination and if it could not be sold the fuel had to be dumped into the sea, no matter how much, with the intention that the shipowner will not know of this resistance. The taking by force on the part of the owner of the boat/ship to the skipper and the crew or vice versa, in local terms (Makassarese Language) this is called Silukkaki (mutual stealing). Again this shows a structural fragility in the body of the maritime community capitalism or what is popularly called "economic vulnerability" in Marx's terms.

4.4 Behind the Income Distribution: The Positive Values of Capitalism according to the Pasompe Community

Even if capitalism, especially Western Capitalism, was built upon the fragility of the economy, inside it especially capitalism as practiced by the maritime community, we can find a number of positive values that can be learned and applied in building maritime civilization, especially the values that are not purely derived from Western Capitalism but has mixed with the values of Civilization Capitalism as proposed in the Civilization-Will theory which has been previously mentioned. In this study the values of Civilization Capitalism is viewed as a key foundation which must be strengthened in establishing a maritime civilization in the future.

In the maritime community, positive values of capitalism were often expressed in statements with a theological and cultural nature as disclosed (in Konjo Language) by a number of big Ponggawa (owners of capital) and small Ponggawa (skipper-captain) as follows:

- (1) “Makking terasaki pikkirangiyya, tenagayya, nampai rie sinnayya, nasareangkontu Allah Ta’ala” (Translation: the more powerful our minds, our energy, and we have goals, Allah SWT will definitely give it). Thus, one who wants to be successful must have a strong belief that the power of the mind, energy, and goals are very crucial in determining the fortune received from God or fortune must be sought and the size of fortune is highly dependent on the strength of mind, energy, and the goals of each individual.
- (2) “Umpai kuttuki, anre’ pangngamaseang battu ri Allah Ta’ala” (Meaning: if we are lazy, there will be no mercy from Allah SWT). Lazy people cannot expect any fortune from Allah STW, or in another statement: “Ako angngerai dalle 'ri Allaah, umpako attinroja nugaukang” (translation: do not ask fortune from Allah SWT if you only sleep). Thus, fortune from Allah SWT is highly determined by how big is the power of initiative (effort) of that person.

- (3) “Nai-nai tau barhasele’ nakalimbukii bijanna” (This means that people who succeed does not succeed only for themselves but also for the entire family, or in other words people who managed to elevate his family’s honor) and
- (4) “Umpai naseroko dalle’ Allah Ta’ala, katutui laloi” (Translaion: if given fortune by Allah Ta’ala, guard and take care of it) “*Nanu siali Kangkangi hungkei siali*” (Translation: Save~invest half of it and spend the other half) “*Mateko sallang, cappu 'linonu, nutmeg broom akhera'nu*” (Translation: beware lest you die failing your worldly life and also your afterlife). Thus, life must be planned (be considerate, save and use resources optimally). This last statement is a fundamental view of capitalism.

5. Epilogue: Theoretical Reflections and Political Implications

Placed in the Civilization-Will theory (Soewardi, 1995), as proposed before, the exploitative actions of the owners of capital (bourgeois) to its workers (proletariat) in the socio-economic structure of the maritime community puts themselves (the Pasompe community) in square IV: a social position in a weak-civilization state: a *shortcut mentality* (Koentjaraningrat, 1983) or *loose horse mentality* (Soewardi, 1995), which is a legacy of Western~Secular Capitalism. Without ignoring the positive side of capitalism, these findings also indicate that in the condition of increasing investment on the one hand and low productivity on the other hand in a social and economic structure of the maritime community brought consequences to the proliferation of weak civilization mentality and it certainly is not expected in the development of maritime civilizations in the future. Thus, there are two main issues that must be addressed from the policy angle, namely how to enforce the profit sharing law on the part of the bourgeois and how to improve the productivity of the community in this case the proletariat. The cause of low productivity will be specifically discussed in the second series.

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