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## Research Article

# CAPITAL IDENTIFICATION AND CONTESTATION OF CRAB COLLECTORS IN CRAB BUSINESS (*PERTUNNUS PELAGICUS*) IN BUNGIN PERMAI VILLAGE, SOUTH KONAWA, SOUTHEAST SULAWESI, INDONESIA

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Crab, collectors, capital, contestation.

### ABSTRACT

This study is aimed to provide an insight of Capital Identification and Contestation of crab collectors in crab business in Bungin Permai Village, South Konawe, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This study was conducted in South Konawe, Southeast Sulawesi from November 2016 to May 2017. This study is a qualitative study which is mainly used for post positivism paradigm. The key informants in this study were 4 people. Determination of informants was determined deliberately with the consideration that the four informants were the largest collectors of crabs in Bungin Permai Village. The method used in this study is triangulation analysis method where the researcher compare information or data in a different way. The data collection techniques were done through literature review, observation, in-depth interviews with crab collectors. The results showed that the capital contestation of each collector is applied by using various strategies, depend on the amount of capital possessed by the collector. Almost all crab collectors are applying development strategies such as biology, successive, educative investment and economic investment strategies. While the use of symbolic investment strategy only carried out by the crab collector who has authority that allow him to win the contestation arena easily.

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### INTRODUCTION

*Rajungan* crab (*Portunus pelagicus*) is a type of swimming crab because it has a pair of hind legs that functioned as swimming legs, these two legs have shape like a paddle (Gerdenia, 2006). The fishing equipment used by locals is *bubu* (Amgyat, 1982). This fishing equipment has been used by fishermen to catch crabs since early 2000s (Iskandar, D, 2013). People in Bungin Permai Village, Konawe Selatan Regency are commonly working as fishermen, seaweed farmers, crab businessmen and collectors of fisheries and marine products.

Working as fishermen by people in Bungin Permai practically go against challenges and problems as most commonly faced by Indonesian fishermen which is generally applied in traditional way. One of identified problems as it also be the focus of this study is the problem faced by fishermen in crab business. Identified problem was limited capital to replace fishing equipment when it sink or broken. This fishing tool is made from iron and trawl net. Constraints of limited capital tend to make fishermen be in touch with traders to obtain

capital, this way is taken in the hope that this capital support will help them to maintain the continuity of their business. The relationship between the boss (trader) and the fisherman is vertical, this is in accordance with the opinion of Fausayana et al (2018) which states that the bond is recognized in the form of a patron-client relationship in which one of the forms is in debt.

Based on the practical phenomenon, the fishermen revealed that one of the difficulties in obtaining capital. The difficulty in obtaining capital especially happen during the beginning of the seaweed planting season, this also faced by crab fishermen who need capital to replace broken fishing equipment. There has been assistance provided by local government but not evenly distributed as it only gained by a few number of people and very much determined by the Village Government while some fishermen have never been touched by either the private sector or the government.

The difficulties experienced by fishermen are utilized by crab collectors to get fishermen to become their clients. The actions

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of crab fisherman and crab collectors in the social realm are phenomenon in the arena of resource struggle, they struggle to obtain capital in the arena. The capital at stake is economic capital (money, assets), culture (form of knowledge), social (family, religious, network) and symbolic (honesty, trust) (Bourdieu, 1986).

Based on the above reasons, the researchers interested to identify the capital and contestation of crab business in Bungin Permai Village, Konawe Selatan Regency, Southeast Sulawesi.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

This study was conducted in Bungin Permai Village, South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi from November 2016 to May 2017. The key informants in this study were 4 people. Determination of informants was determined deliberately with the consideration that the four informants were the largest collectors of crabs in Bungin Permai Village. This type of research is a qualitative research which is mainly used for post positivism paradigm. The method used in this study is triangulation analysis method, applied by comparing information or data in a different way. Data collection techniques were conducted through literature review, observation, in-depth interviews with crab collectors.

**RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

*Capital of Crab Collectors*

According to Bourdieu (1996) capital is "a set of sources of power and power that can really be used." In detail Bourdieu (1986) and Haryatmoko, (2003) classifies capital into four types, namely: first, economic capital which includes the means of production (machinery, land, labor), material (income and material), and cash and non-cash.

*Economic Capital of Crab Collectors*

Land value was the major item in capital investment for all three types of crab farming systems, which accounted 70% of the total capital investment (Sathiadhas, R & Najmudeen, 2004).

Other economic capital are the ownership of money, assets and so on, most easily move and be changed in other forms. The economic capital has the power to change, maintain and improve the crab business. Identification of economic capital of crab collectors can be seen in Table 1 as follows:

Economic capital owned by each collector is differ from one another. This capital ownership influences the crab business development because economic capital is the most easily moved and changeable to other forms, this also happens to seaweed farmers (Fausayana, I, 2004) and crab collectors.

Economic capital in the form of cash managed by providing loans in cash to crab fisherman or buying processing needs (such as fishing tool, crab trawl nets, boats, seaweed seeds, boat engines and home rehabilitation), even for school fees for fishermen's children up to family party activities supported by crab processors.

Usually, crab processors that have been given economic capital by collectors have a very strong attachment, expressed in an unwritten agreement but in a mutual agreement between processors and the collectors. This agreement is not same for each processor depending on the agreement of both parties (processors and collectors). The more processors who borrow capital from collectors, the more economic capital gained by crab collectors because with the increase of processor number means more crab stock can be sold to district traders or bosses in Kendari (Provincial Capital City).

*Cultural Capital of Crab Collectors*

Bourdieu states that cultural capital consists of familiarity with the dominant culture in a society, and especially the ability to understand and use of 'educated' language/good communication approach. (Sullivan, A. 2002). Cultural capital is also defined as an asset that embodies cultural values (Throsby, D, 1999).

The cultural capital of the crab collectors (the first informant to the fourth informant) is based on educational background which is very influential on the development of the crab business. The collectors' education level is different from one another, from elementary school education to high school level education. The identification of cultural capital of crab collectors can be seen in Table 2 as follows;

**Table 1** Economic Capital of Crab Collectors

Crab Collectors	Informant I	Informant II	Informant III	Informant IV
Economic Capital	a) Crab production 45 kg per day b) Number of processors / 30 fishermen c) 65 pcs trawl nets d) 730 units of <i>Bubu</i> e) 5-unit boats f) 3-unit motors/bike engines	a) 60 kg Crab production per day b) Number of processors /30 fishermen c) 102 pcs trawl nets d) 1430 units of <i>Bubu</i> e) 5-unit boats f) 1 unit Ship	a) 175 kg Crab production per day b) Number of processors / 30 fishermen c) 36 pcs trawl nets d) 1950 units of <i>Bubu</i> e) 13-unit boats f) 11-unit motors \bike engines	a) 85 kg Crab production per day b) Number of processors / 33 fishermen c) 125 pcs trawl nets d) 1550 units of <i>Bubu</i> e) 5-unit boats f) 3-unit motors \bike engines g) 5 units Float chart h) 3 units of <i>Bagan</i> i) The pond is approximately 2.5 ha j) 1 unit Floating net k) 2 Ships

\*Fishermen who are catching crabs are also categorized as processors

**Table 2 Cultural Capital of Crab Collectors**

Crab Collectors	Informant I	Informant II	Informant III	Informant IV
Cultural Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Elementary education, not illiterate</li> <li>b) Communication skill in Bajo language</li> <li>c) Experience (processing habitus, collector of crab, fish and seaweed)</li> <li>d) Skills (habitus at sea)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) High School Diploma</li> <li>b) Communication skill in Bajo and Bugis language</li> <li>c) Knowledge in trading</li> <li>d) Original skills (seafarers' habitus)</li> <li>e) Experience as a collector of crabs, fish and seaweed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) High School Diploma</li> <li>b) Communication skill in Bajo and Bugis language</li> <li>c) Knowledge of crab processing in whole meat form</li> <li>d) whole meat form</li> <li>e) Knowledge of shell crabs processing</li> <li>f) Experience as a processor</li> <li>g) Sawmill skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) High School Diploma</li> <li>b) Communication skills in Bajo, Bugis and Tolaki language</li> <li>c) Knowledge of crab processing in whole meat form</li> <li>d) Knowledge of shell crabs processing</li> <li>e) Political knowledge</li> <li>f) Knowledge as a farmer</li> </ul>

Cultural capital influences the mindset in developing crab business. The basic skills and knowledge to move on to higher education are the provision for living life in the community, to make choices and to use high-tech products, to conduct interactions and competition between community members, groups and among crab collectors. The education possessed by crab collectors in Bungin Permai Village is strongly influenced by the historical and economic conditions and social class of the community. This can be seen from their way in conveying opinions, discussing, communicating, solving processors' problems and others.

Knowledge in the form of education by crab collectors is a structured habitus that can be formed by assistance and inheritance. Education for some people in this village is not highly valued, so in order to be able to create educational habitus such as writing, reading, and discussing from childhood to adulthood, social engineering is needed (Fausayana, I, 2004; 2015). Hence, the role of the Government is very much needed to advance the local education by providing various educational programs.

**Social Capital of Crab Collectors**

The concept of social capital arises from the idea that members of society cannot be able to individually deal with various problems, it is necessary to socially live among people and cooperate with them in overcoming the problems (Coleman, 1999; Fukuyama, 1995). A network between individuals and institutions is needed to obtain information and access to resources what they need to survive (Pamungkas, D, 2018). The identification of social capital of crab collectors can be seen in Table 3 as follows;

Having social capital does not always bring positive impact, it can also cause a negative impact if both sides have no common norms understanding. In the controversy of crab development carried out by collectors, there are examples that can lead us to understand the negative social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), where if someone has a financial problem or is otherwise given the responsibility to help with financial support, they will first turn to family or acquaintances to get help or assistance. This situation, by the local community is considered as something natural because everyone will tend to build a social safety net by identifying people who are trustable and willing to help.

**Symbolic Capital of Crab Collectors**

Symbolic Capital in all forms such as prestige, status, authority and legitimacy accumulated as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Symbolic power is a part of overall social practice: it operates and is operated by agents in the arena because in social space it is included in the arena of crab collectors. Identification of symbolic capital of crab collectors can be seen in Table 4 as follows;

In a cultural or symbolic system, a person's status is determined by how much symbolic capital is owned or cultural capital possessed, such case occurs to crab collectors in Bungin Village, the mastery of symbolic capital possessed by collectors differ for each Informant, starting from the first Informant, second, third and fourth. Value systems and cultural symbols serve as references to their daily behavior (Kusnadi, 2009). Symbolic capital is a form of recognition given by individuals or communities to other individuals who come from individuals and the community itself.

**Table 3 Social Capital of Crab Collectors**

Crab Collectors	Informant I	Informant II	Informant III	Informant IV
Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trust (only the closest relatives, processors and bosses in Tinanggea District),</li> <li>• reciprocity (mutual assistance to relatives, with processors, mutual cooperation)</li> <li>• network: "Social capital bonding (limited to 'same ethnic bonds ') does not cross the line like)" "Environmental social capital (network is very strong with processors and bosses in the District)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trust (fellow collectors, processors of all ethnics, people in Bungin and Pulau Tiga, very strong to boss in Tinanggea)</li> <li>• reciprocity (processors of all ethnic in Bungin Village and Pulau Tiga, all ethnic communities/not limited by ethnics, loyal to bosses in the District)</li> <li>• network: "Social capital bonding (all ethnic processors in Bungin Village and Pulau Tiga, fellow ethnic gatherers, good relations with bosses in the District)" "Linking social capital (processors and collectors of Bungin village and Pulau Tiga,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trust (closest relatives, processors and collectors in Bungin Village and Pulau Tiga, boss in Province capital/ Kendari)</li> <li>• reciprocity (mutual help, helping each other, reciprocate)</li> <li>• network: "Social capital bonding (limited to the processors, families, fellow collectors in Bungin villages and Pulau Tiga, collectors in Bombana and Muna Regency, boss in Kendari)" "According to social capital (crab processors in Bungin and Pulau Tiga, boss in Kendari, Banking / BRI funds)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trust (all ethnic processor, collectors in Bungin Village, boss at Tinanggea, PHILIPS, CSR, SKBT, CS, Samudra Kendari)</li> <li>• reciprocity (mutual help, reciprocity)</li> <li>• network: "Social capital bonding (limited to processors, families, bosses in the District and bosses in Kendari)" "According to social capital (crab collectors in Bungin Village, District and Province PT CS, CSR, Philips, SKBT, Samudra Company The Village, District, related District and SKPD Governments</li> </ul>

**Table 4** Symbolic Capital of Crab Collectors

Crab Collectors	Informant I	Informant II	Informant III	Informant IV
Symbolic Capital	a) The symbol of Bajo ethnic beliefs and pride, b) Charismatic c) Helping fellow ethnic groups d) Hard worker e) Kinship ties ( <i>padakauang</i> ) is very strong f) limited to etnical group (Bajonese)	a) Symbol of trust b) Patient c) Willingly help c) Traditional symbolic of <i>malilusipakainge</i> and <i>padaidi</i> c) wise d) kinship e) Giving selflessly	a) Symbol of trust b) willingly help c) Strong togetherness boundary with processors d) Charismatic, hard-working e) Innovative d) Commitment	a) Less trusted b) Helping with terms/condition c) There is no openness d) Authority as village chief e) Strong legitimacy d) Village chief and son-in-law of <i>pongawa</i> (respected elder) of bajo ethnic e) Prestige (dignity) f) risk takers

### Contestation

There are three patterns of relationships in contestation, those are zero sum game, coexistence and hybridization (Nikoyan et al, 2018). In the contestation, there is a conflict of interest between actors based on differences in knowledge, ideology, and expectations of each actor (Said et al, 2018).

In the arena of contestation, each crab collector uses their capital assets to gain benefits by carrying it out in strategies. Strategy is always inherent in the practice of an agent where the practice is accepted as an overall action involving capital, habitus, and bets in a domain (Karnanta. KY. 2013).

The strategy is needed to maintain the capital and some agents want to change the distribution of capital in accordance with the power hierarchy. The use of the strategies carried out by the first informant which is limited to economic investment strategies that considered as a strategy to maintain or enhance various types of capital, namely the accumulation of economic and social capital. Although the collector has a variety of capital but with the use of a limited strategy, in fact it has made it sluggish in the development of the crab business itself, hence the efforts are only aimed to maintain capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), the strategy used by actors depends on the amount of capital owned and the capital structure in its position in the social space. If they are in a dominant position, the strategy is directed at efforts to preserve and maintain the status quo, while those who are dominated trying to change the distribution of capital, rules of the game and their positions to heighten their social levels.

The second informant in the contestation arena employs several strategies including successive strategies in the form of inheritance, inherited by her husband and parents, so that the use of strategies is to make the collectors preserve and survive until now. Other strategies used are educative and economic investment which seeks to maintain and increase the various types of capital possessed. Whereas the third informant used biology investment through a marriage with Bajonese woman (local ethnic) to change the original habitus of the crab collector. Other strategies are educative strategy and economic investment which seeks to increase the various types of capital possessed, so it is advanced in terms of economic capital.

The last collector or the fourth informant with a variety of capital possessed and the use of appropriate strategies allow him to develop faster and become the most prominent in the arena of contestation.

Aside from being a crab collector, he is also a fish collector and seaweed, where all these efforts are inseparable from the presence of symbolic capital and the use of various strategies, those are: biological, successive, educative investment strategies, economic investment, and symbolic investment, make him easy to interact with crab and fish processors, also with seaweed farmers. By the use of this strategy, the informant can easily increase his economic capital, although in the end the use of this strategy caused symbolic violence. This symbolic violence is used by collector as a tool to control the arena where this phenomenon continues to live in the society's interest. According to Bourdieu (1993) agent positions are determined by the amount and relative weight of the capital they have.

### CONCLUSION

Each crab collector has economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. All collectors have economic, social and cultural capital. Whereas symbolic capital is only possessed by authorized and legitimate collector, by the use of symbolic investment strategies with the communicative approach in the realm creating space for the collector an opportunity to carry out symbolic violence.

The capital contestation of each collector is carried out by using various strategies that depend on the amount of capital possessed by the collector. Almost all crab collectors use development strategies such as biology, successive, educative investment strategies and economic investment strategies. While the use of symbolic investment strategies only carried out by crab collector who has authority that makes it easier to win the arena of contestation, as well as to obtain and expand its crab business network and convert its symbolic capital into economic capital.

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