

Construction of Fisherfolk Community Social Network in Mataram City, West Nusa Tenggara

Winengan W.

Mataram Islamic State University
E-mail: winengan@uinmataram.ac.id

Abstrak

Artikel ini bermaksud untuk menguraikan konstruksi jaringan sosial sebagai tradisi solidaritas sosial ekonomi yang terpelihara dalam kehidupan komunitas nelayan tradisional. Tulisan ini bertolak dari argumentasi bahwa pembentukan jaringan sosial merupakan strategi nelayan memanfaatkan relasi sosial untuk tetap bertahan dalam menghadapi ketidakpastian penghasilan sebagai nelayan tradisional yang tinggal di Kota Mataram. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa keberadaan jaringan sosial nelayan tradisional di Ampenan Kota Mataram menjadi alternatif solusi terakhir bagi mereka dalam menghadapi dinamika kehidupan ekonomi dengan fluktuasi penghasilan mereka yang cenderung terbatas. Pembentukan jaringan sosialnya dilandasi dengan muatan kepentingan dan perasaan dan terpelihara secara stabil karena berlangsung secara terus menerus. Namun, keberadaan jaringan sosial ini hanya mampu menjadi alternatif solusi sesaat sehingga belum mampu membebaskan komunitas nelayan tradisional dari tekanan kebutuhan ekonomi sehari-hari keluarganya secara permanen.

Abstract

This article intends to describe the construction of social networks as a tradition of socio-economic solidarity that is preserved in the life of traditional fishing communities. This article begins with the argument that the formation of social networks is a strategy for traditional fisherfolk to use social relations to survive in the face of income uncertainty. This paper shows that the existence of traditional fisherfolk social networks in Ampenan, Mataram City is the ultimate solution for them in dealing with the dynamics of economic life, with fluctuations in their limited income. The formation of social networks is based on the interests and feelings and is maintained in a stable manner, because it takes place continuously. However, the existence of this social network is only able to become a temporary alternative solution, so that it has not been able to permanently free the traditional fishing community from the pressures of their families' daily economic needs.

Keywords: social networking, poverty, traditional fisherfolk, household

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world consisting of 17,480 islands with a sea area reaching 2/3 of the total territory. However, the vastness of the sea area and the abundance of fish resources in the sea do not make the fishing community, as the social unit that lives, grows, and develops in the coastal area (Hafsari and

Fuad 2017), to become prosperous, and in fact their condition is still appalling (Retnowati 2011).

Poverty conditions experienced by fishing communities have contributed as much as 25% to national poverty (Anwar and Wahyuni 2019). The low level of education of fisherfolk (85% only graduating from elementary school or even illiterate) is also one of the factors that affect the low economic welfare of fisherfolk (Yulianto and Munandar 2016). Appreciation for one type of work carried out by the fishing community, namely fishing labor, is also still low, with a real daily wage of IDR30,499 per day, lower than the real wage of construction workers, which reached IDR48,301 per day (Fauzi 2018).

Poverty is an identity that is always attached to traditional fishing communities whose income is uncertain due to depending on natural weather (Amiruddin 2014). The simple fishing technology makes them only able to go to sea in coastal waters (in-shore) and do it once a day (one day a fishing trip). They are also often faced with the risk of work accidents due to unsafe actions and conditions (Latif, Yulianti, and Rusdiasyah 2020). Some examples of traditional fisherfolk are jukung/sampan fisherfolk, fishing rod fisherfolk, shrimp fisherfolk, and anchovy fisherfolk (Suhartini 2005:31).

In Mataram City, the center for activities and residences for traditional fishing communities is found along the coastal areas of the Ampenan and Sekarbela sub-districts, which are geographically on the west coast of Lombok, with a total of 1,115 people (Marini 2014). The fishing community in Mataram City mostly comes from outside Mataram City, such as East Lombok and Central Lombok Regencies. Every year, the area where the fishing community lives is subject to tidal flooding.

The results of Marini and Artika's research (2016) reveal that fisherfolk in Mataram City are the fishing communities with the highest poverty rates in the West Nusa Tenggara region. To support their household income, the wives of fisherfolk are actively involved in work with contributions ranging from 2.25% to 45.45% with an average of 15.09% of the household income of fisherfolk in Mataram City.

The high cost of production and fishing equipment forces some traditional fisherfolk in Mataram City to build relationships with equipment owners, such as owners of boats, diesel engines, and nets, with a nyakap system (cooperation partners) with the principle of profit sharing (Citrawati 2010). The results of Marini's research (2014) showed

that 66.1% of the income of fisherfolk in Ampenan and Sekarbela sub-districts is included in the low category with the total income of each fisher every year in the range of IDR14,100,000-IDR31,283,999. This amount of income is far from adequate for the daily necessities of life for fisherfolk's households (purchase of rice, side dishes, cooking fuel, and water for cleaning/ablution) which reaches around IDR75,000 (Winengan, Imran, and Murdianto 2012).

Another research from Mernawati (2020) revealed that although the fishery potential of the West Nusa Tenggara Province is significant, it is not directly proportional to the welfare of its fisherfolk. Referring to the poverty criteria of the Central Statistics Agency and the World Bank, 26.09% of the fishing community fall into the poor category. Meanwhile, the results of Amini and Salkiah's research (2018) revealed that the poverty that afflicts the traditional fishing community of Mataram City is due to limited capital and the traditional fishing equipment technology. This condition is exacerbated by changes in weather, especially when the weather is bad, which causes them to be unable to go to sea so that their income is highly volatile and often cannot meet their daily household needs (Sabri, fisher, interview result 6 June 2019).

Even though they have always struggled with daily family economic difficulties, the traditional fishing community in Mataram City still survives, some even having personal goods such as motorized vehicles and electronic equipment. Even some worship facilities, as with the people of Lombok in general (Firmansyah, Adha, and Masrun 2019), such as the mosque building, looks majestic, the construction of which was funded by the local traditional fishing community, while on the other hand, the fisherfolk's houses are in poor condition (author observation, 6 June 2019).

The reality of the economic life of the traditional fishing community in Mataram City explains that in terms of social status, the existence of traditional fisherfolk is still included in the poor segment of society. Uncertainty in income due to depending on weather conditions and difficulties in earning income related to fish seasons in the end result in their living in an endless state of shortage. Facing times of economic difficulties related to the needs of daily life, traditional fisherfolk will take all means to survive, one of which is by building social networks (Latuperrisa 2014).

For traditional fishing communities, to survive in the face of the difficulties of daily living costs, building a social network is one of the adaptation strategies to facilitate access to economic resources that are increasingly scarce, but still available in their environment (Kusnadi 2000:16). The ability of the traditional fishing community to survive with fluctuations or uncertainty in their income is the background of this paper in order to understand the structure and implications of the formation of social networks on the poverty conditions faced by traditional fishing communities in the city of Mataram. This reasoning was also initiated from several previous studies that did not discuss the social networks created and maintained by the fishing community in Mataram City. This paper argues that the formation of social networks is the fisherfolk's strategy to utilize social relations to survive in the face of income uncertainty as traditional fisherfolk living in Mataram City.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article was compiled based on qualitative research at the location of residence of traditional fishing communities in Mataram City from March to June 2019. Collection of data from resource persons used in-depth interviews with informants including the head of the neighborhood, chairperson and secretary of the local fisherfolk's union, 6 partners of cooperation with fisherfolk, and 10 fisherfolk. The selection of these informants were based on their involvement in the formation of a social network based on information from the key informant, namely the head of the neighborhood, considering that the researcher did not have initial data about the parties involved in the social network formed in the life of the traditional fishing community in Mataram City. Observation activities were also carried out at locations that were targeted for data collection including local fishing stalls, fish sales locations, fisherfolk's cooperatives, and the secretariat of fisherfolk's associations with the data target being to find out which family units act in the formation of social networks, the social relations between one connection with others, as well as the interest in social network connections built by the fishing community.

THE EXISTENCE AND FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORK CREATION

The existence of social networks has been used for various purposes (Mustafa and Hamzah 2010). Social network is an approach that seeks to understand the form and function of social relationships in a complex society (Haryono 2016). Social networks are a special type of network, in which the bond that connects one party to another in the network is a social relationship, both on behalf of individuals and organizations (Agusyanto 2007:13). Social network is a pattern of connections in the social relations of individuals, groups, and various other forms of association. This connection pattern can take the form of interpersonal, economic, political, and other social relationships (Laily 2020:161).

According to James S. Coleman (Damsar 2009:203), social network is a form of social capital in addition to trust and norms that can be formed from interpersonal relationships, between individuals and institutions, as well as inter-institutional networks, which can be formal and informal. Social networks in social capital focus more on aspects of the ties between nodes which can take the form of people or groups (organizations). The form of social networks is divided into two, namely single and varied networks. A single network is a network that is formed and maintained between an individual or group with other individuals and groups, while the variative network is a social network formed by involving several people or groups (Hajar, Ah, and Wahab 2019).

The existence of social networks is part of the social capital theory, which contains relationships, norms, and a shared set of values that enable network members to achieve common goals in their social network. The existence of a social network is a group of people who establish social relations with one another, either directly or indirectly to achieve the expected goals (Kuswanti and Margunani 2020). According to Barnes, on the scale of social relations that can be entered by individuals, the existence of social networks formed by society is classified as the total social network, namely the entire network owned by individuals and covers various contexts or areas of community life, and partial social network, namely social networks owned by individuals that are limited to certain areas of life, such as religious networks, kinship networks, and business networks (Kusnadi 2000:16).

According to Mitchell (1969:1), the formation of social networks can affect the characteristics of social relationships that can be used as

a tool to interpret the social behavior motives of the people involved in them. Individual embeddedness in social relationships is a reflection of themselves as social beings. In social life, these social relationships are carried out by individuals as an effort to maintain their existence. The relationship between these individuals will form a social network which at the same time reflects the occurrence of social groupings in people's lives. However, a social relationship can be called a social network if it has a clear regularity structure in its status and role, which has implications for the pattern of fulfilling the rights and obligations of the actors in an interaction system that is manifested from a series of relatively stable social relationships within a certain period of time (Amiruddin 2014).

Based on a review of social relationships that make up social networks in a society, social networks can be divided into three types (Kusnadi 2000:16), namely:

1. Power network, namely a social network formed based on power relations between parties who are members of the network. This type of social network arises when the achievement of the goals that have been targeted requires collective action, and the configuration of interconnectedness between actors is usually made permanent.
2. Interest networks, namely social networks that are formed because of an interest to be achieved through the network. Interest networks are formed on the basis of meaningful social relationships with certain or specific goals to be achieved by the actors.
3. Feeling network, which is a social network formed on the basis of social relationships that are emotional in nature, sympathy and empathy, such as friendship, kinship, romance, kinship, and the like.

When viewed from the socio-economic status of individuals who make up social networks, there are two types of social relationships, namely vertical and horizontal. The vertical social relationship is shown by individuals involved in social networks who have disproportionate socio-economic status and unequal types of resources exchanged, which in turn tends to form a patron-client relationship. This relationship is built from a special case of a relationship between two people which mostly involves instrumental friendship, where a person with a higher social position (patron) uses their influence and resources to provide protection or benefit, or both, to a person whose position is lower

(client). In turn, the client reciprocates the gift by providing general support and assistance including personal services to the patron (Wolfe 1978).

The horizontal social relationship is shown by individuals who are involved in social networks who have commensurate socio-economic status so that they tend to form relationships that are based on solidarity and feeling. This feeling is built on social sensitivity so that it has no motive other than wanting to help ease the economic burden of the individuals involved in the social network. The social structure that emerges from this type of network is temporary and constantly changing. However, if the purpose of establishing a social network is not specific, the network structure will be relatively stable (Hafsari and Fuad 2017).

As a complex set of ties that connect one person to another, a social network has a system consisting of three important elements. First, a social network must have boundaries. The establishment of a social network must have clear criteria, conditions, and boundaries for the relationship between the actors involved in the network. Second, social networks must have relationships. Each party must have relationships with other parties involved in the network, especially with those who have certain skills needed in the network so that they have the potential to carry out training in network ties. Third, social networks must have a social unit. In the context of practical application, the formation of social networks must have social units, both individual and broader social groups (Rauf et al. 2019).

THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE FISHERFOLK COMMUNITY IN MATARAM CITY

The living conditions of fisherfolk who are vulnerable to economic problems are a phenomenon experienced by all traditional fisherfolk. This condition is exacerbated by the uncertainty of income due to depending on natural weather. As a result, the problem of poverty is a close companion of the traditional fishing community, which according to Law No. 7 of 2016 are those who catch fish in waters that are part of traditional fisheries rights that have been used for generations in accordance with local culture and wisdom (Chandriyanti and Fahrati 2020).

The poverty that always plagues them is described as a vicious circle that is very difficult to overcome. With income that always depends on natural conditions, it is difficult for traditional fishing communities to change their lives for the better (Hamdani and Wulandari 2013). Various causes of fisherfolk's poverty include limited access to capital, lack of support from the banking sector because of risk considerations, small budget allocations for empowerment, and policies that are not pro-poor to change the fate of fisherfolk. In fact, politically, the existence of fisherfolk is still often used as an object of mass mobilization for political purposes (Anwar and Wahyuni 2019).

Unfriendly weather conditions are a problem that continues to haunt the lives of traditional fisherfolk, including the life of the traditional fishing community in Mataram City, namely fishing activities as the main livelihood to finance their household economic needs. In a conducive sea situation, this activity is carried out every day. The process of catching fish is done manually, namely by throwing nets into the sea. Their schedule for going down to the sea is divided into two shifts. Some of them start going out to sea around midnight and going home around 7 in the morning. This schedule applies from the 11th to the 25th of the lunar month. Others go out in the afternoon and return home at around 9 pm. This schedule applies from the 25th to the 14th of the lunar month.

The fisherfolk's scheduling of fishing times is intended to avoid the moonlit nights because usually the fish don't dare to come out to the surface, so that it is difficult to catch them with nets.

“Catching fish in the sea has become our habit here to earn a living for our children and wife. Our capital is only canoes and nets. Friends here go to sea, some leave at 12 at night and then return at around 7 in the morning. There are also those who leave in the afternoon and return around 9 pm when the moon is bright because usually when the moon is bright the fish don't want to come out, so we avoid going out on these dates instead of just wasting money. (Ismaun, fisherman, interview result, 6 June 2019)

According to the traditional fisherfolk of Mataram City (Chair of Fisherfolk Group, Interview, 6 June 2019), the months of fish harvesting season range from November to April each year, or when the rainy season is in progress. Meanwhile, during the dry season, the level of

income begins to decrease, as the receding sea water causes fish to be reluctant to go out looking for food at the surface of the sea. This situation occurs between May and October every year. The areas where fishing activities are done by traditional fisherfolk in the City of Mataram include: Lombok Strait to the Bali Strait, in the north reaching to the Kalimantan Strait, and in the south around the Bangko-Bangko Sekotong waters. Based on the area of fishing activities, the traditional fishing community of Mataram City is categorized as coastal fishers because the fishing areas are coastal rather than open seas (author, observation, 6 June 2019).

For the nightly operational costs, especially for the purchase of fuel for the outboard engine, the cost is around IDR100,000-IDR150,000. On a nightly trip they are at sea for an average of 7 hours, consuming an average of 25-30 liters of fuel.

“About the cost, our greatest expense is for gasoline for the outboard motor. Usually once we go down we spend between 25-30 liters, because the boat’s engine must be running while at sea. Now it’s just a matter of calculating, if gasoline costs IDR 6,500 per liter, approximately how much will we spend, just multiply it. Anyway, not less than IDR 100,000-150,000 per boat for each trip. There are other costs, yes, for making nets, but not every night.” (Amaq Idris, fisherman, interview, 6 June 2019)

According to the head of the Ampenan neighborhood (interview, May 26, 2019), for the traditional fishing community of Mataram City, going fishing is the only life skill they have, so that although this profession is vulnerable regarding the certainty of meeting the costs of daily living needs, there is no other choice and they must be prepared to take the risk. Although many training activities have been held to increase life skills, these remain unable to supersede the profession as a fisher. This fact strengthens the Push Factor Theory, that the fishing profession is the ultimate choice of coastal communities because they do not have job opportunities on land. This fishing profession is also a given so that it becomes a way of life that is passed down from generation to generation (Harini 2012). This profession as a fisher is also a last resort, due to the low level of education of the traditional Indonesian fishing community, of whom 85% only completed elementary school (Yulianto and Munandar 2016).

Experience so far has shown that it is not easy to overcome the structural poverty that shackles traditional fisherfolk in various aspects of life. Besides being influenced by a number of weaknesses from internal factors, such as limited education (Pratama et al. 2012), lack of opportunities to access and master more modern technology, and not having sufficient capital; external factors also come into play, such as the increasingly limited marine resources that can be utilized by fisherfolk, market mechanism, increasingly intensive competition, and the very low bargaining position of fisherfolk vis-a-vis the middlemen due to being tied to a client-patron system (Widodo, Johanes, and Suadi 2008).

The description of the economic life of traditional fishing communities in Mataram City above also confirms that traditional fisherfolk are a typology of fisherfolk who utilize fishery resources with traditional fishing equipment, small business capital, and relatively low organization. In everyday life, traditional fisherfolk are more oriented towards fulfilling their own needs (subsistence), in the sense that the allocation of catches sold is used to meet daily basic needs, especially food rather than reinvested for business scale development.

The economic life of traditional fisherfolk is ultimately vulnerable to poverty because of the weather dependent characteristics of their livelihoods, so that there is no certainty, and their income is only able to meet the needs of daily life (Yulianto and Munandar 2016). To deal with fluctuating income conditions, the method used so far by traditional fishing community households in Mataram City is to take advantage of social relations that have been built and maintained to ask for help in the form of loans or debts (Chairperson of the Ampenan Fisherfolk Association, interview, 26 April, 2019).

THE SOCIAL NETWORKS THAT ARE USED FOR ASSISTANCE INCLUDE:

The first is relatives, namely children, sons/daughters-in-law, parents-in-law, or cousins. Traditional fisherfolk usually contact and look for the whereabouts of these relatives to ask for help in the form of money loans. The loan is given without any conditions. Returns are also made in cash without interest. The family members who frequently perform this task is the mother, occasionally assisted by the child. However, sometimes relatives provide assistance free of charge, especially children, sons/daughters-in-law, and parents-in-law just to pay for food for one to

three days if they cannot go to sea due to bad weather. This statement from the Chairperson of the Fisherfolk Association was also confirmed by one of the fishers who said the following:

“Usually if I can’t go to sea and don’t have money to buy rice, I come or call a child who is already married. If I can’t get assistance from my children, I usually contact my cousin because we don’t have parents anymore. I usually borrow money and repay it when I have money, with no interest” (Amaq Mansur, Interview, 2 May 2021).

Second, neighbors, namely other traditional fishing households who live near their homes in the same village. When fisherfolk have necessities of life but don’t have the money to buy them, they usually go to their neighbors next to their house. This is usually contacted if the traditional fisherfolk do not have relatives, or if there are any, their economic conditions are similar, namely having difficulties in financing their daily household needs. To seek loans from close neighbors who live in the same village, it is usually done by mothers/wives. However, because the economic conditions of the neighbors near the house are also relatively similar, they do not expect to find help in the form of money, but in the form of goods for daily needs, such as food, toiletries, and washing necessities. The informant also said the same thing to the author:

“I usually don’t have money to buy washing or bathing needs, I usually borrow from the stalls in front of my house. This is common here and they understand our condition here. Because if you borrow money from your family, they live far away and they don’t necessarily have the money. But going into debt is only done for daily needs” (Zaenab, Interview, 10 June 2019).

Third, friends from the same place of origin and profession. If relatives and neighbors from one village cannot help, then those who are contacted and sought to ask for help are friends from the same place of origin and profession who live in another village. The amount of loans given is only adequate to buy the daily necessities of life for the family when they cannot go to sea. The loan period is approximately three days, without any additional interest upon repayment. Looking for a loan from a friend is usually done by the father/husband. The following informant also stated the same thing:

“I usually look for loans from my friends in other villages who happen to be fisherfolk too. Sometimes it’s not good to see your wife or children borrow from neighbors because neighbors also need capital. It’s also difficult to borrow from my family because they, like me, don’t have any money. I usually call by phone to say what I intend, if he has the money, I go to his house or sometimes he comes to mine to keep in touch” (Supar, Interview, 16 May 2019).

Fourth, work partners. If the friends of the same profession cannot be depended upon, the last goal contacted by the traditional fisherfolk are the owners of fishing equipment they carry, *penendak* (middlemen) to whom they usually sell their catch, or savings and credit cooperatives. This is generally done by the husbands. However, as a consequence, the fisherfolk are not free to determine the price or sell the fish they catch to other buyers. If this method has problems, where the fisherfolk are not trusted or feel too dependent, the last alternative is to borrow from the savings and loan cooperatives in the vicinity of their homes, which is done individually, but in the process is facilitated by the head of the fisherfolk group who is trusted and is considered to understand about the administrative requirements of obtaining a loan. The same thing was said by another informant to the author:

“Yes..usually I seek loans from the buyer of our catch. But also to the cooperative where we borrow, because if we go to our relatives, neighbors, and fellow fisherfolk, the conditions are the same, it’s impossible for them to give because they are also in need. Finally, even though it is difficult, we must do what is required to fulfill our household needs.” (Udin, fisherman, interview result, 21 May 2019).

Based on the explanation above, the process of forming social networks in the dynamics of the economic life of traditional fishing communities begins with identifying the problems and daily economic needs of their households that are not possible to fulfill when they have no income due to not going to sea. This is followed by identifying and determining the social relations that will be used as targets for establishing social network connections and the priority, namely social relations based on relatives, neighbors, friends, and finally work partners. The process of forming a social network for traditional fishing communities in Mataram confirms that individual social relations are the capital of connections in building social networks (Laily 2020:161).

The dynamics of the economic life of the traditional fishing community in Mataram City above also explains that poverty conditions often initiate the formation of social networks as an adaptation strategy for survival, especially to meet the day-to-day economic needs of the family. The existence of this social network has become an adaptation strategy for traditional fisherfolk in facing family economic difficulties (Kusnadi 2000:16) even though this concept is usually used in the field of communication (Pripradono, Manongga, and Utomo 2012).

The formation of social networks is the only reliable way to maintain the survival of fisherfolk households in the face of uncertainty in the income of traditional fisherfolk. The ability of traditional fisherfolk to select from a range of social potential makes them create and maintain social networks, both those with equal and different socioeconomic status. The type of individual or target group that is the goal for the formation of the social network of the poor is usually those who have kinship, neighbourhood, friendship, common origins with the main orientation to overcome the problems of the pressures of their economic life (Saifuddin 1991:5).

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL NETWORK STRUCTURE OF THE TRADITIONAL FISHERFOLK COMMUNITY IN MATARAM CITY

Alleviating community poverty is not an easy problem, especially considering some of the characteristics that are always found among the poor who belong to the traditional fishing community. Poverty that plagues the household life of traditional fisherfolk is caused by highly complex factors, ranging from low levels of education, the role of economic institutions, lack of life skills, limited capital, to low mastery of technology (Hamdani and Wulandari 2013).

Examining the problem of fisherfolk's poverty is best imagined as peeling an onion. Layer upon layer must be peeled off before finding the root cause of poverty itself. The fishing community, especially marginal fisherfolk, faces what is called the highliner illusion (the illusion of becoming a successful fisherman). Highliners are fisherfolk or groups of fisherfolk who have the advantage of skills and capital so they tend to earn higher incomes than fisherfolk in general. By aspiring at the group, it often creates an illusion to the average fisher that one day they too will become rich like the highliner. This illusion also creates a sticky

labor force in which excess labor in the fisheries sector is difficult to reduce. In the end, it is difficult for them to get out of the poverty trap (Fauzi 2005:22).

Faced with a perpetual condition of poverty, one of the strategies 'played' by traditional fishing communities to survive despite their limited income is to form a social network, which can take the form of vertical, horizontal, or diagonal structure. Noting the target in seeking assistance or loan money to meet the daily economic needs of the traditional fishing community in Mataram City, the structure and content that underlies the formation of social networks can be divided into two forms.

First, vertical relationship, namely the relationship between two parties that takes place unequally because one party has a stronger dominance than the other party, thus opening up space for the formation of a patron-client relationship. These include banks or savings and loans cooperatives, bosses/capital owners who are part of the social network for the traditional fisherfolk of Ampenan, Mataram City. This vertical typological network tends to be filled with interests, where clients (traditional fisherfolk) have an interest in getting loans/capital, while patrons (banks, cooperatives, bosses) have an interest in developing their assets.

Second, horizontal relationship, namely the relationship between two parties in which each party places themselves on an equal footing to each other, such as borrowing relationships carried out by the traditional fisherfolk of Ampenan with their friends, neighbors and relatives. They are full of solidarity and humanity giving each other loans in the form of money capital to their fellow fisherfolk, both for the needs of daily life and for work expenses such as nets, diesel engines that propel boats, boats, and oil fuel. This horizontal social relationship occurs if the individuals involved in it have a relatively similar socio-economic status. This horizontal social relationship will manifest itself in the form of mutual assistance as a form of solidarity with fellow fisherfolk. In terms of social relations, this similarity of social status will eventually create a social network with the principle of intimacy (Hajar et al. 2019).

The existence of social networks that have been built and maintained by the traditional fishing communities of Mataram City can help them to survive without having to depend on assistance from government programs or from outside the community.

“Yes.. even though we sometimes don’t have any income on certain days because we don’t go to sea due to the weather, none of us go hungry. Usually we go to look for a loan first to the closest family, who knows if he has some money saved. If they don’t have it, we are forced to borrow food from a neighbor near the house who happens to be selling it. But if there are no daily necessities that are sold by neighbors and we have to buy elsewhere, we are forced to go into debt from the cooperative which we are customers of, this is the last resort that we do.” (Amir, fisher, interview result, 6 June 2019)

The fisherfolk admit that the effort to overcome the economic difficulties of their household by borrowing from their relatives, neighbors and partners is only a temporary solution because they only borrow as much as needed as long as they do not go to sea. Likewise, the lender will only provide loans according to the income ability of the fisherfolk concerned. This means that social networks in traditional fishing communities will continue to be maintained as long as they rely on the profession as fisherfolk as their main livelihood.

“Usually we just borrow just to meet our needs according to the estimated number of days we can’t go to sea. We also understand that relatives and neighbors or cooperatives are unlikely to be willing to give us loans beyond our income capacity, because they also know how much we earn as fisherfolk. But we are grateful that there are those who are willing to provide loans just to meet our needs for food and drink of our children and wife at home.” (Masri, fisherman, interview result, 6 June 2019)

According to the head of the neighborhood where the traditional fishing community lives (interview, May 26, 2019),

“Efforts to pull the fishing community out of the economic problems that they always encounter in their life have been carried out by various parties, both government and private, through empowerment programs, such as life skill training to process the caught fish. However, these efforts have not been able to become an alternative to earn additional income.”

This statement is also reinforced by the activities of fisherfolk when they do not go to sea; they just sit together while repairing their fishing equipment (author observation, 26 May 2019).

The implications of the formation of social networks, both those containing interests and related feelings that allow economic survival among the traditional fishing communities in Mataram City, despite the uncertainty of their income and their temporary nature, can be seen from two approaches. First, an analytical or abstract approach that emphasizes: (a) informal patterns in organizations, where this area has a framework of informal relationships as the center of political life of organizations that are built on the basis of a complex mixture of authority, friendship and loyalty; (b) how the environment within the organization is constructed. Attention in this context is more focused on the normative and cultural aspects of the environment such as belief systems, professional rights, and sources of legitimacy that bridge the organization with its members; (c) analysis of power and autonomy, consisting of social structure as a pattern of relationships of related social units (individuals as actors who work together and cooperate) who can account for the behavior of those involved (Pripradono et al. 2012).

Second, the prescriptive approach, which views social networks as logical arrangements or as a way of moving relationships among economic actors. In this case, social networks are seen as the glue that holds individuals together into a solid system. This approach is more pragmatic in nature, namely to seek economic benefits and is related to an interdisciplinary approach because this pragmatic approach is more likely to observe different motives in economic life, such as analysis of social networks in the labor market, business ethics, and the organization of business groups (Agusyanto 2007:13).

Taking note of the interests, the implication of the formation of a social network in the traditional fishing community in Mataram City, of course, not only benefits the fisherfolk themselves in order to maintain their lives from the problems of the economic pressure of daily life needs, but also benefits their partners in running their business, namely raising business capital. Meanwhile, the presence of social networks built by traditional fishing communities is able to form closer bonds of togetherness, both between family, friends or friends, as well as their work partners, even though they are patron-client in nature and there are interests (Latuperrisa 2014).

The implications of forming social networks shown by traditional fishing communities in Mataram City emphasize that social networks have an important role in various people's lives (Rauf et al. 2019). Although the social network that is maintained is singular because it is formed between one individual and another individual or group, the traditional fishing community living in Mataram City already has social capital in the form of a set of social solidarity values that can be used as an alternative to solving social problems faced by their community, moreover they have the same feelings and goals, namely helping each other as a form of ties and social relations based on family ties, friendship, and cooperation partners (Kuswanti and Margunani 2020).

The utilization of the social relations that they have unfortunately is only able to solve the problems of their daily needs in the short term or just to survive when they do not go to sea because of bad weather or because of their fish catch is small due to the off-season. This means that the poverty faced by traditional fishing communities in Mataram City will never end if they only rely on social network strategies without the intervention of government policies that are more strategic and effective by considering the potential of human resources and natural resources owned by the traditional fishing communities and based on settlements. at the root of the problem of poverty (Winengan 2020:46). Moreover, social networks that are built tend to be horizontal based on feelings by utilizing family or kinship social relations (Hafsari and Fuad 2017).

The dynamics of the socio-economic life of traditional fishing communities, which continue to be acquaintances with poverty, refer to Mubyarto's view (Winengan et al. 2012) because social vulnerability still occurs due to three factors: First, vulnerability caused by natural and ecological conditions that are not matched by the community's expertise to adapt to natural and environmental conditions; Second, vulnerability caused by the operation of the price system, which makes the prices of the necessities of life so expensive so that people's income cannot reach them, and in the end the community cannot participate in economic activities; Third, monocultural vulnerability caused by the behavior of the people themselves who do not have their own desire to make changes to their life order to become more prosperous so they are powerless to develop. The implication of the social network formed by the traditional fishing community in Mataram City in overcoming the economic crush shows that at a macro level, the social network built by

the poor can be a solution to ease the burden of the economic life of the poor households even though it is only a temporary solution, but it is maintained, especially again formed based on feelings (Agusyanto 2007).

Sociologically, traditional fishing communities living in Mataram City use their social networks as long as their daily needs can be fulfilled. However, for the sake of economic development, a social network system that is oriented towards long-term economic empowerment of traditional fishing communities in Mataram City must continue to be built and maintained in the way that has been done so far, such as improving the skills of the fishing community in maximizing fishery resources through life skill training for women fishers (Marini and Atrika 2016), strengthening the capacity of fisherfolk's institutions through the provision of capital (Wilandari, Sinaga, and Nuraini 2020), and training on the management of fisherfolk's cooperatives facilitated by the government (Amini and Salkiah 2018). This shows that the formation of social networks is not only reliant on individual connection patterns, but also on groups and organizations with a total social network system so that it is not only limited to social relations, but also interpersonal, economic, political, legal, and other social relationships (Laily 2020:161).

Building and maintaining social networks do not only rely only on the connection of social relations, but also politics, the economy, and prioritizing well-practiced social capital which is based on the factors of trust, existence of networks, and ease of cooperation. Thus, the presence of the social network becomes a solution for solving the economic problems of the traditional fishing community as part of the poor community with complex social networks (Agusyanto 2011).

CONCLUSION

In the dynamics of social life, the existence of social networks has been utilized by various segments of society for various interests and purposes with connection patterns that are not only based on individuals, but groups, and organizations. In the life of traditional fishing communities, which are always embedded to family economic difficulties, they can initiate the formation of social networks as an adaptation strategy to survive behind the limitations and uncertainties of income from work as a fisherman. The existence of social networks

becomes a pattern of connection in the socio-economic relations of individual fishing communities with other people or groups. The process of forming a social network begins with identifying the routine dynamics of household socio-economic issues, identifying connections based on the closest social relations, namely family, neighbors, and cooperative partners so that the social network structure formed and maintained by traditional fishing communities is vertical and horizontal.

The construction of the traditional fishing community social network is relatively permanent because the connection element is individual, starting from a personal desire rather than organized by a fishing group or organization, and the specific purpose of its formation is to seek loans of money in order to finance the daily needs of the family when they have no income because they cannot run their daily activities as fisherfolk. Even though it provides a short-term solution to economic difficulties, the existence of social networks built by traditional fishing communities is able to become a survival strategy and a form of social solidarity.

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