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Kinship and debt; The social organization of Bugis migration and fish marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi

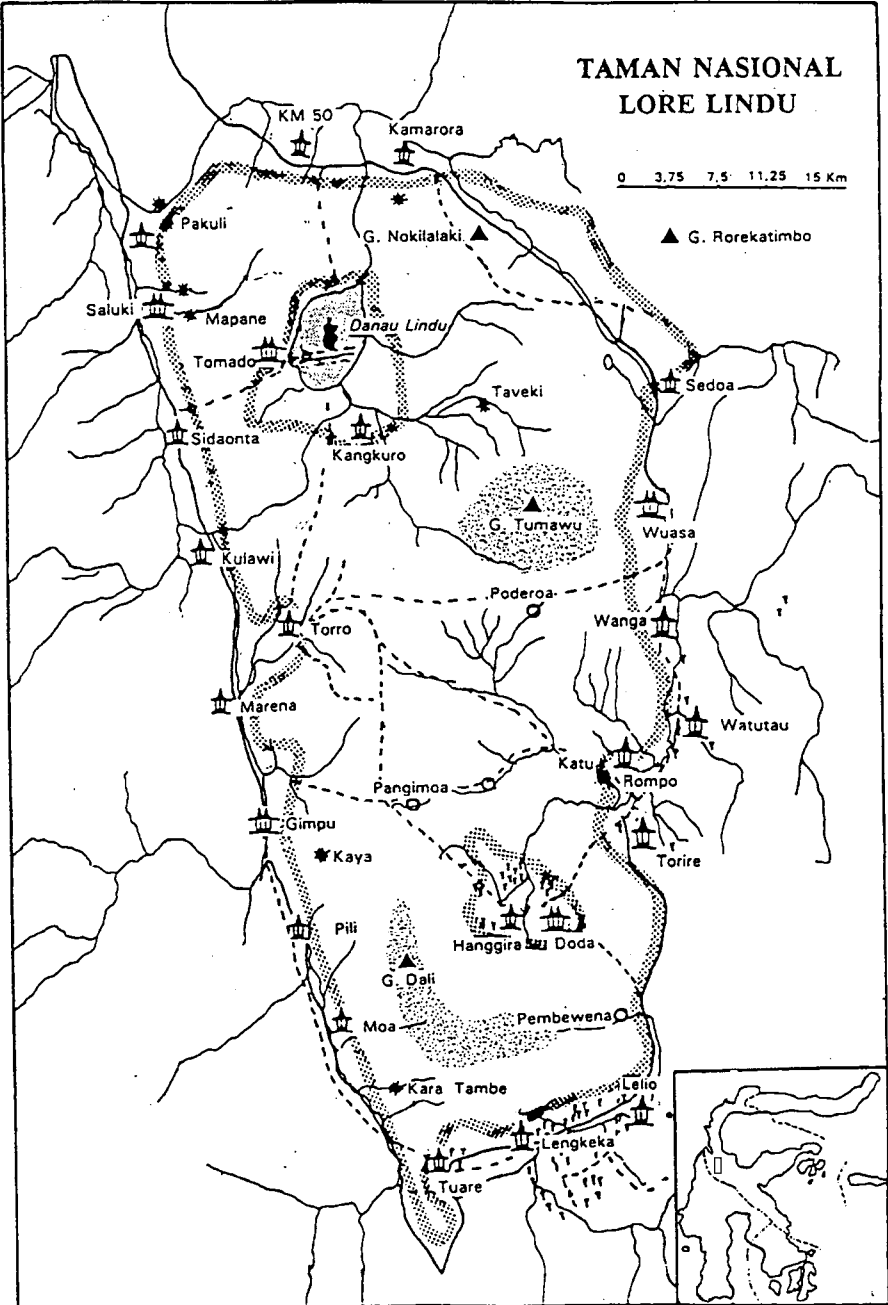
In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Authority and enterprise among the peoples of South Sulawesi 156 (2000), no: 3, Leiden, 588-617

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TAMAN NASIONAL LORE LINDU

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GREG ACCIAIOLI

Kinship and debt

The social organization of Bugis migration and fish marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi

Introduction

Curiously, the Dutch administrator and anthropologist Hendrik Th. Chabot begins an article entitled 'Rice in South Celebes' with a notice of fisheries development in the region:

Around 1937 an official of the Inland Fisheries Service visited Lake Tempe, situated 250 km to the northeast of Makassar. He looked a bit at the water and he looked a bit at the sky and took the decision to set fish into the lake. At that time Lake Tempe only provided fish for the surrounding stretches of land; it was only enough for local consumption. At present [1949] about 20 million guilders worth of fish from Lake Tempe are dealt with [...]. The fish harvest increases the wealth of only these surrounding lands. (Chabot 1949:1.)

Fisheries development was thus one of the major concerns of Dutch administrators in colonial South Sulawesi. It has remained one of the priorities of development administrators in Sulawesi under the auspices of the Republic of Indonesia. Cultivable fishes were introduced into the various lakes of Sulawesi under both the colonial regime and the independent Indonesian government (Whitten et al. 1987:325). One of these lakes is Lake Lindu, located in the highlands of Kulawi to the southeast of Palu, the capital city of the province of Central Sulawesi (Sulawesi Tengah).

From the report of the visit of the very first Westerners, the Dutch Reformed missionaries N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt (Adriani 1898; Adriani and Kruyt 1898; Kruyt 1938, n.d.), Lake Lindu has been famed for the abundance of its fish. The entry 'Lindoe-meer' in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (*Encyclopaedie* 1917-39, II:583-4) noted that 'Lake Lindu is very rich in fish'. Indeed, when Adriani and Kruyt first viewed the lake on 7 October 1897 from the village of Langko near the southwestern shore, they saw all around the lake's southwestern shore fishtraps that had

been set by the indigenous Lindu people. But the Lindu people used the fish they caught almost entirely for local consumption. They would carry loads of smoked fish down from the plain to the Palu Valley whenever some other reason took them to Palu or Sigi. In fact, Adriani's and Kruyt's first encounter with the Lindu people was their meeting during their ascent to the lake with a group of Lindu men, who were resting in the temple (*lobo*) at Tua from carrying smoked fish down from the lake (Kruyt n.d.:82).

Due to the discovery in the 1930s of infestations of the snails that harbour the blood flukes causing schistosomiasis or bilharzia throughout the Lindu plain, the Dutch colonial administration maintained a policy of isolating the region after its initial attempts in the 1910s and 1920s to improve trails and lay out irrigation works for wet-rice cultivation (Acciaioli 1989:84-5). Soon after the end of the revolutionary struggle and the recognition of Indonesian independence, officials of the Fisheries Department decided that one mode of developing the neglected highland areas of western Central Sulawesi would be through the introduction of freshwater varieties of fish such as tilapia (*Oreochromis mossambicus*, Ind. *mujair*)¹ into Lake Lindu. Not only could the incomes of the local Lindu people be increased by fostering their entry into large-scale marketing of fish as a commodity, but the fish which they could carry out of the plain in fresh, smoked and salted forms would serve as a major food source for other highland peoples in the district of Kulawi and beyond whose diet was notably deficient in protein.

However, simply dumping fish into a lake without supplying the indigenous Lindu people with the appropriate technology and extension services for harvesting, processing, and then transporting these fish was insufficient; the Lindu people themselves, having become predominantly wet-rice farmers under Dutch colonial tutelage, failed to make use of these new resources. In the half century since Adriani and Kruyt's initial visit, the Lindu people had advanced little in their fishing technology from the state described by the same article that had noted the abundance of fish in the lake:

f 60,000 of smoked fish are exported to the Kulawi plain each year. Despite this, the Toradjas² do not know of the use of fishnets; seated in a canoe, they harpoon fish with an iron, barbed spear with five points, which is placed at the end of a long bamboo pole. The inhabitants of this landscape are by no means canoe makers; their vessels are dugout canoes, which have more the form of a rice mortar than of a slender, pointed canoe. (*Encyclopaedie* 1917-39, II:583.)

¹ Ironically, introduction of such fish as tilapia has led to the near extinction of indigenous fish species and fresh-water mussels (Whitten et al. 1987:51-2, 293).

² In keeping with the ethnic classifications of the time, the Lindu people were considered as one of the groups comprising the West Toradjas of Central Sulawesi (Kruyt 1938). Contemporary usage would now class them as a subcategory of the Kaili ethnic group.

Instead, these resources were to remain unexploited until the advent of people from outside, a people familiar with the material and social technology necessary to take advantage of piscatory resources. Just as Kruyt and Adriani had first been led up to Lake Lindu by a Bugis trader (Acciaioli 1989: 79), so too the first entrepreneurs to exploit these resources were of Bugis origin, some already settled locally in the Palu Valley and western coasts of Central Sulawesi, others, ironically enough, traveling from near the shores of Lake Tépé and the adjoining Lake Sidénréng which had been subjected to the same deposition of cultivable fishes by the Dutch in the 1930s, as Chabot had remarked. But these Bugis did not arrive en masse and the system they set up for marketing the fish from Lake Lindu was not homogeneous. The fish marketing system established by Bugis entrepreneurs at Lake Lindu depended upon the way in which various cohorts of migrants were recruited and the relations these cohorts first established with the local people of the Lindu plain.

Social principles in migration among the Bugis

Understanding the advent of the Bugis at Lake Lindu and the nature of the hierarchical system they established to harvest and process the fish introduced into the lake requires considering not only the historical circumstances of their migration to the region, but also the basic principles of their social organisation that have channeled their migration throughout the archipelago for centuries. Such oppositions as social hierarchy and economic enterprise, pervasive rank and competitive mobility, traditionalism and opportunism have been continually invoked in the study of Bugis society. The tension inherent in the union of such contrastive values has been expressed by juxtaposing different types of relationships, analytically distinct though always blended in actual social and political organisation. The system of defined ranks has provided a framework of hierarchy defining the prerogatives and obligations of separate strata (Pelras 1971). Ties among members of different strata were often articulated in the idiom of patronage (Pelras, this volume). Patron-client ties assured those below that they would be provided with life's basic necessities (including access to land), while providing those above with a supply of followers necessary both as material labour utilized for economic endeavours and symbolic capital displayed on festive occasions.³ Regional

³ Bugis and Makassar society thus evinced a pattern of social relations typical for much of lowland southeast Asia, as evident in Scott and Kerkvliet's definition of the patron-client bond characteristic of the region: 'A patron-client link is an exchange relationship or instrumental friendship between two individuals of different status in which the patron uses his own influence and resources to provide for the protection and material welfare of his lower status client

development and the nation-state have recently facilitated the displacement of diffuse patron-client bonds, substituting the ties of employer and employee characteristic of modern capitalistic enterprises. Balanced against this erosion of personal, diffuse vertical linkages have been the persisting bonds of common kinship and local residence. Traditional rank, patron-client relations, economic enterprises, cognatic kinship, and shared territorial allegiance have all articulated to produce the structure of contemporary Bugis society. Such principles construct the social order not only in the heartland of South Sulawesi, but in the regional periphery or *rantau*, a social universe encompassing the entire Malay world (Lineton 1975a:i).⁴ Not only the structure of society in the *rantau*, but also the very movement to such peripheral locations as Lindu has exemplified the operation of these canons of relationship.

However, in various migrations these principles have been differentially invoked, producing strategies of different sorts. Whereas migration to East Kalimantan has been organized by licensed companies catering to paying customers (Vayda & Sahur 1985:100), the movement by Bugis from Wajo and Boné to Jambi and Indragiri on the east coast of Sumatra has been pioneered by lower nobles (*andiq*) and wealthy, respected commoners (*tau décéng*) acting as patrons for their followers (Lineton 1975b:193), with the later stages of 'peasant migration' largely accomplished through a classic pattern of chain migration emphasizing horizontal ties of kinship (Lineton 1975b:199).

Bugis migration to the Lindu plain in Central Sulawesi

Not all cases of Bugis migration exhibit such an orderly sequence of differentially organized migration stages. In many ways the Bugis movement to the Lindu plain in Central Sulawesi displays a less orderly, simultaneous invocation of differing bases of recruitment. Although the coasts, valleys and upland plains of Central Sulawesi have long constituted a frontier for Bugis expansion, the privations imposed by a prolonged state of warfare between guerillas battling for the creation of an Islamic state in eastern Indonesia and the largely Javanese national army from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s (Harvey 1974), an era labeled locally the *gerombolan* ('gangs'), transformed

and his family who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron' (Scott and Kerkvliet 1977:439). The conceptualisation of displayed followers as 'symbolic capital' derives from Bourdieu (1977), as does much of this paper's emphasis upon strategies rather than structures.

⁴ For example, see for example the case of the continued dominance of nobles in Malaysian Johore (Burridge 1956, 1957) or the operation of patron-client relations in Bugis communities on Sumatra's east coast (Lineton 1975a).

this continual dribble into a veritable stream.⁵ In the case of the Bugis settlement of Lindu, this period marked the very onset of occupation by refugees caught in the squeeze between these forces. The history of migration to Lindu exemplifies within a short compass of time many of the principles which have elsewhere organized Bugis migration. However, this movement to Lindu cannot be typified globally by any one model, only assuming a particular order when viewed in terms of four contingents independently moving into the area during overlapping periods of time.

Contingent I: the Donggala Sayyid and their local clients

Among those pressed by the exactions of the *gerombolan* era were the inhabitants of Tanamea, a community of mixed Arab and Bugis descent (many of its families having migrated from Wajoq in the Bugis heartland) located south of Donggala on the coast of the Strait of Makassar. In 1957 the head of one such family, Abdullah al Habzi I shall call him,⁶ decided the situation of perpetual skirmish and extortion was no longer bearable. First ferrying his family to Kulawi under the pretext of attending a funeral, within a week he conveyed his family to the shore of Lake Lindu. The Bugis movement to Lindu thus began as the transplantation of a single refugee extended family. Coresident as a single household at first, this nascent community began expanding by simple differentiation, as all of Abdullah's married children established separate households as nuclear families. These original settlers were augmented primarily not by further family members recruited in a process of chain migration, but by the gradual accretion of a number of individual wanderers residing in the various households of Abdullah's family after drifting to the Lindu plain from the lowland Kaili regions around Palu and Donggala.

Some of these individuals,⁷ especially those with no kin ties to Abdullah's

⁵ Vayda and Sahur (1985:94) note that Kahar Muzakkar's Islamic rebellion in South Sulawesi also sparked the intensification of Bugis migration to East Kalimantan. Lineton (1975b:197) has analysed its analogous role in exacerbating outmigration from Wajoq to East Sumatra, though also admitting the impelling force of such factors as drought and the lack of irrigation facilities.

⁶ All names used in this essay are pseudonyms.

⁷ Such individuals were labeled *tau lao sala* or *tau lao-lao*, meaning 'those who go about wrongly' or 'those who gad about (aimlessly)'. Considered the community's vagabonds and rogues, these young men or even adolescent youths were not only without a steady occupation, but also without a fixed home, instead attaching themselves to a different household every few months or even weeks. They would share a portion of the proceeds from their fishing with the head of the household in which they were currently residing in return for meals and some floor-space in which to sleep. Attaching such *tau lao sala* to their households was one of the primary means by which the burgeoning Arab community expanded its neighbourhood in the shore

family, remained perpetually in this interstitial position, punctuating their flitting between households while working as fish bearers, gill-net fishermen (*palanraq*), wet-rice farmers, or later horse-drivers at Lindu with moves back to the communities surrounding the Palu Bay. But others were able to attain a different pattern of mobility, as in the case of one Kaili man from the Palu Valley who rose through the ranks as fish-bearing coolie and client fisherman to marry the widow of one of Abdullah's sons and eventually establish an independent household.⁸

Such a career culminating in inmarriage was exceptional,⁹ as most members of this contingent, even distant kin who occasionally attained the status of independent fish contractors with their own client fishermen beneath them, eventually drifted back to their homes in the south or on the Donggala coast (as, indeed, did Abdullah's eldest son). The only person who remained as a permanent pillar of the community was one nephew who established a thriving kiosk (which, with some justification, he referred to as the only real store (*toko*) up at Lindu) with the capital accumulated from years trading in the Mandar region to the south. Successfully exploiting also his appointments as *imam* and collector of the fisheries tax, he attained a stable position unaffected by the economic vicissitudes impelling fishermen and farmers more directly dependent upon the products of lake and land to leave in times of duress. Yet, despite this sedentary nucleus, the movement of the first contingent never fully constituted a true settlement. Given the proximity of the previous homes of the core migrant families (in Tanamea and Donggala), such members established more a 'ranging' pattern of settlement, sometimes approximating a commuting arrangement.

community. See Acciaoli 1983,1989 for more detailed accounts of the role of *tau lao sala* in the Lindu community.

⁸ Lineton also noted the typical career of ambitious young Bugis who attached themselves to the households of uncles and other elder kin who had already migrated to Jambi and Inderagiri in eastern Sumatra. As one of her informants, a teacher no less, generalized: 'Bugis are taught - When you arrive in the rantau, seek out the man who holds power and make yourself his servant, so that he will not be on his guard against you. After a few years, if a Bugis is clever, brave and honest, usually he becomes the son-in-law and finally the successor of the man in power.' (Lineton 1975a:199.)

This strategy is one example of the third 'tip', one part of the Bugis 'philosophy' that is sooner or later articulated for almost every researcher who studies the Bugis. The three tips (*tellu cappaq*) encompass the tongue, the knife blade, and the penis. If a Bugis cannot ingratiate himself with the local leaders by diplomatic consultation (by the tip of his tongue), he may have to resort to armed battle (by the tip of his knife blade). But, best of all, he will be able truly to integrate himself in the new community by marrying one (or more) of the local women (by the tip of his penis).

⁹ Not only was this man's marriage with a daughter-in-law of Abdullah's family exceptional, it was also disapproved. The mother of the deceased husband was particularly incensed at the rapidity with which this marriage took place after her son's death, labeling the Kaili intruder as a man of 'ten hands' (that is, always ready to grab at what lies around unused, even if he has no right to it).

Contingent II: the Wajoq entrepreneur and his client kin

Like Abdullah trapped between the depredations of government soldiers and rebels, in 1962 an itinerant dentist known as *Tukang Sattu* (most often simply called *Tukang* or 'Artisan') fled his home in the village of Soloq on the border of Wajoq and Boné in South Sulawesi to the east of Lake Témpe. He sought to support himself in his wanderings by making gold fillings for mountain villagers (and incidentally hoped to accumulate gold for himself in the reputed El Dorado of montane Central Sulawesi!). *Tukang Sattu* himself was both a classic pioneer initiator of migration (Peterson 1958:263) and a typical Bugis *passompeq* (Lineton 1975b): adventurous and innovating, daring and independent, unafraid to be ruthless but fickle in his sponsorship of any one line of endeavour.)

After wandering throughout the regions in the mountains to the east, *Tukang* first entered the Lindu plain in 1967, immediately beginning work as a fisherman with his two travelling companions. Shortly after settling, *Tukang* initiated a process of chain migration by sending for his second wife (whom he had not contacted in all the 6 years of his wandering!), who arrived in 1968, escorted by her son-in-law and daughter from a previous marriage, along with her two sons by *Tukang*. By selling nylon gill nets he brought back from the south at a 4000% profit, *Tukang* obtained the capital he needed to expand his operations from selling fresh and salted fish to opening up wet-rice lands. He thus intensified his efforts to recruit labour by summoning kin from the south. Beginning in 1969 groups of kin began arriving at Lindu, first his two sons by his first wife, accompanied by his youngest brother, somewhat later a group of three sister's sons, a son-in-law and two more distantly related young men. After this group, other kin and affines began to arrive singly or in smaller groups, often returning to the south to transport their families after they had established a foothold at Lindu. In contrast to the first contingent's pattern of local labour recruitment, most of those who came to be client fishermen and farmers in the second contingent at Lindu were already able to trace relations to the original pioneer (and sometimes more directly to his first wife) through a variety of overlapping consanguineal and affinal links, (having already married first cousins and other close relatives while still in the south).

Although such (kinship¹⁰) links provided the channels for recruiting members to Lindu, the need for labour within the enterprises *Tukang* had initiated not only provided the impetus for their recruitment, but also set the terms for their continued residence. Initially, he employed his sons and other

¹⁰ Throughout this paper, unless explicitly juxtaposed to the term 'affinal', I am using the term 'kinship' to encompass both consanguineal and affinal links.

relatives as client fishermen whose fish he purchased and then sent down to the road by carrier for sale throughout the Palu Valley and surrounding mountains. In 1975 he began employing indigenous Lindu men to open up wet-rice fields. These he paid with the proceeds of his own fishing enterprise, eventually selling the opened land mainly to members of his own contingent. With the capital he acquired, Tukang opened a kiosk and was able continuously to supply goods to his client fishermen, goods they were able to pay off with the fish they brought in and he collected for conveyance to the valley. Following the example of a member of the third contingent, Tukang soon began transporting fish down to the road by horse caravan, employing a nephew of his first wife to escort to Lindu horses he had purchased in the south and other kin (including two maternal first cousins, and nephews of a brother-in-law and a sister-in-law) to serve as horse-drivers. Eventually the further diversification of his enterprises to include marketing rattan from southern Kulawi and selling rice from Lindu and elsewhere led to Tukang's departure from Lindu, as he established his permanent residence in the provincial capital Palu where he opened a kiosk.

With Tukang's departure from Lindu an era had ended. No longer under the leadership of a single *bos* (English 'boss'), as he was often referred to, the Wajoq contingent now recognized a multiplicity of bosses, each manoeuvring to establish a stable network of suppliers (whether of fish, rattan, or rice). By 1980 a nephew of Sattu had assumed pre-eminence as a contractor of fish (and later in 1982 of rattan). But he was never unchallenged. Migrants from Soloq and the neighbouring village Wélado continued to drift to Lindu, sometimes alone, sometimes with their families, swelling the ranks of those who worked as client fishermen when marketing was brisk and when fish sales were slow either turning to rattan exploitation or drifting off again. Given the continual flux of transients moving in and out, fish contractors like Tukang's nephew (and others) turned increasingly to maintaining kiosks as well, ensuring the constant supply of fish to themselves by allowing fishermen to purchase everyday goods – rice, salt, chillies, etc. – on credit. These fishermen were thus obligated to remain and continue supplying fish to the creditor-contractor to repay the debts incurred at the kiosk.

Thus, the settlement of the Wajoq contingent sustained itself by ties of economic dependence channeled through kinship. But if kinship provided the form or idiom, debt functioned as the social agglutinant. Appropriately, Tukang and subsequent fish contractors were never referred to as traditional patrons or *punggawa*, but simply as *bos*. In contrast to the traditional patterns of reciprocal moral obligation between differentially ranked patron and client that marked the movement of at least one of the other contingents, commercial calculation conveyed through kinship ties governed the ebb and flow of this migration stream.

Contingent III: the interstitial innovators of the lakes

The first member of the third contingent was a former *gerombolan* guerilla commando who fled to Lindu to escape punishment by the victorious central government. He had followed a spectacularly successful rags-to-riches career, beginning as a coolie bearing fish for Abdullah's household, buying his own horse with the proceeds earned from this endeavour, and eventually selling the stable (of over 20 horses) he built up by marketing forest products to purchase rice fields and establish a kiosk in the village Tompi in southern Kulawi. Although he thus distanced himself from Lindu, he had managed to attract to Central Sulawesi in a labour-recruiting expedition to the south (during the drought of 1971) the son-in-law of his brother. This man, whom I shall call Rasid, became the focal representative of the third contingent.

From his natal village of Wetteqé posed between Lake Sidénréng and Lake Témpé near the border of Sidénréng-Rappang (Sidrap) with Wajoq, Rasid proceeded to Central Sulawesi accompanied by his younger brother, a first cousin, and the latter's brother-in-law. After brief stints working in Tompi for his own father-in-law's brother (and in various other fields in the surrounding Kaili region), he quickly established himself at Lindu as the premier casting net (*jala*) fisherman, as well as becoming the first to initiate the transport of fresh fish from the lake by horse caravan (in 1977).

However, Rasid did not depend upon recruiting the labour of kin and affines to conduct his enterprises. Even from among the original group who had embarked together, only his younger brother remained at Lindu (where he intermittently worked as a client fisherman for his brother as he made the transition to spending more and more time working the wet-rice fields his Lindu wife had brought with her marriage). Instead, Rasid attempted to use the labour of local migrants to Lindu from the adjacent Lore region as fish-salters, while attempting to maintain local Lindu youths as client fishermen and horse drivers. But none of them remained working under him for more than weeks at a time. Unable to mobilize a constant and reliable supply of labour that could compete with the kin-based network of client fishermen that Sattu's contingent could mobilize, Rasid was forced to turn to other enterprises. He remained an intermittent fish contractor, using client-fishermen who drifted into his household, both Bugis from his own home area Sidénréng and elsewhere, as well as members of other ethnic groups settled at Lindu.

The formation of this third contingent depended not upon recruitment, but upon coalescence. In 1974 another Bugis rover arrived with his family to settle on the shoreline of Lake Lindu. He hailed originally from Bélawa, an area once part of Sidrap but ceded as part of a royal brideprice payment to

Wajoq. This man, Sulaiman, of all the Bugis who settled at Lindu, exemplified most clearly the traditional inter-island *passompeq*, the adventurous wanderer moving ever onward in quest of a livelihood (*massappaq dalléq*). First setting out with his new family in 1956, Sulaiman had moved throughout the western archipelago, working as a fisherman in South Sumatra and Riau, as a lumberer in East Kalimantan, a farmer in the Palu Valley, and eventually a fisherman once again at Lindu.

Rasid and Sulaiman had learned of Lindu through completely different channels and followed diverse routes to the shore community. Yet, partly by virtue of their common origin in adjoining areas interstitial between Sidrap and Wajoq, they acknowledged that they were related. In addition, their wives could both trace a kinship tie to a retired major resident in Palu.¹¹ This former army man, assisted by his son-in-law, had been the first fish marketer in the provincial capital to receive the fish brought down from Lindu by Rasid's horse caravans. Together they formed the core of this third contingent, one never to coalesce as a discrete neighbourhood in the village centre, but always maintaining a separateness from those formed by the Arab and Wajoq contingents.

Although this core was augmented by a number of other individuals, mainly unrelated Bugis and Mandar who attached themselves as clients to one of these two households, in time all these peripheral members drifted off again, intermarrying with the local Lindu population or moving on to work in clove gardens near the coast. In fact, Sulaiman himself ended up spending most of his time in his own coastal clove gardens, although his family remained in their house at Lindu. In some ways this contingent resembles most closely, though on a smaller scale, the pattern of coalescence described by Andrew Vayda and Ahmad Sahur (1985:100) for the Bugis movement to East Kalimantan. The contingent was formed from the convergence of a number of families and individuals journeying independently, but subsequently asserting their relatedness rather than by invoking ties already acknowledged in the homeland (as in the usual pattern of chain migration).

Contingent IV: the noble patron and his motley band

In many ways the movement of the fourth contingent to Lindu conformed most closely to the traditional pattern of settlement in the *rantau*. The contingent's organizer was a lesser noble from Boné, who originally had travelled

¹¹ Whereas Rasid's wife was this major's MMBSD, Sulaiman's wife was his FFZDD. Hence, the former was related to him through his mother, while the latter was related to him through his father. Rasid and Sulaiman also claimed a direct, though distant kinship relationship to each other through Sulaiman's father, but they were not able to trace this connection exactly.

to Central Sulawesi to recover the money he had loaned to a trader. Restricted in his movements by the Japanese occupation, he was in any case ashamed (*massiriq*) to return to the south, as he had neither been able to recover his money nor unearth the quantity of gold he had been led to expect, for he too was a dentist looking for material to ply his trade. This nobleman, Andi Bahar Petta Sora, eventually settled in the village of Pakuli in the Palu Valley. There he married twice, developed extensive stands of coconut palms and even a small clove garden, as well as opening a rice mill, all enterprises in which he could employ the Bugis families who began to gather around him. But by the mid-70s the wet-rice land available in Pakuli was insufficient to support this expanding community. So Andi Bahar designated his 'grandson' (FBSSS) Andi Anwar to lead a first group of families up to Lindu to settle as wet-rice farmers in the hamlet of Kanawu on the lake's eastern shore.

The group which Andi Anwar led up to the lake in 1976 did not constitute an undifferentiated mass movement. Rather, it was divided into three clusters, each organized by discrete kin ties and of different origin in South Sulawesi. Most closely tied to Andi Anwar was a group of in-laws, whose core was composed of the siblings of his current wife, a commoner woman also of Boné descent whom he had married in Palu. The heads of these families had worked under Andi Anwar as crew members of his *bagang*, a frame of rattan and bamboo from whose centre a large net is lowered and raised to catch small varieties of sea fish. The core of the second cluster consisted of another *bagang* boss from the same hamlet in Palu, who led his brother and brother-in-law along with their families and a host of other hangers-on, all hailing from their natal region of Pangkep on South Sulawesi's west coast. The other cluster centred around two brothers who had migrated from the area surrounding the town of Rappang in northern Sidrap regency and had resided for several years under the sponsorship of Andi Bahar in Pakuli. Indeed, members of the entire contingent referred to Andi Bahar with the traditional title *punggawa*, always addressing him with the title *puang* ('lord') reserved for nobles. As acknowledged sponsor of this fourth contingent, even though he himself remained in Pakuli, he was not simply a *bos* who maintained the allegiance of his followers by keeping them in debt, but a traditional patron who sought also to provide for his followers' subsistence and security.

However, this contingent never attained the envisaged fruition of 70 settled families from South Sulawesi. Rather, the movement quickly assumed the form of transient residence established in the first and third contingent, as members shuttled back and forth between occupations in the lowland Kaili region centred on Palu and their fishing and farming at Lindu. By 1980, of the first cluster only Andi Anwar maintained a permanent household at Lindu, as all his in-laws had returned to Palu to resume *bagang* fishing. The

informal leader of the Pangkep cluster, followed by all his nephews and most of his fellow Pangkep associates, also returned to Palu once more to take control of his *bagang* after a land dispute with members of the Rappang cluster, leaving only his brother and brother-in-law as farmer-fishermen at Lindu, with the latter's young brother shuttling between their households (as a *tau lao sala*). The Rappang cluster assumed a pattern of shedding affines, with only the two brothers and two of their cousins remaining at Lindu (though one of the former retired to the jungle to set up his own palm sugar processing plant and one of the latter left the Bugis shore community at Kanawu to open up wet-rice fields in the area adjoining the fields of indigenous Lindu and local transmigrant farmers).

Although in origin a very traditionalist movement sponsored by an undisputed noble patron, in realization members of this contingent oriented more towards kin comprising the same cluster. The fate of this movement reflects perhaps the inappropriateness of a resort to an atavistic strategy – under modern corporate trimmings¹² – for organizing people in a context where the traditional respect for nobility no longer commanded the same power. Even members of the contingent he led voiced resentment over Andi Anwar's attempts to dominate their decisions and activities. Like his grandfather Andi Bahar, Andi Anwar might well be addressed by the term *puang*, but the perquisites that formerly inhered in that title were no longer his to exercise. Deference provided no guarantee of allegiance.

The Bugis migration to Lindu summarized: deference and debt

The analysis of Bugis migration to Lindu in terms of the four contingents isolated above reveals the operation of divergent strategies invoking various principles of Bugis social structure.¹³ The varying success of each contingent

¹² Andi Bahar had listed all the heads of the migrating families as employees of a company he formed – C.V. Malimongeng – in order to gain a larger allotment of land from the government than would otherwise be allowable for single individuals.

¹³ The division into the four contingents outlined above does not completely exhaust the movement of migrants from South Sulawesi to the Lindu plain. Many men have wandered in on their own, attaching themselves to various families as client fishermen, field labourers, or horse drivers. After a while, some have drifted away, no longer mentioned in the community. Other Bugis have settled independently in the plain. Whether operating a kiosk in Puroo, the village of local transmigrants from Kulawi, or growing corn among the Napu migrants of Kangkuro, these 'Southerners' have remained peripheral to the shore community of Tomado and Kanawu. Even the one settler from Masamba who had built a house at the Tomado shore and made his livelihood transporting loads of deer jerky across the lake for sale beyond the plain, has remained largely outside the framework of interaction among neighbourhoods established by these contingents.

in establishing a permanent settlement and staking its place in the organization of social, political, religious and, perhaps above all, economic activities centring around the marketing of fish from the lake reflects in part the differential power of the types of ties invoked in accomplishing this migration.

The first contingent has presented the portrait of a lone pioneering family leaping to the area in a single bound. Along with a process of internal differentiation, each member of the younger generation establishing a separate household with his or her family, this contingent attempted to bolster its numbers by acquiring clients recruited from among distant relatives, affines, young males from among the indigenous Lindu villagers, and unrelated men from elsewhere in the Kaili areas of the region. The second contingent clearly exemplifies the classic pattern of pioneer-inspired chain migration, where the links have been forged along the lines of pre-existing kinship, but have been maintained by the commercially-based relations of enterprising fish marketers and indebted client fishermen. The third contingent evokes an image of coalescence, where individually moving *passompeq* recognized their (distant) relatedness and cooperated in a limited range of endeavours only after establishing their residence in the area. The fourth contingent represents a heterogeneous group of discrete clusters, each organized by kinship, marriage, common locality, and sustained association in work, but organized as a whole under the aegis of a traditional noble patron. Yet, however traditional he may appear at first glance, this patron sought to maximize the potential of this movement by organizing his followers as employees of a modern corporate enterprise.

Evaluating the differential success of the four Bugis migration contingents to Lindu has required some allusions to their members' involvement in the fish harvesting and marketing economy of the Lindu plain. However, this treatment did not present a systematic description of the various networks of participants in this endeavour as a whole. Such a global description allows a more finely tuned assessment of the factors – kinship, traditional patronage, and bonds of debt – that have enabled the Bugis to maintain control of fish harvesting and marketing from Lake Lindu despite the vicissitudes of the various migrating contingents.

Structures of dependence in the Lindu fishing community: subordinate fishermen and debt

The fish marketing system dominated by Bugis entrepreneurs resident in the village centre of Tomado on the southwestern shore of Lake Lindu provides an overarching configuration of ties of superordination and subordination (and some contrasting egalitarian ties as well) that approximates more close-

ly the transitional ties of dependence evident in modernizing enterprises in South Sulawesi than traditional ties of patronage.¹⁴ The apex of this system within the ambit of Lindu itself is the fish entrepreneur, the intermediate marketer who collects the catches of an assemblage of subordinate fishermen who have agreed to provide fish to him. Such a figure is often labeled as an entrepreneur (*pengusaha*) or fish collector (*pengumpul ikan*), although the term that has gained most currency at Lindu, both as a term of reference and a term of address – partly in jest and partly in earnest – is *bos*.¹⁵ The very use of the term *bos* rather than *punggawa* for such entrepreneurs in this context indicates the primarily economic character of these structures. The term *bos* first began to be used at the end of the seventies when rattan entrepreneurs (*pengusaha rotan*) of both Bugis and Chinese descent entered the Lindu plain. Previously, especially in the sixties, the term *punggawa* was said still to have been in common use, even by the indigenous Lindu inhabitants. The use of the new term signals not only a change in terminological fashion, but also a change in the nature of relationships to subordinates. Such subordinates are generally referred to as the fish entrepreneur's 'members' (*anggotanya*), though the term *anak buah* with much the same meaning is also heard. In part due to the multi-ethnic character of participation in the fish marketing complex, these Indonesian terms are most commonly used. However, the absence of such terms as *punggawa* and *anaq-anaq* to label the fish entrepreneur and his subordinate fishermen also points out the contrast between their more circumscribed commercial connection and the more traditional ties both of some contingent leaders with their followers and of household heads acting as patrons to their coresident clients.

Unlike the wide-ranging obligations recognized by more traditional *pung-*

¹⁴ However, clients who reside with entrepreneurs for whom they work in the Bugis shore community at Lake Lindu may maintain relations with these entrepreneurs-cum-heads-of-households that approximate patronage of a more traditional character, resting on a diffuse sense of reciprocal sponsorship and obligation. This context of coresident clientage more closely approximates the traditional relationships between *punggawa* and *pajama anaq-anaq* described by Rousman Effendy (1981) for Jeneponto.

¹⁵ The Bugis at Lindu are also familiar with the term *tengkulak* ('broker' or 'middleman') as a term for an intermediate trader, but I never heard it used in referring to the entrepreneurs at Lindu. It is used, however, both to speak of rice traders involved in the BIMAS rice intensification program and to refer to 'unbridled traders' (*pedagang liar*) who have come to the west coast of Sulawesi's northern neck. There the local fishermen have become indebted to these *tengkulak* and are thus obliged to sell their catches only to them. Once having so bound the fishermen to themselves, these *tengkulak* then force down the price of fish, causing the fishermen to operate at a loss, and thus remain unable to pay back their debts. Despite the similarity of the Lindu context to the situation of indebted fishermen there, the Bugis *pengusaha* at Lindu seem never to be regarded as *tengkulak* precisely because they are settled members of the community, rather than alien others who have come to the area only in order to gain profits from fishermen previously settled there.

gawa like Andi Bahar, the original leader of the fourth contingent, the *bos* or *pengusaha ikan* maintains his relations with subordinate fishermen by one primary mechanism: debt. Characteristically an operator of a kiosk, he provides daily necessities – rice, salt, kerosene, soap, etcetera – to a fisherman on credit. But the fisherman is then obligated to supply only him with the major portion of his daily catch.¹⁶ All the fishermen subordinate to the shore community's primary fish entrepreneur reside separately, although two young men serving as horse drivers live as coresident clients in his household. Aside from the provisioning of goods from his kiosk on credit, no obligations outside the context of fish marketing are recognized between the entrepreneur and his subordinate fishermen. He may indeed continue collecting their catch in adverse marketing conditions, even when he claims to be operating at a loss, but he is not obligated to contribute to such external needs as the sponsorship of life-cycle rites, chief among them the weddings of members of his subordinate fishermen's families. A *bos* is simply not a patron.

By erecting a system based on debt, the entrepreneurs at Lindu are exploiting an economic mechanism to which Bugis fishermen settled throughout the archipelago are subjected. As Lineton (1975a:31) describes the situation in Java:

Although Bugis fishermen in places such as Kali Baru [a Bugis settlement in Tanjung Priok, the harbour area for Jakarta] or Pelabuhan Ratu [a settlement in southwest Java] in general appear comparatively prosperous, the majority here – as in Sulawesi – are in a position of dependence upon commercial associations (*kongsi*) or individual merchants with large capital resources. There are however a few cooperatives with small capital resources collected from their members. A Bugis from Bone, now an important fish-merchant in Kali Baru, claimed to control the fishermen on several islands in the Java Sea, where they settled in small groups of five to ten men. He supplied them with rice and other goods, and financed the buying and repair of praus and fish traps in return for the entire yield of their industry. The fishermen were all in his debt and repaid him in fish rather than money. Lending money was the way in which he increased the number of men under his control and ensured a constant supply of fish.

Such reliance on debt could in theory chain subordinate fishermen to a system where the fish entrepreneurs could arbitrarily set any price for the catches. However, the competition among established fishing entrepreneurs, as well as the limited opportunities for some fishermen (those not hopelessly in debt) to move between various *bos*, sell directly to fish carriers, and even sporadically to become entrepreneurs themselves, has prevented the development of such price-fixing at the village centre of Tomado.

¹⁶ Portions of the catch may be set aside for domestic consumption and for salting and drying by the fisherman's wife or other female relatives of the fisherman. But this salted fish then enters a different structure of dependence dominated also in part by debt (see below).

The primary fresh-fish marketing channel

The fish-marketing system involves members of the various contingents and of other ethnic groups settled at the lake in the various linkages at which the fish are exchanged from the point of being caught by the fishermen to the point of being sold to retail customers in Palu, Kulawi, and elsewhere. Although largely residing in the village centre of Tomado and such major hamlets as Kanawu, the fishermen use their gill nets (*lanraq*)¹⁷ extended between bamboo poles (which serve not only to support their nets but also to mark the territory in which they have an exclusive right to fish) in order to take their catch in areas all around the perimeter of the lake.¹⁸ If fish catches are reported as particularly bountiful in one area of the lake, a group of up to four fishermen may band together in a makeshift dormitory or even in semi-permanent huts to fish in this part of the lake. These fishermen all supply the same fish entrepreneur, who provides them with daily necessities when the catch is collected. These encampments seldom last for more than a few weeks, as the distribution of fish changes and the isolation of the fishermen takes its toll.

However, most fishermen have resided continuously in Tomado and Kanawu, bringing their fish to the shores of these hamlets for collection by the fish entrepreneur or by his agent. Throughout most of my fieldwork all the fish caught by members of the shore community of Kanawu, an isolated hamlet located across from Tomado on the eastern shore of the lake, was collected there by the main entrepreneur of the Tomado shore community resident at Lindu, Ambo Betté, the nephew of the second contingent's leader *Tukang Sattu*, or one of his coresident clients. All but one of the households

¹⁷ Although often labeled by other ethnic groups at Lindu as *nelayan* ('fishermen'), among themselves Bugis were more exact in identifying themselves occupationally. Rather than using the general Bugis term *pakkaja* for fishermen, they referred to themselves as *pallanraq*, literally 'gill-net users'.

¹⁸ This method of fishing requires the placing of rolls of nylon gill nets, up to 100 meters in length by approximately a meter in width, along a line of bamboo poles. Fish become entangled in the net on their own during the course of the night or are actually driven toward the net by beating the surface of the water with a length of rattan. The fisherman then brings his dugout canoe alongside the net and pulls it along the net's length, as he lifts sections of the net and extracts the fish. One person is able to accomplish all these operations alone, but often young boys go out fishing in groups of two, with one boy in the stern of the boat gently paddling and steering the canoe while the boy in the bow lifts the fish out of the net. Both because of the distribution and feeding habits of the fish caught by this technique, predominantly *ikan mujair* or common tilapia, and because of the need for shallow waters to plant the support poles, fishing is undertaken near the shore of the lake in areas clearly marked for each fishermen by the protruding bamboo poles. One area of the lake between the island and the southern shore has been set aside by the government as a hatchery area in which no fishing is allowed.

of the Kanawu shore community,¹⁹ both those of the second and fourth contingents, provided fish to Ambo Betté, but in only one of these supplying households was fishing the sole source of family income. Except for the one household headed by a woman, who made her livelihood by marketing dried salted fish, the other household heads also worked wet-rice fields opened at the shore or inland adjacent to those of the Lindu farmers. The majority of the Bugis fishermen at Kanawu, both those of the second and fourth contingents, were male household heads. But in two of the households a son-in-law also went fishing,²⁰ in another a brother of the household head also contributed to the fishing catch, in three of the households an adolescent child (two sons and one daughter) was the primary fish-provider, while two of the households instead depended upon the fishing of coresident clients sometimes supplemented by the catch of the household head. All fishing was done nocturnally between approximately 3:30 am and 7:00 am, when the fish were collected and each fisherman's catch jotted down by the fish entrepreneur in his notebook, after which the community could disperse to its diurnal occupations of working wet-rice fields, drying and salting fish, or going to school.

In contrast, those fishermen resident in the village centre of Tomado who supplied Ambo Betté with fish were male household heads (and any clients they may sporadically have housed), all of whom derived their sole income from fishing. Like the Kanawu fishermen, the subordinate fishermen supplying Ambo Betté performed this fishing at night, contributing their catches to the morning collection assembled from Kanawu and elsewhere around the lake at the village centre of Tomado. The number of fishermen contributing their catches at this point fluctuated throughout my stay, as it was from this group that outposts of up to four or five fishermen were intermittently set up at Bamba, a location near the northern outlet of Lake Lindu, and elsewhere around the lake, but about seven subordinate fishermen provided a stable core at the village centre.

After all the fish had been collected and enumerated, they were loaded on to horses for transport, a trip requiring about four hours, from Tomado to Sadaunta, located on the main road between the provincial capital Palu and the village Gimpu, south of Kulawi in the mountains. In contrast to the sup-

¹⁹ Only the household of the palm sugar manufacturer did not supply Ambo Betté with daily catches of fish, since its household head was almost always at his inland 'factory' and none of the children was old enough to undertake fishing by her- or himself.

²⁰ In the case of the son-in-law who was driven from the lake for stealing fish from others' nets, his wife, newly moved back with her parents, assumed the morning fishing tasks of her husband. Part of the reason she was glad to see her husband gone was that out of shame (*siriq*) he had forbidden her from fishing. Now that he was gone she could fish all she wished and keep the proceeds for herself in order to purchase new clothes and other luxuries.

plier fishermen, horse drivers, except those who are coresident clients, were not directly subordinate to the fish entrepreneur. They received their cash payment based upon the weight of the fish and other items their horses carried upon return to the lake in the late afternoon.²¹ Ambo Betté used his own horses every three days to transport fish to the road, employing one of his two coresident clients to act as horse-driver. The other days horses and drivers might be provided either by other Bugis households from the shore community or by indigenous Lindu men from the '*kampung*' community of Tomado or Langko. The Bugis horse drivers regularly employed by Ambo Betté, all of whom were neighbours who lived on the 'horse-drivers' street', were also all fellow members of the second-contingent, although horses were sometimes provided from the corner household of a member of the third contingent.

Similarly, representatives of two fish contractors (*pemborong* or *pangoporoq*), who could trace relations to the third and second contingents respectively, were the recipients at Sadaunta of the fish, which was then loaded into trucks for transport to Palu. The first of these, Mayor Bitung,²² a nephew of the pioneer migrant from the third contingent, represented most often by his son-in-law, has continued to receive fish from the lake since shortly after intensified marketing by horse caravan from Lindu was first introduced by his 'brother-in-law' (MMBSDH) Rasid in 1978. Even during the drought in 1982 induced by the reversal of the Pacific current El Niño, he continued to receive fish from Ambo Betté of the second contingent until the Regency Fisheries Office halted export from the lake due to the dwindling sizes of the fish being caught.²³ The other contractor collecting fish at Sadaunta was a

²¹ At all other stages of the fish marketing process, price is calculated according to the number of fish transferred. Generally, each transaction stage of the network requires a 100% markup. Actual prices depended upon such factors as the eventual selling price the market could bear in Palu (which in turn depended on the factors affecting the size of the sea fish catch with which Lindu's fresh water fish competed), the scarcity of fish at the lake, and the size of the gill net mesh then being used. Throughout most of my field research, fishermen received between Rp. 20 and Rp. 30 for each four *mujair* fish caught with a 2 1/4- to 3-inch mesh gill net or smaller. (Four fish, the number which is usually strung together on a piece of rattan 'twine' piercing their eyes, constitute a single *tusuk* or *toddoq*, the unit in which such transactions are measured.) The intermediate fish marketer gathering the fish at Sadaunta, the hamlet of kiosks and warehouses at the point where the horse trail from Lindu reaches the main road from Palu to the district capital of Kulawi, pays between Rp. 40 and Rp. 60/*tusuk* and is usually able to sell the same amount for at least Rp. 100/*tusuk* in Palu, depending upon market conditions. In contrast, horse drivers generally charge between Rp. 30 and Rp. 40/kg. of fresh fish (including the weight of the rattan baskets used for transporting), with the transport fee being evenly split between the driver and owner of the horses.

²² Like many Bugis entrepreneurs throughout the island (and, indeed, the archipelago), Mayor Bitung is a retired military man.

²³ In the effort to maintain their income in the face of the ever more meagre catches to be gained from the receding lake during this drought, fishermen were using gill nets with smaller

client (*anaq guru*) of the original pioneer of the second contingent, *Tukang Sattu*. Thus, despite his physical absence from Lindu, *Sattu* has continued to sponsor the marketing of the primary product that has been the focus of the settlement of the Bugis at Lindu since their very first appearance as migrants in the fifties. Although *Tukang Sattu* has occupied himself in the Palu market directly with the selling of rice, including that exported from Lindu, the team of transporters and fish sellers at these last two stages of the network have continued to reside in his Palu home directly across from the city's central market. Even in the most recent transformations of the Lindu economy, the promotional presence of the *Wajoq* contingent's pioneer has continued.

The competition: sporadic fish marketers of the other contingents

The fish marketing channel converging on Ambo Betté as the heir to *Tukang Sattu*'s marketing efforts in the Tomado village centre has proven itself the most enduring in the shore community, but only at the height of the drought due to El Niño was it the sole avenue. A host of other channels have characterized the distribution of fish since *Rasid* of the third contingent first began leading horse caravans in the late seventies.²⁴ In fact, *Rasid* has continued fitfully as a marketer of *mujair* fish, especially at those times when he has been able to collect a number of clients in his household. Even when without coresident clients, he has sporadically been able to enlist the services of his brother, now resident with his own Lindu wife in the '*kampung*', and of the father and adolescent sons in a household established by the Menadonese fugitive from participation in *Permesta* mentioned earlier as the initial migrant in the third contingent. These fishermen have occasionally supplied *Rasid* with catches of *mujair* fish, which *Rasid* has both himself transported down to Sadaunta with his own horse and occasionally contracted a Lindu horse driver to carry down. However, after his initial fiasco running daily horse caravans, in which he lost over one million rupiah in a month of operation, *Rasid* has concentrated more upon marketing the fish he has himself

and smaller mesh sizes. Finally, the fish caught were so tiny that they had insufficient body fat to keep them from becoming putrid during the transport time before being sold in the market at Palu. In addition, the smaller size meant that a greater proportion of juvenile fishes were being caught, posing a threat to the reproduction of this resource. Hence, the Regency Fisheries Office, after issuing numerous warnings to the fishermen to use nets of increased mesh size and twice sending teams up to the lake to confiscate the offending nets, was compelled to prohibit all fishing except for domestic consumption at the lake.

²⁴ Before *Rasid*'s pioneering efforts, fish was almost exclusively brought down from Lindu to Sadaunta and Kulawi by human carrier. Although the volume of fish carried down certainly increased with the efforts of *Abdullah* and the other members of the first contingent, the method of transport had changed little since *Adriani's* and *Kruyt's* visit in 1897.

captured by cast-net (*jala*) fishing,²⁵ an enterprise in which he holds the monopoly at Lake Lindu.²⁶ The legacy of Rasid in the marketing of *mujair* has been the continued contracting of fish by his affine Mayor Bitung (his WFFZDS), the buyer who originally received the supply from his horse caravans. However, in order to sustain the performance of this role, Mayor Bitung has had to insert himself in the marketing network dominated by Ambo Betté and the members of the second contingent.

Arab fish entrepreneurs of the first contingent have mounted a more sustained challenge to the primacy of Ambo Betté and the network of the second contingent, but they too have been unable to maintain their networks continuously as alternate marketing channels. Ever since their pioneer settler Abdullah used local Lindu and Kulawi men as carriers of the fish from the lake in the fifties and sixties, their strategies of maintaining labour for the fish marketing enterprise have contrasted with those of the second contingent in two respects. The Arab/Bugis fish collectors have relied much more heavily upon coresident clients (as has Rasid) in order to maintain a pool of suppliers for their enterprises rather than upon subordinate fishermen who reside separately with their own families. However, most of these clients have been itinerant *tau lao sala* of both Kaili and Bugis origin and adolescent nephews and young kinsmen of more distant connections. Given the proximity of their own families of origin down in Palu, Donggala, Tanamea, and the intervening Kaili areas, the latter have been inclined not just to shift among households in the Arab neighbourhood of the shore community, but also to escape back down to the Palu Valley and coast rather than endure the rigours of night fishing at Lindu. Precisely because of the close kin connection to these youths and the proximity of their alternate residences, the Arab fish entrepreneurs have been unable to rely on naked debt as the bond to keep them

²⁵ By setting bait composed of carefully selected varieties of leaves and shrubbery at selected points around the southern edge of the lake in the afternoon and returning a few hours later to cast his net over the bait he has set, Rasid is able to catch a number of larger varieties of fish, especially the Java barb (*ikan tawes* or *Puntius goniotus*) and gourami (*gurame* or *Osphronemus goramy*). In most cases Rasid then personally supervises the transport of these fish at all stages from Tomado to Palu, making sure that superior examples of his expertise occasionally grace the table of the regency head and the director of the Regency Fisheries Office.

²⁶ In fact, Rasid did make one attempt during my fieldwork to gain a monopoly of *mujair* marketing as well by becoming the head of the fishermen's association that the Regency Fisheries Office attempted to establish at Lindu. However, this enterprise lasted less than a month, for as soon as Rasid lowered the price he paid for *mujair* as the sole recognized marketer with government permission to transport fish from the lake, all the fishermen refused to supply him any longer, either turning to collecting rattan or smuggling fish to other distributors at Bamba and other remote sections of the shore. Eventually, the Regency Fisheries Office abandoned the plan (at least tentatively) to use the fishermen's association as a stepping stone to establishing a fishermen's cooperative, as distribution reverted to the competing private channels depicted here.

in dependence. Unrelated *tau lao sala* have also proved unreliable, as they have intermittently attempted to break their bonds of clientship by establishing their own residences and enterprises, sometimes even as small-scale fish entrepreneurs themselves. Their efforts to maintain the loyalty of indigenous Lindu youth as coresident clients and subordinate fishermen have been no more successful, as these too have turned to other pursuits when catches have decreased or cash payment has been delayed.

In part, the failure of the Arab entrepreneurs to sustain their fish marketing endeavours has also resulted from the inconstancy of their own efforts at the upper levels of the organisation. Relying on one brother resident in Palu to oversee not only the transport of fish from Sadaunta but also the selling of the product in the smaller markets of Palu, they have been unable consistently to recruit a pool of labour at that end that could compete with the constant stock of followers sponsored by *Tukang Sattu*, many of whose fish are eventually sold in Palu's central market. In addition, competing opportunities have lured the entrepreneurs themselves away from Lindu, establishing a cycle of intermittent residence that has not conduced to the continuity of fish marketing, even when they have attempted to maintain their enterprises under the management of junior kin in their absence. Following the eighties fad for clove production on Sulawesi (and indeed much of eastern Indonesia), both of Abdullah's sons who had remained at Lindu have established clove gardens in Tanamea near their Donggala homes, to which they regularly return. In contrast, Ambo Betté has been able to rely on the services not only of his father-in-law, but of a host of related members of the second contingent both to effect the smooth transfer of fish at Sadaunta and to open clove gardens in the hills above Tanamea. Freed from the need to descend from the lake to check on the operation of his enterprises, Ambo Betté has remained a fixture in the Tomado shore community.

From among the subordinate fishermen who have floated among these major marketers, some have also tried themselves to become small-scale entrepreneurs. Attempting to patch together a network of clients and subordinate fishermen from among those shed by the marketers of the second and third contingents, few of these have lasted for more than a few months. Often renting canoes and motors from other households in order to provide their subordinates with equipment, they have been unable to maintain the capital to sustain their operations. Cash payments to horse drivers have been especially problematic. Indeed, one horse driver, Daud from the second contingent, also attempted to compete with Ambo Betté as a fish entrepreneur, invoking a link cemented by the marriage of his eldest son to the niece (WZD) of Andi Anwar, the leader of the fourth contingent, in order to gain members of that fourth contingent as subordinate fishermen. But this attempt too was transient. In part, without a kiosk of his own from which he

could supply his subordinate fishermen with household goods on credit, Daud could not compete with the resources marshalled by his neighbour Ambo Betté. His relationship with Ismael of the first contingent as the contractor receiving his fish at Sadaunta also proved unstable. None of these transient marketers could maintain the necessary capital to provide ready payment to fishermen and horse drivers, nor could they rest assured of steady buyers at Sadaunta to receive their fish. Often they attempted to sell the transported catches to motorbike retailers (*pembonceng*), who would carry several dozen *tusuk* of (somewhat) fresh fish hanging from cross bars at the rear of their motorcycles, selling these directly to whichever customers hailed them from the porches of houses along the main road. But the volatile finances of these motorcyclist retailers, and the uncertainty of their appearance at Sadaunta, rendered them less reliable recipients than the intermediate marketers ferrying the fish from the main horse caravans to the Palu markets by small truck.

Bypassing the fish entrepreneurs of Lindu: promises and blind pigs

Not all fish brought from the lake, however, passes through the hands of an intermediate fish entrepreneur at Tomado. Those subordinate fishermen for whom fishing is their sole livelihood also continue this activity throughout the whole day, bringing a second catch at the end of the afternoon. These fish are bought by numerous fish carriers (*pemikul*) – mainly Napu youths from the hamlet of Kalora, located between Langko and Tomado, and Kulawi youths who have made the trip up to Lindu especially to carry down fish to their home villages and to Kulawi town on the main road. Such fishermen attempt to maintain rotating 'promissory' (*janji*) arrangements with specific carriers, who confirm their readiness the preceding day or morning to purchase the whole or part of their catch in the evening. When no promises have been made, fishermen may still bring in a catch, hoping to find an uncommitted *pemikul* who will purchase a portion or the whole of their catch on the spot. This speculative system is commonly labeled bringing in fish 'like a blind pig (*babi buta*)', a demeaning label that indicates the reluctance with which Muslim Bugis of the shore community undertake fishing when uncertain that their catch will actually be purchased. Payment is preferably in cash, especially in *babi buta* transactions, but those carriers who have become steady purchasers (*langganan*) from a fisherman and whose continuing residence at Lindu is certain sometimes are allowed to defer payment. In fact, such transactions often continue until past midnight, as bringing in fish late in the night facilitates evasion of the taxes (*retribusi* and *fiskal*) regularly collected by the *imam* (who, fortunately enough, goes to bed early each night) as

the local representative of the Regency Fisheries Office. Most *pemikul* rarely begin carrying the fish they have purchased down to Sadaunta or Salua in the Palu Valley until past midnight in any case,²⁷ hoping to arrive in time to sell their loads to the first wave of motorbike retailers, who arrive shortly after sunrise at these exchange points.²⁸

This alternate channel of bringing the fish down from Lindu has provided a much less hierarchical structure of marketing. Fishermen act as their own agents, and, reciprocally, the fish carriers do not consider themselves in a subordinate relationship to their suppliers. Given the insistence on cash payments at each node of the network, relations of indebtedness do not bind particular suppliers to buyers. Fishermen of all three contingents settled at the village centre of Tomado participate in these networks. Fishermen of the second contingent supply *pemikul* in addition to fulfilling their obligations to Ambo Betté, while those of the first and third often resort to such transactions as their sole source of income when the fish entrepreneurs who usually receive their catch are not receiving fish. However, as many of the fishermen from the latter contingents do not own their own boats and motors, they remain obligated to split their profits with those providing this equipment.²⁹ Thus, even in the most egalitarian channel, relations of dependence continue to characterize the position of fishermen.

²⁷ With their loads of up to 50 kg. of fresh fish, the *pemikul* generally require from six to seven hours to cover the distance to Sadaunta that the horse caravans traverse in around four hours, subject to the state of the trail.

²⁸ In some cases, the fish would be bought first by one of the kiosk and warehouse operators at Sadaunta, who would then sell the fish to the *pembonceng*. However, those *pemikul* who traverse the alternate trail to Kulawi in order to sell their fish directly to households in the town and surrounding villages can follow a more flexible schedule. Not surprisingly, these fish carriers are generally those of Kulawi origin, rather than those belonging to the hamlet of Kalora populated by migrants from Napu. Fish carriers of both origins also regularly transport fish directly to Salua by a path leading directly from Salotui to this village at the southern tip of the Palu Valley.

²⁹ Although there was some variability in renting arrangements throughout the community, the general arrangement was to subtract the cost of the petrol from the price of the fish sold and from the remaining sum to allocate two-thirds to the owner of boat and motor and one-third to the fisherman. (In one instance I recorded, these proportions between equipment owner and fisherman were reversed, while in yet another the proceeds after the subtraction of petrol costs were evenly divided.) Alternately, if only a motor alone were required, a fisherman might rent it outright for Rp. 15,000 per month. Contrasting with the diversity of profit-sharing proportions, this rental fee was amazingly constant throughout the shore community, whether or not the leasor and renter were related or coresident. However, a coresident client would more often engage in a profit-sharing relationship with his household head who owned such equipment.

Women and the marketing of dried salted fish

A parallel system of fish marketing has arisen for the distribution of dried salted fish (*balé rakko*) prepared from the *mujair* caught by the fishermen at Lindu. But this system has come under the control of women. Each fisherman of the shore community lays aside a certain portion of his or her daily catch to be salted and dried. Wives and mothers, often assisted by their children and other peripheral relatives in a household, most commonly perform this task, although in one Kanawu household the elderly household head also assisted his wife in this task, allowing his son-in-law to work their wet-rice fields. At the village centre of Tomado, the resulting dried salted fish are usually sold directly to fish carriers (*pemikul*) by the women of the shore community households. Prices range from Rp. 125 to Rp. 250/kg., though sometimes the women prefer to sell by 'tails' (*ekor*) of fish rather than by weight at prices ranging from Rp. 100/10 fish to Rp. 100/6 fish.³⁰ Payment is demanded in cash, except in the case of one fellow member of the shore community, a Kaili man who regularly purchases dried salted fish twice a week and pays upon each return from selling his load directly to kiosk operators and retail customers in Kulawi.

However, in the hamlet of Kanawu on the eastern shore of the lake, whence fish carriers cannot proceed directly down to Sadaunta, Kulawi, or Salua, the dried salted fish are sold to an intermediate marketer, one of three women resident in this hamlet.³¹ These marketers usually pay an equivalent of Rp. 100/kg., but instead of making an immediate cash payment they tend instead to pay in goods – salt, clothing, kerosene, etcetera – they have obtained during their marketing expeditions down in Palu and the Palu Valley. In fact, most often these goods have been paid in advance from the proceeds of earlier trips, rendering the women who supply dried salted fish indebted to these marketers. One of the three has also sometimes paid suppliers in rice. For example, in one transaction Hayati of contingent 4 paid out 20 kg. of rice valued at Rp. 3700 for 28 kg. of dried salted fish valued at Rp. 2800. Her supplier thus remained in debt to her for a total of Rp. 900 of dried salted fish. Thus, the female marketers of dried salted fish ensure their con-

³⁰ The practice of selling dried salted fish according to their number rather than according to their weight was especially prevalent during the drought induced by El Niño, when supplies of fish available for salting were scarce.

³¹ For a short time one man of the fourth contingent, who had taken up residence in an abandoned house in the Tomado shore community, also received dried salted fish from throughout the Lindu area. But when his associate from Kanawu, who collected the dried salted fish for him from the eastern shore of the lake, fled Lindu (and over Rp. 400,000 in local debts) to resume *bagang* fishing in Palu, he too was unable to sustain his operations and descended to Palu as well.

stant supply by the same method used by Ambo Betté in his extending credit for purchases at his kiosk by his subordinate fishermen.

Each of the three marketers prepares her own supplies of dried salted fish, as well as gaining stock from three or four of the women resident in Kanawu. After accumulating some 250 kg. of dried salted fish, which may require between several days and a few weeks depending on the volume of fish caught and the amount of sunlight available for drying, the fish are transported across the lake to the village centre of Tomado and brought down to Sadaunta by horse driver. Whereas Hayati always sells her entire load immediately to a Chinese marketer in Palu, returning as quickly as possible to her own salting and drying, the other two women generally attempt to sell their fish directly in the main Palu market and in the circuit of smaller markets rotating through the Palu valley. Of the three, only Hayati has remained a dried fish marketer continuously, the other two often reverting to the status of supplier depending upon the need for labour in their own family fields and other vicissitudes of the domestic and local economy. Hayati has thus been able to assume in the dried salted fish marketing network a position analogous to that of Ambo Betté for fresh *mujair* fish, linking women of the third and fourth contingents in a structure of dependence sustained by the maintenance of debt.

Conclusions: the relative roles of kinship and debt in Bugis residence and enterprise

Throughout the account of both the relative stability of the migration contingents to Lake Lindu and the operation of fish marketing, the centrality of relations of debt in the maintenance of social relations among the Lindu Bugis migrants has been emphasized. However, as the above account has also revealed, the operation of economic enterprises is also often dependent upon channels defined by kinship. Analysts of Bugis and Makassar society disagree concerning the importance of kinship ties. In his survey of customary law throughout the Indonesian archipelago, Ter Haar classified the villages and regional communities of South Sulawesi as among those 'communities in which the kinship factor has no significance' (Ter Haar 1948:50-1). However, Chabot's (1950, 1967, 1996) examinations of residence patterns in Bontoramba in Goa, South Sulawesi, and Lineton's (1975a, 1975b) studies of Anabanua and of migrant communities in Jambi clearly reveal the operation of kinship principles in the organization of settlement and enterprise. Indeed, the Bugis scholar Mattulada has highlighted the model and participation of the family as the distinguishing feature of all Bugis 'traditional' management:

Usually the businesses are just like a family business, and are started at home. The

more advanced the business the more family members get involved. Involvement of the family may cause more activities to be done [...]. The basic conditional relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* lies on a family system. (Mattulada 1987:3, 5.)

Even analysts who have not regarded kinship as the exclusive mode of organizing enterprises and other activities have noted the preference shown to kin as reliable co-workers:

Kin are always preferred to strangers as helpers in farming – although sometimes the farmer has no choice but to take in 'other people' (non-kin [i.e. *to laingngé*]) because it is considered that, only kin can be really trusted; they have the same views on life, they are 'of one spirit' (*sejiwa*) (Lineton 1975a:188).

When Andi Anwar of the fourth contingent was building the extension to his field hut at Kanawu in which he wished to house the rice-huller he was planning to bring up from the rice mill of his 'grandfather' (FFFBS) Andi Bahar, he voiced his intention of returning to South Sulawesi to bring back a couple of nephews to mind the new mill. In his view, only family members could be trusted for such a task; a client simply was not quite the same when it came to reliability. Even his stepson was too unreliable to remain at such a task.

In fact, the entire movement of the various contingents to Tomado demonstrates the salient role of kinship in recruitment to migration, organization of neighbourhoods, and the realization of enterprises. However, kinship does not exhaust the patterning of social relations in all these spheres. Not all who migrated to Lindu already possessed ties with earlier members of the shore community nor have all become clients (*anaq guru*) or subordinates (*anggota*) who have attached themselves to the households of their patrons or *bos* or to the fishing networks of the main fish entrepreneurs. Even among those who have entered into such relations, ties of kinship do not assure a more favourable share of the catch or easier terms in borrowing equipment. *Tukang Sattu* still charged his daughter and son-in-law one and a half million rupiah when selling his house. When he declared that he had lost his account book and refused to pay his subordinate fishermen the accumulated price for the fish they had caught over the previous weeks, his sons were among those who received no recompense.

Yet, acknowledgement of kinship does make a difference in the attitude and behaviour of the subordinates. In the incident of the forgotten account book, only his son did not abandon *Tukang Sattu*, claiming still to 'remember' (*maringngerrang*) that it was his father who spoke.³² Even *Tukang Sattu*'s original travelling companion *Fachruddin* fled the lake in response to this

³² For further discussions of the idiom of 'remembering' see Errington (1983, 1989) and Acciaioli (1989).

duplicity. Upon his return he remained but a marginal member of the second contingent, marrying with a Lindu woman of the neighbouring village Langko, fishing in association with members of the third and fourth contingents and with Lindu youths, and becoming a mosque functionary (*khatib*) in the entourage of the *imam* Haji Malik from the first contingent, with whom his son resided. He thus represented clearly the difference in sustaining loyalty between a colleague (*sibawa*)³³ and a relative (*séajing* or *silessureng*). Those who were of the same kin cluster as their leader, or who at least hailed from the same region, were less likely to flee from the plain under duress. Kinship could thus be said to constitute a primary, though not an exclusive, channel of recruitment to structures of cooperation and dependence and to induce a greater degree of loyalty from those bound in these relations.³⁴ While the main bonds holding together the structures of dependence were most often those of debt, community-wide kinship ties both facilitated their fastening and tightened the connections.

If the social order of residence and enterprise is not exhaustively structured in recruitment and persistence by kin ties, kinship does function in one sense as a totalistic set of relations. Kinship functions as the common idiom in which solidarity relations are framed. Even those not related by blood can come to be regarded as kin. Andi Anwar highlighted the term *pasilessurengeng*³⁵ as a Bugis way of coming to regard a person as a kinsman (*saudara*), even though there may be no original familial connection or even a common village of origin. Two men outside the homeland may decide to regard each other as 'brothers' (*sianaq pada oroané*) simply because they are both 'Southerners', although they cannot trace any direct relationship. For example, Andi Anwar noted there was only a distant (and untraceable) consanguineal relation (*silessureng mabéla*) between his client Sudirman's grandmother and his own current wife's father, but he had come to regard

³³ The Bugis term *sibawa* is most often used as the preposition 'along with'. However, as a noun it means 'one who comes along, colleague, associate'. It was the closest term I encountered to our sense of 'friend', although the Indonesian term *peserta* rather than *teman* is a better approximation as a translation.

³⁴ Interestingly, Effendy (1981) has pointed out for his Makassar village in Jenépono that although *pajama ata* were almost never related by kinship to their *punggawa*, *pajama anaq-anaq* could often trace a relationship with their *punggawa*, usually through marriage to some relative of the *punggawa*.

³⁵ In terms of morphology, the term is composed of the root *lessuq*, which Matthes (1874:617) defines as 'to be born', which has been converted into a noun signifying literally 'siblinghood' ('those born together') and by extension the kin group (an ambilateral ramage) as a whole by the addition of a nominalizing suffix *-eng* and the prefix *si-* indicating reciprocal action or relation. This nominal form has itself been converted into a verb meaning 'to make as if a sibling' or 'to regard as kin' by the added causative circumfix *pa-eng*.

Sudirman as family.³⁶

Such a creation of ties of kinship is not simply a phenomenon of the periphery. Even in the homeland outsiders (*to laingngé*) may be assimilated as kin. In his study of patron-client relations in the hinterland Makassar region of Jeneponto, Effendy remarked this same familial idiom of solidarity:

Here in Jeneponto even if a person is [originally] an outsider, if we have already woven good relations with each other, then that person is regarded like our own kin. We're willing to die defending our comrades or the good name of our family. (Effendy 1981:2.)

Even such a situation as learning magical knowledge (*paddissengeng*) from the same teacher is enough for one Bugis man to claim another as his 'brother', even though by kinship reckoning they may be only distantly related.³⁷ Thus, regardless of the shared or divergent origins of individuals who have come together, kinship is the idiom of asserting the solidarity of those who have become fellow members in a social unit or in an endeavour, whether a household, neighbourhood, village, or a commercial enterprise.

The Bugis who have migrated to the Lindu plain have managed to dominate the harvesting and marketing of fish from the lake by their control over the debts of the people, both fellow Bugis and other peoples of the Lindu plain, they have come to control. However, the relatively greater success of the members of the second contingent in dominating the marketing of the fish has been in part due to the intertwined and overdetermined bonds of kinship that have provided the links of this group's migration and of the hierarchical fish marketing structure it has erected. While members of the other contingents have settled into patterns of intermittent commuting or dispersed back to their previous homes in the lowland Kaili region or even back in South Sulawesi, the second contingent has remained remarkably consistent in its solidarity with and commitment to its projects at Lindu. As one member of this contingent put it when contrasting the steadfastness of his own group with the flight of members of the other groups: 'In the group of the Artisan, all the Bugis are family.'

Some analysts of South Sulawesi society, among them those who are themselves of Bugis and Makassar descent, have argued that kinship ties have been and continue to be the primary determinant of all social relations. As Mattulada (1977a:114) has declared, 'to the present time in Bugis-Makassar society, the system of familial relations (the kinship system) still

³⁶ He also added that my regarding his own children as my siblings was another example of *pasilessurengeng*.

³⁷ The closest connection through kin and affines I could trace between two men who claimed the status of 'brothers' in virtue of having studied esoteric knowledge from the same *guru* was FBDHMFZS.

constitutes the dominant factor determining the pattern of behaviour in society'. But if the involuted network of kinship relations articulated by cousin-marriages and other overdetermining links provides the idiom of Bugis solidarity, it is the concrete relations of debt that have kept many of these migrants performing their duties as dependent fishermen and horse-drivers at Lindu. Indebted first to the pioneering *Tukang* for their land and implements, then for their daily necessities to the nephew who succeeded him as the premier fish marketer, they have remained in place to work off their debts to the reigning entrepreneur of their contingent. However much the bonds of kinship and, to a lesser degree, the diffuse solidarities of common residential origin and allegiance to pioneering patrons, whether noble or not, has helped to structure the process of migration to Lindu, it is the commercial nexus of labour – its opportunities and demands, its promises and its burdens – that has sustained the settlement and dominance in the harvesting and marketing of fish exercised by the Bugis at Lake Lindu.