SPATIAL PRACTICES AS A PATTERN OF MAINTAINING SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG SELAYAR ETHNIC MIGRANTS IN MAKASSAR CITY, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This paper analyzes the forms of spatial practices carried out by migrants from the Islands Regency in Makassar City in order to maintain ethnic and family social relations.

Methods: This research is descriptive urban space sociology research. This research uses qualitative methods in presenting data and analyzing research findings.

Results and Conclusion: The results of the research show that the Selayar tribe has a life principle of always gathering with family in overseas lands. This principle of life makes them buy a plot of land in a location close to relatives and marry into their own family. Changes in urban space through development policies make it difficult for Selayar people to live in one residential location. As a result, Selayar people try to create new communication spaces to maintain their social relations.

Research implications: The results of this research provide an overview of the spatial practices carried out by ethnic groups in an effort to maintain their social relations.

Originality/value: The spatial practice of a group of people in urban areas is part of an interesting sociological topic to analyze, including strategies for maintaining social relationships.

Keywords: Spatial Practices, Social Relations, Selayar Ethnicity.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The Selayar ethnic group is a tribe of Selayar language speakers who inhabit or originate from the Selayar Islands Regency, South Sulawesi province, Indonesia (Ahmadin, 2023b). For quite a long time, this ethnic group has been known as a tribe that likes to wander, so that now Selayar people (Suhaeb, 2022) can be found in various cities and districts in Indonesia and many of them can be found in various other countries. There are many factors that cause people to like to migrate to various places, including: economic factors in the form of difficulty for local communities to develop the agricultural sector due to the structure of the land which consists of rocky expanses and is less fertile so it is not suitable for certain types of plants. Apart from the pressure of economic conditions to improve the quality of life, other factors that cause migration are certain social problems that make it no longer possible for someone to live in their hometown. For example, a pair of lovers whose parents do not approve of getting married, so moving away with their lover is the solution to bringing their love relationship to the level of marriage. In the customs and traditions of the Selayar community, as in other areas in South Sulawesi, actions like this violate the norms so they have to leave the village. The requirement to leave one's hometown also applies to people who commit immoral acts and other acts that violate customs.

One of the cities where the Selayar people migrate is Makassar. There are several reasons why Makassar City is a destination for migrants, including: Makassar is a trading city and has been busy with commercial activities for a long time (Nurnafisah, 2023), Makassar is a leading city in eastern Indonesia, and the culture and language of the Makassar tribe has many similarities with the Selayar language. Since the 1960s, the Selayar people have lived in Makassar City, especially in Gotong (Around Jalan Sungai Pareman, now) and Maccini. The Selayar people lived in groups in earlier family homes in Makassar and they worked as bread sellers, carpenters, and most of them worked in Chinese-owned shops. According to them, living in a very simple and narrow house is not a problem and the most important thing for them is being able to gather with their close family who are struggling to make a living in this city.
One interesting thing about spatial practice among the nomadic Selayar people in the city of Makassar is creating special residential zones inhabited by fellow Selayar people. Once again, the principle of having to live together in a certain locality is a motivation for people to work and try to own plots of land to then build houses on stilts. Even though it's only in a small and narrow hallway, it's not a problem for those who are important to be able to live together. From the research results, it is known that several family groups who succeeded in buying plots of land, divided 2 or 3 parts of the land to build houses. This tendency is not entirely due to lack of funds, but is driven by the principle of wanting to help their relatives as well as a way to be able to live in the same place.

Referring to the tendency of migrants from Selayar to always want to live together and side by side with their relatives in certain localities in the city of Makassar, it is interesting to study the relationship with the meta principles behind this motivation. Apart from that, their perception of having to live together in a certain place is something that is interestingly related to spatial practices for urban communities. Then how are their spatial practices sustainable in maintaining social relations between urban dynamics which have implications for the reorganization of residential spaces? Starting from this question, we will analyze the patterns of maintaining social relations among ethnic groups among Selayar migrants and the sociological consequences.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 STUDIES ON MIGRATION

Studies on both local migration, namely between regions in Indonesia and cross-country migration from Indonesia to various other countries, have been widely carried out both in social science studies and other scientific disciplines. Likewise, the study of migration in relation to certain ethnic groups has been the focus of several researchers for a long time. A study on international migration and migration theory written by Wickramasinghe, explains that there has been an increase in intellectual interest in issues regarding international migration, which is marked by the growing development of literature on migration. However, according to him, migration theorization is not strong when compared with other branches of international transactions. He suspects that the cause is due to the complexity and diversity of the areas covered by this study. The interesting thing about the study is the types of international migration and the study of migration theory, such as: neo-classical theory, network theory,
institutional theory, cumulative causal theory, and others (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

In a book that discusses migration theory across disciplines, it offers an integrated synthesis of contemporary thinking on migration. This study presents a comparative and global approach in an effort to find similarities and differences in each scientific discipline. Current issues regarding migration are examined in relation to geography and demography. Referring to immigration and refugee studies from the work of Keren O'Reilly, it is explained that social science theories have provided an analytical framework for understanding social phenomena, especially their relationship to migration as an interesting phenomenon of everyday life. It also explains the role of social scientists who study international migration in an effort to understand its potential to exploit, enrich, create competition and bring about transformation for individuals and countries. Over its long history, migration has raised questions about identity, belonging, location, resources, social cohesion and division. The migration narratives in this study form a practical framework of general patterns, arrangements, rules, norms and other structures (Brettell & Hollifield, 2022).

The study of migration in relation to ethnicity in Indonesia was carried out by Mochtar Naim who wrote a dissertation entitled "Merantau: Minangkabau Voluntary Migration" while completing his studies at the University of Singapore. The results of this research are a reference for research on migration in Indonesia and specifically studies of Minangkabau society and culture, both in relation to lifestyle patterns and the distribution of this ethnicity to various destination areas. This research uses conflict theory with a dialectical approach to explain cultural polarization in Indonesia. It is said that apart from being fond of traveling and trading, the Minang people don't forget that they also like to think and study. According to him, this has made Minangkabau give birth to a number of well-known thinkers and figures (Naim, 2012). Another study regarding migration in relation to ethnicity that is interesting for comparison is the results of Andi Ima Kesuma's research on Migration and the Bugis. In this article, we explain why the Bugis people, especially those from the Wajo Kingdom, migrated to other areas and left their hometowns. He introduced the Wajo Bugis people's principles of life regarding the importance of independence or freedom to determine their life through the phrase "Maradeka To Wajoe, Ade'na mi Napopuang" (The Wajo people are independent, and only their customs are masters) (Ahmadin, 2023a). The Wajo Bugis people can leave their homeland at any time when the living conditions in their area are deemed to have deviated from traditional regulations. The concept of independence in determining the ideal life and place to live, made
the Wajo Bugis people migrate to Makassar, Kalimantan and several other areas in Indonesia and some of them migrated internationally, namely to Malaysia (Kesuma, 2004).

These two studies on ethnic-related migration focus on discussions about migrating as an economic strategy carried out by the Minang and Bugis people. The trader mentality is used as a characteristic of these two ethnicities, in the name of wandering is part of the way to improve the quality of life. The study of the migration of Selayar people in this article specifically examines spatial practices as a pattern and strategy for maintaining social relations among Selayar people in overseas areas. The statement is, do the Selayar people not trade like the Minang and Bugis? The research results show that the Selayar people in Makassar were also famous as traders/bread sellers around the city in the 1980s and 1990s and even now.

2.2 CONCEPT OF SPATIAL PRACTICE

The concept of spatial practice in this study is connected with the views of a French philosopher and sociologist, Henri Lefebvre, who divided his spatial analysis into three parts, namely: territorial production, territorial strategy, and territorial effects. The focus of this study focuses on the way space is constructed and reproduced as well as the impact of territorial transformation on sociospatial relations (Brenner & Elden, 2009). The spatial practices of Selayar people in Makassar relate to organizations as a strategy to maintain social relations, referring to a review of Lefebvre's work related to organizations. Ceri Watkins' writing illustrates the connection between space described by Lefebvre and organizations which has so far been very rarely carried out as a study approach. It is stated that his development of the spatial triad recommends an approach to organizational analysis that facilitates the contemplation of social, physical and mental space in providing an integrated view of organizational space (Watkins, 2005).

An interesting result of the study in relation to spatial practice is the writing of Joseph Pierce which acknowledges the contribution of Lefebvre's concept of space as a social production as well as a framework for criticism of cities and politics. Lefebvre articulates space as a complex and multifaceted object, but according to Pierce's study there is a gap between Lefebvrian space theory and contemporary theories of spatial relations (Pierce & Martin, 2015). In relation to this article, Lefebvre's triad theory is territorial production which is connected to the pattern of creating residential spaces for Selayar people, territorial strategy is connected to forms of spatial practices carried out by Selayar migrants, and the impacts caused by these
practices. spatial practices intended to maintain the continuity of social relations among Selayar ethnic groups.

2.3 MEANING OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

The study of social relations related to a particular ethnicity must be seen as the collectivistic nature of that ethnicity. Michael Banton's writings illustrate that the nature of ethnic and national relations can only be known through methods that study them. The reason is because it has complex components, as well as the conceptions of actors and observers regarding ethnic relations show varied differences so that a format model design is needed in the study of the process (Banton, 1994). In connection with efforts to understand the wide variety of ethnic relations, Stanley Lieberson recommends that understanding the nature and processes of ethnic relations requires an examination of a number of conditions inherent in contact between these populations. This assumption is based on an understanding that each ethnic group is different in terms of social, political and economic institutions, so that the presence of social organizations will also be different and have certain boundaries. Apart from that, according to him, each ethnic social group has a different capacity in imposing its social order on other citizens (Lieberson, 1961).

Efforts to understand ethnic social relations are also interesting in connection with another study by Michael Banton who explains that according to him, ethnic relations are a sociological problem that must be distinguished from social policy problems. He cites Max Weber's thoughts as laying the foundation for a micro-sociology of ethnic relations which must be connected to a macro-sociological context in which ethnic groups are constructed through collective action. When ethnic relations originate from trans-national migration, according to him, many things depend on the immigrant's entry point into the economic status scale of the community they are visiting (Banton, 2008).

3 RESEARCH METHOD

This type of research is qualitative (Huberman & Miles, 2002) with a case study analysis model, namely identifying forms of spatial practices of Selayar Ethnic migrants in several residential centers in Makassar City. The case study method in social science research (Wildemuth, 2016), including sociology, is very effective in preventing lack of statistical data. In addition, this method is useful for obtaining a complete explanation of why and how questions. The results of the case study will explain why the Selayar people migrated to
Makassar City and how spatial practices were carried out in an effort to maintain social relations. This case study was conducted based on the following three research questions.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There are four things that are the focus of the study in this paper, namely: the motives of the Selayar people for migrating to Makassar, the perceptions of the Selayar people about residential space which is the principle of living together, the forms of spatial practices (Dodd, 2019) carried out by migrants from the Selayar Islands Regency, as well as patterns of social relations created by the emergence of spatial problems (Hillier, 2012) as the city develops.

4.1 MOTIVES FOR MIGRANT

If we refer to the general theory regarding the causes of migration, it is known that there are two main factors, namely pull factors originating from the destination area and push factors originating from the environment of origin. The only city that became a migration destination for Selayar people in the 1960s was Makassar, as old people used to say that if you wanted to be successful then go to Makassar. In the local language it is pronounced "Ampa a'rai baji' tallasa'mu, annyobalako" (if you want a better life then sail). The meaning of the word sailing (Annyobala, Selayar language) is to go to Makassar by boat. The popularity of Makassar City as an ideal migrant destination to improve the quality of life, was formed by the experience of several beginners who returned to Selayar and reported that working in Makassar had a very promising future. The trigger for this encouragement was not only in the form of success narratives of several people who started working in Makassar, but it was proven that those who returned to their villages had been able to provide a number of gold, electronic goods, nice clothes and other things that were previously difficult to obtain in their villages.

One of the migrants from Selayar Islands Regency (formerly known as Selayar Regency) with the initials MA revealed that in the 1970s, several of his colleagues from the village went home for the Eid al-Fitr holiday and brought back items they had purchased from working in Makassar, namely radio tape. For village people, having this facility is extraordinary where things like this are still very rare to find. Finally, MA's house became a gathering place for village people to enjoy music from the radio tape. In just a short time, news of MA's success after migrating had spread to various places until it finally became a
motivating factor for other people to go to Makassar. Apart from that, several people also reported that working in shops owned by Chinese people in Makassar, apart from getting a sufficient salary, breakfast and lunch were also covered so they only had to spend money on food at night. It is certain that working in conditions like this will be profitable because you can save money. This story is one of the many success stories of early settlers from Selayar who became a pulling factor for other Selayar people later. In short, Makassar was the most ideal destination city at that time for the purpose of improving the quality of life. Starting from there, there were waves of migration from year to year, although the numbers were not large.

Apart from that, another push factor was the compulsion to migrate to other areas, including Makassar, due to violating the customs that prevailed in his village. For people who are proven to have committed theft, adultery, cheating on someone else's partner, and other types of prohibited acts, the social sanction is that they have to leave their hometown. Several other cases were also forced to leave their hometowns because they were in a love relationship and were not approved for marriage. As a result, the couple took a shortcut, namely Silariang (getting married in another place by running away from their parents) and one of the places they migrated to was Makassar. Specifically in this case, a couple of lovers who had migrated to try their luck made success a necessity where they were obliged to show to other people, especially in the village, that they had succeeded abroad. Usually they can be welcomed back into the village after going through the process of adapting to customary rules and also when their economic conditions are established for their survival.

4.2 PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTIAL SPACE

For Selayar people who are still consistent with the social and cultural values inherited from their ancestors, they do not only consider houses and building locations as ordinary places to live. However, culturally, the house is considered a place that has sacred value and contains various philosophical meanings. For the Selayar people, a house is considered a representation of the essence of life and its sustainability, so they have an eclectic attitude in choosing a house to live in. One of the many knowledge systems of the Selayar people about houses and residential spaces is the direction in which a house faces. According to Selayar people's beliefs, the ideal house is one that faces east, which they consider to be the bringer of good fortune. This is connected with the direction of the sunrise, namely from the east, where the sun is believed to be the source of life. The Selayar people also always try to build their houses on the west side of the main road or alley, so that the rising sun can directly
illuminate the front door of their house. Even in the morning, not only the door of the house must be opened, but every window must also be in an open position, which is believed to bring good fortune to the occupants of the house.

Another perception about residential space for Selayar people is that they consider living as neighbors with their own relatives to be something very ideal. This is considered to be the principle or habit of assisare (giving each other), especially food. Thus, if someone manages to get a plot of land to build a house, they usually don't own it themselves but try to share it with other relatives. In this case, living in the same location is their target and the most ideal residential space for living a life, including in Makassar City. Another important thing from the Selayar people's view of an ideal settlement is the importance of independence in life, which can be seen in their habit of telling their married children to have their own house even though it was initially small and simple. Usually, children who are married build a house next to their parents' house, so that communication links and a family atmosphere are maintained. Behind instilling the values of independence in life, the Selayar people also believe that living close to children who have just started a family can easily control their survival.

Another interesting view of residential space is explained, namely that people, like other ethnic groups in Indonesia, really avoid the position of skewer houses (to'dok sate, Selayar), namely houses that are located at intersections or straight ends of roads without turns. In Selayar people's belief, the position of the skewer-style house can bring bad luck to its residents. Even though many people consider this a myth, quite a few people firmly believe that it should be avoided as much as possible. Views like this cause many houses to continue to be built with a skewer position like that, so when you want to sell it, it is difficult to find a buyer.

4.3 SPATIAL PRACTICES

Spatial practices relate to people's metacognition about ideal and non-ideal residential spaces. The principle of asse're se're (together), both when eating and discussing various things, is the main basis for the emergence of a tendency to form a family-based settlement pattern in Makassar City. A phrase that often appears to legitimize their tendency to live in adjacent houses is "manna apaja ri kanre, nampa se're se'reki nyamang juai" (eat anything if you gather together, it will definitely be delicious). The manifestation of togetherness in the practice of space, which is based on this principle, can be seen in their habit of eating together.
at lunch or dinner in a bale-bale in front of or next to their house. This kind of spatial practice at least shows two important things, namely that no rich person supports the food needs of the poor, because anyone who has certain food ingredients becomes a supplier for food with them. Then the habit of eating together is a mechanism to guarantee the maintenance of family ties between Selayar people in Makassar.

Spatial practice, in the form of the desire to always live close to family, is also influenced by the habit of assisare (giving to each other) in a broad sense. A principle underlying this habit of giving to each other is the ancestral message "ako nganre kale kale" (don't eat alone). This ancestral message shows the importance of giving to each other, including food, so that the Selayar people's habit of always sharing whatever it is. One thing that needs to be understood is the relationship between the habit of giving to each other and the need to live in close proximity to each other, namely that for more than three decades the population of Makassar and Indonesia in general has still been limited in terms of means of long-distance communication. Thus, to support habits and maintain the continuity of their social relations and family ties, the most effective means is to live in a nearby location. Conditions like this also cause the Selayar people to have the principle that even though the house is not large, the important thing is that they can live and gather with other members of their family. Apart from that, this model of spatial practice is also based on a sense of village that arises and always exists when they live in the same location.

Spatial practices like this have led to the emergence of Selayar settlement centers in Makassar City even though they do not form ethnic villages. Several residential centers in Makassar, namely: Gotong (now around Jalan Sungai Pareman), Maccini, Kelapa Tiga, Tello, Rappokalling, and several other places. The residents of the Selayar residential centers come from various villages in the Selayar Islands Regency. When they met and interacted in Makassar, they identified each other regarding their family origins until they finally agreed that they were descended from the same grandmother or grandfather. Apart from that, a principle that has become a strong bond that unites them is paraki silajara (fellow people from Selayar) which makes them feel like they share the same destiny and share the same responsibility in overseas areas. One principle of success that they adhere to is "ditte paraki tau lampa lampa, parallu ri paenteng siri' iya" (we fellow migrants must fight to be successful). This means that for Selayar people who choose to migrate to Makassar, they are prohibited from returning to their village before success.
4.4 NEW PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

City development and spatial planning policies in Makassar have an impact on ethnic residential spaces, including the Selayar people. One example is the construction of the Infrastruktur toll road which was inaugurated in 1998, resulting in Selayar people having to move their residence because their house land was crossed by this new road section. Apart from that, the increasing number of Selayar people living in Makassar City has become a new problem and makes it impossible for them to join the previously established settlement locations. In fact, several cases of evictions, such as those that occurred in the development area around Panakukang, caused Selayar people to have to change their residence and they were separated in different places. The separation of the residences of the Selayar people does not mean the loss of social relations between them. On the other hand, the strong social ties based on ethnicity and family have caused Selayar people to try to find new mechanisms and patterns in social relations. Thus, even though the Selayar people are separated spatially in different settlement locations and perhaps far apart, they still maintain social relations and maintain their kinship.

The pattern of social relations formed by the Selayar people in Makassar was initially known as A'muhakka', namely a kind of family gathering, either bi-weekly or monthly. This regular meeting is accompanied by a domino game and each member deposits two types of funds, namely social gathering money and consumption funds. Even though the number is not large, in principle the important thing is that they can come together and thus make it easier for them to control family members. For example, if they are not present, it will be questioned whether he is sick or what. This means that this type of simple social gathering, apart from functioning as entertainment and a place for friendship, also functions as a means of ensuring whether family members remain in good health or not. This type of family social gathering can be categorized as just a gathering event, because the amount of funds received by those whose social gathering increases is relatively small. There are other types of family gatherings that are formed by Selayar people with quite large amounts, namely IDR 500,000 to IDR 1,000,000. The arisan money received amounting to tens of millions was allocated for, among other things, buying plots of land, building houses, buying vehicles, and others. For social gatherings with large amounts of funds, this is done at the end or beginning of every month and this is also part of the way of maintaining kinship relations among the Selayar people.

In the early 1990s, Selayar migrants in Makassar City began to form organizations in the form of family associations as a means of communicating and establishing friendly
relations. The members of this ethnic-based organization or community are Selayar people in Makassar City who come from several of the same villages (based on the same village of origin). Currently we see many Selayar community groups, such as: people from Onto village in Selayar forming an organization called the Onto Selayar Community Family Association, people from Kadempak Selayar village forming an organization called Kadempak Selayar Community Harmony or abbreviated as KEMAKSEL, Selayar people from Tenro village formed an organization called Tanabau Tenro Family Harmony or abbreviated as KERABAT, Selayar people from Pa'batteang village also formed a community, as well as many other ethnic and village-based community names. Some time later a parent organization emerged called the Selayar Community Association or also known as PERMAS, trying to bring together several communities, although in its development its management was less effective and each community developed independently.

5 CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and discussion, it can be concluded that: the motives of the Selayar people to migrate to Makassar are caused by two factors, namely pullers and pushers. The city of Makassar, which is a center of commerce and provides various job opportunities, attracts the interest of Selayar people, making it a destination for overseas residents. The driving factor is that the geographical conditions of Selayar which are less promising for the development of the agricultural sector encourage people to migrate to other areas. The Selayar people live in Makassar City in groups and occupy the same residential locations. According to the Selayar people, living in adjacent houses in the same area is one way to maintain social relations between families and ethnic groups. The habit of giving and eating together, as was done in their home villages, caused them to live in groups in Makassar City, resulting in the emergence of Selaya settlement centers in this city located at several points. The development of the city and spatial planning policies in Makassar then had an impact on the practice of evictions and changes in their settlement patterns. Apart from that, the increase in the number of ethnic Selayar residents in Makassar makes it difficult for them to continue living in the same residential location. Thus, to maintain social relations between families and ethnic groups, they form routine monthly activities as a means for them to gather and stay in touch. Apart from that, they also form ethnic-based organizations or community groups as a means of maintaining communication.
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