



{ MUDIMA }



## When Concrete Buries Roots: National Strategic Projects and the Quiet Destruction of Bugis-Makassar Social Capital

Nurmi Nonci<sup>1\*</sup>, Harifuddin<sup>2</sup>, Andi Burchanuddin<sup>3</sup>, Ahmad Muhajir<sup>4</sup>

Universitas Bosowa

**Corresponding Author:** Nurmi Nonci; [nurmi.nonci@universitasbosowa.ac.id](mailto:nurmi.nonci@universitasbosowa.ac.id)

### ARTICLE INFO

**Keywords:** National Strategic Projects (PSN), Socio-Cultural Capita, Bugis-Makassar Community, Social Capital, Sustainable Development

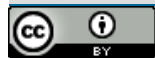
*Received* : 5 June 2026

*Revised* : 25 July 2026

*Accepted* : 26 August 2026

©2026 Nonci, Harifuddin, Burchanuddin, Mubajir : This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

[4.0 Internasional](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



### ABSTRACT

This article examines the erosion of socio-cultural capital among the Bugis-Makassar community due to the implementation of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) in Makassar City, using David Harvey's accumulation by dispossession theory, Pierre Bourdieu's social capital concept, and Talcott Parsons' AGIL framework. The PSN projects in Makassar, especially Makassar New Port and the development of the Makassar Industrial Area, have radically changed the city's spatial layout between 2020 and 2025, forcing coastal fishermen and traditional traders to leave living spaces that form the foundation of their socio-cultural identity. Data from Presidential Regulation Number 109 of 2020 shows that out of the total national PSN investment worth hundreds of trillions of rupiah, the portion explicitly aimed at maintaining the socio-cultural capital of affected communities is very disproportionate compared to infrastructure investment. This article finds that PSN structurally exploits local social capital, maritime tradition, the philosophy of *siri' na pacce*, and communal solidarity networks to buffer the social impacts of projects without recognizing, compensating, or renewing them. The analysis uses a qualitative method with a systematic literature review approach and analysis of PSN policy documents as well as the Makassar City regional development reports for 2020–2025

### INTRODUCTION

This article looks at the structural consequences of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) on the sociocultural capital of the Bugis-Makassar community in Makassar City. PSN in Makassar shows up in the form of Makassar New Port, the development of the Makassar Industrial Area (KIMA), and various connectivity infrastructure projects under Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020, which covers 201 national strategic projects. Behind the grandeur of the built infrastructure, there are social consequences that are rarely seriously discussed in public discourse: the quiet erosion of social networks, local ecological knowledge systems, and the philosophy of *siri' na pacce* that for centuries has been the foundation of Bugis-Makassar community identity and resilience. The issue is not just about disproportionate budgets but about a

development paradigm that structurally separates economic development from socio-cultural development..

The data shows the scale of this inequality quite concretely. According to Presidential Regulation Number 109 of 2020, Makassar New Port received investments of more than IDR 3 trillion as part of the Eastern Indonesia logistics hub project. However, out of the total allocation for the National Strategic Projects budget, not a single item explicitly targets the maintenance of the social-cultural capital of affected communities, local identity-based empowerment programs, or compensation mechanisms that take into account the socio-cultural value of lost assets. Fishermen and traditional traders who have lived for generations in the coastal areas of Makassar—areas historically serving as spaces for

the reproduction of the values of *siri' na pacce* and the Bugis-Makassar maritime trade network—witness their living and cultural spaces being transformed into an international port area without any substantial engagement mechanisms. The evaluation report on regional development in Makassar City (Bappenas, 2022) confirms that the compensation valuation system used only takes into account the economic value of land and buildings, completely ignoring the value of community networks, local ecological knowledge, and the cultural identity attached to the space.

This article uses three mutually reinforcing theoretical frameworks to analyze this issue. First, Harvey's (2004) concept of accumulation by dispossession explains how PSN accumulates benefits from local social capital without reinvesting in its maintenance. Second, Bourdieu's (1986) social capital theory is used to analyze the paradox where communities are forced to use their own social capital to mitigate the impacts of projects that actually threaten the sustainability of that capital. Third, Parsons' (1951) AGIL scheme is used to diagnose the functional failures of Makassar's social system due to PSN's disruption of adaptation functions, goal attainment, and local community integration.

Based on the explanation above, this article raises the following research question: how does the structural mechanism of PSN in Makassar exploit the Buginese-Makassar socio-cultural capital, and what are the long-term consequences of that exploitation on the identity and resilience of the local community? This question is important because the

answer determines whether the current PSN paradigm is capable of producing socially and culturally sustainable development, or if it actually generates even deeper social inequalities.

## METHODS

This study uses a qualitative research method with a systematic literature review approach and policy document analysis. This approach was chosen because the main goal of the research is to analyze the structural mechanisms and patterns of socio-cultural consequences from the implementation of the National Strategic Projects (PSN), which requires a critical synthesis of various relevant secondary data sources. The document analysis includes Presidential Regulation No. 3 of 2016 along with its amendments up to Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020, the 2020–2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), the 2022 Bappenas PSN evaluation report, and the regional development planning documents of Makassar City. A systematic literature review was carried out on scientific publications in the fields of development sociology, cultural sociology, and critical development studies relevant to the context of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The validity of the analysis was ensured through triangulation between policy document sources, empirical data from development reports, and theoretical synthesis from critical sociology literature. This study was conducted with reference to the period of PSN implementation in Makassar City from 2020–2025.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### **Psn di makassar: megah di pelabuhan, sunyi di kampung**

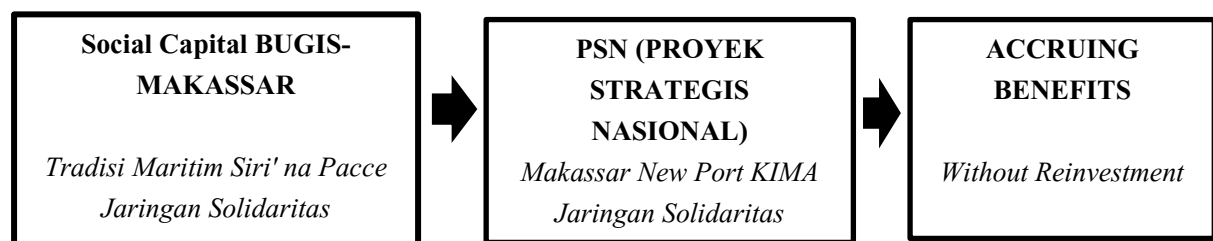


Figure 1. Mekanisme Accumulation by Dispossession dalam Konteks PSN Makassar

Source: Adapted from Harvey (2004) and the author's analysis, 2025

Makassar New Port, which is on the list of priority National Strategic Projects (PSN), has become the clearest symbol of uneven development orientation. This project is designed to make Makassar a logistics hub for Eastern Indonesia connected to global trade networks—an ambition that makes a lot of geo-economic sense given Makassar's strategic position on the Asia-Pacific trade route. But that ambition comes at a price that has never been transparently calculated: the price paid by communities who have been building their lives for generations in coastal areas that are now being turned into an international port zone. Not a single one of the PSN projects in Makassar explicitly targets the preservation of local communities' social capital as a development component equally important as physical infrastructure (Harvey, 2004; 63).

The mechanism of exploiting social capital works through two mutually reinforcing paths. The first path is direct accumulation: Makassar New Port benefits from the Bugis-Makassar maritime tradition, which for centuries has built trading networks, navigational knowledge, and the port's reputation, making Makassar a strategic spot on regional trade routes. Without this socio-cultural capital, Makassar's position as a logistics hub wouldn't have the historical foundation that makes it attractive for investment. The second path is impact absorption: since the National Strategic Projects (PSN) don't provide adequate social protection

mechanisms, the value system of siri' na pacce, kinship solidarity networks, and the gotong royong (mutual cooperation) mechanisms—which are at the core of Bugis-Makassar social capital—act as buffers against the social impacts of projects that move too quickly and leave affected communities behind (Bourdieu, 1986; 248).

In the long run, when the wave of modernization brought by PSN fundamentally changes the social structure of Makassar by bringing in a large number of newcomers, massively shifting land use, and altering long-standing patterns of communal interaction, the social capital that has so far served as a safety net will erode. When that happens, local communities will lose the resilience foundation that has never been officially recognized, while PSN has long been reaping the benefits from it. Li and Elmhirst emphasize that the most persistent impact of large infrastructure projects is not the direct economic effects, but the irreversible erosion of social capital (Li, 2007; 18; Elmhirst, 2011;8)

### Five Structural Failures: A Sociological Diagnosis

Based on the analysis above, this article identifies five interconnected structural failures rooted in PSN's bias toward physical infrastructure. A social system is a system of interaction of a plurality of actors, in which the action is oriented by rules which are objects of orientation of the actors. (Parsons, 1951; 107)

Table 1. Application of the AGIL Parsons Scheme in Diagnosing Social System Dysfunction in Makassar due to PSN

|                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>A—ADAPTATION</b> Disrupted: communities lose traditional economic bases and local ecological knowledge as mechanisms of environmental adaptation | <b>G—GOALATTAINMENT (Pencapaian Tujuan)</b> Disrupted: community goals (living space, cultural reproduction) are not compatible with PSN (global logistics hub) goals        |
| <b>I—INTEGRATION</b> Disrupted: the existing participation mechanism does not integrate the interests of local communities in the PSN process       | <b>L — LATENCY (Pattern Maintenance)</b> Disrupted: the value of siri' na pacce and maritime traditions cannot be reproduced when its cultural space is destroyed by the PSN |

Tabel 2. Five Structural Failures of PSN from a Development Sociology Perspective

| Yes | Types of Failures      | Short Description                                                                                       |
|-----|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Policy Failure         | There are no regulations that require substantive involvement of local communities in PSN               |
| 2   | Valuation Failure      | The compensation system only recognizes the economic value of the land, ignoring socio-cultural capital |
| 3   | Participation Failure  | Top-down planning process; Public consultation is a formality without substantial influence             |
| 4   | Institutional Failure  | Community guardians function as investment facilitators, not citizen advocacy                           |
| 5   | Sustainability Failure | No plans for post-construction socio-cultural capital renewal of PSN                                    |

Source: Author's analysis based on literature review and PSN policy documents (2020–2025)

First, policy failure. There isn't a single regulation at the city or provincial level that explicitly requires National Strategic Projects (PSN) to meaningfully involve local communities in the planning process, or that sets compensation standards considering the socio-cultural value of affected assets. The absence of this policy framework is a direct consequence of a development paradigm that defines success solely by measurable physical output.

Second, valuation failure. The asset valuation system used in the PSN compensation process structurally fails to recognize the socio-cultural capital of communities. The value of a fishing village

can't just be reduced to the market value of its land; it also has to include the value of social networks, ecological knowledge, and collective identity that are reproduced through that space (Bappenas, 2022).

Third, participation failure. The planning and implementation process of the National Strategic Projects in Makassar is very top-down. Any public consultation that takes place, if at all, is generally just a formality and doesn't really change the substance of decisions that have already been made. Parsons points out that a social system that fails to integrate the interests of all actors will experience dysfunction in terms of integration and achieving common goals (Parsons, 1951; 107).

Table 3. Theoretical Framework Matrix and Its Applications in PSN Makassar Analysis

| Theory         | Key concepts                      | Application in the Context of PSN Makassar                                                          |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Harvey (2004)  | Accumulation by Dispossession     | PSN reaps the benefits of local socio-cultural capital without reinvestment into the community      |
| Bourdieu(1986) | Social Capital & Cultural Capital | The community uses its own social capital to mitigate the impact of the PSN that threatens it       |
| Parsons (1951) | AGIL Scheme                       | PSN interferes with local community Adaptation, Goal-attainment, Integration, and Latency functions |

Source: Author's compilation from Harvey (2004), Bourdieu (1986), and Parsons (1951)

Fourth, institutional failure). Institutions that are supposed to protect the interests of local communities often end up serving more as facilitators for investment interests. This kind of institutional void means that the voices of affected

communities don't really have an effective way to be part of decision-making processes that affect the future of their living spaces (Kusno, 2010; 44).

Fifth, sustainability failure). PSN dirancang dengan logika jangka pendek that prioritizes

finishing the physical project without any mechanism to ensure the social-cultural sustainability of the affected community. There's no long-term plan to rebuild disrupted social capital, no empowerment programs based on local identity, and no ongoing monitoring of social-cultural impacts after construction

## CONCLUSION

This article has shown that the consequences of PSN on the identity and social capital of the local Makassar community are more subtle yet more worrying than what has been discussed in public discourse. The main cause of this problem is not the bad intentions of PSN planners, but rather a development paradigm that structurally separates economic development from socio-cultural development. As a result, the social capital of the traditional Bugis-Makassar maritime community, the philosophy of *siri' na pacce*, and communal solidarity networks are exploited as a foundation and buffer for project impacts without ever being recognized, compensated, or renewed. The five structural failures identified—policy, valuation, participation, institutional, and sustainability—are all rooted in the same paradigm: a development approach that prioritizes measurable physical outputs over socio-cultural sustainability, which is harder to measure but far more decisive for the future of the city.

The current situation shows that this erosion of social capital is still going on alongside the PSN projects in Makassar. Without firm and immediate policy intervention, this process will result in a logistics hub operating on the ruins of the communities that have built the city's reputation for centuries. Makassar has all the capital needed to become a city that is advanced in infrastructure while also strong socially and culturally. What's needed is a wise development paradigm that recognizes the value of socio-cultural capital as an asset that's just as important as physical infrastructure.

Based on these findings, the article recommends two things. First, at the policy level: local governments need to introduce regulations that make Social and Cultural Impact Assessment (SCIA)

a required component of National Strategic Projects, giving it equal standing with AMDAL, along with a community benefit-sharing mechanism to ensure the benefits of these projects flow back to the affected communities. Second, at the research level: further empirical studies are needed that integrate the direct voices of affected communities through in-depth interviews and field observations, to strengthen the primary data base, which in this study still relies on secondary sources.

## REFERENCES

- Bappenas. 2022. Laporan Evaluasi Pelaksanaan Proyek Strategis Nasional 2020–2022. Jakarta; Kementerian PPN/Bappenas.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. The Forms of Capital. Dalam J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (hal. 241–258). Greenwood Press.
- Elmhirst, Rebecca. 2011. *Migrant Pathways and the Making of Place in Indonesia*. Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography (Vol. 32 No. 1: 1–14).
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press.
- Harvey, David. 2004. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Kusno, Abidin. 2010. *The Appearances of Memory: Mnemonic Practices of Architecture and Urban Form in Indonesia*. Duke University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell.

Li, Tania Murray. 2007. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Duke University Press.

Parsons, Talcott. 1951. *The Social System*. Free Press.

Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 109 Tahun 2020 tentang Perubahan Ketiga atas Peraturan Presiden Nomor 3 Tahun 2016 tentang Percepatan Pelaksanaan Proyek Strategis Nasional.