

POWER RELATION OF *PUNGGAWA-SAWI* ON FISHERMEN OF BAJO ETHNICS AT TIWORO ARCHIPELAGO, NORTH TIWORO DISTRICT, WEST MUNA REGENCY, SOUTH EAST SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

After the coming of globalization flow and ideology of capitalism in New Order around 1970s and 1980s until reformation era in 1998 up to now, power relation of *punggawa-sawi* resulted in hegemony on the group of *sawi* that had the impact on economic imbalance in the life of Bajo ethnics. This research is a qualitative method. Next, this research used a qualitative method with technique of *snowball* according to the purpose and objective of research.

Result of this research showed that in forming power relation and hegemony of the group of *punggawa* is done not only directly in recruiting *sawi* as the worker to collect sea product, but also do the power and hegemony through another *punggawa*, through capital restriction and restraint of trade. In addition, manipulating regulation of government, power relation and hegemony through trader outside and through security apparatus are also done in recruiting *sawi* with the purpose of pursuing economic profit. Ideology of capitalism and religiosity is the supporting factor of hegemony towards *sawi* to happen. In this case, power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* has the implication on ideological aspect that also influences system of knowledge of Bajo ethnics. Besides, this thing also has the implication on economic aspect, namely inequality of income between *punggawa* with *sawi*, political aspect, namely the involvement of the group of *punggawa* in practical politics, and has the implication in practical politics and has the implication on the condition of social stratification in which the change on the system of social stratification happens on the society of Bajo ethnics.

Keywords: power relation, Punggawa-Sawi, Bajo ethnics, ideology, and capitalist.

INTRODUCTION

In the light of economic aspect, societal life of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency constitutes the relation of patron-client between the capital owner and worker that is usually called with the term of "*punggawa-sawi*". In analyzing the power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* during New Order in 1970s and 1980s and the coming of reformation era in 1998 up to now with globalization flow and capitalism that is increasingly strong did not make the change totally on the life of Bajo ethnics. One of which that is still inherent in economic life as their cultural heritage is the

relationship of patron-client between capital owner/production leader and worker that is usually called by Bajo ethnics in South and Southeast Sulawesi with the term of *punggawa-sawi*.

The word of *punggawa* is similirized with leader or boss. This term is used to describe the relationship in the broad scope between superior and subordinate that is accompanied with personal bonds. The term of *sawi* is the complement of *punggawa* that can be interpreted as the subordinate or the person having personal relationship with the superior.

The relation between *punggawa-sawi* on fishermen community of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo forms the bonds of patron-client. Initially, the relationship of *punggawa* and *sawi* in doing fish-catching and catching-product division ran in a balanced and fair manner between *punggawa* and *sawi*. But, the advent of capitalism flow causes the group of *punggawa* increasingly intensively builds the relations with other parties in doing management of sea product that, without being realized, arouse the power and hegemony to the group of *sawi*. This has the implication on economic condition of society of Bajo ethnics.

The main question in this research how the forms of power relation of *punggawa-sawi* in the activity of fishermen of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency are. This research aims at answering the general problems that happen on fishermen of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District West Muna Regency related to the power relation of the group of *punggawa* and group of *sawi*. Whereas, the specific purpose of this research is to respond the problems in the problem formulation.

This research uses a power relation theory of Foucault to study the forms of power relation between the interest supporter namely *punggawa* (rural government and entrepreneur of sea product collector) and society of fishermen of *sawi* and influence of modernization towards ideology of group of *punggawa* and *sawi*. This research also employed a theory of capital of Bourdieu. This theory is used not only to see the form of power relation, but also to study the implication that happens in power relation of *punggawa-sawi* on fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The forms of the power relation of fishermen's activities mentioned above are as follows. The form of working-relation also happens between small *punggawa* with his *sawi*. Small *punggawa* is the *punggawa* given capital by big *punggawa* to be managed with the purpose of enlarging his working-area. The task of small *punggawa* is recruiting the group of

sawi or traditional small fishermen to work to *punggawa*. The direct recruitment of *sawi* that is done by small *punggawa* is the strategy done to create their own fishermen in their own region in collecting sea products like Tasipi Village, Bero Village, Tiga Village, and all villages at North Tiworo District. This is carried out not only to expand working-relation, but also to fulfill their production necessity including how the small *punggawa* as the mediator of big *punggawa* can become the relation and hegemonize the distribution areas of fishermen of *sawi* to be made the worker in collecting sea products.

The target of small *punggawa* in doing the recruitment of *sawi* to do the activity of fish-catching is the group of small fishermen that works individually either they who use traditional boat by using sticking-machine or traditional boat by using oar or they who do not have catching-tools.

The way done by small *punggawa* is by giving additional capital loan for the fishermen of *sawi* who have had the business of catching previously according to their needs. Whereas, for *sawi* who begins their business for the first time is given capital loan in the form of tools and equipment of catching-tool and is given money loan to fulfill their daily life needs. The strategy of direct recruitment of *sawi* by giving capital and loan for daily life needs aims to be easier to monitor and control their performance so that it makes the power and hegemony of *punggawa* towards *sawi* to be increasingly strong. It is due to the life pattern of *sawi* himself that tends to be pragmatical and irregular in the management of finance because of their mindset that regards that sea has provided their life needs.

The relation formed by big *punggawa* to expand his business network is by forming small *punggawa* as the mediator of big *punggawa* in building power relation and hegemony towards *sawi*. One of the criteria in lifting small *punggawa* is done by being chosen a *sawi* that has worked for a long time and has obtained the trust, loyalty and still owns kinship bonds with big *punggawa*.

It is through the small *punggawa* that in turn recruits *sawi* to work to collect sea products either by using traditional boat or by using sticking-machine in all areas of North Tiworo District to fulfill the necessity of market. The way of big *punggawa* builds the connections in enlarging his business expansion by creating small *punggawa* as the mediator of big *punggawa*. The group of small *punggawa* spreads in every island that also constitutes the villages at North Tiworo District to facilitate the access of small *punggawa* and collect sea products from the fishermen (*sawi*). Through the small *punggawa* that has been created by big *punggawa* aims at strengthening the power and hegemony of *punggawa* towards *sawi*.

Working-relation that happens between *punggawa* and *sawi* is carried out by giving the trust to manage capital with the purpose of binding the group of *sawi* in order to keep working and obeying towards the command of *punggawa* that is helped by small *punggawa*. The group of big *punggawa* expands their working-relation and develops business with the purpose of dominating sea products so that they can fulfill their production needs. In actualizing this strategy, big *punggawa* depends on the capability of the small *punggawa* as their mediator in every village that spreads at North Tiworo District. In choosing the person that is made as their working-partner, the group of big *punggawa* has their own requirement. This requirement is done to give the guarantee in order that the distributing of capital and loan to *sawi* can run well and make sure that the collecting of sea product can be dominated by big *punggawa*.

This strategy is carried out in order that the cost is still in the control of big *punggawa*. The submission of authority in capital management and purchase cost determining towards catching-product of the fishermen of *sawi* is made use of by the group of small *punggawa* to do the purchase according to the cost established partially by the group of small *punggawa*, even though the cost does not exceed the standard of cost established by the group of big *punggawa*. This case becomes the space of the group of small *punggawa* to do the power and hegemony towards the group of *sawi* by means of giving capital according to the needs of *sawi* and on the aspect of product division and purchase are not greatly imbalanced and tend to lose the group of *sawi*.

Social bond between *punggawa* and *sawi* not only obtains the profit economically, but this relation in turn develops and is directed to reach a bigger political interest. Its purpose is to strengthen the existence of *punggawa* in the middle of Bajo ethnics by making use of social bond between *punggawa* and *sawi* for political interests with the hope of being capable of arranging and of actualizing the aids given by both central government and local government to the group of fishermen of Bajo ethnics. Economic dependence of fishermen of *sawi* towards *punggawa* becomes moral bond with the obligations that must follow the will of *punggawa* in giving his political decision.

The capability of *punggawa* in controlling his member becomes special attention both executive and legislative government. *Punggawa* is in turn made as the connection of building communication with groups of fishermen that are controlled by the group of big *punggawa*. This condition opens the space in which power relation and hegemony play in the midst of society of Bajo fishermen.

Along with the socio-political development in the region, the group of *punggawa* in turn changes into the agent that guards governmental policy even becomes political connection in the midst of society of fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The group of *punggawa* plays a role not only as the capital owner in domination of economical assets, but begins entering in political fields. In addition to strengthening their existence in the society, the group of *punggawa* also protects and adds their economic assets through governmental policy both executive and legislative government. This progressively strengthens the power and hegemony of *punggawa* towards *sawi* by doing manipulation of governmental policy regulation both executive and legislative government.

The group of *punggawa* to optimize performance of *sawi* in collecting sea products in order to be able to get big profit by means of interlacing relation and collaboration with traders outside whether they who are in Makassar, Bali, Surabaya, or Jakarta. The relation that is built through the traders outside of North Tiworo District is done in order that they obtain capital loan and make sure that the route of marketing of sea products can be overcome and can get bigger profit. The traders outside are also not reluctant to give the trust in the aid of capital for the group of *punggawa* to make them easier to obtain the supply of sea products.

The relationship of power relation between big *punggawa* with trader of sea product collector from outside has had their each own route. The abovementioned trading-route may not be broken and if they break the rule that has been established will get sanction from the collectors of sea products from four cities in Indonesia. In addition, they as the capital supplier, it signifies that it has happened the power and hegemony of traders outside towards the role of big *punggawa*. Therefore, they cannot help but obliging to guard the relationship of fellow *punggawa* and do the power and hegemony towards *sawi* to work as well as possible for the survival and trust of their business from the sanction that they obtain whenever from traders outside.

Punggawa as the doer of business in the midst of society certainly always expects to conduct their safe and comfortable business and without any disturbance. Principally, *punggawa* requires the security guarantee in doing their business according to what is expected without any disturbance from another person or from certain societal groups as the consequence of business competition. For that reason, the group of *punggawa* entrusts safety and protection of their business through security apparatus. In this case, institution of police matter is the best institution in ascertaining the safety of their business.

There is mutualistic relation in which *punggawa* gets the sense of safety in one hand, on the other hand, the group of *punggawa* can also give the fear towards *sawi* that tries to do the bad things or opposition towards *punggawa*. Based on this case, *punggawa* makes the security side as the tool to give the fear towards the group of *sawi* in order to guard and guarantee their obedience towards *punggawa*. The relationship of power relation and hegemony through security side also aims at guaranteeing the survival of fish-catching business and preventing conflict of inter fellow fishermen that depend his life form sea products.

Besides, power and hegemony through security apparatus also aims at avoiding and acting on emphatically the fishermen from out of North Tiworo to conduct sea product catching in their area.

CLOSING

The implication of power relation of *punggawa-sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency is as follows. Loyalty and obedience of Bajo ethnics are keeping ritual and *pamali* in the form of prohibition and forbidding and are keeping the belief to the existence of magical creature of sea guardian. The prohibition that must be obeyed both *sawi* and his family member when the husband is going in the sea may not break *pamali*. *Pamali* is in the form of prohibition and forbidding that have been institutionalized in the self of every fishermen of Bajo ethnics so that it forms the action and paradigm of Bajo ethnics about surroundings. This implies on the action of balancing between human beings and *papu* (the God), between human and human, and between human and nature.

Pamali that is in the form of prohibition and forbidding is made use of by *punggawa* to influence *sawi* in doing his activity during going in the sea. The belief towards the sea guardian is considered as a truth. As a result, it arouses the high faith, loyalty, and obedience from *sawi* towards *punggawa*. It is through this ideology that in turn *punggawa* instills and strengthens the power of his hegemony to obtain legitimation from society of Bajo ethnics to pursue his economic interest towards *sawi*.

The portrait of life of fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District initially was still simple. They have not used modern catching-tools yet. The boat that they use was still driven by human's energy (manual) by using oar (*busae*), catching-tool used is also the work of fishermen themselves. Along with the time goes, the life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo

District begins being influenced by modernization, the coming of modernization results in the change of paradigm and knowledge of Bajo ethnics. The change of life pattern in the society of fishermen of Bajo ethnics appears on the using of means and traditional catching-tools that in turn becomes the using of means and modern catching-tools in the form of technological application of mini ship of *pursein* 5-10 GT with catching-tool of ring dragnet that is usually called with *gae*.

The using of modern technology in fish-catching has the implication on plentiness and unplentiness of their catching-product. This condition is not only resulted in by the capacity of exploring-power means and modern catching-tools employed, but is also caused by the shift from human's energy (manual) to machine. In addition, it is also due to specific skill from *sawi* in operating the abovementioned means and catching-tools. Another implication is the change of social structure of fishermen. The fishermen of capital owner (money and production means) are categorized as *punggawa*, while the fishermen having capital of energy and skill of catching fish are called as worker or *sawi*. Besides, the change of relational pattern that happens becomes hierarchical but does not direct to exploitative thing in which with his skill of catching fish, a *sawi* is employed by *punggawa*. The using of means and modern catching-tools that are given by *punggawa* to *sawi* is managed as maximal as possible by *punggawa* as the media to dominate and hegemonize for the sake of obtaining profit as much as possible.

Punggawa owns the strength of money and catching-tools. Having capital strength and fish-catching-tools make *punggawa* to have many loyal followers in this case the group of *sawi*. It is the reality that makes the candidates in the election both in the level of village like the election of village head and general election such as: legislative election, Regent election, Governor election, and President election are more interested in approaching *punggawa* than *sawi*. *Punggawa* can employ his influence (power) to organize and can make his *sawi* to be present to the Place of Vote-Taking for electing one of the candidates required by the *punggawa*.

The existence of *punggawa* is considered by the fishermen of *sawi* as the person having the right in deciding the direction of political support for the fishermen of Bajo ethnics particularly for the group of *sawi*. The decision mentioned above has consequence if it is not followed. The real consequence on the denial of the abovementioned decision from *punggawa* is felt directly by *sawi*. Some of the *punggawa* get involved in political spaces as the effort of strengthening the power by becoming the part of political party organizer or

success team. Even, there are also some of them that have become the member of legislative by making use of his power towards their *sawi*.

After the coming of economical interest of the traders outside of North Tiworo District, it has the implication on the change of social stratification of society of Bajo ethnics. Initially, Bajo ethnics knew three layers in social stratification, namely *Lolo Bajo*, *Sandro*, and *Sesehe*, but currently becomes four social layers of society. The position of *punggawa* as the capital owner becomes the top position or first layer, the second layer is *Lolo Bajo* (the noblemen), the third layer is *sandro* (the shaman), and the fourth layer is *sesehe* that changes into *sawi* (the worker) occupies the last layer.

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