



REVIEW ARTICLE

THE IMPLICATION OF POWER RELATION OF *PUNGGAWA-SAWI* ON THE FISHERMEN OF BAJO ETHNICS AT TIWORO ARCHIPELAGO NORTH TIWORO DISTRICT, WEST MUNA REGENCY, SOUTHEAST SULAWESI PROVINCE, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

The power relation of *punggawa* (the capital owner) and *sawi* (the persons who are employed by *punggawa*) had the implication on societal life of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, at West Muna Regency. The problem in this research was “how is the implication of the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District.” This research used the approach of the power relation theory of Foucault and Social Capital theory of Bordiauto study the implication that happened in the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency. The research method that was employed in this research was a qualitative method in a descriptive form. The researcher did the observation and interview and understood the phenomena from the reality world about the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in the fishermen’s life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The method of determining the informants was done by the technique of *snowball* according to the purpose of research. The results of this research found that the hegemony of power of *punggawa* towards *sawi* has the implication on the ideology in which the group of *sawi* must show the obedience towards the *punggawa* with the touch of belief and modernization of fishery technology that can be had by the group of *punggawa* as the capital owner. Its economical implication was hampering the efforts of increasing the education and knowledge of fishermen’s society including the knowledge about sea ecology and ethnical identity.

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INTRODUCTION

The existence of fishermen society is not apart from Bajo ethnics that live in all coastal areas in Indonesia that constitute the national assets that underwrite the wish of life of the plurality, particularly with the production of fishery products, both in the form of embankment fishery and catching-fishery. However, such big services that are contributed by the fishermen do not run in a balanced manner with the salary received by the above mentioned fishermen. Many fishermen are powerless due to the expensiveness of productional expense and fish-catching technology in the condition of fishermen society of Bajo ethnics that do not have enough resources either the capital ones or knowledge ones. On the fishermen’s life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District that own the broad sea resources are found natural resources like the kinds of fish, lobsters, crabs and others. With such condition, Bajo people should be far from the poverty line, but in reality, Bajo people in North Tiworo still live under poverty line. As the temporal suspicion, this thing is not only because of the very low

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educational level of Bajo people, but also due to their belief towards the traditional social, economic, and cultural systems that are still defended so far. One of which that is still inherent in economic life as their cultural heritage in pedigrees is the relation of patron-client between the capital owner/productional leader with the workers that are usually called by Bajo ethnics in South and South-East Sulawesi with the term of *punggawa* and *sawi*. The form of relation of this patron-client can be in the form of the material and service exchange (Lampe, 1990). The social relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen community of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo forms the bond of *patron-client*. Initially, the relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in doing fish-catching and division of fish-catching products ran in a balanced. The role of capitalist for Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo has changed the relations of productional social that resulted in the shift of the workers or labors that are done by the group of *punggawa* and used the group of *sawi* as the labors that are given the salary. For example, in the system of trading of fish, sea slug, crab, and pearls that are processed by the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo in the scale of export with the network of broad trading such as: the islands of Java, Bali and the area of Hong Kong demand the utilization of labors that are given the salary.

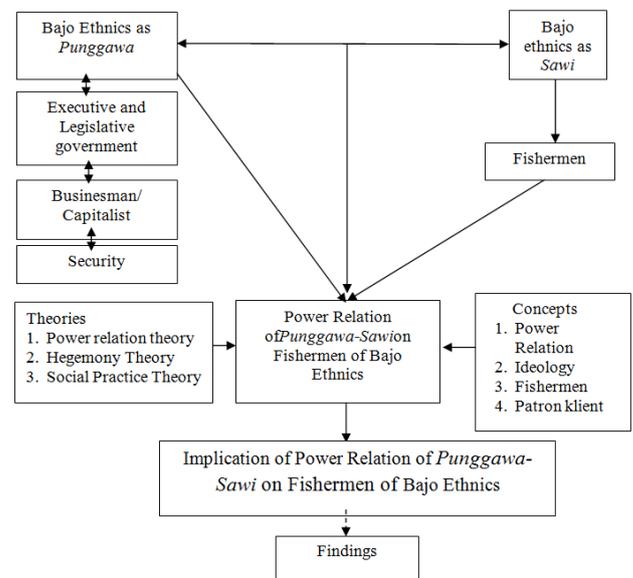
If the group of *sawi* is not maximal in working, so the group of his family is also assigned. In the economic activity mentioned above, it is found the economic and political interests which become the arena of power. In the case of forming an understanding towards the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, it needs to elaborate concerning the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The implication of the relationship of power relation mentioned above has the impact on social life of Bajo ethnics. This phenomenon proves as one that the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District can do social mobility through the effort of expansion to the way of modern production by practising the ways of capitalism. Based on the abovementioned reason, the writer is interested in researching "the Implication of Power Relation of *Punggawa* and *Sawi* in economic life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, South East Sulawesi Province".

Power of Thinking

Power relation is the relation based on the interests (vested interest) between various groups or the entity that is found in a certain area. The key word of this concept is 'power', namely an important term in a variety of disciplines in Culture Studies. Foucault emphasized that power is ubiquitous or is everywhere, and all powers cover the struggle to mediate, create the meaning, and do the controlling (Lewis, 2008: 31). Furthermore, the power is defined by Van Dijk as the ownership owned by a group (or its member) to control the group (members) from the other groups (in Eriyanto, 2005: 272). The control, like what was conveyed by Foucault and Gramsci, can be done directly through physical strength, but can also be done indirectly or persuasively. The ownership on the power is determined by various things like resources, money, status, and knowledge. The control can be conducted with influencing distribution of knowledge indirectly. Having the capitals like above is more identical with having bigger, stronger, and more influential power. Likewise, at Tiworo Archipelago, West Muna Regency, the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics is owned by the power relation or interaction based on the power whose forms and consequences are determined by the accumulation of powers that are had by *punggawa* as the form of legitimation (as the capital owner) in keeping in touch with the societal group of *sawi* (as the society in general and the class of workers or labors). Gramsci (1976: 57-58) said that "the supremacy of social group manifests itself into two ways, namely as 'domination' and as intellectual and moral leadership'. A social group dominates the antagonist group that tends to liquidate or to cause them to bow even by the armed force that directs to the group of kinship and of alliance. Antonio Gramsci built a theory that emphasized on how the acceptance of group that is dominated towards the presence of dominant group takes place in a peaceful process without any action of violence. Media can be a tool in which one group strengthens its position and lowers another group. The process how a discourse concerning the description of the society at the low level can be bad in the media takes place in a complex process. The process of marginalization of the discourse runs naturally as what it is, and is internalized together. Besides the theory of power relation and of hegemony, the researcher used

as well the theory of social capital of Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as the actual and potential resource owned by someone that comes from the institutionalized social network and takes place continuously in the form of reciprocal admittance and introduction (or in other words: the membership in social group) that gives various forms of collective supportings to his member. Furthermore, Coleman (1988) defined social capital as something that has two features, namely one of them constitutes the aspect of social structure, while the other one facilitates the action of individual in social structure mentioned above. In this sense, the forms of social capital are in the form of obligation and hope, potential of information, effective norm and sanction, relationship of authority, and social organization that can be used justly to produce the social contract. The concept of power relation that was expressed by Foucault and the hegemony that was propounded by Gramsci facilitate the researcher in analyzing the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics.

Frame of Thinking: The frame of thinking that is related to the power relation on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, South East Sulawesi is described with the following scheme. In the process of fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, it is found an intensive relationship between executive and legislative government and businessman/capitalist to instill their power and assists in giving their capital to the group of fishermen as the *sawi* (the Bajo ethnics in majority), so that they do not have another choice not to sell their fish (as the products of their fish-catching) to the *punggawa*. The form of interaction between *punggawa* and *sawi* is determined by the power and capital that they have. The form of power relation has the implication towards the social, economic, and political life in the fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics.



METHOD OF RESEARCH

This research employed a qualitative method and qualitative-descriptive analysis technique that strive to understand and interpret the meaning of the events in a certain situation according to the perspective of researcher. Garna (1999:32) said that qualitative approach is characterized by the purpose of research that strives to comprehend the symptoms that do not

require the quantification or the symptoms mentioned above do not enable to be measured properly. Qualitative research stresses on the virtual situation of an object that is directly related to the context and time that become the researcher's attention. The researcher conducts observation, interview, and understands the phenomena from reality world concerning the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province. Data that were required in this research are the ones about the implication of power relation on fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics. The informants that will be interviewed are the group of Bajo society as the *punggawa* and that of Bajo society as the *sawi* including the businessman/capitalist and Heads of village, Head of North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency Government. The instrument in this research consists of the researcher itself (Sugiyono, 2009:61). The supporting tool that was used by the researcher to facilitate the process of taking and collecting data in the field is in the form of interview guidance and cards of data. The cards of data were employed for noting, categorization, and data classification, while the interview guidance was used as the guidance of the researcher to do he interview. Technique of data-collecting is the most strategic step in the research because the main purpose of the research was to get the data. Without knowing the technique of data-collecting, the researcher will not obtain the data that fulfill the standard that is established. According to Sugiyono (2009:225), technique of data-collecting can be done in three ways. The three ways meant are observation, interview, and documentation. Data analysis was done qualitatively. The process of data analysis was conducted by analyzing all data from a variety of the available sources.

The first phase is studying the data from various sources, making the comparison and illustration, concepts, criteria, and its abstraction. In accordance with Nasution, analyzing data is the difficult work and needs a hard work. The analysis of data requires the creative power and high intellectual capability. There is no a certain way that can be followed to hold the analysis so that every researcher must look for by himself about the method that is suitable with the attribute of their research. The same material can be classified differently with the different researcher (Sugiyono, 2009:244). The analysis result of formal data was presented in the form of table, scheme, or picture about the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics. In their daily life, as the process in doing the activity of fish-catching and other sea products, the role between *punggawa* and *sawi* by way of discussing and giving the interpretation. In this regard, the interpretation gives the broader meaning from the findings of research. The end of data analysis presenting is conclusion. Furthermore, the presenting of analysis result of this data obtained the findings of research concerning the implication power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Finding

Location of Research: North Tiworo District is the part of administrative area of West Muna Regency that lies in the northern part of Muna Island. Geographically, North Tiworo is

situated in the southern part of the equator line, goes along from North to South among $4^{\circ} 56' - 4^{\circ} 75'$ South Latitude and extends from West to the East among $122^{\circ} 30' - 122^{\circ} 40'$ East Longitude.

The limits of administrative areas of North Tiworo District are as follows:

- North side is adjacent to South Konawe Regency.
- East side is adjacent to Tiworo Archipelago District.
- South side is adjacent to Central Tiworo District.
- West side is adjacent to Maginti District.

Breadness of North Tiworo District is around 62.05 km² that lies in northern part of Muna Island. North Tiworo District consists of 7 villages, namely Tondasi, Santiri, Tasipi, Bero, Mandike, Santiand Tiga. North Tiworo District generally has tropical climate with the average temperature between 25°C-27°C. From Novembreto June, the wind which blows from Asia Continent and Pacific Ocean contains a lot of water vapor that leads to the rain in majority of Indonesian areas including North Tiworo District happens.

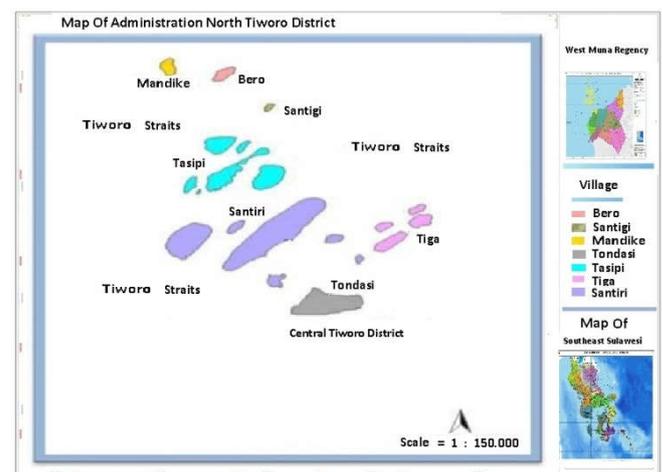


Figure 3.1 Map of North Tiworo District

Condition of Demography and Number of Population: Population of North Tiworo District based on the result of population projection in 2016 was 5.315 persons, some of them were 2.640 males and others were 2.675 females. Meanwhile, the volume of ratio number of sex in 2016 was male population, while female population was 99. The density of population at North Tiworo District in 2016 reached 86 persons/km². The density of population in 7 villages was various enough in which the highest population density lies at Tasipi Village with the density was 175 persons/km² and the lowest population density lies at Tondasi Village with the density was 43 persons/km².

Livelihood and Fishery Technology: Some of the societies of fishermen at North Tiworo District have the profession as the sailor of fish-catcher and of crab-catcher. In supporting the effort in fish-catching technology or management of sea resources, the boat is the principal production tool of the fishermen at North Tiworo District. The kinds of boat that are

used by local community are traditional boat (boat without motor) and motorboat.

System of Kinship of Bajo Ethnics at North Tiworo District: The relationship formed in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District can be said to be formed through the marital relationship. For the society of Bajo ethnics, marriage is one of the most effective ways as the supporter in building social relationship with the society outside of their community and determines a lot about the survival of the generation line, whereas, in economic aspect, the generation from marital relationship can also become additional labor in household. Therefore, for the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, marital relationship is not only a fulfilling of sexual needs, but is also the social and economic needs. As a result, marital relationship is not only the marriage between a man and a woman that is different in sex in keeping the survival of the generation line, but also forms a stronger kinship relation both to the fellow Bajo ethnics and the people living on land (bagai).

The relationship of kinship that has nothing to do with the blood is called with *Sehe* (friend). Bajo people call the person out of them with the term of *bagai*, whereas the outsiders call them with the term of *samadanakang* (my brother). It seems that Bajo people are very pleased if greeted with the word of my brother or to an elder man we call him with the calling of *Puto* (uncle). The calling of *Puto* not only becomes the term of uncle that has any relationship with family, but becomes as well the calling in general for the older person as the form of appreciation. The relationship of kinship through marriage is called with *Mappabatte* (kinship through marital relationship). The terms are *Matoa Lella* (father-in law), *Matoa Diinda* (mother-in law), *Ipah Lella* (brother-in law), *Ipah Diinda* (sister-in law).

Aspect of Culture and Social Stratification: Generally, Bajo people know three levels of society layers namely the top level that is called "*Lolo Bajo*" (the aristocrate of Bajo), the second level is *Sandro* (shaman), level of life in the community because it is regarded to have the superiority, then the third level is the society in general (*Sesehe*) i.e. they who do not include *Lolo Bajo*. The stratification that is marked with the individual position in a leveled manner in the society constitutes the permanent feature from every society in which the base of the forming of stratification depends on the condition of society concerned. In the society, some occupy the high position and low position, likewise Bajo ethnics is known the stratification that differentiates the level of its society. Bajo people that settle in the sea and that depend their self as the sailor have the determiner of social stratification that is different from the Bajo ethnics that live on land and work as the farmers. The determiner of social stratification of Bajo people in the sea is only based on the factor of pedigree, namely according to the pedigree of nobility (*lolo*) and pedigree in general (*sesehe*). In daily life, the group of *lolo* is the one occupying the highest position in its society.

In daily life, the group of *lolo* is the one occupying the highest position in his society. The difference between the nobility class of *lolo*, *sandro*, *punggawa* and the ordinary societal citizen (*sesehe*) on Bajo ethnics can be seen primarily in doing the ritual ceremonies such as: marriage, ceremonial meal, death

ceremony, including ritual ceremony in the activity of going fishing. In carrying out the abovementioned ceremony, it is hanged out the flag of *ula-ulain* front of the house, and the flag of *ula-ulaas* the symbol of descent of *Lolo Bajo* may solely be hanged out by the descent of *Lolo* and they who are not the pedigree of *Lolo* hang out the flag of *ula-ula* when ceremony is carried out, the flag mentioned above is hauled down in a forced manner by the other populations because it is considered to have broken the customs (*athati*). Therefore, a *lolo* is frequently asked for his advices and his guidances. Up to now, the officer of cultural value and of arranging *Lolo Bajo* keeps being defended as the leader and chief of customs that they make as the example in leading and arranging the system of ritual ceremony including in the activity of going fishing and guarding the system of cultural value based on the belief in the group of Bajo people at North Tiworo District.

Discussion

All forms of implication of power relation in this discussion are not apart from the role and activity of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. In order to be understood more easily, the form of implication of the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in the fishermen's activity of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, the researcher elaborates it in this following discussion.

Implication of Ideology: The fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District have the ideology that is taken from their own culture in exploring sea resources. The abovementioned ideology is the philosophical expression and ritual activity as the form of respecting and giving the meaning to the *mbombonga lao* (the king of sea). In the understanding of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, the sea as the arena for looking for the life, has its own God that denotes the incarnation of the spirit of ancestor. The obedience and faith of fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District in doing tradition and traditional belief are in line with their loyalty in carrying out the doctrine of Islamic religion. Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District are in majority Muslim that is marked with many mosques.

The mosque is always forecast with the religious activities such as: the prayer five times a day and night, the Birth of the Prophet Muhammad, and other religious activities. Even though in majority of the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District are Muslims, but in the activity of going fishing, they remain to stick to their ideology as the persons who live in the sea. The fishermen's belief of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District towards the existence of the sea keeper creature has been instilled in the self of every Bajo person that always colors their daily life. This belief in turn becomes the ideology in the life of Bajo ethnics as sailor. The reliance and belief of Bajo ethnics about the sea world that is occupied by supernatural creatures are the incarnation of their ancestor. *Petta Saddampalie* and *Mbombongalao* (the king of sea) are believed by Bajo ethnics as the incarnation of their ancestor that occupies two different areas. *Petta Saddampalie* resides big trees, big stones, or certain places in the area of sea, while *Mbombongalao* is the ruler or king of sea. According to the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, *Petta Saddampalie* and *Mbombonga Lao* are of two minds. It means that sometimes it can incur the happiness, fortune, protection, and safety during in the sea and can also result in the calamity.

With that, the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District always build harmonical relation and treat *Petta Saddampalie* and *Mbombonga Lao* well as ordinary humans. The form of the treatment, like it is fed by way of giving the offerings both when we want to go fishing and after we go home from going fishing.

The implementation of ritual is led by a *lolo Bajo* and is accompanied by the *sandro* (shaman). For the fishermen of Bajo ethnics, *lolo Bajo* and *sandro* are believed as the person who has the high supernatural capability so that he can communicate with supernatural creatures and his followers. This ritual was done with the purpose of respecting the sea keeper and his followers in order that the group of *sawi* is given a lot of the fortunes in the form of fish-catching products, crab, lobster, and sea slug. On the other hand, the abovementioned ritual aims at respecting the spirit of ancestor. The fishermen of Bajo ethnics believed that when their catching-product decreases, it signifies that the sea keeper and spirits of ancestors are angry at them. The fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District not only trust and believe the existence of supernatural creatures. It is far from that, the abovementioned belief is applied in daily life with the form of *pamali* (the forbidding that must be obeyed by the group of *sawi* when going fishing). The abovementioned prohibition is not only had by *sawi* during in the sea, the wife of *sawi* at home is not apart from the monitoring of *pamali* when the husband is doing the activity of fishing. By virtue of the explanation above, it showed that all traditions like ritual, *pamali* (something forbidden to do) and belief towards the spirit of ancestor that is inherited by the forefathers are inspired and made the guidance of *punggawa* and *sawi* of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo in doing their activity during going fishing. All traditions mentioned above are considered a truth so that it bears the high obedience, faith and loyalty from *sawi* towards their *punggawa*. It is through this ideology, the *punggawa* then instills and strengthens his hegemony power to obtain the legitimation from the society of Bajo ethnics and his economic interest towards *sawi*.

Implication of Fishery Technology Modernisation: The entry of modernization results in the change of paradigm and knowledge of Bajo ethnics. The change of paradigm and the increasing of the abovementioned knowledge lead to the change of mindset in the society of Bajo ethnics themselves. The change of mindset in the fishermen society of Bajo ethnics that can be seen in the using of means and traditional catching-tool becomes the using of means and modern catching-tool in the form of the application of technology of mini boat with the type of *pursein* 5-10 GT with using the catching-tool in the form of ring dragnet (*gae*). The using of modern technology in fish-catching has the implication on the volume of fish catching products. This condition is not only due to the capacity of the exploring-power of means and modern catching-tool that are used, but is also because of the shift from men power to machine power, and the specific expertise from *sawi* in operating the means and the abovementioned catching-tool so that the fishermen can increase the exploring-power in order to get a lot of fish-catching products with high quality. A lot of fish-catching products that have the high quality have the implication directly on the increasing of fishermen's economy. The fishermen that use modern fish catching-tool obtain a lot of fish-catching products. The expectation of the group of *sawi*

that uses modern fish catching-tool is not only to get a lot of fish-catching products, but also to obtain the export quality. However, when the *sawi* uses traditional fish catching-tool has been able to be ascertained that the products are also few and the products of fish-catching do not have the export quality.

The difference of this fish catching is resulted in as well by the capability of the exploring-power from the means and catching-tool. The modern catching-tool like boat with machine capacity 5-10 GT and is equipped with ring dragnet can sail as far as the free sea. But, if *sawi* solely uses traditional catching-tool, the sail is also around North Tiworo District. The using of means and modern fish catching tool is greatly advantageous for the group of *sawi*, not only from the side of incoming but also from the side of working and energy efficiencies. From the side of incoming, *sawi* that uses modern catching-tool can obtain a lot of fish catching products. Obtaining a lot of fish catching products have the implication on the increasing of economic of *sawi*, whereas in the light of efficiency, the work of *sawi* becomes lighter compared with when using the traditional fish catching tool. Beforehand, (still used traditional fish catching), the fishermen put into consideration the risk of power and distance that is difficult to be reached. Using modern technology in fish catching that makes the work easier and more relaxed does not require the energy to oar and does not need the maintenance of dragnet that is often like when using traditional catching-tool. In addition, using modern means and catching-tool also becomes the symbol of capital strength and network of their each *punggawa*. The more sophisticated the means and catching-tool that are used by the group of *sawi* indirectly strengthen more the hegemony of *punggawa* towards his *sawi* because the strength of capital and network occupies main strength in the process of livelihood of the fishermen. The implication of shift of every kind of catching-means is that the social structure of fishermen changes. The change is marked by the appearance of job differentiation as the consequence of machine/motor using. A variety of working-positions lead to the fishermen to be stratified in various kinds of layers, the fishermen who have a lot of capitals, say, (money and productional means) are categorized as *punggawa* and the fishermen who own the capital of energy and expertise of catching fish is called as the labor or *sawi*. Besides, the change of relational pattern that happens becomes hierarchical relation, but does not direct to the exploitative thing, in which with the expertise of catching fish, *asawi* (a labor) not only works for *punggawa* but also for himself and his family. Modernization of fishery technology like the provision of means (catching-boat) and the catching-tool given by *punggawa* towards *sawi* has a very political nuance. The giving of the abovementioned facility indeed aims at facilitating the performance of *sawi* in going fishing and increasing the fish catching products. The plentiness of the abovementioned fish catching products are expected to be able to increase the economic incoming of *sawi*. Modernization of fishery technology is also hidden the capitalism ideology of *punggawa*. *Punggawa* chases the economical profit as much as possible from the technological using of the abovementioned modern fishery. The existence of *punggawa* in the life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District with all facilities of modern catching tools does not have the implication completely for the prosperity of the fishermen especially the group of *sawi*. Even conversely, the using of modern catching tool and means given by *punggawa* to his *sawi* is managed as maximal as possible by

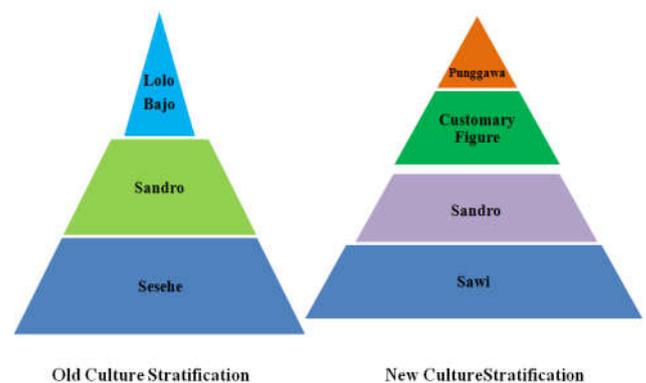
punggawa as the media to master and hegemonize his *sawi* for the sake of obtaining the profit as much as possible.

Politics: In connection with the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen’s life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo by virtue of the above frame of thinking can be interpreted that the formedness of obedience, faith, and loyalty, *sawi* is dominated more due to the cultural factor of Bajo ethnics that positions *punggawa* as the respected, honored and rich person, and has the power. The existence of culture in the society of Bajo ethnics that regards someone to own high social stratification from the wealth that he owns constitutes one of the causes of the *punggawa*’s power can survive. The political element that the researcher explained in this discussion was not apart from the role of *punggawa* as the local ruler in the community that is greatly respected. *Punggawa* in the perception of the fishermen society of Bajo ethnics constitutes the position that is highly honored. It was due to the power of money and fish-catching means that *punggawa* has. Having them made *punggawa* to own a lot of faithful followers namely his *sawi*. It was the reality that made the candidates in the election both in the rural extent like the election of village head and in general election like the election of legislatives, election of Regent, Governor, and President to be interested in approaching *punggawa* compared with *sawi*. In political side, the group of *punggawa* could use their influence to make their *sawi* to be present to the Place of Recruiting the Votes (PRV) for the sake of electing one of the candidates.

The explanation above was in line with Neher (1995:71), in seeing the tendency of the plentiness of powers on one figure or a certain group in a society. Such condition was one of the characteristics of cultures of Asian society whose patronage bond was still strong. The abovementioned thing had the same condition as the majority of the societies in Indonesia, particularly in the society of Bajo ethnics. The society of Bajo ethnics in general and that of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo in particular placed *punggawa* as the patron in their life that was related with the activity of life in the sea. Besides, it could be made as the patron in political activity. It means that *sawi* does not have any capability to elect or to support one of the candidates, except by the command of *punggawa* as his patron. This showed that in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo especially the fishermen of *sawi* placed *punggawa* as the centre of power. The high loyalty of the fishermen of *sawi* towards *punggawa* made the succession team to obtain the fishermen’s vote of *sawi* by way of meeting with *punggawa* and of convincing him. In this position, it was considerably enabled that the agreement of interest with *punggawah* appened. Someone with his position as *punggawa* and has *sawi* made himself to have the high position in the sight of the succession team or a political candidate. The explanation above showed that the cultural factor in the life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo has the big influence towards the forming of democraton. The most fundamental characteristic of the cultural factor was the availability of *punggawa* that is greatly inherent in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo. The existence of the relationship of *punggawa* and *sawi* that is highly inherent in turn formed personal loyalty that was made use of by the certain groups (*punggawa*) to form the network of their power that in turn formed the political oligarchies at the local extents. The relationship of *punggawa* with the government was even made *punggawa* as the place to

hegemonize *sawi* through the aid of means and fish-catching. The aid mentioned above was made *punggawa* as the tool of self image projection towards *sawi*, so that *sawi* was more and more loyal, obedient, and faithful towards all commands of *punggawa*.

Social Stratification: The implication of power relation of *punggawa* in the life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo influenced the social structure in the society. The form of the abovementioned social structure change was the consequence the entry of *punggawa* could be observed in classifying the social stratification of Bajo society that resulted in the forming of someone’s social stratification in the society no longer became dominant due to the factor of pedigree, but shifted to the factor of richness, power, and education. The indicator mentioned above could be observed in daily social life in which Bajo ethnics was more loyal, obedient, and faithful towards the command of *punggawa* that was not from the descent of *lolo* than the command of *lolo*. In addition, the tendency of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo in electing the leader featured the person that has more economic capability (money) than in electing the leader from the group of *lolo* or the noblemen that do not have the economic capability. Such thinking-paradigm gave the projection that the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo is very pragmatistical and capitalistic. Pragmatism and capitalism in turn had the implication on social stratification in the society of Bajo ethnics that formerly solely knew three social layers of society then began to know the term of *punggawa*. The change of the abovementioned social stratification was given by the society that was in keeping with the role that was played by someone in the society in supporting his economic interest related with the system of his livelihood. Social stratification of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo like *lolo* as the highest position layer in social stratification of the society of Bajo ethnics began not to appear, as well as the term of *sesehe* has undergone the shift so that it was more known with the calling of *sawi* that works to *punggawa* as the society of Bajo ethnics in general. Meanwhile, the position of *sandro* did not undergo the shift. Social role that was so far played by the group of *lolo* started to be taken over by the group of *punggawa* as the control of social and economic life of the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo district.



Source: Data were processed by Akhmad Marhadi, Decembre 2017

Figure 3.2. Implication in Social Stratification of Bajo Ethnics

Therefore, the role of *lolo* in the viewpoint of Bajo only gets the position as a nobleman when there are wedding parties and rituals of customary ceremonies in the society of Bajo ethnics.

This big *punggawa* has no longer been seen whether he is a nobleman or his educational background, but as long as he has big capital capability, so he would always have the important position in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The group of *sawi* always show their obedience and loyalty towards the small *punggawa* that was formed by the big *punggawa* and this small *punggawa* also did the same thing by showing his obedience towards the big *punggawa*. The figure above showed the implication in the societal life of Bajo ethnics after the economic interest of the traders from outside of North Tiworo District that changed social stratification of Bajo ethnics entered that initially only knew three layers in its societal layer namely *Lolo Bajo*, *Sandro* and *Sesehe* now becomes four social layers of the society. The position of *punggawa* (the capital owner) became the top position, then on the second layer of *lolo bajo* (the nobleman), the third layer, the shaman (*sandro*) and the fourth layer, *sesehe*, changed into *sawi* (labors) placed the position at the most bottom layer.

The stratification formed in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District was influenced by the domination towards the tools of production and its socio-cultural aspect. The implication towards social stratification on the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District before the ideology of capitalism entered was as follows:

- First and highest strata (*lolobajo*) are the group that has the generational line of the nobleman.
- Second strata (*sandro*) constitutes the group that has the capability in the medical cases and supranatural power that lead ritual ceremonies.
- Third and most bottom strata are the ordinary group of the society.

Whereas, after the ideology of capitalis entered was as follows:

- First and highest strata are the group that has the capability on the domination of economic capital by lending the aid of capital and tools of production of fish-catching so that they have the capability in social and economic controlling of the fishermen.
- Second strata (*Lolo Bajo*) is a part of *lolo Bajo* that manifests into the *punggawa* so that they place the top position and others are not the *punggawa* so that their position goes down as the second position in the sequence of stratification in the society of Bajo ethnics.
- Third strata (*sandro*) that in turn places the third position even though its function and position do not change.
- The most bottom strata (*sesehe*) is the society of Bajo ethnics that manifests into *sawi* and works as the group of *punggawa*.

As the top position in the social stratification of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, the group of *punggawa* directly had the capability in the controlling towards the societal layer after them. Even, this group of *punggawa* is brave to mention themselves as the pedigree of the nobleman. It is not that it does not have any reason because the group of the *punggawa* is also the part of the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District that comes from the *lolo bajo*.

Besides, some of them are from the group of *sawi* as well in which since they have the big capital that in turn forms a new social layer as a *punggawa*. The group of *lolo Bajo* that turns into *punggawa* keeps being capable of defending their position as the nobleman that must be respected and obeyed, whereas *loloBajo* that does not become *punggawa* can solely defend his position as the nobleman, but it is not absolute to become the person that is obeyed or the controller of economic and social life of the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. Meanwhile, the roles of the group of *sandro* in the society of Bajo ethnics do not change. Each of them plays the role in every customary ceremony and ritual in the society. This role keeps surviving because being a *sandro* must be the persons that have specific capability both in medical things and supranatural ones. Meanwhile, the group of *sesehe* largely turns into *sawi* that keeps being controlled by the group of *punggawa*.

By virtue of the elaboration concerning the implication towards social stratification of the society of Bajo ethnics, *punggawa* and *sawi* appeared as the consequence of the entry of outside traders that formed economic capitalist of the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. After this ideology of capitalism became strong, the wish of the group of *punggawa* to do the hegemony and power towards the society of the other Bajo ethnics are motivated as well by making them as the labor or *sawi* by giving the aid of capital as the effort of their livelihood because they do not have capital capacity as the group of *punggawa*.

Economy: In the society of fishermen, the poverty and other difficulties of life are the cycle of socio-economic event that always repeats every year even the whole years. In addition to the problems of sea and seashore environment, the poverty of fishermen is the big issue that happens because of the complex factors (Kusnadi, 2002: 4-12). Such description also happens in the fishermen society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The sources of production and access of market are dominated by the group of *punggawa* and of *sawi* may not be permitted to sell directly to the other buyers or to traditional markets around North Tiworo District. This is in line with what was expressed by Nurkse (Kuncoro, 1997:132) that the backwardness, the imperfectness of market, and lack of capital lead to the lowness of productivity that results in the low incoming that they accept. Such economic imbalance was caused by the group of *punggawa* that takes the profit from the sea products from the group of *sawi* that works for him (the *punggawa*). On the level of maximal imbalance, the richness is owned by one person and the extent of poverty is very high (Kuncoro, 1997: 26). It is the group of *punggawa* that always become the person that owns the richness, while the group of *sawi* keep being in poor condition. Pranadji (1995:38) said that the symptom of modernization that happens on the activity of fishermen is more than the response towards the market, so that it is the group that has accessibility towards the facility of government and big business that respond more rapidly. The society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, it is the *punggawa* that has the response towards the whole forms of market developments. The purchase of means and modern fish catching-tool that is done by the *punggawa* is one of response forms towards the development of market. The ignorance of small fishermen and *sawi* of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo

District towards the market development made their economic growth very low and clarified that the relationship of the power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* at North Tiworo District does not have the significant implication towards the economic betterment of small fishermen. In such condition, Anggraini (2006:22) stated that on the context of sea and coastal area, economic profit from the utilization of sea and coastal resources has just been had by a certain societal group like the captain of ship and the entrepreneur of fishery, but has not yet been obtained by the coastal society and fishermen. Another case that happens at North Tiworo, the local fishermen that do not want to collaborate with the *punggawa* (the one that has had the ships or boats of sophisticated fish catching-tool) in the case of market-dominating, *punggawa* is faster and has more opportunities than local fishermen. It was due to the *punggawa* who has owned a lot of relations with the entrepreneurs from outside compared with local fishermen.

Another phenomenon related to the form of hegemony and power of *punggawa* towards *sawi* is that the *punggawa* has the right to buy fish catching products of *sawi* that has been given the capital (money), and *sawi* is obliged to sell their fish catching to the *punggawa* who gave them the capital (money). This obligation is the rule that must be carried out. The capital given by the *punggawa* is not limited to the material capital in the form of money, but also the equipment and tools like ship, motorboat, net, fishing-net, dragnet, and so forth. In such relation of *punggawa-sawi*, it is interlaced a mutualism symbiosis relation between the *punggawa* and *sawi*. *Sawi* must pay the service for the capital given by *punggawa* with the system of dividing the result. In the division of catching-products, *punggawa* gets the more part because as the capital owner, while the *sawi* obtains less part because of his position as the labor. The part of *sawi* mentioned above is in turn sold to the *punggawa* with a relatively cheap cost if *sawi* sells his part to the other buyers. It is realized or not by the fishermen of *sawi* at North Tiworo District, all facilities given by the *punggawa* in actuality do not have any significant impact for *sawi* in the case of increasing the extent of his life. It is reflected from the fishermen of *sawi* that still have the simple condition and does not show any change, whereas the life of *punggawa* increasingly shows the luxury condition.

Education and Knowledge: The lowness of educational extent of Bajo ethnics is affected by some internal and external factors. The abovementioned internal factor consists of several things. The things are firstly, the lack of parents' understanding of Bajo ethnics towards the important meaning of education; secondly, the working-time of Bajo children in the sea coincides with school time. The time should be used by the children to study at school, but a majority of them even do the activities in the sea together with their parents to make the livelihood; thirdly, lack of educational infrastructures in the environment of Bajo ethnics; this is in keeping with the statement of Putra (2001:159) that said that in the culture of Bajo ethnics has not interpreted yet the educational urgency as the part of the effort of improving their social status. Bajo ethnics interpretes the education as the form of activity that does not result in the money or that is useless, so the parents decide that it is better to invite their children to follow them to do the activity of fish catching. According to Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, going to the sea (doing the activity of fish catching) is easier to get money so that they can keep

living. Thus, they consider to have finished the economic problems compared with going to school to study. The misinterpretation of the education made Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo live in a limited human's resource. The limited human's resource has the impact vertically towards the incapability of Bajo ethnics in accessing sea resources. In accordance with Tampubolon (2002: 841), the absence of access towards the available resource causes the poor society will keep being in the circle of poverty. The habit of old generation of Bajo ethnics that invites their children to do the activity of fish catching gradually takes over their world from education. The children that still should go to school to obtain the education and are underwritten by their parents choose to play in the sea to make livelihood. Such reality made the communication of Bajo children at North Tiworo to be isolated and to be limited for them only. The effort of *punggawa* to employ the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo as *sawi* does not have positive implication towards the increasement of formal educational extent and knowledge of Bajo ethnics. The abovementioned economic imbalance also results in the educational imbalance and knowledge in the family of fishermen of *sawi* and of *punggawa*. The most of fishermen's children of *sawi* do not finish the education of Elementary School because of their parents with low economic condition. Whereas, the children of *punggawa* can obtain the education and can have knowledge due to the high economic condition of their parents.

Conclusion

The implication of hegemony of the power relation of the group of *punggawa* is increasingly strong by utilizing the group of *sawi* that in turn brings the change towards the social structure. Without being realized by the group of *sawi*, that they themselves also take part in pushing the condition of *punggawa* richer and richer on the order of the highest social structure. When the group of *punggawa* is at the top position, they are progressively easy to do the hegemony and power not only to the group of *sawi*, but also to the whole societal layers of fishermen at North Tiworo District. The economic implication is that there is any inequality of incoming between *punggawa* and *sawi* that hampers the effort of increasing education and knowledge of fishermen society so that their knowledge that is depended on is only the knowledge inherited from generation to generation including the knowledge about the sea ecology. As a result, they get into trouble to look for another job to support their economic condition.

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