

Form of Power Relation of *Punggawa-Sawi* on Fishermen's Activity of Bajo Ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago North Tiworo District West Muna Regency Southeast Sulawesi Province

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Abstract: *The power relation of punggawa (the owner of capital) and sawi (the workers or the persons who are employed by punggawa) on the economic life of Bajo society at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency is the relation of patron-client between the owner of capital and the workers that are usually called with the term of punggawa-sawi. The power relation that happened between punggawa and sawi in globalization era had the potential of arousing the conflict among the groups who have certain interests. The formulation of problem in this research was how are the forms of power relation of punggawa and sawi in fishermen's activity of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, and West Muna Regency. This research aimed at responding the general problems that happened on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, and West Muna Regency that is related to the power relation of the groups of Punggawa and of Sawi. Its specific purpose was to respond the problems in the formulation of problem. This research used a theory approach of power relation of Foucault to study the forms of power relation between punggawa (rural government, the entrepreneur of sea product collector or the owner of capital) and the fishermen society of sawi. The result of this research showed that the power relation that happens between punggawa and sawi is the form of hegemonic power relation in which the group of punggawa creates the working-connection that all forms of rules and working-contracts are partially established by the group of punggawa without being denied by the group of sawi, including the permanent ownership of sawi and irregular life pattern that increasingly strengthens the power of punggawa. Besides, the access of information that was built through government either the executives or legislatives related to the governmental policies in propelling the increase of economy and extent of life was dominated by the group of punggawa and the connection of market through the collaboration with outside traders.*

Keywords: Power Relation, Punggawa-Sawi, Bajo Ethnics

1. Introduction

The development of period made Bajo ethnics that formerly lived in an adventurous manner and then lived in a permanent manner in area of seashore. There have been a lot of Bajo ethnics that spread along the seashore and built the permanent houses as the living-place. Some settlements of Bajo ethnics have lived permanently with the amount of population that is big enough. One of them is found in along the areas of archipelagos and seashores of Sulawesi namely South Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Gorontalo and Southeast Sulawesi. According to Suyuti (2009: 2), the history of Bajo ethnics found in Southeast Sulawesi comes from Bugis, region of Bone, Southeast Sulawesi. People said that they are the persons who were assigned by a king named Sultan Mahmud to look for his disappeared daughter, but they did not succeed to find her. As a result, they did not have the bravery anymore to return to the mainland, then they spread to trace about the beaches while looking for food in order that they could keep living in a journey. Some of them sailed as far as in some archipelagoes in Regencies of Muna, Buton, and Kendari.

The development and flow of globalization did not make the change of life of Bajo ethnics totally. One of them that was still very inherent in economic life as a cultural heritage of theirs from generation to generation was the relation of patron-client between the owner of capital/leader of

production with the worker that was usually called by Bajo ethnics in South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi with the term of *punggawa-sawi*. The form of this patron-client could be in the form of the exchange of materials and services (Lampe, 1990).

In line with that, Scott (1993) said that the relation of patron-client began from giving the goods (materials) and services that could be in a variety of forms that were very useful or required by one of the sides, for the ones who received the goods or services mentioned above had the duty of responding the giving mentioned above.

The word of *punggawa* was equalified with the leader or boss. The term was used to describe the relation in the broad scope between the top leader and the subordinates that was accompanied by the personal bond. The term of *sawi* was the complement of *punggawa* that could be interpreted as the subordinates or the persons who had personal relation with the top leader. Even, due to the personal relation, *punggawa* frequently referred to their *sawi* as *anaq-anaq* (children), *anaq guru* (student or follower) or *tau* (person) (Pelras, 2009:52-53).

Daily life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District in the relation of social, economic, and cultural system was still very traditional. Most of the traditional systems were formed from the agreement rules of social, cultural and economic

relations. Still many of them kept standing, one of them was the social relation of *punggawa* and *sawi*. The social relation between *pungawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen's society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo formed the form of patron-client. Initially, the relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in doing fishing and dividing the fishing product ran in a balanced and fair manner between *punggawa* and *sawi*.

The relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* could be categorized as the unbalanced and unfair relation in condition of distributing the income. The binder of relation of this norm was determined more by the function or role of *punggawa* as the main figure for all of his *sawi* including the loan of finance, goods of household and shelters or the readiness of providing the aid when they were needed. Characteristics and conduct of the relation of social norm of *punggawa* and *sawi* eventually determined the level of relation among of them as Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The relation of kinship of fellow Bajo ethnics was the element that played a role in making easy of someone's access towards the opportunity or economic and social resources like the recruitment of *sawi* done by the group of *punggawa*. Based on the above mentioned reason, the writer was interested in conducting a research with the title "Power Relation of *Punggawa-Sawi* on Fishermen's Activity of Bajo Ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, and West Muna Regency Southeast Sulawesi Province".

2. The Study of Concept and Theory

The power relation is the relation based on the interest (vested interest) between various groups or entities that are in one entity of area. The term of 'power relation' is the translation of concept in English language 'power relation'. The key word of this concept is 'power', an important term in a variety of disciplines of sciences particularly in Culture Study. Michel Foucault emphasized that power is ubiquitous, and all powers cover the struggle to mediate, create the meaning, and do the controlling (Lewis, 2008: 31).

Whereas, Dennis Mc Quail explained before that location of power was not in one place, but spread and varied in institution, society, individual, and audiences (in Burton, 1999: 58). McQueen spoke in the context of media study. In general, its definition was clear that the power is not centered, does not move from one direction to another direction. However, it could appear and move from various directions.

Furthermore, the power was defined by Van Disk as the ownership owned by a group (or the members) to control the group (members) from another group (in Eriyanto 2005: 272). The control, as it was also conveyed by Faucault and Gramsci, could directly be done through physical strength. However, it could be conducted indirectly or in persuasive ways as well.

This research employed a theory approach of power relation of Foucault to study the forms of power relation between the supporter of interest, namely *punggawa* (rural government, entrepreneur of sea products collector or the owner of capital)

and the fishermen's society of *sawi*. By virtue of the above study of concept and theory, this research emphasized on "Power Relation of *Punggawa* and *Sawi* on Fishermen's Activity of Bajo Ethnics at Tiworo Archipelago, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province." Thus, the way of thinking that was arranged and elaborated by the writer above was intended to answer the problems of research, that could be seen shortly through the scheme of frame of mind as follows:

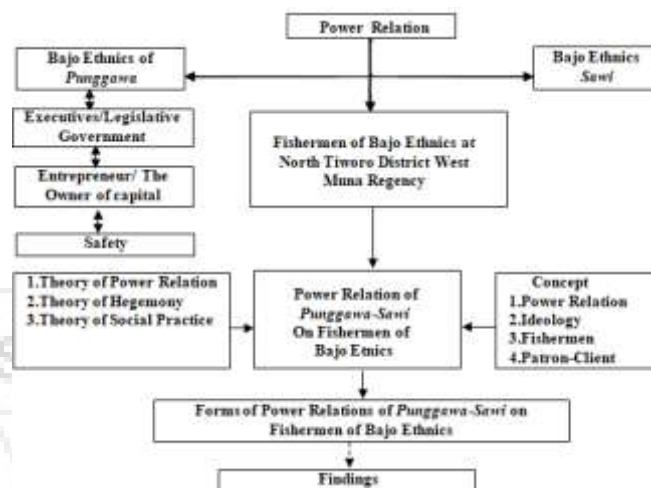


Figure 1: Scheme of Frame of Mind

3. Research Methods

This research used a qualitative method and technique of descriptive-qualitative analysis that tried to comprehend and interpreted the meaning of an event in a certain situation according to the perspective of the researcher. Garna (1999:32) said that a qualitative approach was characterized by the objective of research that strove to understand the phenomena that did not require the quantification or the above mentioned phenomena and did not enable to be measured exactly.

Kirk and Miller in Moleong (2003:3) defined that a qualitative research is a certain tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on the observation of human beings in their own area and that has any correlation with the persons mentioned above in their material and terminology. The research that employed a qualitative method utilized the way of interpreting with presenting it descriptively. The important feature in qualitative research lied on the meaning, messages, and process, the absence of distance between subject and object of research; it is open and scientific (Ratna, 2009:48). The understanding about the informant is strongly important because the cultural research always keeps in touch with the informant. Informant is the person number one after the researcher.

Qualitative research emphasized the real condition of an object that was directly related to the context and time that became the attention of the researcher. The researcher observed, interviewed, and caught from the world of reality concerning power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, and Southeast Sulawesi Province.

Qualitative research has a high flexible attribute. It means that in qualitative research, the phase of research was not emphatic because the design and focus of research could change if it was urgent.

The data obtained in this research was related to the process and forms of power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi*. This research would also explain about the ideology found in power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi*, and the implication of power relation of *punggawa* and *sawi* towards the sociocultural condition of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. Location in this research was Bero Village, Mandike Village, Santigi Village, Santiri Village, Tasipi Village, Tiga Village and Tondasi Village, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency Southeast Sulawesi Province. The data required in this research were the data about the practice of power relation on fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics. The informants that would be interviewed were the group of *punggawa* in Bajo society, Bajo ethnics that was classified as the fishermen of *sawi*. The entrepreneur/owner of capital and the heads of village, head of North Tiworo District, government of West Muna Regency.

The instrument in qualitative research consisted of the researcher himself. (Sugiyono, 2009:61). The supporting tool used by the researcher made easy the process of taking and of collecting the data in the field in the form of interview guide and data cards. The data cards were employed for noting, categorization, and classification of data, while the interview guide was used as the guide of researcher in doing the interview.

Technique of data-collecting was the most strategic step in the research because the main objective of research was to get data. Without knowing the technique of data-collecting, the researcher would not obtain the data that fulfilled that standard established. In accordance with Sugiyono (2009:225), the technique of data-collecting could be conducted by three ways. These three ways were observation, interview, and documentation.

Data analysis was done qualitatively. The process of data analysis was conducted by analyzing all data from various available resources. The first phase was to study the data from various sources, to make the comparison and illustration, concept, criteria, and abstraction. According to Nasution, analyzing data is a difficult work and requires hard-working. Data analysis required a creative power and a high intellectual capability. There was no certain way that could be followed to do the analysis so that every researcher had to search a certain method that was perceived to be suitable with the attribute of their research. The same material could be classified differently by the different researcher (Sugiyono, 2009:244).

The result of formal data analysis 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, the process of doing the activity of fishing and of looking for the other sea products. The role between *punggawa* and *sawi* was done by way of discussing and giving the interpretation. In this case, the interpretation gave

the broader meaning from the findings of research. The end of data analysis presentation was giving conclusion. Afterwards, the presenting of this result of data analysis obtained the findings of research about the power relation of *punggawa-sawi* in fishermen's life of Bajo ethnics.

4. Findings and Discussions

North Tiworo District is the part of administrative area of West Muna regency that lies in the northward of Muna Island. Geographically, North Tiworo is situated in southward of the equator line, that is elongated from North to South between 4° 56'-4° 75' south latitude and is stretched from West to East between 122° 30'-122° 40' East Longitude.

The borders of administrative area of North Tiworo District as follows:

- [1] Northward is adjacent with South Konawe Regency.
- [2] Eastward is adjacent with Tiworo Kepulauan District.
- [3] Southward is adjacent with Central Tiworo District.
- [4] Westward is adjacent with Maginti District.

The largeness of mainland of North Tiworo District is about 62.05 km² that is situated in Northward of Muna Island. North Tiworo District consists of 7 villages, namely the villages of Tondasi, Santiri, Tasipi, Bero, Mandike, Santigi dan Tiga. North Tiworo District generally has the tropical climate with the average temperature between 25°C-27°C. From Novembre to June, the wind that blows from Asia continent and Pacific Ocean contains a lot of water vapor that leads to the rain falls in most areas of Indonesian area including North Tiworo District.



Figure 2: Map of North Tiworo District

The population of North Tiworo District based on the result of projection of population in 2016 was as many as 5.315 persons with each 2.640 males and 2.675 females. Meanwhile, the volume of ratio number of sex in 2016 was the population of male towards that of females as many as 99. The density of population at North Tiworo District in 2016 reached 86 persons/km². The density of population in 7 villages was diverse enough in which the highest population density lies at Tasipi Village with the density as many as 175 persons/km² and the lowest population density is situated at Tondasi village as many as 43 persons/km².

Some fishermen at North Tiworo District have the profession as the fishermen who look for fish and who look for crab. In sustaining the effort in the technology of fishing or sea resources management, boat is the main production tool of the fishermen at North Tiworo District. The types of boat used by local community are boat without machine and boat with machine.

The relation of kinship that is formed in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District could be said to be formed through the marital relation. For the society of Bajo ethnics, marriage is one of the most effective ways both as the supporter in interlacing social relation with the society from outside of their community and greatly determines the survival of generative line. In economic side, the pedigree from the marriage relationship could also become additional labor in the household. Therefore, for the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, the marriage relationship is not only the fulfillment of sexual needs, but is also social and economic needs. As a result, the marriage relationship is not only the marriage between a man and a woman that is different in sex in keeping the survival of generative line, but also forms the stronger kinship relationship both for the fellow Bajo ethnics and the persons living in the mainland (*bagai*).

The society of Bajo ethnics in North Tiworo District generally formed a monogamic marriage relationship. This thing could be seen in the structure of family members in which there was a husband as the head of household, then a wife and children that have not got married yet and was then called as family of *batih* or the core family and was the smallest social unit or the smallest kinship relationship.

In addition to family of *batih* that consisted of core family, there was also the family that formed the broad family that comprised several families of *batih* or core family in it whose family members are father, mother, children who have got married already together with husband, and his grandchildren that live in one house (*daruma*) and the affair of family economy is finished collectively.

In the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo, the kinship relationship because of the pedigree is called *danakang* (relationship of brothers and parents.) In the relationship of brothers, their terms are *Ikka* (major siblings), *Indi* (younger sister), *Ikka Lella* (elder brother), *Ikka Diinda* (elder sister), *Indi Lella* (younger brother), *indi diinda* (younger sister), while the parental relationship could be seen in the terms such as: *Iwwa* (father), *Umma* (mother), *Ana* (kid), *Umbo* (grandmother/grandfather), *Umbo Lella* (grandfather), *Umba Diinda* (grandmother), *Puto* (uncle), *aya* (aunt) *Umpu* (grandchildren), *Umpu Lella* (grandson), *Umpu Dinda* (granddaughter), *kalaki mintid'a* (first cousin), *kalaki mindua* (second cousin), *kalaki mintuulu* (third cousin). Whereas, if it was still the part of one generative line but there has been the part of one generative line but, it has been far enough about his relationship like the fourth cousin and so forth, even it has been difficult to identify its generative line, but it was considered as the part of one generative line of their relatives is called with *kalaki* (the cousin or family that has been far in blood relation).

The kinship relationship that does not have blood relation called *Sehe* (a friend). Bajo people mention the person out of them with the term of *bagai*, while the outsiders who would like to call them with the term of *sama danakang* (my brother). It seemed that Bajo persons are very pleased if they are greeted with the word "my brother" or to the elder men, we greet them with the calling of *Puto* (uncle). The calling of *Puto* not only becomes the calling of uncle that is found in relation of family, but also becomes the general calling for the elder persons as the form of respecting. The kinship relationship through marriage is named *Mappabatte* (kinship through marriage relationship). Its terms are: *Matoa Lella* (father in law), *Matoa Diinda* (mother in law), *Ipah Lella* (brother in law), *Ipah Diinda* (sister in law).

Bajo people at North Tiworo in carrying out their life as the community of people that depend on their lives in the sea have their own ritual tradition in life cycle of Bajo ethnics. Several rituals in the life cycle of Bajo ethnics are pre- natal ritual (*Bantaang*), natal ritual, post-natal ritual, circumcision ritual, ritual of hair cut, ritual of sea, marriage ritual, ritual of treatment, death ritual.

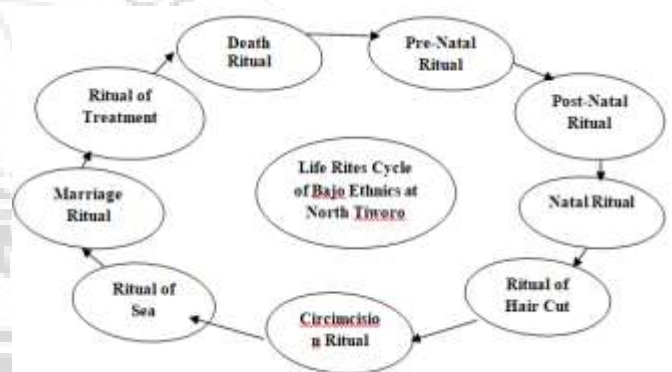


Figure 3: Cycle of Ritual Tradition of Bajo Ethnics Life at North Tiworo

Bajo people at North Tiworo have several phases of carrying out ritual in their life that begin from pre-natal to death. Every phase has the flow like the above scheme. The above mentioned ritual is obliged to be conducted for Bajo people because it has included in their belief system that contain sacredness value and is found the strength to unify every element of its society. Pre-natal ritual is carried out by the pregnant mothers. Bajo people believe that pre-natal ritual is one of the main requirements if we want to obtain the healthy child physically and mentally.

Bajo people trusted animistical things. In other words, they believed that the spirit has the effect in arranging their life. Daniel L. Pals quoted the perspective of Frazer that analyzed that the primitive society always regarded that the principles of natural work are always permanent, universal and cannot be broken. This is in line with the causal principle that is known in current modern world, so that Frazer developed a concept that he mentioned with "magics" that was built based on the assumption that when a ritual or an action is done properly, so it will be materialized a consequence as expected in local society (Daniel, 2012: 57). Bajo people trusted that there is a big strength outside their self, so that principally Bajo people obey to the oral rules that have been

established by the society concerning the ritual that is obligatory to be conducted when they are pregnant. If they violate the rules, Bajo people must take the risk, whether it has an impact to the mother or to child. There is an opinion from Bajo people at North Tiworo District in Mandike village that it happened before a calamity that befell on the family that did not carry out the pre-natal ritual, so that Bajo people learnt a lot and reflected the past events and related it with the past time.

The stratification that is formed in the society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District is the mastery towards productional tools and its socio-cultural aspect. The social stratification of the society of Bajo ethnics that initially solely knew three levels in the stratification of their society namely *Lolo* Bajo, *Sandro* and *Sesehe* currently become four social levels of the society. The position of *punggawa* (the owner of capital) becomes the top position, then *lolo* Bajo (the nobility) becomes the second position, shaman (*sandro*) is the third position and *sesehe* that turns into *sawi* (worker) occupies the bottom position.

Punggawa that is found at North Tiworo District is many enough. It can be differentiated based on the kind of business in collecting sea product and capital ownership as well. The kinds of business that are conducted by the group of *punggawa* in collecting the sea product are the kind of sea weeds activity, crab, fish, and shells. Whereas, by virtue of the capital ownership can be divided into three forms of *punggawa* i.e. big *punggawa*, small *punggawa*, and sea *punggawa*.

The result of research in the field found that there is a classification of *punggawa* by virtue of the power i.e. big *punggawa*, small *punggawa* and sea *punggawa*. Big *punggawa* is the one that has the big capital capability that in turn forms small *punggawa* from his kinship or *sawi* that owns loyalty and faith and has worked for her for a long time or the person that can be believed in running their business, while small *punggawa* is the one that is formed by big *punggawa* that in turn builds the connection by recruiting the fishermen that look for the sea products that are found in their each village. Whereas, sea *punggawa* is the one who works on board of fishing by using the traditional ship named *gae* that is driven by the machine. The recruitment of *sawi* is done not because they have strong energy, but they also have specific skill so that the process of recruiting *sawi* is more selective.

Power relation of *punggawa-sawi* is a traditional system on Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency is formed in the concept of relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* that is known as the relation of patron and client. *Punggawa* is someone who provides the capital (social and economy) for the group of Bajo ethnics in activating the activity of fishing, whereas *sawi* is a group of persons that work to *punggawa* by using the attribute of social norm relation with the working-contract.

This relationship kept being dynamical when legitimation or marginalization pressures happened in modernization era, but there were still many of them had to be comprehended

notably concerning the forms of networks between sea *punggawa*, small *punggawa*, and big *punggawa* with their each *sawi*. Sea *punggawa* is the one that has ship (*gae*) and that drives it in the process of fishing by using the machine. In the process of recruiting their *sawi*, it is greatly required the specific skill so that the process of recruiting their *sawi* is more selective again. The troops of ship are driven by sea *punggawa*, while *sawi* that only depends on physical strength, has a certain duty that is given by *punggawa* when they go to the sea for fishing.

Form of working-relation also happened between small *punggawa* and their *sawi*. Small *punggawa* is the one that is given the capital by big *punggawa* to be managed in the case of expanding the area of their work by way of recruiting traditional small fishermen or of creating their own fishermen that are found in their each area such as: Tasipi village, Bero village, Tiga village, and all villages at North Tiworo District. This thing was done besides expanding the network, but also how small *punggawa* as the mediator of big *punggawa* can hegemonize the distribution areas of the fishermen mentioned above. Besides, it was done for fulfilling their productional necessity. The target of small *punggawa* is that they who work individually by using traditional boat that is usually called with the term of *katinting* machine.

Punggawa with their social status and obligation will keep providing the materials of life necessity, for example money, rice or the other food stuffs to their *sawi*. As a result, this *sawi* can show the higher level loyalty by way of dedication or by way of looking for another *sawi* for their *punggawa* that usually has the resource of another business. This is the relationship form that strengthens the norm of obedience or loyalty of *sawi* to his *punggawa*; and conversely this is the form that becomes the base to defend *sawi* in order to remain to work to *punggawa*. This relationship is not arranged in formal form, and can end any time. The most important thing in this relationship is that it is not wanted to end with the condition of interest conflict that violates the norm in Bajo ethnics as seen in the following scheme as the structure of relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* on Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District.

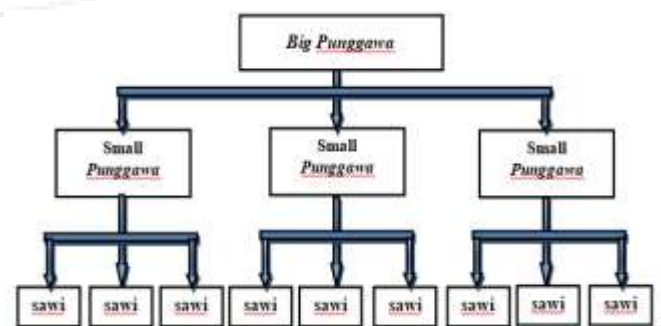


Figure 4: Structure of *Punggawa* at North Tiworo District

Based on the above figure, it showed the way of building the business networks by forming *sawi* becomes small *punggawa* and small *punggawa* in turn recruits *sawi* to work to small *punggawa*. The network was formed based on their each area basis so that it could be seen clearly the

domination or the power of big *punggawa* in doing the recruitment towards their *sawi*.

The relation that was built between *punggawa* and another *punggawa* was also created on purpose by the group of *punggawa* who have the big enough capital. The *punggawa* who have capital capacity is called as big *punggawa*, while *punggawa* that is given the capital by big *punggawa* with the purpose of dominating the sea products at North Tiworo (that formerly was given to *sawi* that worked for a long time and got the trust, loyalty and still had the relationship of kinship bond or family bond with big *punggawa*) is named with small *punggawa*.

The small *punggawa* that has been created by big *punggawa* that is related with the aid of capital depended from their business success. Big *punggawa* did not want to take the risk of loss that was resulted in by their small *punggawa* that in turn can break their business effort. According to big *punggawa*, the capital that is too excessive if it is given to small *punggawa* is very bad in business because it is regarded to be excessive, while the accumulated capital mentioned above can still be made use of by another *sawi* that is more productive or can create a new small *punggawa*.

The creating of small *punggawa* was conducted by big *punggawa* and then propelled the business competition in the effort of collecting sea products. Even though in actuality there has been un written contract, but there was collective contract between the fellow big *punggawa* in which they might not take *sawi* to one another, the big *punggawa* might not establish the price of buying sea products partially either by raising the price or by declining it with the purpose of doing the trading-monopoly.

The bigness of dependence of this small *punggawa* then strengthened the power and hegemony of big *punggawa*. The hegemony that happened between big *punggawa* and small *punggawa* was not only influenced by consumptive culture, but it was also affected by the system of purchase done by *punggawa* towards the sea products collected by small *punggawa*. Actually, the sea products bought were cheaper than the price of market and the payment was not paid in cash but was paid with a half part of the price that would be paid totally. Total payment would then be done when the next collecting is done. Such model of transaction has, in actuality, created the realtion of dependence towards small *punggawa* towards big *punggawa*.

Social bond between *punggawa* and *sawi* not only obtained economic profit, but also obtained the profit in another form. This relationship, then, developed that could be directed in achieving the bigger political-will. As done by a *punggawa* that in turn made use of this social bond for the political interests. The fishermen of *sawi* that played the role as the servant of *punggawa*, that has been binded with the moral bond and the obligations had to follow the will of *punggawa* in giving their political decision.

The capability of *punggawa* that could control his member became, then, specific attention either executive government or political party even the other interest groups. *Punggawa*

was then made as the network to build the communication with the groups of fishermen controlled by *punggawa*. This condition, then, opened the space in which the power relation of hegemony was influential in the midst of the society of Bajo fishermen.

Along with the development of socio-politics at the level of region, the group of *punggawa*, then, turned into the agent that initiated the governmental policy even became political network in the midst of the fishermen society of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District. The group of *punggawa* then played a role not only as the owner of capital in the mastery of economic assets, but also began entering into the political fields. This aimed at strengthening their existence in the society, and protecting their economic assets from governmental intervention as well.

Political interest then began entering to strengthen the hegemony through power. Some of *punggawa* nominated theirself as the head of village that also initially he was a *punggawa*, as the mediator from executive government, others nominated theirself as legislative member or became the certain political party administrators, or only became the team of success.

Punggawa made *sawi* as the political basis in seizing political spaces. From the political parties, it made *punggawa* as the place for getting the votes for legislative members that were born through its political party so that *punggawa* turned into the political agents. The agreements that were done by these groups of *punggawa*, among others were: if they have become legislative members, they must protect their efforts, if there are the aids proposed by the members of legislative together with the government must pass through them.

The attention of this government was made use of by *punggawa* because the side that became the aid receiver for the fishermen society was *punggawa*. This was due to the sides that had the access towards executive government was the group of *punggawa*. Even though the aid mentioned above was the aid for the society, but its management was fully conducted by *punggawa* and if there was *sawi* who wanted to obtain the above mentioned aid, so it was considered as the debt of capital gotten from *punggawa* that had to be binded as well with the agreement as *sawi* towards his *punggawa*.

The society knew that the above mentioned aid is the aid referred to the society, but the society considered that it is the effort of *punggawa* in the effort of helping the fishermen and has been natural that its management was done by *punggawa*. The group of *punggawa* could make the form of the above mentioned aid that was aspirated by the government through them, and was then made as the tool to do hegemony by making the aid as the loan of capital for *sawi*.

Relation between *punggawa* and executive was highly related to the permission affair in fishing as contained in Regulations of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Minister of Indonesian Republic Number 1 in 2013 about Ship

Monitoring of Fishing ship and Fish Transporter. Article 2 explained that fishing ship with measurement of above 30 gross tonnages (GTs) that operated in WPP-NRI and open sea; and the ship that operated in Fishery Management Area of Indonesian Republic Country (FMAIRC) and open sea. The meaning of this article was related to the documental affair of fishing and fish transporting permission above 30 GTs that thus became the ministry scope. With the existence of this regulation for the fishermen especially at North Tiworo District highly restricted them in the effort of fishing and hoped that it could obtain the fishing product as many as possible by making the bigger fishing ship, but was reluctant to get in touch with central government in this case the Marine Affairs and Fisheries Ministry.

The presence of the observer of fishing and fish transporting functionary from the official made the activity of fishing and fish transporting by the group of *punggawa* that depended on the report of form filling of observation and noting result done by the functionary. The group of *punggawa* expected that the report given by the functionaries could guarantee the survival of fishing and fish transporting of theirs. As a result, they always gave the satisfactory and comfortable service for the functionary from Marine Affairs and Fisheries Office. Especially as for them, giving the service and guaranting all necessities of the functionaries when doing the monitoring had to be guaranteed for doing the controlling. This was in keeping with article 9 Regulation of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Minister Number 1 in 2013 and did not mention clearly the number of accommodation and consumption that had to be given by the owners of capital of fishing ship and fish loader (*punggawa*) at North Tiworo District, whereas, for specification of ship by virtue of Regulation of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Minister Number 30 in 2012 for the fish transporting-ship with the partnership pattern, namely the list of fishing ship that measured until ten GTs that became the partnership legalized by Regency/Urban Office. Furthermore, article 37A (1) stated that every fish transporting-ship that was used in the effort of fish transporting with the partnership pattern could do the loading shift with the rules: a) fishing-ship and fish transporting-ship were done by the ship that has permission or Ship Noting Proof measured until ten GTs; b). activity of fishing and fish transporting-ship was done by the ship that has permission or Ship Noting Proof and became its partner.

On one hand, the existence of this rule then became the chance of hegemony and executive power towards *punggawa* through the observer functionary at North Tiworo District. On the other hand, *punggawa* hoped that it could give the contentedness and effort of maximal service during the observation towards the functionary by giving accommodation and consumption. The accommodation according to *punggawa* is the expenses of journey and other necessities that could not be determined its amount that depended on the *punggawa* that gave with the amount that in accordance with them could give the contentedness and the comfort for the functionary.

Punggawa in marketing the products of fishery certainly required the relation with traders out of North Tiworo District. Many of them became the intermediary trader. The

result of production that succeeded to be collected from the activity of fishing mentioned above was mobilized through the mainland of Bombana and South Konawe that was then sent through air transportation for being sold furthermore to the big traders in Makassar, Surabaya, Bali and Jakarta Cities that would then be exported until abroad like Europe and Aia areas such as: Hongkong, China, Jepang, Singapura.

Commercial relationship that was built by *punggawa* with the traders from this outside became a strong relation and was difficult to be broken up its relationship because the relation of this trading ran since long time. As the intermediary trader, the *punggawa* built the the network with the trader outside so that the outside traders were not doubtful either to give the trust in the form of the loan of capital for *punggawa* to facilitate them to collect the sea product. If in this trading relationship, the outside traders obtained the big profit in the end of year, the *punggawa* were given an incentive in the form of free ticket to be able to have fun in Jakarta with family.

Although the economic activity mentioned above had an impact on the economic incoming of the *punggawa*, but with capital capability owned by the outside traders, they could do the hegemony through the creating of monopolistical market structure that caused the monopoly of raw materials and accumulation of capital through the relation of trading of sea fisheries sector.

The treatment that was given by the outside traders even became one of the barriers in resulting in the awakening of local *punggawa* to be able to process and produce the products of fishery that certainly had the higher selling-value. As a result, the *punggawa* could get the bigger profit without becoming the intermediary trader. Besides, with the opportunity given to be able to go for a holyday without being underwritten with the pocket money even actually became the form of effort in which the *punggawa* would spend money from the profit that has been collected every year that was in turn used to go shopping in Jakarta until tens of millions rupiahs. Without being realized, the *punggawa* had a very small opportunity to be capable of collecting their own capital without obtaining the aid from the outside traders from the result of profit gotten every year.

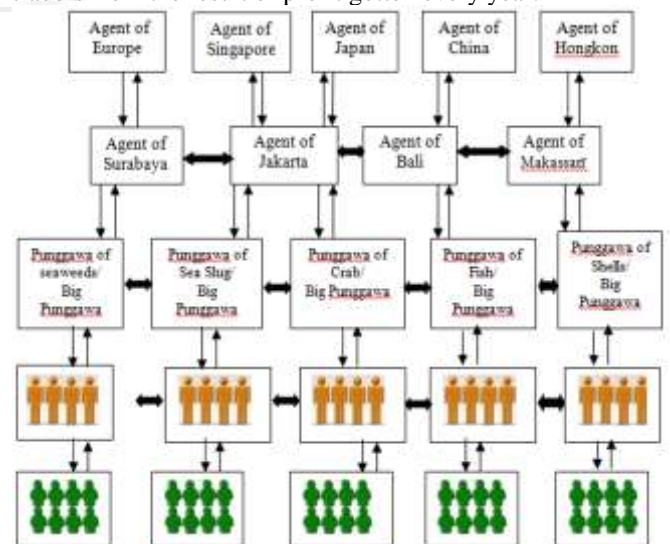




Figure 5: Power Relation between Agent Outside, Punggawa, and Sawi

Relation between *punggawa* and outside trader (investor), in the process of doing the sale of the fishing products of big *punggawa*, interlaced the collaboration of trading with the trader of sea product collector from big cities in Indonesia such as: Surabaya, Bali, Makasar and Jakarta. For example, seaweeds was interlaced with the relation of trading with the traders from Surabaya, for sea slug and crab were marketed with the trader from Jakarta, certain fishes on the export scale were marketed with the traders from Makasar and Bali.

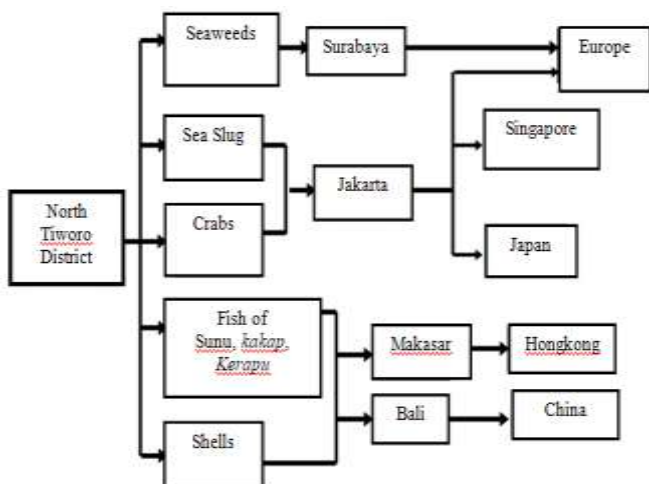


Figure 6: Flow of trade of sea products at North Tiworo

The process of trade with the agent outside according to *punggawa* might not take their part each other because the process of selling sea products has been arranged its flow of trade in cities in Indonesia. If they violated the rule of the trader outside, so they would be punished or sanctioned.

This indicated that it has happened the hegemony of the outside traders towards the *punggawa*. in accordance with the informant, based on his experience in trading the sea products that has taken place for a long time between the trader of sea product collector in Indonesia frequently did the communication between the trader of sea products collector either from Jakarta, Surabaya, Bali and Makasar, because if there were any *punggawa* that tried to interlace relation from another area would be known and had the consequence that they did not want any more to buy their sea products. Therefore, whatever happened had to remain to be in keeping with the rule that has been established by the the investors or outside traders.

Punggawa as the business doer in the midst of society certainly expected to activate their business that was safe, comfortable, and without any disturbance. Principally, *punggawa* wanted the guarantee of security in doing their business to be suitable with what became their ideal, without any disturbance from the others. Therefore, *punggawa*

entrusted the security of their business activity towards the legal institution from government. As the consequence, as for *punggawa*, the policy institution was the best institution in making sure their business security.

The involvement of security apparatus in a variety of businesses of the *punggawa* has become the general secret, began from legal business to illegal one in the midst of society. The apparatus of security that had to play the role as the protector of society even was impressed as the protector for the small entrepreneurs.

Even though there was the involvement of security in the business of Bajo ethnics, but there was no written contract that had to be given to pay the amount of security retribution. The relationship that was built was a social relationship that from time to time the security side could ask the recompense to the *punggawa* if there was necessity of security side.

Such relationship was a mutualism relationship in which *punggawa* got the sense of safety on one hand, but on the other hand, the *punggawa* could also give the fear to the *sawi* that tried to do the bad things or the opposition towards *punggawa*. Based on this thing, *punggawa* made the security side as the tool to give the fear towards the *sawi* in order to keep and guarantee their obedience.

5. Conclusions

Forms of power relations of *punggawa* and *sawi* on the fishermen of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency were studied on the aspect of power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi*, power relation between *punggawa* and another *punggawa*, power relation of *punggawa* and executive and legislative government, power relation between *punggawa* and trader outside, power relation between *punggawa* and security side formed hegemonic power relation. The group of *punggawa* built a discourse in collaboration to hegemonize their *sawi* not only in capital and the tools of fishing production with all rules that were established by *punggawa* for the biggest profit, but also the informational access that was built through the government whether executive or legislative government in propelling the increase of economy and life extent was dominated by the *punggawa*, and the market network through collaboration and trader outside.

The security side also became the part in strengthening the hegemony of power of the *punggawa* and *sawi*. The *punggawa* understood more the societal culture of Bajo ethnics at North Tiworo District that was very fearful with the roles of security apparatus by creating the sense of fear for the *sawi* so that the *punggawa* made use of the presence of security side to protect them for both the safety of their production tools and their personal safety.

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