



## Construction of action in the structure of *punggawa-sawi* relationship in Burung Loe Island, Indonesia

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### ARTICLE INFO

#### Keywords:

Performance;  
Construction; Relation;  
Structures; *Punggawa-sawi*.

#### How to cite:

Arifin, A., Ansar, C.I.,  
Arsat, M., Fauzan, G.,  
Hamzah, A. (2023).  
Construction of action in  
the structure of  
*punggawa-sawi*  
relationship in Burung Loe  
Island, Indonesia.  
ETNOSIA: Jurnal  
Etnografi Indonesia, 8(2):  
237 – 256.

#### DOI:

10.31947/etnosia.v8i2.26805

### ABSTRACT

The construction of performance in the patron-client structure that functions as a socio-cultural agent in the management system and the utilization of fisheries resources is inseparable from the norm system practices carried out repeatedly in fisher groups. The study uses a qualitative approach to identify the construction process of performance through the practice of norms, ideas, and arenas of fisher's struggle (courtier). The study was conducted in Burung Loe Island, Sinjai Regency. Data obtained through observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGD) with large *punggawa* (ship owner), small *punggawa* (fisheries operational leader) and the crew. The results show that the social practices of electric fishers (*pa'bagang rambo*), tuna-mackerel fishers (*pa'tongkol*) and cages/aqua culture (*keramba* or fish farming) did not just happen, but were conditioned by nature and market logic would build them to choose the appropriate job. Fishers are bound by schemes of perception and thought that seem to be a collective phenomenon in the form of rituals and safety norms so that they are safe, calm, and get abundant wealth. The arena of fisher actualization is conditioned by the social structure of the *punggawa* who creates a patron-client dichotomy.

## 1. Introduction

In general, people always believe in everything captured by the senses (glamorize empiricism), but has never been skeptical and critical of the hidden reality of the individual and collective actions that are always carried out repeatedly. Fishers have values, norms, and rituals that are always taken for granted in the absence of judgment and rejection of those who live and direct contact with the normative ritual practices.

The action is interpreted by the client (labor fishers) as the kindness and sincerity of the *punggawa* (both large ship owners or venture capitalists and a small ship owners or fishing operational leader). This is also to create order and adherence to the *punggawa*. This phenomenon is a hidden reality and almost never appear in word but manifests in the deepest inner voices.

*Punggawa* (patron) and *sawi* (clients) always coexist spatially and temporarily, but still differ according to their own internal logic. The existence of value-laden activity is interlinked emotionally and provide understanding of the nature and parallel meaning to the fishing activity. Values and norms that held by fishers indicate that the idea of 'going to sea' still exist. The fact that it is not only save a causal relationship, but also their awareness about mutual relations of social phenomena that contain historical values. Objective reality that can be described as 'the deepest construction' of the idea of the actor, or 'ideal type' (Weber 1962 and 1978; Rudyansjah, 2020), formed by the accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of the empirical reality, mental, and actor.

In other words, the social phenomena always breeds action and reaction, so that the social world cannot be described with a simple and deterministic models. Toby (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2013: 258) claims that individuals who are members of a society, want to address symbolically uncertainty, concern, and the tragedy of existence. Furthermore, Parson (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2013: 262) explicitly states that human actions are loaded with the value that cannot be separated from the cultural system as a major force that binds the various elements of the social world. Furthermore, Bourdieu (2011: 163) instill critical thinking in theory of 'constructivist structuralism' that is not only deterministic-economical but also to explain the reality of the behavior of the states. The social objective, the consciousness, and the will of the agent able to direct the perception schemes that make up habitus, arena, and social structure.

The study of the dynamics of fishing have been carried out by several researchers, such as Arifin (2013) that reveals the poverty trap among the fishers between the patron (*pinggawa/punggawa*) to the client (*sawi*). Lampe (2012 dan 2015; see also Lampe, Demmalino, Neil, dan Jompa 2017) also argues that fishers and their collective life (socio-economic-political) are strong and neat. The patterns of use of marine resources reflecting the subjective relationship between humans and the environment. In addition, Vibriyanti (2014: 57) argues that program for increasing skills and knowledge of fishers that usually held by government does not run well because the lack of fisehers' education puts barriers on the fishers in accessing the various programs (**Wuryandari** 2014). **The** United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and the memorandum of understanding between Indonesia-Australia or MoU Box 1974 indeed provides legal security of traditional fishing by Indonesian fishers in Australian waters.

However, the Indonesian fishers consider the rule limits the scale of the fishing area (fishing ground limitation) so that the catch has experienced a decline. Given the diversity of the study, this article critically explores the reality of practice, the mind, and the fishing arena consisting of *punggawa* and client fishers activity that does not appear in the overall life of fishers.

## 2. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach that aims to identify socio-cultural construction process through practice norms, ideas, and fishing arena in which there are relations of *punggawa-sawi* as a product of history. The research was conducted in Burung Loe Island Sinjai. Data obtained through observation of the activity of fishing groups and through *indepth-interview* with *punggawa* (ship owner), *punggawa kecil* (operational leader fishing) and client (workers). Topics interviewed include norms fishing practices, insights on fishers, and objective structure of the fishing arena.

## 3. Result and discussion

### - Practice and Logic Fishers

According to Bourdieu (1990: 14), the social reality of the objective which there are structures that requires reasoning manner. Bourdieu claims that analysis of the structure of the objective which are in the arena can not be separated from the analysis of the genesis, the biologic individual, and the mental structure at a certain extent is a product of fusion social structure, the social space, and those who master the historical struggle (in which agents participate according to their position in the social space and according to the mental structures).

Bourdieu (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2013: 578) focusing one of them in practice, which he saw as a result of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Practice is not determined objectively and it is not a product of free will. Bourdieu reason the practice is that a reflection on the dialectic between the structure to the way people construct social reality is a very interesting fact. Moreover, the structure is also present in the social world itself. The objective structure as something apart from the consciousness and the will of the agent, which is able to direct and practices inhibit or representation of the subject (Bourdieu 1989: 14).

In the life of the fishing community, every culture and group of fishers who recognize themselves as a collectivity, has the world's view of their place in it: a model of world and cosmology. To do something, fishing community consciously or not fully conscious, is organized, driven, and conditioned by the existing structures in the social group of *punggawa-sawi*.

For example, fishers on the Burung Loe Island are (in space and time) axiomatic characteristics of praxis that was involved for a long time. Intrinsically, the type of work that was involved residents in the Burung Loe Island, mainly working as fishers of *bagang* boat (*pa'bagang*). In addition, there are also the usual fishing (including *pa'tongkol* or tuna mackerel fishers), *keramba* (commercially valuable fish farming for example, coral trout, grouper, yellow tail, etc.), traders, and seaweed cultivation. The activity reflects the orientation-aware and primer toward economic considerations were done collectively.

Burung Loe Island has biotic and abiotic natural resources. Based on observations and informant that the production made the fishers, among others: yellowtail (*rapo-*

*rapo*), grouper, coral trout (reef type of fish), red fish (*sinoloro*), black cod (*kedondong*). Besides, they are not classified as reef fish (pelagics). It is the most widely produced such as skipjack. Overall, this fish species caught by fishing gear and trawl or net. In addition, they are also obtained information that grouper and coral trout production decreased while other fish are relatively fixed. Production of marine inhabitants mostly takes place to the fish auction in the port of Lappa in the district of Sinjai and almost all catches (especially fish) are brought to the fish auction place (*Tempat Pelelangan Ikan* or TPI). Every transaction is understood as "the result of a strategy" and can be defined "as a moment in a series of exchange of material and symbolic" (Bourdieu 2011: 77).

Transactions are equipped with a mastery of symbolic logic fishers (agents) that cannot be separated from the experience and conditioning of their own free will to take action in objective social reality. Catching fish species as mentioned above is a reflection of the condition or the potential of nature, so the mental structure that has been understood and used in the act of catching fish with a variety of technologies, conditioned by itself, as outlined by the *punggawa* of *Pa'tongkol* (Yusno, 30 years).

*My difficulty is accessing employment outside of work as fishers. Since it is hard to work in other fields. Changing device according to the development e.g. fish finder so as not to compete with other fishers, moreover allows us to know and prevent the boat from the reef clusters (taka) to facilitate know the location of fish if we use the Global Positioning System (GPS).*

That change has implications for the improvised fishers using more sophisticated technology to determine the location of fish that is centralised on fishing practices (*mattasi*), trawl/net, boat butterflyfish/lift net (*pa'bagang*), tuna fish finders (*pa'tongkol*) and *keramba* (fish farming). The strategy that has in it the knowledge, goals and interests in the world of social and work settings that are integral aspects of the production of the catch to achieve prosperity in the future.

In principle, it is all based on the selection of two types of rational action proposed by Weber (1966: 24) (see also Weber 1962 and 1978; Rudyansjah, 2020), namely the rationality of the means-goal or action is determined by the expectations of the behavior of objects in the environment and human behavior (actor). They are used as a 'requirement' or 'means' to achieve the goal of the actor through effort and rational calculation. Actors (fishers) not only dealing with the situation, but also an integral part of the situation and the constantly changing market tastes temporally.

People on the same social settings created by human agency unites them through practice or praxis. It has been created, reproduced, and changed various taxonomic understood as the basis of social relations. Taxonomy consists of symbolic representation which not only reflects the ideas about the world, but actually make the world in which the people live in it (Bourdieu 2018: 15). *Punggawa* is very strong since they can impose and reproduce their own power and authority. Meanwhile, *sawi* are helpless as far as they cannot escape from their social position in relation to the taxonomy. As described by *pa'bagang* namely H. Abd. Aziz (64).

*The ship owners should be aware about their ability to master the fishing equipment and able to rule on the boat. Sawi was always obeying orders ship owners because he*

*could not resist and out of the circle. If they do not want to be governed, they usually make their own small boats, aided by his close relatives.*

Lack of awareness in the community of fishers, especially small-scale fishers to their inability to hold the equipment relatively similar to that held by the ship owners. Therefore, they are only able to hold a lower equipment and formed their group in a small scale. Their inability to coordinate groups and venture capital management is relatively low, so that when they hold the equipment and form a group, then the group generally tend to involve family members.

However, power is always obtained from a performative practice, habitus, and arena. Cognitive and evaluative structure that is used to construct a world that is a political struggle parexcellent the struggle in getting the rights to carry out what they want. Taxonomy owned by the *punggawa* (ship owners) is only relevant since they settled in the configuration of the social relationship between fishers.

#### - **Habitus in the Spectrum of Fishers**

The concept of habitus is very famous in Bourdieu thought that drove him into a social science thinkers. Habitus is "mental or cognitive structure" through which people relate to the social world. Humans equipped with a series of internalized schemes they use to perceive, appreciate, and understand the social world. Through this scheme, people produce their practice and perceive, then, evaluate it. Dialectically, habitus is "a product of the internalization of the structure of social world" (Bourdieu 1989: 18).

Habitus also be regarded as "common sense". Habitus is obtained as a result of the position they occupy in a long time. Thus, habitus varies depending on the nature of a person's position in the world. In other words, not everyone has the same habitus. Habitus that exist at a certain time have been created throughout history. Habitus and the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, in line with the scheme described by history (Bourdieu 1977: 82).

The concept of "structuring structure" means that habitus is a structure which structure the social world. In the other reality, habitus is also a "structured structure", meaning that habitus is a structure that is structured by the social world. By other terms, Bourdieu describes the habitus as "externalities internalization and externalization dialectic internalities" that has practical functions (Bourdieu 1977: 72). In fishing communities, there are devices and custom fishing knowledge about management and utilization of fisheries resources and being part of a cultural system as presented by a ship owners *Pa'bagang* namely H. Abd. Aziz (64).

*We, from the beginning until now has been in the job as fishers because it has become knowledge of our lives. All our knowledge and experience, just about to go to sea and catch fish. We always use both wherever we go to the sea, either around the Sinjai district and in other areas.*

In the structure of the fishing community action, there is a perception and experience, or can be regarded as an "ideal type" or a universal device used in historical reality and it is also used to describe the attitude and manner, when fishers (actor) carries himself. The device is called Bourdieu's perception or "habitus" was

formed by the experience and by the explicit teaching. Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 2013: 109-110), says habitus strength due to the incompleteness of behavior and habituation, not a rule or principle which consciously learned. Some socially appropriate behaviors are produced on a regular basis without reference and it is explicitly codified.

In the social world and not just in symbolic systems, there are structures objectively independent of consciousness and the will of the agent, which is capable of directing and inhibit the practice or representations that habitus which looked at "customary provisions fishers in the group", governing the actions and lead actor to do something and provide a basis for the establishment of praxis. Habitus schemes and rules that are believed to bring the needs for the survival of families. Rule or norm has become a habit (habitus) community on the Island of Burung Loe obtained for generations of parents and their neighbors. These rules are implemented without coercion goes hand in hand with their lives.

For fishing in the Island of Burung Loe, there are rules or norms that embrace the community that guide their thoughts and actions, as outlined by a *Pa'bagang* namely H. Abd. Aziz (64).

*"... the people on this island do work every day basically aims to meet daily needs, namely food and other necessities. Before an effort underway or production process, there are rules that hereditary must be adhered to, so that is always abundant and safety fortune trying to stay awake. To start the New Bagang to operate, our family and the client held a prayer ceremony called caru-carui ceremony and it is essentially "starting reinforcements" namely that bagang boat and the people who use them remain in safety and tranquility. Besides that, we hope fortune from God Almighty "*

Ceremony safety in the form of "starting reinforcements" is essential not only is real action-structured with all the rituals accompanying measures, but also present in the habitus contained deep into the cognitive structure of which helped set up the action actor. Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 2013: 111-112), explicitly argues habitus desired action may be accompanied by calculating strategies and profit at the level of conscious tend to perform operations or actions.

Reflections on the life of fishers in the previous season that are under threat of safety at sea, ship owners must perform a ritual to invoke God Almighty, who is morally acceptable and reasonable to be developed in order to provide safety and fortune at the sea. Then, on the Island of Burung Loe, there are rules or norms that they believe. These rules are relatively still delivered on their children and always be carried out and still be considered by the fishers. The rules include:

*There should be no tools to be used fall to the ground. There should be no small children were crying when the departure. There should not be at odds with members of the family (especially his wife). Should always tell the truth and speak a good word. It is forbidden to sit on the door. It is prohibited to sweep when it will go to the sea. If there are asking for a loan, whether it be money or goods. It should be postponed until the husband/family member has returned from fishing. Instead, when they want to go to sea, there are several requirements (norms) that should be adhered to among other things: a calm heart and quiet nature. Behavior which is generally done by the fishers before leaving to sail for fishing are: Be quiet before leaving home to sail. There is no problem in the household.*

*There are no signs of a worrying when in the middle of the sea. They should wash your feet before going up to the boat or ship.*

The norm is internalized by both mind Burung Loe fishers are mutually adjusted to their actions before going to sea. The norms are influenced the way of life, references, guidelines and provisions in interacting with fellow members in fishing communities. In addition, it is also manifested in restrictions that largely determined by the emotional state actors that accumulates in the consciousness and habits (*habitus*) as a disposition that is shared and is a product of history that gave birth to the practices of individual and collective. Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 2013: 116), said that the group exists in the objective world are bound with the perspective that the group is a product of the past practices of the previous and current generations. The attachment is essentially derived from the norms and the sanctions that followed.

According to Weber (1921: 24) (see also Weber 1962 and 1978; Rudyansjah, 2020), in social action, the actor is always conditioned by the rational action that is determined by the full faith awareness of the value of ethical behavior, aesthetic and religious that leads to the prospect of success. In principle, the value and believe in fishing *habitus* (actor) is a key indicator or a source of objective practice, although there are a series of subjective generative principle produced by people in social life. Accumulated *habitus* in the form of a lull in the fishing able to change the properties considered prestige or social value by creating an alternative taxonomy to get the sea with different equipment. This is a reflection of *habitus* or ways of personal history and social position allows individuals to improvise or innovate.

#### - **Arena Actualization of Fishers**

Arena is seen by Bourdieu very rational than structural. Bourdieu and Wacquant (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2013: 582) claim the arena is objective. The existence of this relationship, apart from the will of the individual, is not intersubjective or bonding between individuals. Anyone who occupy the position, could be an agency or institution and they are inhibited by the structure of the arena. There are a number of semi-autonomous arena in the social world, one of which is the religion which has a specific logic that builds confidence among the actors.

Bourdieu (in Wacquant, 1989: 40) sees the arena as a "battle and struggle". Structure arena that "sustains and directs strategies used by people who occupy certain positions to try, either individually or collectively, to secure or improve their position and apply the principle hierarchy of the most suitable for the product. Arena is a kind of competitive markets in which various types of economic such as capital (the means of production and money), cultural (legitimate knowledge), social relations, and symbolic (growth of self-esteem and prestige). However, the position of the various agents in the arena, determined by the number and relative weights of capital they control (Anheier, Gerhards and Romo, 1995).

In general, almost all the work of fishers are always in touch with the group in an arena with the relation to the position in it. Members of the group of fishers working together with one another, and in such cooperation, to do the work applied the rules

or norms that they have believed and stood for. Therefore, the people say that in terms of the availability of foodstuffs are rules or norms that are directly related to their daily work.

Especially on a boat, a group that cooperates usually varies by type of boat and fishing gear used. For example a *pa'bagang* group consists of 12-16 people and a group of *pa'tongkol* consists of five to seven people. From the narrative community that this cooperation serves to enhance and improve morale courage based system of values and norms of the group, rather than the emergence of excessive fear and loneliness. In addition, this partnership serves as a mean of increasing harmony (integration) and cohesiveness among fellow who not only among members of the group but also felt by the entire family.

*"... with their friends (group members) on board especially if it is in the middle of the sea. Then we were not too worried or anxious, fear not as big as if we are alone, there is also accompanied by a chat so do not feel lonely. We also feel more energized and more diligent. By doing it together and feel the sense of compactness in the same boat, we were getting better"* (Yusro, 27 years old, *pa'tongkol*).

When observed closely, the main goal they are working on a boat that serves as the arena of battle and the struggle is to gain an adequate joint and results in order to meet the needs of everyday household. In addition, there is a complex relationship of cooperation on a boat in the form of giving duties and along with the great responsibilities. They are expected solidarity and commitment that will determine the course of the work on the boat.

There was definitely that whole action involves interference and the thought process and the resulting significant action. However, more specific action on the boat always focused on economic measures, as Weber (1921: 8) defines as the primary orientation of the conscious and the belief that it was very necessary. However, the action is essentially an act (see Weber, 1921: 24-25) that is determined by emotion actors and manifests in the form of the reasonable variations such as working together to meet the needs of the self and the family. The most urgent to be fulfilled in the form of foodstuffs such as rice, side dishes, vegetables, and so on. As for other needs, such as clothing and home repairs, there are still be delayed. Only with good cooperation, expectations, and results to be achieved can be realized. As Nuraeni (31 years old) said:

*"... Almost no residents on this island who worked as fishers do not have the working group. They work together to more easily obtain the results (revenue) in order to meet the needs of their lives, on a day-to-day, especially groceries for their families. With the existence of the group, the owner (punggawa lombo) and workers (sawi) can meet and do fishing. In addition to working at sea as well as cooperation on the ground that it continues for a variety of jobs that are familial. Their relationship is very close, and even they feel as if one family"*.

Hierarchy in the fishers's group is always headed by a *punggawa lombo* while the client (*sawi*) is the one that obedient to the patron. Hierarchies are intertwined and create order due to the acquisition of knowledge, authority, and capital ownership



in the economy or the technology (boats, engines, and fishing gear), savings, knowledge (or habitus) of cultural legitimate about the sea.

Ownership of authority by the *punggawa* is generally derived from their relationship within the family, particularly if it is based on family business. The ownership is a condition of the legality in which it is able to influence, determine, and achieve the desired goal, although not always in accordance with the wishes of the client or *sawi* in this context. However, they will honor or even implement these rules even though the authority was forced by the *punggawa* since it becomes very easy to control.

In the world of *punggawa-sawi*, hierarchies are formed and familial, but a fundamental difference or polar dichotomy in which the *punggawa* as a group of fishers who have the gift or talent (charisma) and the *sawi* do not have the charisma. According to Weber (1921: 245) charisma is revolutionary forces and the most important in the social world actor that can change your mind. The charisma of the owners ship able to create himself as an actor who plays an important role in the arena and adhered to on the basis of a belief in the legitimacy, both at sea (fishing ground) or on land (local market).

The *punggawa caddi* usually get an award of recognition in the form of praise from the capital or ship owners. The award is a symbolic manifestation of the routinization of charisma and mastery of the arena. In addition, *sawi* which only has a capital-minimal form of energy without resources has always been a person controlled by the ship owners. It is because they are bounded in the structure of patron-client relationship in the fishing communities that are constructed. Bourdieu (in Baert and Rubio: 94-95) argues that social and historical conditions impact on production levels of knowledge and awareness, so that the subject becomes aware of how the conditions affect the way people understand and know the sea.

#### 4. Conclusion

Fishing practices are basically conditioned by the natural and logical desire in which there is a consumer market that involves transactions and relationships dialectics dynamic structure and agency. Fishing on Burung Loe Island is not separated from its construction in the socio-cultural world that is driven by a set of values and norms that reflected on local fishers. The objective conditions of fishers in the form of threats of poverty and will gain prestige solved by a ship owners with the knowledge and habits (habitus) that are repeated and the action pattern in the form of boat building.

With the presence of the whole of the equipment, mengasilkan practice of the division and distribution of power within the *punggawa-sawi* structure in the social arena or on a boat. Therefore, the client experienced the power in the very effective way and create a movement against the hegemony, until they can go out from the structure or struggle to define themselves and have a production tool which is similar to the *punggawa*. As long as it does not happen, the power determination can not be eliminated so that the amount of the dependence of the bottom structure (*sawi*) in that position is always the case.

**Conflicts of Interest:** "The authors declare no conflict of interest."

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