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Women, Tradition, and Cultural Resilience: The Preservation Practices of Bira Woven Fabric Amidst the Currents of Modernization

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ABSTRACT

Bira Woven Fabric, a maritime cultural heritage in South Sulawesi, faces a serious threat of extinction due to the pressures of modernization. This study aims to deconstruct the social mechanisms underlying this preservation crisis, moving beyond purely economic or technical analyses. Employing a qualitative approach and Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory framework, this study analyzes how the dialectical interaction among habitus, capital, and field shapes the practices of women weavers. Key findings indicate that this crisis is rooted at three levels. First, the formation of a cleft habitus (habitus clivé) within the weavers, who are caught between loyalty to tradition and economic rationality. Second, the systematic devaluation of their cultural and symbolic capital in the contestation against the dominance of economic capital within the social field. Third, their subordinate position within a field governed by the logic of tourism and patriarchal structures. This study concludes that weaving preservation is not merely a technical issue but a political struggle to change the "rules of the game" within the field. The research suggests that successful interventions require a holistic approach that extends beyond economic strengthening, focusing on the revitalisation of habitus, the revaluation of cultural capital, and, most importantly, the structural reform of the field itself.

Keywords: Bira Weaving; Cultural Capital; Cultural Preservation; Field; Habitus.

INTRODUCTION

The national discourse on traditional textiles in Indonesia tends to position batik as the primary icon, a hegemony that often obscures the urgent need to preserve other traditional fabrics, which are facing existential challenges. One such cultural heritage at a critical juncture is *Tannung Gambara'*, a distinctive woven fabric from the village of Bira in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province, whose historical origins can be traced back to the 13th century (Suwito, 2018). Its unique symbols, colors, and materials represent a profound communal identity. However, *Tannung Gambara's* no longer actively produced and confronts the threat of extinction—a loss that signifies not only the severance of a historical legacy but also the erosion of communal identity and collective memory.

The sustainability of this historical heritage is fundamentally shaped by its encompassing socio-cultural context, particularly by a deeply entrenched patriarchal structure. As noted by Rizal (1978), the life of the Bira community has traditionally been characterised by a strict division of labour: men serve as seafarers, navigating the oceans for extended periods, while women's roles are confined to domestic affairs. Within this framework, the activity of weaving, despite demanding high skill and possessing cultural value, is positioned as part of women's domestic duties, on par with childcare and cooking.

This situation creates a fundamental paradox. On the one hand, weaving is regarded as a medium for creative expression and a symbol of female gender identity that reinforces cultural heritage (Goleman, 2019). On the other hand, because it is bound to the domestic sphere, this activity is not recognized as "work" possessing economic value equivalent to men's occupations in the public sphere. Consequently,

although *Tannung Gambara'* holds significant potential economic value, its status as a "household affair" has diminished its social value and its appeal to the younger generation.

Previous studies have highlighted this complexity from various perspectives. [Iriani et al. \(2022\)](#) assert that in the past, weaving skills were a prerequisite for marriage among Bira women, indicating the high symbolic value of this tradition. However, this rule has now been relaxed, and weavers face significant marketing constraints. This condition contrasts with [Kartini \(2022\)](#) findings on the Kajang indigenous community in the same regency, where the creation of *lipa' le'leng* (black woven sarongs) by women serves not only as a medium for cultural preservation but also as a primary source of livelihood, contributing to the regional economy. Meanwhile, [Fajriah et al. \(2023\)](#) identify structural problems within the broader silk weaving industry in Bulukumba, such as constraints in raw material supply, weak financial management, and suboptimal promotion, which collectively weaken the local textile ecosystem. Collectively, these studies confirm a shift in values and persistent economic challenges. Nonetheless, they tend to remain at a descriptive level and have not yet deconstructed the social mechanisms underlying the marginalization of weaving practices. It is this analytical gap that the present study seeks to address.

The accumulation of these issues is now starkly evident. The preservation of the weaving culture in Bira Village faces a severe regeneration crisis, exacerbated by the currents of globalization and the dominance of the modern textile industry. The declining interest of young women in learning and continuing the tradition, coupled with dwindling market demand, has pushed this practice to the brink of extinction. This phenomenon reveals a complex dynamic among gender roles, economic valuation, and the pressures of modernization, all of which threaten local cultural resilience.

Although previous research has identified historical and socio-economic factors, the existing analysis tends to be descriptive and has not deconstructed the social mechanisms that underpin the weavers' choices. Addressing this analytical lacuna is the primary objective of this research. Diverging from previous studies, this research not only describes the challenges but also aims to deconstruct their underlying social mechanisms, utilising Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory as its primary analytical tool. By employing the concepts of habitus, capital, and field, this study has three specific objectives. *First*, to analyze how the habitus of Bira women, shaped by patriarchal structures, influences their valuation of cultural capital (weaving skills). *Second*, to identify the contestation of capital (economic versus symbolic) within the social field that contributes to the regeneration crisis. *Third*, to formulate recommendations for a preservation model that considers interventions at the level of the weavers' habitus and capital.

METHOD

This study is methodologically grounded in a qualitative approach (Sugiyono, 2017). This approach was selected for its capacity to deeply explore subjective meanings, experiences, and complex social practices that are not readily quantifiable. This choice is particularly relevant for deconstructing the core concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's theory, which are utilized in this research. A qualitative approach is crucial for dissecting how the habitus (internalized dispositions) of the women weavers is formed and manifested in daily practice, as well as for elucidating how they subjectively value various forms of capital (cultural, social, symbolic, economic) within the dynamic field (arena) of weaving preservation.

To gather rich and in-depth data, this study employed a combination of primary data collection techniques. The principal instrument was the in-depth interview, which was employed to explore the personal narratives, worldviews, and motivations of the informants regarding their weaving practices. This technique was crucial for uncovering individual habitus. Subsequently, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were utilized to facilitate dialogue among weavers and other stakeholders, in order to map the social dynamics, value negotiations, and capital contestations occurring within the communal field. As a complementary method, participatory observation was conducted to directly observe weaving practices (or the lack thereof), social interactions within the artisan community, and the often-unspoken daily material contexts that may not be articulated in interviews. This primary data was then contextualized and enriched with secondary data, including academic literature, local historical documents, and archives related to Bira Village, to construct a holistic understanding.

The selection of research informants was conducted using purposive sampling, a technique that involves selecting individuals deemed to possess the most relevant knowledge and experience for the research objectives. The primary criteria were designed to capture a diversity of positions within the field of weaving preservation, comprising: senior weavers who remain active as guardians of the tradition (representing high cultural and symbolic capital); middle-aged women positioned at the crossroads between continuing the tradition and meeting modern economic demands; and young-generation women who have chosen not to continue the weaving tradition, in order to understand the shift in habitus and the devaluation of cultural capital. This study involved 10 female informants from Bira Village. This number was deemed sufficient upon reaching the principle of theoretical saturation, whereby data collection ceases when no significant new information or themes emerge from subsequent informants.

Data analysis in this study was conducted inductively and continuously throughout the research process. Data collected from interview recordings, FGD notes, and field notes were transcribed verbatim. The analysis then proceeded through the three main stages of qualitative data analysis: open coding to identify foundational

concepts within the data, axial coding to connect and build more abstract categories, and selective coding to integrate these categories into a coherent analytical framework. This process facilitated a continuous dialogue between theory and data, wherein Bourdieu's theoretical concepts not only served as an initial guide but also informed the analysis. However, it was also enriched, challenged, and refined by empirical findings from the field. Thus, the entire methodological process was designed to move beyond a mere description of practices and to construct a coherent sociological explanation that clarifies how the interplay of habitus, capital, and field collectively reproduces the preservation challenges facing Bira Woven Fabric. The entire research process adhered to academic ethics, ensuring that informed consent was obtained from all informants and their anonymity was fully protected.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. The Habitus of Women Weavers: Legacy, Resilience, and Transformation

An analysis of the preservation practices of Bira Woven Fabric must begin with an understanding of the weavers' habitus—that is, the system of dispositions or tendencies to think and act that are internalized through prolonged experience (Jailani et al., 2024). The research findings indicate that this habitus constitutes the primary foundation explaining why the practice of weaving has endured amidst numerous pressures. This habitus shapes not only technical skills but also the worldviews, values, and identities inherent to Bira women. However, this habitus is not a static entity; it is dynamic, fraught with contradictions, and currently situated within a field of contestation between traditional values and the demands of modernity. The following discussion will dissect how this habitus is formed, how it functions as a mechanism of cultural defense, and how it is undergoing an intergenerational transformation.

The formation of the weaving habitus in Bira is deeply rooted in a process of intergenerational transmission that is both informal and personal (Bahrum & Anwar, 2009), primarily from mother to daughter. This process is more than a mere transfer of skills; it is the inheritance of a "way of being" (Bourdieu, 1983). As articulated by a senior weaver:

"These hands already know the path of the thread on their own. There is no need to think about it anymore. It has been passed down from my grandmother to my mother, and then to me."

This expression, "the hands already know on their own," precisely illustrates Bourdieu (2005) concept of habitus as embodied knowledge. Weaving skill is not learned through formal instruction but through observation, imitation, and repetition within the context of daily life (Alamsyah, 2014). This habitus renders the activity of weaving "natural" and makes it an inseparable part of female

identity—a praxis that confirms their role within the community's social and cultural structure.

Despite being rich in cultural and symbolic capital, this weaving habitus faces a serious challenge when confronted with the capitalist economic logic that dominates the contemporary social field (Lawet & Keban, 2024). Within this field, the value of a practice is measured by time efficiency and financial profit, two metrics where traditional weaving does not excel (Sari & Budiani, 2018). This condition gives rise to a paradox: weaving is highly valued culturally but devalued economically. A mid-generation informant stated, *"If you calculate the working hours, the outcome is not proportional. We weave more because it is a legacy; there is a certain pride in it."* This statement is a manifestation of a cleft habitus (*habitus clivé*), wherein dispositions formed in the traditional field clash with the rational calculations demanded by the modern economic field. The traditionally formed habitus impels them to continue weaving to preserve honor and identity (symbolic capital), while rational calculations from the modern economic field present other, more financially promising occupational alternatives (Nasri et al., 2023).

This tension between two value systems culminates in the younger generation, where a rupture or even a complete severance of the habitus occurs. For many young women in Bira Village, the fields of formal education and the modern labor market offer forms of capital—diplomas and stable salaries—that are perceived as more valuable and as promising vertical social mobility. Their habitus is no longer formed around the loom but is shaped by schooling, social media, and exposure to urban lifestyles. The educational field, in particular, functions as an institution that instills a new habitus, one that legitimizes institutionalized cultural capital (diplomas) and implicitly delegitimizes objectified cultural capital (traditional skills). As expressed by a senior weaver's daughter:

"What's the point of weaving so hard if the results are so meager? I can work in a shop or go to the city to work there; the pay is guaranteed, and I can help my parents more."

This perspective is not merely a reflection of laziness but a manifestation of a newly formed habitus oriented toward the accumulation of economic capital, which directly challenges and displaces the dominance of the cultural capital inherited from previous generations.

However, the habitus is not a rigid or passive structure in the face of change. The research findings also reveal evidence of resilience and adaptation within the habitus among some weavers. They do not simply yield to market pressures (Arafat et al., 2022), but actively negotiate their position by innovating (Muis, 2022). This adaptation is evident in their experimentation with new motifs, the use of more contemporary color combinations, and the development of derivative products such as bags or wall hangings. The same mid-generation informant, who

actively markets her products online, explained:

“We must keep up with the times. If the motifs are always the same, who will buy them? However, the foundation remains Bira weaving; the So’bi’ technique must not be lost.”

This action can be analyzed as a strategy by the agents to convert their devalued cultural capital into relevant economic capital. It serves as proof that the habitus, when confronted with changing conditions in the field, is capable of generating new, creative strategies for survival.

Furthermore, the resilience of the weaving habitus is also reinforced through a mechanism of social solidarity, which manifests as a collective habitus. The weaving groups in the village function not only as production units but also as micro-fields where women mutually reinforce one another. In their daily interactions, they share techniques, solve problems collaboratively, and, most importantly, collectively reproduce and reaffirm the values inherent in the practice of weaving. These groups become a bulwark against external devaluation, a space where weavers can accumulate social capital—networks of trust and mutual support—that helps them navigate economic hardships and maintain motivation. Thus, the continuity of the weaving practice depends not only on individual dispositions but also on the strength of the communal bonds that sustain it ([Fatmahandayani et al., 2019](#)).

Overall, the analysis of the weavers’ habitus reveals a complex reality. This habitus is a primary source of strength, enabling the tradition to persist through the inheritance of embodied knowledge and identity. However, it is also a source of vulnerability when it confronts a modern social field operating with a different logic of value. The shift in habitus among the younger generation signifies a serious threat, while the innovation and collective solidarity demonstrate a remarkable potential for resilience. Understanding this contradictory dynamic of the habitus—between endurance and fragility, tradition and adaptation—is key to formulating preservation interventions that not only address technical or economic aspects but also reinforce the dispositions and values that form the very foundation of the cultural practice itself ([Rasyid et al., 2025](#)). This dynamic of the habitus, in turn, cannot be separated from the types of capital at stake for the weavers and the structure of the field in which they operate, which will be analyzed in the subsequent section.

B. The Contestation of Capital within the Field of Weaving Preservation

If habitus is the “feel for the game,” then capital represents the “cards” at stake. The field of weaving preservation in Bira Village is the social terrain where this contestation unfolds—a space with specific rules, hierarchies, and “prices” for each form of capital. It is within this field that the women weavers, with their respective habitus and capital, struggle for recognition and to maintain their

positions. The following analysis dissects the types of capital at stake and how their contestation determines the fate of Bira woven fabric.

Cultural capital is the fundamental asset that serves as the starting point for the weavers. This capital exists in two primary forms. *First*, in its embodied state, namely, the motor skills and tacit knowledge inherited across generations. *Second*, in its objectified state, which is the woven fabric itself, along with its motifs laden with meaning. A senior weaver explained the meaning behind the *Sabbara*' (patience) motif, *"This motif reminds us to always be patient in facing life, just as we are patient when pulling the threads one by one until they become a cloth."* This type of philosophical knowledge is a form of cultural capital that imbues a piece of cloth with surplus value, transcending its material function. However, this cultural capital is vulnerable due to the absence of institutionalised state mechanisms, such as skill certification or communal intellectual property rights, which makes it challenging to recognise and protect within the formal economic sphere.

Amidst limited economic capital, social capital functions as a vital safety net and a collective defense mechanism. This capital is manifested in networks of trust and solidarity among weavers. During observation, practices of lending looms or sharing raw materials were noted when a weaver faced difficulties. In an FGD, one weaver revealed:

"If there is a large order that I cannot handle alone, I will share it with my friends. Blessings must be shared; later, if I am in difficulty, they will be the ones to help me."

This practice of reciprocity constitutes a form of social capital that ensures the continuity of production. However, this social capital is not evenly distributed. Weavers who have kinship ties to village elites or are active in women's organizations tend to possess more extensive networks, granting them access to information and opportunities unavailable to other weavers.

This disparity in social capital has a direct impact on the accumulation of economic capital. For the majority of weavers, economic capital is limited and fluctuates, often serving merely as a source of supplementary income. Their dependence on a seasonal tourism market and commissions for traditional ceremonies makes their income precarious. A middle-aged weaver lamented, *"When it is tourist season, it is decent. However, when it's quiet, the weavings are just kept at home. Where else can we sell them?"* This complaint illustrates how vulnerable their position becomes when the *doxa* (unwritten rules) of the modern economic field, which demands market visibility and stable revenue, clashes directly with the logic of the traditional field, which is based on commissions and seasonality. The shift towards digital platforms as an economic adaptation strategy has, in turn, created a new stratification. Younger weavers with technological access can reach a broader market, while senior weavers who are technologically

less adept remain bound to a limited local market. This difference confirms that without interventions to bridge the digital divide, modernization risks widening the economic disparity among weavers.

It is here that symbolic capital plays its crucial role as a balancing mechanism. Symbolic capital is a form of recognition, honor, or prestige attached to an agent. In Bira Village, a weaver recognized for mastering the intricate *So'bi'* technique or for preserving ancient motifs will acquire the status of a "guardian of tradition." This recognition, while not always yielding direct financial profit, grants them cultural authority. They often become a reference for other weavers, are invited to cultural exhibitions, or are featured by the media. A weaver known as a *So'bi'* maestro stated, "*Money can be earned, but the honor of being a successor to the ancestors is priceless. That is what keeps me weaving.*" This status is a form of symbolic capital that provides intrinsic satisfaction and strong social legitimacy.

The key to the weavers' resilience in this high-pressure field lies in their strategic practice of converting between forms of capital. The symbolic capital they possess as "maestros" can be converted into economic capital when a collector or tourist is willing to pay a premium for their cloth. Similarly, social capital in the form of networks with cultural activists can open up access to exhibitions (a new field), which in turn enhances their symbolic and economic capital. This ability to "play" and transform one form of capital into another is what distinguishes successful agents from those who are marginalized in the field of weaving preservation.

However, this conversion process is not a matter of free choice but a field of struggle often marked by symbolic violence. The logic of the modern economic field systematically imposes its "rules of the game," devaluing cultural capital that is based on authenticity and patience, and demanding its submission to the logic of speed and market standardization. The primary contestation occurs between the logic of cultural and symbolic capital, which emphasises authenticity and patience, and the logic of economic capital, which demands speed, standardisation, and market-oriented innovation. When a weaver attempts to innovate with new motifs to attract the market, she risks losing her symbolic capital as a guardian of "authentic" tradition. Conversely, if she remains too rigid in preserving tradition, she risks losing relevance in the economic field. This constant negotiation between these two poles constitutes the core of the struggle for weaving preservation in Bira Village.

Thus, the analysis of capital reveals that the issue of weaving preservation is not merely a technical or economic problem but a complex struggle within a social field. Consequently, the success of any intervention cannot be measured solely by economic metrics, but by its ability to build "cultural resilience" by strengthening the weavers' entire ecosystem of capital. This effort must include strengthening cultural capital through documentation and regeneration, expanding social capital

through the formation of cooperatives or formal networks, enhancing economic capital through financial and digital literacy, and recognising symbolic capital through formal appreciation and awards from both the government and the broader community. Without a holistic approach that understands the interconnectedness of these forms of capital, preservation efforts will only scratch the surface and fail to address the root of the problem.

C. The Field of Weaving Preservation: Contestation within a Constrained Social Space

The analysis of habitus and capital becomes complete when situated within the context of the field (arena)—that is, the social space where contestation occurs. Bira Village is not merely a geographical location but a complex field with its own structure, hierarchy, and unspoken “rules of the game” (*doxa*). It is within this field that the women weavers, with their respective habitus and capital, struggle to maintain their positions and the meaning of their weaving practice. This field is relational, wherein a weaver’s position is determined by her relationship with other agents, such as fellow weavers, traders, tour guides, and the village government.

The structure of the Bira field is fundamentally dualistic. On the one hand, there is a traditional field governed by the logic of custom, kinship, and maritime values. On the other hand, this field is heavily influenced by the global tourism industry, which introduces market logic, efficiency, and cultural commodification. The women weavers are caught between these two fields. They operate from the domestic sphere, a component of the traditional field, yet their products are forced to compete in the tourism field. This dualism creates a constant structural tension, where the rules of one field often do not apply or even contradict the rules of the other.

The *doxa*, or the fundamental beliefs taken for granted within the Bira field, remains heavily influenced by its patriarchal structure. There is an entrenched assumption that the public sphere—the sea, the port, and the tourism business—is the domain of men (Madani, 2021), while the domestic sphere is the domain of women. This division directly influences the “price” of the weaving practice. Because it is situated in the domestic sphere, weaving is implicitly regarded as a pastime, not as productive “work.” A village official stated, “*Tourism and fisheries are the backbones of our economy. Crafts are good as a supplement and for preserving culture.*” This viewpoint, while positive in tone, effectively places weaving in a subordinate position within the village’s economic hierarchy—a *doxa* that the weavers find difficult to challenge.

Within such a structured field, the weavers must compete with other agents who possess more dominant forms of capital. They compete with souvenir traders

who sell mass-produced factory products at lower prices. They also compete with tourism service providers (hotels, restaurants, tour guides) for the attention and economic resources of tourists. One weaver complained:

"Tour guides more often bring guests to the large souvenir shops. They say it is more practical, with more choices. We who work from our homes are often passed over."

This complaint reveals an imbalanced positional struggle. Agents in the tourism sector possess greater social capital (in terms of networks) and economic capital, enabling them to control the flow of tourists and, ultimately, the flow of revenue.

The field of weaving preservation is not a homogeneous space in itself, but rather a subfield with its internal hierarchy. At the top of the hierarchy are the senior weavers who possess the highest symbolic capital as "guardians of tradition." Below them are the middle-aged weavers, who often serve as the drivers of innovation and economic activity. In the most vulnerable position are the novice weavers or those lacking strong networks. A subtle competition exists among weavers for recognition, orders, or access to government aid. This internal dynamic suggests that preservation strategies cannot treat all weavers as a uniform group, but must instead understand the stratification and potential conflicts within the community itself.

The advent of digital technology has created a new field that intersects with the physical field of Bira Village: the online field. This field has entirely different rules of engagement, where the most valued forms of capital are digital literacy, photographic skill, and marketing narratives (Tammu et al., 2023). The presence of this new field has the potential to disrupt the old hierarchy. A young weaver proficient in social media may have a broader market reach than a weaving maestro who lacks internet access. It creates new intergenerational tensions but simultaneously opens up opportunities for the democratization of market access, provided there are appropriate interventions to enhance the digital capacity of the entire community.

Facing this disadvantageous field structure, the weavers are not passive. They engage in various strategies of resistance and adaptation. The formation of weaving groups, as observed in the research, can be seen as a strategic effort to consolidate capital. By uniting, their social capital (networks and trust) increases, enabling them to engage in collective negotiation for purchasing raw materials or for marketing (Lolo, 2018). It is a form of counter-power exercised by agents in subordinate positions to alter, however slightly, the power structure within the field.

The Bira field is also not impervious to the influence of external agents, such as local government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These external

interventions often introduce new capital (funding, training, equipment) but are not always successful. A government program providing new looms, for example, was less effective because it was not accompanied by business management training or the development of market access (Lastari et al., 2018). This failure occurred because the intervention did not understand the *doxa* and internal logic of the field. The assistance addressed only technical aspects without altering the weavers' structural position in the broader contestation.

Ultimately, this analysis of the field shows that the quality of the cloth itself does not determine the fate of Bira Woven Fabric, but rather the outcome of contestations within a complex social space. The regeneration crisis and the threat of extinction are symptoms of the weavers' defeat in defending the value of their capital against the dominance of economic capital and market logic. Therefore, any effective preservation effort must be political: it must aim to change the "rules of the game" within the field. It could mean fighting for formal recognition (symbolic capital), building strong collective institutions (social capital), or creating alternative economic fields that value cultural worth rather than merely submitting it to market logic. Without interventions that consciously alter the field's structure, the weavers will continue to experience symbolic violence and remain trapped in *méconnaissance*—a misrecognition of domination as natural. They will continue to struggle in a game whose rules were not designed for them to win—a struggle destined to be as heroic as it is tragic.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the results and discussion, it can be concluded that the threatened extinction of Bira Woven Fabric is not a singular issue but rather the outcome of a complex dialectical interaction among three social elements. *First*, the crisis is rooted in the weavers' cleft habitus (*habitus clivé*), wherein culturally inherited dispositions clash with the rational calculations of the modern economic field. *Second*, there is a systematic devaluation of the cultural and symbolic capital possessed by the weavers, which is outcompeted by the dominance of economic capital in determining status and opportunities. *Third*, this contestation occurs within an unjustly structured field, where patriarchal *doxa* and the market logic of the tourism industry place the weavers in a subordinate and marginalized position.

This synthesis of findings confirms that the practice of weaving preservation is a struggle that is both socio-cultural and politically driven. The resilience of this tradition depends not only on the weavers' technical skills but on how they—as agents—navigate a constraining field structure, using capital whose value is continuously negotiated. The regeneration crisis observed in the younger generation is not a reflection of indolence but a rational choice within a field that no longer values their cultural capital. Consequently, any preservation effort that focuses solely

on production or marketing aspects without deconstructing the root problems at the levels of habitus, capital, and field will, in essence, be a superficial and unsustainable intervention.

Proceeding from this synthesis, the research findings have several theoretical and practical implications that can serve as a foundation for a more effective preservation model. *First*, interventions at the habitus level must focus on rebuilding the pride in and relevance of weaving for the younger generation. It can be achieved by integrating weaving into the local school curriculum, teaching not only the techniques but also the history, philosophy, and entrepreneurial potential behind them. Apprenticeship programs between senior weavers and adolescents, framed as a prestigious transfer of knowledge, can help revitalize the now-disrupted process of habitus transmission.

Second, to strengthen the weavers' capital, strategies are needed to increase the "price" of the assets they possess. Specifically, the local government can facilitate the registration of Communal Intellectual Property Rights or a Geographical Indication for Bira Woven Fabric. This step would transform cultural capital into institutionalized and legally recognized symbolic capital, which, in turn, can be converted into higher economic capital. Furthermore, sustained digital and financial literacy programs are imperative to equip weavers with the skills to manage their enterprises and penetrate the online market.

Third, and most crucially, are interventions at the field level. Preservation efforts must be bold enough to be "political," aiming to change the unfair "rules of the game." The Bira Village Government could issue a village regulation (*perdes*) that, for example, requires hotels or travel agencies to allocate promotional space for local weavers' products or to include them in cultural tour packages. Concurrently, the strengthening of collective institutions, such as a weavers' cooperative, must be a priority. A strong cooperative can function as a collective agent with greater bargaining power in purchasing raw materials and negotiating sale prices, thereby altering its subordinate position within the field.

Ultimately, this research affirms that saving Bira Woven Fabric means saving a living social ecosystem, not merely an inanimate object. It is about empowering the women weavers as sovereign cultural agents, not reducing them to passive objects of preservation. Therefore, the proposed suggestions are not instantaneous technical fixes, but rather a roadmap for a long-term struggle that demands synergistic collaboration among the weaver community, government, academia, and civil society. Without conscious interventions that operate on all three levels—habitus, capital, and field—simultaneously, we will merely bear witness to a heroic struggle that, unfortunately, is destined to end in tragedy.

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