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Harmonizing Faith and Culture: Islamic Work Ethic, Bugis Local Wisdom, and Business Resilience in Pasar Butung Makassar

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Abstract:

Background: Traditional wholesale markets in Indonesia face intensifying pressure from digital retail transformation and modern market competition. Amid these dynamics, Muslim Bugis traders at Pasar Butung Makassar—the oldest wholesale center in Eastern Indonesia—demonstrate remarkable business endurance, driven by a socio-religious work ethic that merges Islamic economic principles with indigenous cultural philosophy.

Objective: This study aims to analyze the socio-religious characteristics of Muslim Bugis traders, examine how they construct the philosophical meaning of work ethic, and investigate how this synthesized framework is operationalized to sustain business resilience and achieve holistic well-being (*falāḥ*).

Method: Employing a qualitative ethnographic approach guided by James Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence, data were gathered over an extended field immersion at Pasar Butung Makassar. Data collection involved participant observation, documentary analysis, and semi-structured interviews with 15 key informants, including senior wholesale merchants (*punggawa*), second-generation successors, retail associates (*pagandeng*), and market managers.

Results: The findings reveal that business resilience among Bugis traders is governed by a dual-engine accountability framework integrating a transcendental guilt culture (*taqwa, akhirat*) and a socio-cultural shame culture (*siri', pesse*). This work ethic manifests through four core philosophical pillars: *Reso Tamangingi Naletei Pammase Puang* (persistent labor inviting divine grace), *Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji* (dignified self-reliance), *Sipakainga, Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi* (humanistic mutual respect), and *Malilu Sipakainge, Mali Siparappe, Rebba Sipatokkong* (communal solidarity). Rather than resisting technological modernization, traders practice digital hybridization, projecting traditional

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ethical values like *ada tongeng* (truthful communication) into digital live-streaming and e-commerce distribution.

Implications: Theoretically, this study challenges Eurocentric economic paradigms by demonstrating that an integrated guilt-shame culture can foster robust economic resilience without inducing predatory capital accumulation. Practically, market authorities (*PD Pasar*) and Islamic financial institutions should leverage these informal socio-religious networks and relational capital (*siri'* and *amanah*) to design inclusive market revitalization policies and alternative credit risk assessments.

Keywords: Islamic Work Ethic; Bugis Local Wisdom; Business Resilience; Pasar Butung; Islamic Economic Sociology.

Introduction

The dynamics of trade and economic practices in multicultural societies are best discussed by taking into account the sociocultural background and the values that guide the actors involved.[1] Culture and religious beliefs can be key factors that determine the nature, motivations, and work ethic of a particular community.[2] In Indonesia, it is well known that one of the most successful communities of seafarers and entrepreneurs is the Bugis ethnic group, renowned for its geographic and socioeconomic mobility.[3] The business success and economic resilience of Bugis merchants operating throughout the Indonesian archipelago are often attributed to the harmony between the Islamic belief system (adhered to by the majority of the population) and local philosophies of life.[4] This synergy between transcendental spirituality and socio-cultural structures generates a unique work ethic oriented toward long-term sustainability and social well-being.[5]

From a theoretical standpoint, work ethic reflects the underlying attitudes, character traits, and fundamental beliefs that drive individuals to perform their labor with optimal enthusiasm and responsibility.[6] Within the framework of Islamic economics, work is far more than a mere instrument for material gratification or capital accumulation; it is an act of worship (*'ibādah*), a divine trust (*amānah*), and a

[1] Mark Granovetter, *Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*, 91, no. 3 (1985): 481–510; Harry C. Triandis, *Individualism and Collectivism*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2018), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429499845.

[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Scribner, 1930); M. Umer Chapra, *Islam and the Economic Challenge* (The Islamic Foundation and IIIT, 1992).

[3] Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Blackwell Publisher, 1996); Greg Acciaioli, "Kinship and Debt; The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 156, no. 3 (2000): 588–617, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003841.

[4] Hamid Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar* (Inti Idayu Press, 1985); Mattulada Mattulada, *Latoa : Satu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis* (Hasanuddin University Press, 1995); Rofiqotur Riskiyah et al., *Integration Of Local Wisdom And Islamic Entrepreneurship: Building Opportunities And Motivation For Makassar Migrants In Surabaya*, 4, no. 2 (2025): 806–26.

[5] Abd Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice: An Empowerment *Fiqh* Analysis of the *Tesang* Tradition of the Buginese and Makassarese," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2023): 2194112, https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2194112.

[6] Norman E. Bowie and David J. Cherrington, "The Work Ethic: Working Values and Values That Work.," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 35, no. 4 (1982): 627, https://doi.org/10.2307/2522687; Yohana Ika Harnita Sari et al., "Work Ethics Profile of Vocational College Students in Indonesia," *Jurnal Pendidikan Vokasi* 10, no. 3 (2020), https://doi.org/10.21831/jpv.v10i3.33809.

spiritual commitment to God Almighty.[7] Principles such as integrity (*amanah*), honesty (*ṣidq*), discipline, risk-taking, and an orientation toward ultimate success in the afterlife (*falāḥ*) form the core pillars of the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE).[8] When these transcendental values are internalized within an ethnic group's local traditions, economic transactions transform from purely transactional activities into expressions of moral identity, business resilience, and human dignity.[9]

Within Bugis culture, local wisdom provides an effective philosophical foundation for nurturing a healthy work ethic. [10] A famous adage by Arung Matoa Wajo, known as "*La Taddangpare Puang Rimaggalatung*", which means, "*Resopatu natumangingngik malomo naletei pammase Dewata Seue*" (Only through persistent hard work and determination will God's grace be easily attained), becomes a culture doctrine.[11] Persistent (*reso*) works with cultural values such as *siri'* (self-respect, honor, and dignity) and *pesse/pacce* (empathy and social solidarity).[12] Hard work on trades is considered a necessary act in preserving one's siri, avoiding poverty and dependence, which are considered social shames, while pesse acts as social cohesion in building a business network among the diaspora of traders.[13]

Pasar Butung in Makassar stands as a highly strategic socio-economic arena for observing the empirical implementation of the Bugis traders' work ethic.[14] As the oldest and largest wholesale textile and clothing market in Eastern Indonesia, established during the colonial era in 1917, Pasar Butung serves not only as a financial hub and supply chain node but also as a vibrant cultural space where societal values and survival strategies intersect.[15] Amid the pressures of retail modernization, modern shopping malls, and the rapid expansion of digital e-commerce platforms, Muslim

[7] Jawad Syed and Abbas J. Ali, "Principles of Employment Relations in Islam: A Normative View," *Employee Relations* 32, no. 5 (2010): 454–69, https://doi.org/10.1108/01425451011061630; Gillian Rice, "Islamic Ethics and the Implications for Business," *Journal of Business Ethics* 18, no. 4 (1999): 345–58, https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005711414306; Siti Musfiqoh, "Life Style as Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāṣid of Islamic Economics," *El-Qist: Journal of Islamic Economics and Business (JIEB)* 13, no. 1 (2023): 83–99, Indonesia, https://doi.org/10.15642/elqist.2023.13.1.83-99.

[8] Abbas J. Ali and Abdullah Al-Owaihan, "Islamic Work Ethic: A Critical Review," *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–19, https://doi.org/10.1108/13527600810848791; Darwish A. Yousef, "Islamic Work Ethic – A Moderator between Organizational Commitment and Job Satisfaction in a Cross-cultural Context," *Personnel Review* 30, no. 2 (2001): 152–69, https://doi.org/10.1108/00483480110380325.

[9] Iwan Triyuwono, *Akuntansi Syariah : Perspektif, Metodologi, Dan Teori*, 2nd ed. (Rajawali Pers, 2015); Fadllan Fadllan and Lailatul Maufiroh, "Perilaku Konsumen: Utility Versus Maṣlaḥah Sebagai Rasionalitas Dalam Ekonomi Islam," *El-Qist: Journal of Islamic Economics and Business (JIEB)* 14, no. 1 (2024): 33–47, https://doi.org/10.15642/elqist.2024.14.1.33-47; Hafas Furqani, "Consumption and Morality: Principles and Behavioral Framework in Islamic Economics," *Journal of King Abdulaziz University-Islamic Economics* 30, no. 4 (2017), https://doi.org/10.4197/Islec.30-SI.6.

[10] Mattulada, *Latoa : Satu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*; Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice."

[11] Pelras, *The Bugis*; Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*.

[12] Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Muhamad Hadis Badewi, "Nilai Siri' Dan Pesse Dalam Kebudayaan Bugis-Makassar, Dan Relevansinya Terhadap Penguatan Nilai Kebangsaan," *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 3, no. 1 (2019): 79–96, https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2019.3.1.3291.

[13] Acciaioli, "Kinship and Debt; The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi"; Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice."

[14] Lesti- Heriyanti, "SEJARAH MIGRASI DAN EKSISTENSI MIGRAN ETNIS BUGIS DI PERANTAUAN," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya* 22, no. 3 (2020), https://doi.org/10.14203/jmb.v22i3.787.

[15] A. Ahmadin, *Kapitalisme Bugis: Etika Bisnis Berbasis Kearifan Lokal* (Rayhan Intermedia, 2015).

Bugis traders in Pasar Butung have consistently demonstrated remarkable resilience and business continuity.[16]

The business landscape of Pasar Butung is marked by intense market competition, making the survival of Bugis traders an intriguing phenomenon.[17] This commercial competition involves not only fellow Bugis merchants but also ethnic Chinese and Javanese entrepreneurs.[18] Contrary to stereotypes that associate economic drive strictly with Weberian capitalism focused on individual wealth accumulation, the work ethic of Muslim Bugis traders operates within a dialectical space between a transcendental guilt culture and a socio-cultural shame culture.[19] Their business motivation is deeply connected to fulfilling religious obligations, elevating social status, and fulfilling their responsibility to support their families and broader trader networks.[20]

While there is an increasing body of research on ethnic entrepreneurship, studies related to the work ethic and resilience of the Bugis community show some important conceptual and methodological shortcomings.[21] The majority of the past sociological and anthropological studies have often looked at the Bugis culture in isolation—either isolating *siri' na pacce* from its Islamic philosophical background or just using only quantitative measures of economic productivity without investigating the subjectively constructed meanings in the market setting itself.[22] Additionally, there is still a body of literature that keeps promoting some contradictory myths about Bugis traders as having no price strategy, being too consumer-oriented, or being less organized than other ethnic groups.[23]

This gap clearly highlights the need for new approaches to creating business resilience by bringing about harmony between religion and culture amongst Muslim Bugis traders in the present-day context.[24] Through the use of information technology, a flexible approach towards supply chain management (cash-to-cash cycle), and social media marketing techniques by the traders of Pasar Butung, it has been proven that there is a dynamic change taking place in their traditional work ethic without losing

[16] Muklis Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar," *Jurnal Ekonomi Efektif* 5, no. 3 (2023): 406, https://doi.org/10.32493/JEE.v5i3.28747; Supri et al., "Literature Review: Online Marketing Activities Towards Increasing The Income of Traditional Market Traders in South Sulawesi," *Economics and Business Journal (ECBIS)* 2, no. 6 (2025): 523–34, https://doi.org/10.47353/ecbis.v2i6.194.

[17] Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar"; Ahmadin, *Kapitalisme Bugis: Etika Bisnis Berbasis Kearifan Lokal*.

[18] Acciaioli, "Kinship and Debt; The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi."

[19] Badewi, "Nilai Siri' Dan Pesse Dalam Kebudayaan Bugis-Makassar, Dan Relevansinya Terhadap Penguatan Nilai Kebangsaan."

[20] Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Triyuwono, *Akuntansi Syariah : Perspektif, Metodologi, Dan Teori*.

[21] Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice"; Muhammad Tamar, "Work Ethics in Bugis; Connecting Culture and Entrepreneurial Behavior," paper presented at 8th International Conference of Asian Association of Indigenous and Cultural Psychology (ICAAIP 2017), *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference of Asian Association of Indigenous and Cultural Psychology (ICAAIP 2017)*, 2018, https://doi.org/10.2991/icaaip-17.2018.32.

[22] Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar."

[23] Pelras, *The Bugis*; Acciaioli, "Kinship and Debt; The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi."

[24] Ali and Al-Owaihan, "Islamic Work Ethic"; Furqani, "Consumption and Morality."

their cultural and religious touch.[25] This calls for a holistic research combining ethnography and Islamic economics in understanding their harmonious work ethic.[26]

This article argues that the business resilience of Muslim Bugis traders in Pasar Butung Makassar is not merely an outcome of inherited materialistic drives, but a sophisticated socio-religious construct harmonizing Islamic values (*taqwa, ada tongeng, istiqomah*) with local cultural maxims (*reso, siri', sipakatau, sipakalebbi*).[27] This harmonized work ethic manifests through four main philosophical pillars: *Reso Tamangingi Naletei Pammase Puang* (unwavering labor inviting divine grace), *Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji* (independence and personal accountability), *Sipakainga, Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi* (mutual respect and humanism), and *Malilu Sipakainge, Mali Siparappe, Rebba Sipatokkong* (communal solidarity and mutual uplifting).[28] This synthesis acts as a primary catalyst for achieving holistic well-being (*falāḥ*) and long-term business resilience.[29]

The novel contribution of this study lies in its empirical mapping of the dialectical relationship between indigenous local wisdom and Islamic economic principles in fostering business resilience amidst traditional market modernization.[30] While prior research has predominantly focused on comparative cultural traits or linear economic outputs, this study offers a theoretical framework illustrating how the synthesis of guilt culture and shame culture fosters socio-economic mobility and resilience without inducing predatory business practices or unethical capital concentration.[31]

Based on the aforementioned context, this study aims to address three central research questions: (1) What are the distinct characteristics of the work ethic and business resilience practiced by Muslim Bugis traders in Pasar Butung Makassar? (2) How do these traders construct the philosophical meaning of work ethic within their socio-religious framework? and (3) How is this harmonized faith-culture framework operationalized to ensure business resilience and the holistic well-being (*falāḥ*) of their families and community?. By addressing these questions, this study contributes to the literature on Islamic Sociology of Economics and Ethnographic Business Studies, while offering practical insights for local wisdom-based economic development policies in Indonesia.

Research Method

This study employs a qualitative research design with an ethnographic approach to investigate how Muslim Bugis traders in Pasar Butung Makassar integrate

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[25] Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar."

[26] Triyuwono, *Akuntansi Syariah : Perspektif, Metodologi, Dan Teori*; Furqani, "Consumption and Morality."

[27] Mattulada, *Latoa : Satu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*; Syed and Ali, "Principles of Employment Relations in Islam."

[28] Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Murniaty Sirajuddin, "Siri' Na Pesse Masyarakat Bugis Di Kota Makassar (Studi Komunikasi Dakwah)" (Doctoral Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2015), https://repositori.uin-alauddin.ac.id/554/.

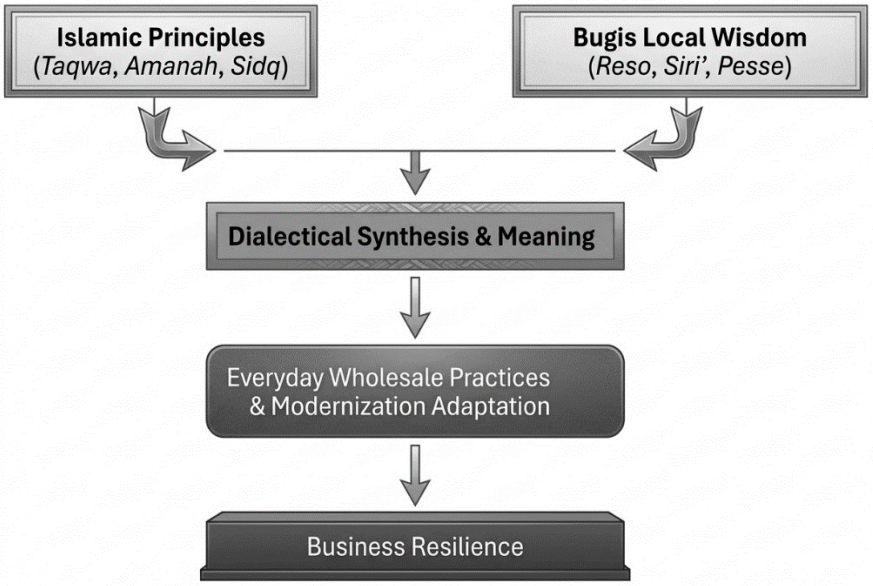
[29] Musfiqoh, "Life Style as Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāṣid of Islamic Economics"; Furqani, "Consumption and Morality."

[30] Ali and Al-Owaihan, "Islamic Work Ethic"; Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar"; Riskiyah et al., *Integration Of Local Wisdom And Islamic Entrepreneurship: Building Opportunities And Motivation For Makassar Migrants In Surabaya*; Supri et al., "Literature Review."

[31] Granovetter, *Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*; Triyuwono, *Akuntansi Syariah : Perspektif, Metodologi, Dan Teori*.

Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) and Bugis local wisdom to build business resilience.[32] An ethnographic framework is particularly suitable for this investigation as it enables the researcher to immerse themselves in the natural social setting of the market, uncovering the underlying cultural meanings, shared values, and socio-religious practices of the actors.[33] By focusing on the lived experiences and everyday commercial interactions of wholesale traders, this study captures the dialectical synthesis between religious norms (*taqwā, amānah, ṣidq*) and indigenous philosophy (*reso, siri', pesse*).

Figure 1. Ethnographic Framework



Data processed by the authors

Results The research was conducted at Pasar Butung, located in Wajo District, Makassar City, South Sulawesi. Established in 1917, Pasar Butung is recognized as the oldest and largest textile and clothing wholesale center in Eastern Indonesia.[34] The site was purposively selected due to three primary considerations:

1. Historical Significance: It serves as a historical epicenter of Bugis diaspora trading networks in Eastern Indonesia.
2. Commercial Competition: It features intense market competition involving Bugis, Chinese, and Javanese merchants.
3. Socio-Cultural Resilience: It demonstrates remarkable adaptability, where traditional wholesale practices continuously intersect with modern supply chain demands and digital e-commerce channels.[35]

Informants were selected using a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques to identify key actors who possess deep insights into the

[32] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures Selected Essays* (Basic Books, Inc., 1973), https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/geertz.pdf; Leah R. Kimber et al., eds., "Ethnographic Interviews," in *International Organizations and Research Methods: An Introduction*, by Leah R. Kimber and Emilie Dairon (University of Michigan Press, 2023), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11685289.16.; James P. Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979; Waveland Press, 2016).
[33] John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches Fifth Edition*, 4th ed. (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2018).
[34] Ahmadin, *Kapitalisme Bugis: Etika Bisnis Berbasis Kearifan Lokal*.
[35] Matthew B. Miles et al., *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 3rd ed. (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2014).

wholesale business operations and Bugis cultural philosophy.[36] The primary criteria for key informants included:

1. Self-identified Muslim Bugis ethnicity;
2. Minimum of 10 years of active business operations in Pasar Butung;
3. Ownership or management of wholesale garment/textile kiosks; and
4. Active involvement in informal market trader associations or religious networks.

A total of 15 key informants were selected, consisting of senior wholesale merchants (*punggawa*), second-generation successor traders, retail associates (*anak buah*/*pagandeng*), and market management representatives.

Table 1. Informant Description

Informant Code	Role / Position	Trading Experience	Primary Product Line
INF-01	Senior Wholesale Merchant (*Punggawa*)	32 Years	Muslim Wear & Textiles
INF-02	Senior Wholesale Merchant (*Punggawa*)	28 Years	Ready-to-Wear Clothing
INF-03	Second-Generation Merchant	14 Years	Fashion & Denim
INF-04	Second-Generation Merchant	11 Years	Kids Wear Wholesale
INF-05	Retail Associate (*Pagandeng*)	15 Years	Distribution / Canvassing
INF-06	Market Association Leader	22 Years	General Textiles

Data were collected through three primary qualitative techniques over an extended field immersion period:

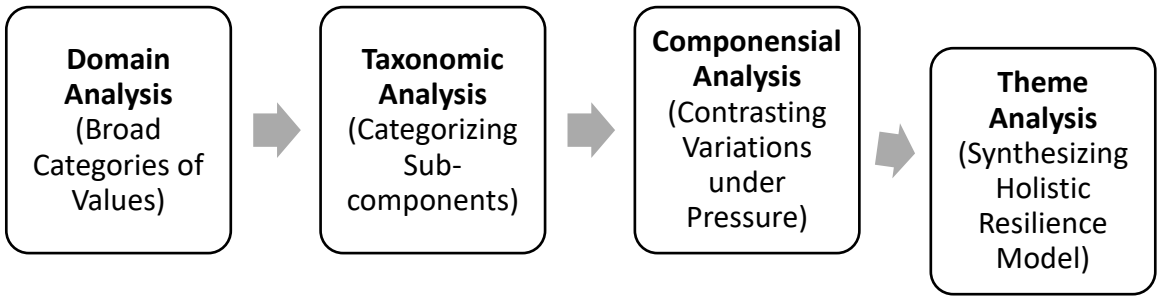
1. Participant Observation: The researcher engaged in overt and covert observations of daily trading activities, transaction negotiations, informal gatherings (*nongkrong*), cash collection rounds (*tunggakan*/credit), and communal religious rituals (such as congregational prayers and *pengajian* in the market mosque). Field notes and photographic documentation were maintained to record non-verbal behaviors and social dynamics.
2. In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews: Face-to-face interviews were conducted using an interview guide centered on core themes: business history, interpretation of *reso* and *siri'*, application of Islamic ethical codes, financial management practices, and strategies in handling market competition and digital disruptions. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and Bugis language (*Basa Ugi*), audio-recorded with consent, and transcribed verbatim.
3. Documentary Analysis: Supplementary data were gathered from historical archives of Pasar Butung, market management records, trade association rosters, and digital marketing materials (social media channels and WhatsApp catalog groups used by the merchants).

Data analysis followed the Developmental Research Sequence proposed by James Spradley for ethnographic studies, proceeding through four interrelated analytical steps:[37]

[36] Matthew B. Miles et al., *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 3rd ed. (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2014).
[37] Spradley, *The Ethnographic Interview*.

1. Domain Analysis: Identifying the broad categories of socio-religious and economic behavior among traders by analyzing semantic relationships within the interview transcripts and field notes.
2. Taxonomic Analysis: Organizing the domains into detailed taxonomies to categorize specific expressions of Islamic Work Ethic and Bugis local wisdom (e.g., structural sub-components of *reso, siri'*, and *pesse*).
3. Componensial Analysis: Examining contrasts across categories to understand how traders differentiate between ethical and unethical commercial behaviors under market pressure.
4. Theme Analysis: Discovering holistic cultural themes that explain the synthesis between Islamic values, Bugis philosophical maxims, and business resilience in Pasar Butung.

Figure 2. Spradley's Ethnographic Analysis



Data processed by the authors

To ensure rigor and trustworthiness, the study employed Lincoln and Guba's evaluative criteria:[38]

1. Credibility (Internal Validity): Achieved through triangulation of data sources (interviews, observations, and documents), prolonged field engagement, and member-checking with key informants to confirm the accuracy of Bugis terminology and narrative interpretations.
2. Transferability (External Validity): Ensured by providing dense, rich contextual descriptions (thick description) of the market environment and socio-cultural interactions at Pasar Butung.
3. Dependability and Confirmability: Maintained through a detailed audit trail of raw field notes, audio recordings, coding schemes, and reflexive analytical notes.

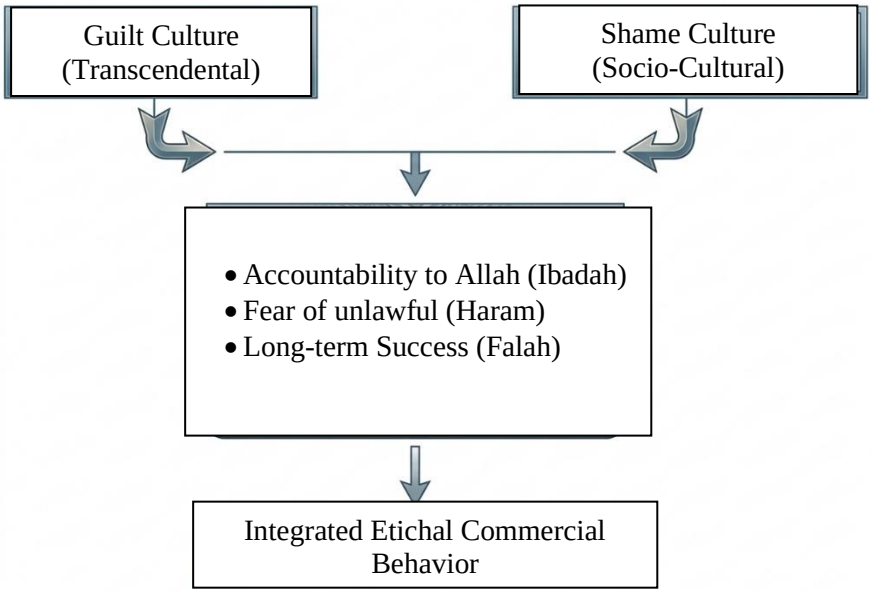
Results

Socio-Religious Characteristics of Muslim Bugis Traders in Pasar Butung

The ethnographic investigation in Pasar Butung reveals that the work ethic of Muslim Bugis traders is characterized by a unique duality: a structural synthesis between a transcendental *guilt culture* and a socio-cultural *shame culture*. Rather than viewing commercial enterprise solely as a profit-driven venue, traders embed their daily transactions within a framework of religious accountability (*akherat*) and communal honor (*siri'*).

[38] Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (SAGE Publications, Inc., 1985); "Naturalistic Inquiry," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, by Lisa Given (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008), https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n280.

Figure 3. Socio-Religious Characteristic



Data processed by the authors

Traders in Pasar Butung operate under two distinct yet complementary moral imperatives. The guilt culture stems from Islamic theological convictions, where economic malpractices (e.g., fraud, short-measuring, and predatory pricing) provoke divine retribution. Conversely, the shame culture is governed by the Bugis concept of *siri'*—where business failure, insolvency, or unethical deception brings social disgrace upon the trader's family and extended clan (*suku*).

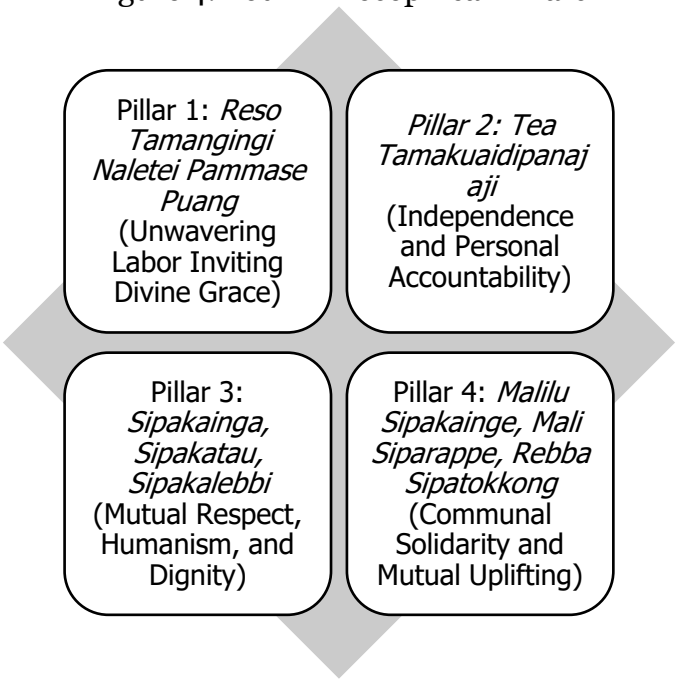
> "*If I cheat a buyer, I am not only afraid of ruining my family's siri' (honor) in Pasar Butung, but I am deeply terrified of how I will answer to Allah in the afterlife. Profit obtained through deception brings no barakah (divine blessing).*" (INF-01, Senior Wholesale Merchant)

The daily commercial operations of Muslim Bugis traders reflect four observable behavioral traits; 1) Integrity in Pricing (*Ada Tongeng*): Truthfulness in describing fabric quality, origin, and wholesale profit margins; 2) Flexibility in Credit Relations (*Tawakkal & Amanah*): Granting consignment goods to downstream retailers (*pagandeng*) based on verbal trust backed by religious oaths; 3) Disciplined Temporal Routines: Aligning market operating hours with congregational prayers at the market mosque (*Masjid* Pasar Butung); and 4) Adaptability to Market Changes: Combining traditional wholesale negotiation with social media livestreams and digital payment systems.

Philosophical Construction of Work Ethic: The Four Pillars

Through taxonomic and componential analyses of informant narratives, the philosophical construction of work ethic among Muslim Bugis traders can be synthesized into four core pillars (*pattuppu*). These pillars integrate classical Bugis maxims with foundational Islamic economic principles.

Figure 4. Four Philosophical Pillars



Data processed by the authors

Pillar 1: *Reso Tamangingi Naletei Pammase Puang* (Unwavering Labor Inviting Divine Grace). The maxim *"Resopatu natumangingngik malomo naletei pammase Dewata Seue"* represents the engine of Bugis enterprise. In the traders' worldview, hard work (*reso*) is not a guarantee of wealth, but a mandatory prerequisite (*asbab*) for attracting God's blessing (*pammase/barakah*). Work is reframed as active submission (*tawakkal*) rather than passive reliance.

Pillar 2: *Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji* (Independence and Personal Accountability). This philosophy instills a deep aversion to dependency and economic inertia. To be dependent on others when one has the physical capacity to work is perceived as a degradation of *siri'*. Traders view financial autonomy not as an end in itself, but as a dignity-preserving duty that enables them to fulfill Islamic obligations such as *zakat*, *infaq*, and *hajj*.

Pillar 3: *Sipakainga, Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi* (Mutual Respect, Humanism, and Dignity). In market interactions, traders practice *sipakatau* (treating buyers and competitors as dignified human beings) and *sipakalebbi* (honoring others). Commercial rivalry is constrained by moral boundaries; undercutting prices maliciously or spreading rumors about a competitor's merchandise violates *sipakalebbi* and degrades the collective honor of the market community.

Pillar 4: *Malilu Sipakainge, Mali Siparappe, Rebba Sipatokkong* (Communal Solidarity and Mutual Uplifting). This pillar reflects the collective safety net maintained by Bugis traders. When a fellow merchant faces financial distress, inventory overstock, or supply chain bottlenecks, others step in to assist—either by liquidating excess stock through their own networks or providing interest-free emergency loans (*qard al-hasan*).

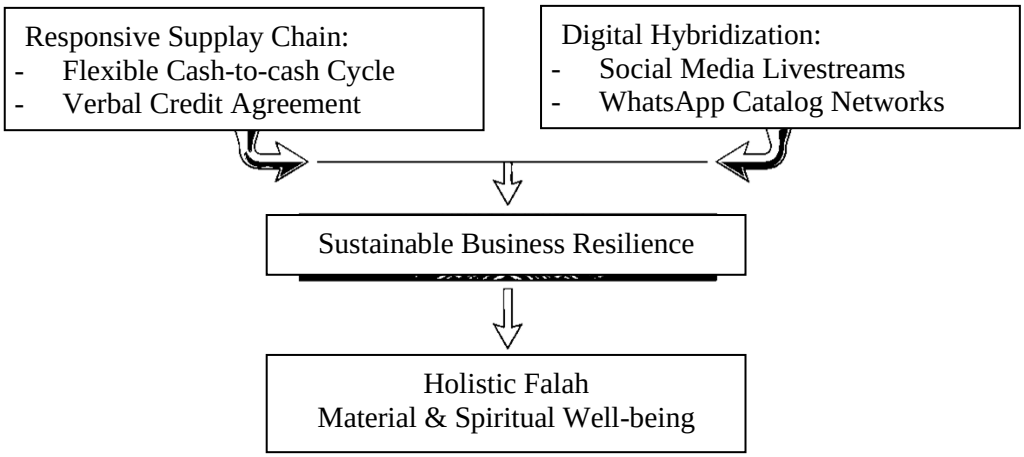
Table 2. Philosophical Pillar Description

Philosophical Pillar	Bugis Local Maxim	Islamic Economic Principle	Empirical Manifestation in Pasar Butung
Pillar 1	*Reso Tamangingi…*	*Tawakkal* & *Mujahadah*	Working 12–14 hours daily; combining physical effort with prayer (*doa*).
Pillar 2	*Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji*	*Iffah* (Self-Reliance)	High motivation to transition from retail worker (*anak buah*) to shop owner (*punggawa*).
Pillar 3	*Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi*	*Ukhuwah* & *Ihsan*	Fair pricing, transparent product descriptions, and respectful customer service.
Pillar 4	*Rebba Sipatokkong*	*Ta'awun* (Cooperation)	Informal bailout networks, consignment extensions, and emergency cash pools.

Operationalization of Work Ethic for Business Resilience and *Falāḥ*

The synthesis of Islamic faith and Bugis local wisdom directly translates into operational strategies that ensure business resilience amidst modern retail disruptions and digital competition.

Figure 5. Operationalization for Falah



Data processed by the authors

Rather than relying on rigid banking credit systems, Bugis traders utilize a flexible, trust-based supply chain ecosystem. Senior merchants (*punggawa*) extend credit terms to younger merchants (*paseddi*) based on moral evaluation (*siri'* and religious piety). During market downturns, settlement deadlines are renegotiated without penalty fees, absorbing macro-economic shocks that would otherwise bankrupt formal retail businesses.

Traders in Pasar Butung have adapted to online retail platforms by integrating digital tools into their traditional business models. Second-generation traders leverage TikTok Live, Instagram, and WhatsApp wholesale groups to broadcast daily inventory updates to buyers across Eastern Indonesia (*e.g.*, Maluku, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara). Crucially, digital transactions remain guided by *ada tonging* (honest representations of fabric density and design), preventing high return rates and preserving online customer trust.

Ultimately, business resilience in Pasar Butung is evaluated through the concept of *falāḥ*—holistic success encompassing material sufficiency (*kifāyah*) and spiritual tranquility (*sakīnah*). Profit is systematically reallocated into social and religious capital:

> "*Wealth in Pasar Butung is not measured by how much money stays in your bank account. It is measured by whether your business allows you to send your parents to Hajj, fund your children's Islamic education, pay zakat regularly, and help younger relatives establish their own kiosks*." (INF-02, Senior Wholesale Merchant)

Through regular allocation of *zakat, infaq*, and voluntary community funding (*sedekah*), traders transform business survival into a vehicle for socio-religious elevation and collective endurance.

Discussion

Recontextualizing Weber's Thesis: The Dialectic of Guilt Culture and Shame Culture

The findings of this study offer a critical re-evaluation of Max Weber's seminal thesis on the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.[39] Weber posited that modern economic rationalism and relentless capital accumulation were uniquely driven by the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which generated an internal "salvation anxiety" (*guilt culture*). In contrast, the commercial drive of Muslim Bugis traders in Pasar Butung demonstrates that high economic motivation and business resilience can emerge from a dual-engine moral framework: the dialectical synthesis between a transcendental *guilt culture* and a socio-cultural *shame culture*.[40] This synthesized framework provides a novel theoretical perspective showing that Islamic theological principles (*taqwa, akhirat*) and indigenous honor codes (*siri'*) are mutually reinforcing rather than contradictory in economic life.

Figure 6. Weberian vs Bugis Islamic Model



Data processed by the authors

In Pasar Butung, economic action is governed not by anxiety over individual predestination, but by a dual accountability system. On one hand, the Islamic concept of *taqwa* (God-consciousness) instills an internal fear of unlawful gain (*haram*),

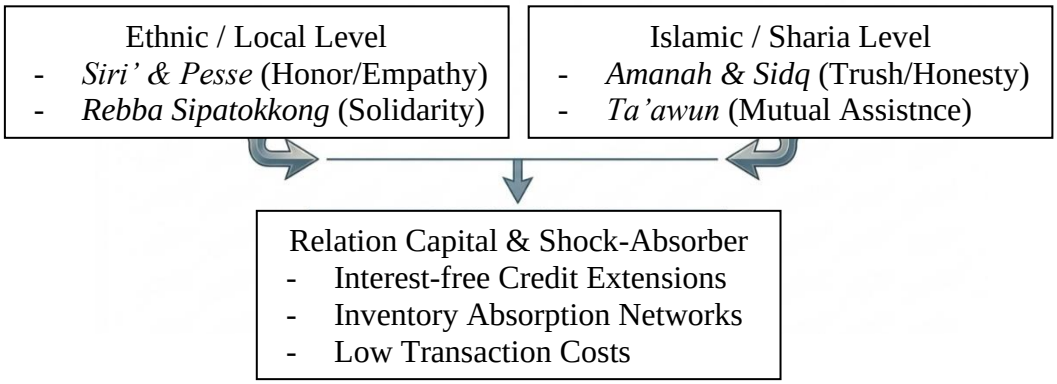
[39] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.
[40] Badewi, "Nilai Siri' Dan Pesse Dalam Kebudayaan Bugis-Makassar, Dan Relevansinya Terhadap Penguatan Nilai Kebangsaan"; Sirajuddin, "Siri' Na Pesse Masyarakat Bugis Di Kota Makassar (Studi Komunikasi Dakwah)."

ensuring that wealth acquisition adheres strictly to sharia boundaries (*guilt culture*).[41] On the other hand, the indigenous concept of *siri'* (honor and self-respect) imposes a powerful social constraint (*shame culture*); insolvency, fraud, or commercial failure is perceived as a stain on the family's lineage.[42] This dual mechanism prevents the predatory excesses of unbridled capitalism while simultaneously driving intense entrepreneurial effort (*reso*), proving that religious faith and local honor codes can co-create a highly resilient economic culture.[43]

Social Embeddedness and the Four Pillars as Relational Capital

The empirical evidence from Pasar Butung strongly validates Granovetter's theory of *social embeddedness*,[44] which asserts that economic transactions are deeply embedded in ongoing systems of social relations. By empirically mapping how indigenous maxims (*reso, pesse*) operationalize abstract Islamic economic principles (*tawakkal, ta'āwun*) in wholesale supply chains, this study bridges the gap between local cultural wisdom and formal Islamic economic theory. The four philosophical pillars identified in this study—*Reso Tamangingi, Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji, Sipakatau-Sipakalebbi,* and *Rebba Sipatokkong*—serve as the socio-cultural matrix through which economic action is negotiated and sustained.[45]

Figure 7. Embeddedness and Relational Capital



Data processed by the authors

First, the institutionalization of *ada tonging* (truthful communication) and *amanah* significantly reduces information asymmetry and opportunistic behavior, eliminating the need for expensive legal contracts in wholesale distribution.[46] Second, when macro-economic volatility or digital disruption threatens market stability, the principle of *Rebba Sipatokkong* (mutual uplifting) transforms market rivals into a collective safety net. Senior merchants (*punggawa*) extend consignment terms and

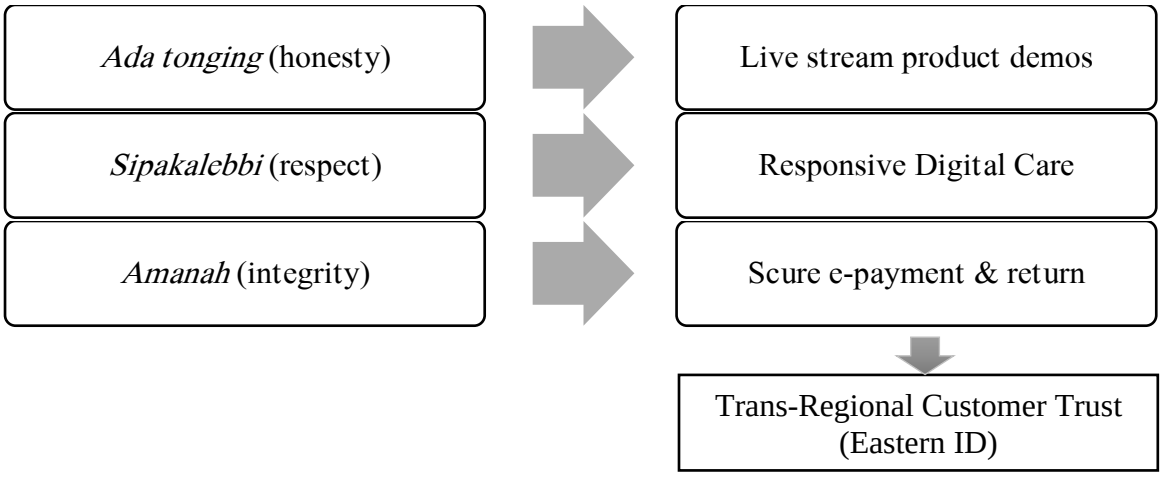
[41] Ali and Al-Owaihan, "Islamic Work Ethic"; Syed and Ali, "Principles of Employment Relations in Islam."
[42] Mattulada, *Latoa : Satu Lukisan Analitis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis*; Pelras, *The Bugis*.
[43] Triyuwono, *Akuntansi Syariah : Perspektif, Metodologi, Dan Teori*; Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice."
[44] Granovetter, *Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*.
[45] Abdullah, *Manusia Bugis Makassar : Suatu Tinjuan Historis Terhadap Pola Tingkah Laku Dan Pandangan Hidup Manusia Bugis Makassar*; Rahman R et al., "Local Wisdom in Economic Practice"; Riskiyah et al., *Integration Of Local Wisdom And Islamic Entrepreneurship: Building Opportunities And Motivation For Makassar Migrants In Surabaya*.
[46] Rice, "Islamic Ethics and the Implications for Business"; Yousef, "Islamic Work Ethic – A Moderator between Organizational Commitment and Job Satisfaction in a Cross-cultural Context."

absorb unsold stock from struggling peers, demonstrating that social capital (*pesse*) acts as a vital shock-absorber for long-term business resilience.[47]

Digital Adaptation without Cultural Decoupling

A crucial debate in contemporary economic sociology concerns whether digital transformation disrupts traditional value systems and localized social networks.[48] Contrary to the conventional view that technological adoption dilutes traditional communal bonds, the findings from Pasar Butung demonstrate that Bugis traders do not experience cultural decoupling when integrating digital platforms such as TikTok Live, Instagram, and WhatsApp wholesale catalogs. Instead, they engage in *digital hybridization*, offering an insightful model of how traditional, culture-bound trade ethics dynamically adapt to e-commerce without losing moral integrity or social cohesion.

Figure 8. Digital Hybridization Model



Data processed by the authors

By projecting the values of *ada tonging* (transparent fabric specifications) and *sipakalebbi* (respectful customer interaction) into digital broadcasting, merchants extend their relational trust to distant buyers across Maluku, Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara.[49] Technology is thus domesticated as a modern tool to fulfill the ancient cultural mandate of *reso* (persistent effort) and the religious imperative of seeking halal sustenance (*kesejahteraan/falāḥ*).[50]

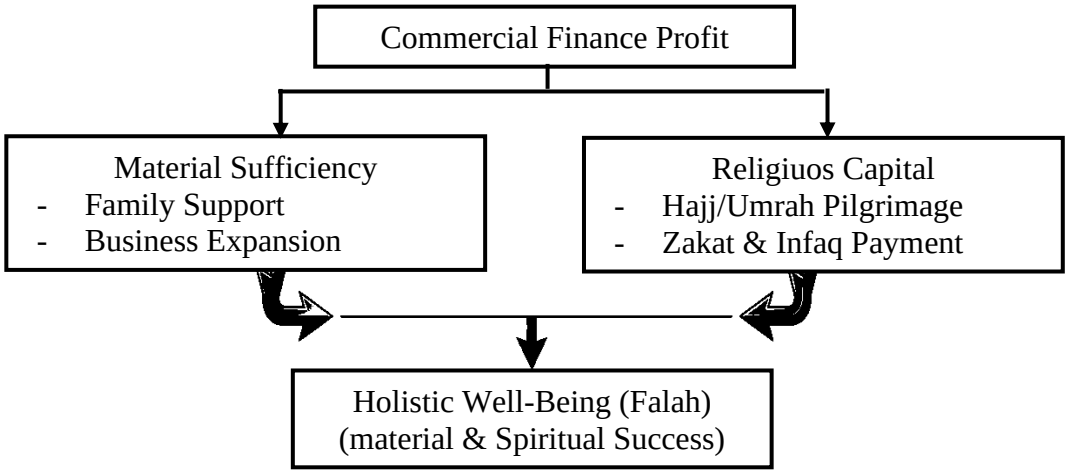
Operationalizing *Falāḥ*: Redefining Commercial Success

Finally, the findings contribute to the theoretical discourse on Islamic economics by illustrating how the concept of *falāḥ* (holistic success) is operationalized in a traditional wholesale market.[51] In conventional neoclassical economics, business resilience is evaluated strictly through financial ratios, market share, and capital

[47] Acciaioli, "Kinship and Debt; The Social Organization of Bugis Migration and Fish Marketing at Lake Lindu, Central Sulawesi"; Kanto, "Kemandirian Ekonomi Pedagang Pasar Tradisional Terhadap Kehadiran Pasar Modern Di Kota Makassar."
[48] Supri et al., "Literature Review."
[49] Supri et al., "Literature Review."
[50] Furqani, "Consumption and Morality"; Musfiqoh, "Life Style as Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāṣid of Islamic Economics."
[51] Chapra, *Islam and the Economic Challenge*.

growth. However, for Muslim Bugis traders in Pasar Butung, financial capital is merely an intermediate variable.

Figure 9. Falah Projection Model



Data processed by the authors

True success (*falāḥ*) is achieved when commercial wealth is successfully converted into spiritual and social capital—specifically through fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam (*hajj*), contributing to religious endowments (*waqf/sedekah*), educating the next generation in moral leadership, and elevating the socio-economic status (*siri'*) of the extended family.[52] This multidimensional understanding of success provides traders with profound psychological stability and spiritual purpose, allowing them to remain resilient in the face of intense market competition and economic uncertainty.[53]

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the business resilience of Muslim Bugis traders at Pasar Butung Makassar is neither a product of pure secular-rational capitalism nor an uncritical adherence to tradition. Rather, it represents a sophisticated socio-religious construction that harmonizes the Islamic Work Ethic (IWE) with Bugis local wisdom. By navigating commercial operations through the dual engines of a transcendental guilt culture (*taqwa, akhirat*) and a socio-cultural shame culture (*siri', pesse*), traders achieve economic endurance without sacrificing ethical boundaries.

This harmonized work ethic manifests in four core philosophical pillars: *Reso Tamangingi Naletei Pammase Puang* (persistent effort inviting divine grace), *Tea Tamakuaidipanajaji* (dignified self-reliance), *Sipakainga, Sipakatau, Sipakalebbi* (humanistic mutual respect), and *Malilu Sipakainge, Mali Siparappe, Rebba Sipatokkong* (communal solidarity). Operationalized through flexible supply chain arrangements, trust-based credit networks, and digital hybridization (e.g., live-streaming and social media cataloging), these values enable traditional wholesale merchants to adapt to modern market pressures. Ultimately, business survival in

[52] Musfiqoh, "Life Style as Consumer Satisfaction in the Maqāṣid of Islamic Economics"; R. M. Pikahulan and N. A. Anisa, "Implementasi Tanggung Jawab Sosial Perusahaan Dalam Mewujudkan Prinsip Maslahah Dan Keseimbangan Ekologis Di Kota Makassar," *Al-Mizan (e-Journal)*, 2025, https://journal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/am/article/view/6989; Fadllan and Lailatul Maufiroh, "Perilaku Konsumen."

[53] Furqani, "Consumption and Morality"; Ali and Al-Owaihan, "Islamic Work Ethic."

Pasar Butung is driven by the pursuit of *falāḥ*—a holistic conception of success wherein material prosperity is systematically converted into social and spiritual capital.

Implications of the Study

The theoretical implications of this study contribute significantly to the literature on Islamic economic sociology by providing a holistic empirical model of how universal religious tenets and indigenous cultural maxims intersect within traditional wholesale markets. By demonstrating that high entrepreneurial motivation does not rely solely on an individualistic guilt culture, this research challenges Eurocentric assumptions in economic sociology and demonstrates that an integrated guilt-shame culture can effectively foster both robust business resilience and collective well-being. Furthermore, the findings establish a novel theoretical framework for digital hybridization, proving that traditional, culture-bound value systems can serve as moral anchors rather than barriers during technological transformation. From a practical and policy perspective, these results suggest that market authorities, such as PD Pasar Makassar Raya, should design traditional market revitalization strategies that leverage informal socio-religious networks and trader associations rather than relying exclusively on top-down bureaucratic mechanisms. Simultaneously, Islamic financial institutions and microfinance organizations can incorporate relational capital—specifically the cultural principles of *siri'* and *amanah*—into their credit risk assessment frameworks when serving traditional merchants, thereby reducing heavy reliance on physical collateral. Finally, digital empowerment initiatives aimed at traditional wholesale actors should focus on preserving ethical branding and honest representation (*ada tongeng*) to secure long-term consumer trust across expanding regional supply chains.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite providing rich ethnographic insights into the market dynamics of Pasar Butung Makassar, this study carries several methodological and contextual limitations that pave the way for future scholarly inquiry. Geographically and culturally, the empirical focus of this research is tightly bound to the Bugis cultural milieu within Eastern Indonesia, which limits the direct applicability of the findings to other ethnic trading networks. Future research could address this boundary by conducting comparative ethnographic investigations across other Muslim-predominant merchant communities in Indonesia, such as the Minangkabau in West Sumatra, the Banjar in South Kalimantan, or the Madurese in East Java. Methodologically, as a qualitative ethnographic study, this research prioritizes contextual depth, subjective meanings, and theoretical transferability over statistical generalizability. Subsequent studies could adopt a mixed-methods approach or utilize structural equation modeling (SEM) to empirically quantify the precise impact of specific Islamic Work Ethic and local wisdom dimensions on standardized financial performance metrics across larger quantitative samples. Lastly, because this study focused predominantly on wholesale kiosk owners and senior male merchants, future scholarship should explicitly examine the distinct socio-economic roles, adaptive strategies, and work ethics of female Bugis traders (*punggawa makkunrai*), who play a pivotal yet understudied role in garment supply chains and household financial resilience.[]

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