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Diversification of Bajo Fishermen's Livelihood in Matanga Village, Banggai Laut Regency, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village have been at sea for generations, but their work is highly dependent on weather conditions. This condition needs to be overcome by fishermen, otherwise fishermen and their family members will experience shortages and even hunger. One form is overcoming resource limitations through diversifying livelihoods. The research aimed to analyze the forms comprehensively and explain the reasons for diversifying the livelihoods of Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village, South Banggai District, Banggai Laut Regency, Central Sulawesi. Through a robust descriptive qualitative approach with 9 informants, the study was carried out in Matanga Village from July 10 to August 10, 2024. The findings unequivocally demonstrate that, in addition to their roles as fishermen, the Bajo people in Matanga Village are actively involved in coconut and clove farming, and they also engage in high-value octopus and abalone harvesting. While coconut plantations have been a long-standing pursuit, clove agriculture has been pursued for the last 20 years. Moreover, diversifying livelihoods among fishermen represents their resilience in adapting to the constantly changing environment and times. Seasonal factors and cultural transitions also drive it.

INTRODUCTION

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The Bajo people, or Bajau, are a tribal community that lives in the sea and around the coast. It is said that their ancestors came from Johor, Malaysia. Some folklore mentions that they are the descendants of people who the king assigned to look for his daughter who ran away. This search mission took them to Sulawesi Island, where the princess eventually chose to stay. The seekers then decided to settle down and not return to Johor. The princess, who married a Bugis prince, placed her people in the area now known as Bajoe. Another version states that because they did not find the princess, these people from Johor chose to settle in the Tomini Bay area, including Gorontalo and the Togian Islands (**Tahara, 2017**).

However, the exact origin of the Bajo people is still unknown and requires in-depth

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study from various disciplines. Their remoteness throughout history indicates that the Bajo people had traces of population migration from Southeast Asia about two thousand years ago. The name Bajau can be found in various regions, including the Makassar Strait, Bone Bay, East Nusa Tenggara, Banggai Islands, Tomini Bay, North Maluku, as well as in the waters of the Sulawesi Sea and East Kalimantan, the Anambas Islands and the east coast of Kalimantan. **Lapian (2009)** concluded that the Bajau people explored all the archipelago waters. However, now they are better known in the eastern part, such as Sabah and the Sulu Islands (**Tahara & Malim, 2021**). **Kazufumi (2017)** elucidated that the Bajau tribe, estimated to number 1.1 million people, is spread across the coasts and islands of the southern Philippines, Sabah, and eastern Indonesia, with strong social and economic networks.

So far, many socio-cultural studies of the Bajo people in Indonesia have been carried out, but they only focus on the aspects of history, origin, wandering and searching for marine products in coral waters, affiliation and adaptation with the local kingdoms visited, and classical ethnography of the humble life of the Bajo people (**Tauchmann**, **1996; Liebner, 2005; Lampe, 2017**). Therefore, it is necessary to research on diversifying the livelihoods of Bajo fishermen as an effort to improve welfare.

Among the fishing community, three social classes interact and fight for their own interests despite having conflicting goals, often leading to resistance. These classes are workers (*mustard greens*), boat voters (*retainers*), and capital owners (capitalists). These dynamics are influenced by knowledge, feelings, and attitudes that are formed over time, which are predisposing factors in responding to and assessing social reality (**Arsat** *et al.*, **2022**). In economic relations, Bajo fishermen, especially in Banggai Laut Regency, always live with uncertain economic income and in limited conditions.

Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village, South Banggai District, Banggai Laut, go to sea and catch fish, which are hereditary jobs. The potential of natural resources provides a source of livelihood for fishermen to support household life. The work of fishermen is highly dependent on weather conditions. In good weather conditions, fishing activities can be carried out easily. However, fishing activities cannot be carried out when the weather changes unfriendly. Limiting fishermen to weather conditions will impact fishermen who can no longer carry out fishing activities in bad weather. This hnders fishermen from getting a source of fish livelihood. Fishermen must overcome this condition. Otherwise, fishermen and their family members will experience shortages and even hunger. One way to overcome this limiting factor is through livelihood diversification.

Diversification of livelihoods is expected to provide added value for Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village, allowing them to increase their income if they do not go to sea. Based on this background, research on diversifying the livelihoods of Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village is necessary.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This type of descriptive qualitative research describes the culture of Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village, South Banggai District, Banggai Laut Regency, Central Sulawesi, regarding their livelihood system. This research was conducted between June-August 2024. The informants from this study were 9 Bajo residents who lived in Matanga Village, consisting of fishermen, fishermen's wives, retainers (financiers), and government officials. The criteria for selecting informants are based on their knowledge and experience related to fishery activities and their social role in the Bajo community. Data were collected by being directly involved in the entire series of activities researched through participant observation and in-depth interviews. The data analysis process was carried out qualitatively with steps to organize, categorize, and interpret the information obtained to identify the patterns and meanings contained in the life practices of Bajo fishermen in Matanga Village.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Overview of Matanga Village

Matanga Village is one of 6 (six) villages included in the administrative area of South Banggai District, Banggai Laut Regency, Central Sulawesi. The location of the village borders Malino Village to the South. To the East, it is bordered by Kelapa Lima Village. To the West, it is bordered by Labuan Kapelak Village; while to the North, it is bordered by Bokan Islands District. Matanga Village has an area of 19.75km² divided into 6 (six) hamlets, with relatively flat topography in its residential area, while other areas have hilly topography. Most of the Matanga Village area is used as a dryland agricultural area. Only a small part of the area, especially in the southwest, is used as a residential area. In addition to dryland agriculture and settlements, other land uses are plantations and secondary dryland forests (**BPS Bangkep, 2021**).

In Matanga Village, there are 632 heads of families, with a population of 2088 people, consisting of 1,062 men and 1,026 women. In terms of ethnicity, the majority of the population is the Bajo tribe, and the rest are Banggai, Bugis, Javanese, and Buton tribes. This diversity provides its own dynamics where there will be an exchange of knowledge. Matanga Village's education level is already relatively good, with 71 residents with bachelor's and high school education (S1) and 324 people. Most of the population works as fishermen, as many as 292 people and 238 farmers. In addition, most of the residents, in addition to working as fishermen, also concurrently serve as farmers (**BPS Bangkep, 2021**).

2. Diversification of fishermen's livelihoods

The people of Matanga Village have two main jobs: fishermen and farmers. In addition, there are civil servants. In this study, the researcher discussed three alternative livelihoods based on existing commodities: octopus fishermen, coconut farmers, and clove farmers.

2.1. Octopus and Abalone fishermen

Of the 292 residents who became fishermen, the majority came from the Bajo tribe. They catch fish using fishing gear and trawls, both demersal and pelagic. Octopuses included in the demersal category were discussed specifically because they have high economic value compared to other commodities. In addition, octopuses are becoming a trend both on a global scale and nationally and internationally.

Octopuses are molluscs of the *cephalopod* group that generally live on coral reefs. In English, octopuses are known as Octopus, which comes from the Greek meaning "eight legs" and often refers to animals from the genus *Octopus* (Amarullah *et al.*, 2020).

Banggai Laut Regency is one of the largest producers of octopus in Indonesia. The potential of octopus fisheries in Banggai Laut Regency reaches 10,652 tons/year, with octopus production reaching 8,034 tons/year. This shows that the utilization of octopus resources reaches 75% (**DKP Banggai Laut, 2016**). The price of octopus in Banggai Laut Regency is also quite high, around Rp. 52,000/kg. This proves that the selling price of octopus greatly influences fishermen's source of income. The high price should have raised the standard of living of octopus fishermen in Banggai Laut Regency, including Matanga Village. However, upon observation, octopus fishermen still live in limitations.

Octopus fishermen in Banggai Laut Regency are included in the category of smallscale fishers. This is because fishermen catch octopus using boats and simple fishing gear. According to **Salas** *et al.* (2004), small-scale fishermen usually face various limitations, such as limited time to go to sea and the type of boat or fishing gear they use. In addition, small-scale fishers are often involved in social conflicts in the fisheries sector. One of the conflicts that often occur in small-scale fisheries is related to the use of fishing areas and the use of fishing gear that damages the environment.

Traditional fishermen catch octopuses with simple and locally-based fishing gear. As in other areas in Banggai Laut and Banggai Islands, octopus fishing uses three methods, namely using tools called '*cipo'*, '*manis'* and spears. However, the use of spears began to be abandoned because it was considered to have the potential to destroy corals, because fishermen in their fishing efforts had to swim to the depths looking for rocks and to gouge them so that the octopus would come out of the nest before finally being speared.

The trend of catching octopus has only emerged in the last 10 years or so, driven by high prices, ease of sale, and availability that does not depend on the season. Although octopuses are abundant in certain seasons, they remain throughout the year. The capital for catching octopus is relatively low, as fishermen can make their own fishing gear and only need a small amount of fuel, considering that they usually catch it in shallow waters up to 30 meters. To search for octopuses, fishermen use simple diving goggles and refer to the activity as "bakaca" or "mirror."

The price of octopus varies based on size and quality, categorized from grade A (highest) to D (lowest). Prices at the fisherman level are influenced by location, quality, and relationship with collectors; The longer the trade chain, the cheaper the price. Fishermen who owe collectors often get lower selling prices.

Octopuses are most commonly caught between January and April, although they can still be found in other months, potentially leading to overfishing. Although not all the time, catching octopuses can increase fishermen's income compared to catching other fishery commodities. HL, a fisherman, stated as follows:

Alhamdulillah, one or two octopuses are caught every day. If it is in season, fishermen can earn Rp10 million to Rp15 million per month, but that is only at certain times. Other fish can also be caught, but they are commonly eaten alone at home or sold to collectors from the city (HL interview, August 4, 2024).

In addition to octopuses, Bajo fishermen also catch a lot of abalone, or seven-eyed snails, which have high economic value such as pearl clams, lobsters, and crabs. Abalone is a mollusc of the *Haliotidae* family and the genus *Haliotis*, known in Indonesia as the stone snail. Its shape resembles an earlobe, with a small circular shell in the posterior part. Abalone can grow up to 20cm and weigh 1kg. The most popular types are *Haliotis asinina* and *Haliotis squamata*. Abalone breathes through seven holes in the edges of its shell, sucking water to get oxygen and expel carbon dioxide.

The delicious abalone meat makes it a special dish in countries like Chile, parts of Southeast Asia, and East Asia like China, Japan, and Korea. In addition to its taste, abalone is also beneficial for preventing rheumatism, inhibiting cancer cells, lowering cholesterol, and reducing the risk of heart disease. Abalone also helps cure asthma and prevent osteoporosis. Because of these benefits, abalone has a high selling price, reaching Rp 337 thousand per kilogram.

According to DH, they usually find abalone on the sidelines of the corals around the island, but the population is declining due to massive fishing. The high price makes fishermen tempted to look for natural abalone like octopuses. Abalone itself can be cultivated but is not known by residents in Matanga Village.

It was found a lot around corals in the past, but now it has decreased somewhat, mostly octopuses. If you can get a seven-eyed abalone, it's expensive, it's just that it's rare to find it anymore (**DH interview**, **August 4**, 2024).

2.2. Coconut farmers (Copra)

Coconut (*Cocos nucifera L*.) has an important role for the people of Banggai Laut. At the farmer level, coconut products such as granulated coconut, copra, and traditionally

processed cooking oil are usually used as primary products. However, the potential of coconuts is still not fully utilized due to technological constraints, capital, and lack of market absorption. In addition to being a source of vegetable oil, coconut also contributes to farmers' income, state foreign exchange, job creation, and the development of downstream industries based on coconut oil and its derivative products in Indonesia **(Rahman, 2011)**.

Data from **Ditjenbun** (2021) stated that coconut production in Indonesia in 2020 reached 2.8 million tons with an area of 3.4 million ha. The area of coconut land in Banggai Laut, according to BPS 2024 data, is around 9,500 hectares. In Matanga Village, fishermen also work a lot on copra. Coconuts grow a lot around the beach and people's houses, including residents from the Bajo tribe. Almost 99% of the coconut kernels produced are processed into copra. The copra produced is generally the result of direct smoking and is sold to collectors.

The price of copra as of August 2024 is IDR 10,100/kg, although this price fluctuates with a narrow difference from region to region. The problem of fluctuating copra prices makes farmers pay less attention to the growth and development of coconut plants, affecting their income. According to **Mosher (2004)**, every farmer will try to develop his farming business if there is a price guarantee for his production. Farmers will try to produce more coconuts if the price is favorable.

Coconuts have been grown in Matanga Village for a long time, although serious efforts to manage them have only recently been in line with the high demand for copra. It can be said that almost all fishing families have coconut trees between 1-2 hectares. In general, coconut planting in Matanga Village is done traditionally. The number of coconut trees planted by farmers is at least 100 trees per hectare. This condition occurs because they do not replace coconut plants that die after planting or when they are still easily old or have not yet borne fruit.

The average production of fresh old coconuts reaches 105kg/ tree, the average production of copra reaches 14kg/ tree, and the average productivity is 230kg/ ha. The results showed that the average productivity of coconut plants in the study location was 230kg/ ha, with the average coconut production reaching 105kg/ tree and the average copra production reaching 14kg/ tree. Meanwhile, the production of coconuts per tree in a year at the research site is 72 grains per tree, which is still relatively low. The traditional cultivation techniques of coconut plants cause low coconut production. In addition, the source of seeds for planting isn't of a good quality. Irregular planting patterns and the absence of fertilization are further causes of low productivity.

The harvest season for coconut plants is carried out once every three months a year for 4 months. If the age of the coconut has been 3 months from the previous harvest, the coconut can be taken back by choosing a coconut that has entered the stage of ready-to-harvest. Harvested coconuts are considered old, with large, green, brownish-green, or reddish-brown fruits with reduced water content. The number of coconuts taken per tree

is uncertain, depending on the number of coconuts that are ready to be harvested. Harvesting time can be done from morning to evening.

IS, one of the coconut farmers, admitted to owning about 1 hectare of coconut plantations. He can make a net profit of IDR 3 million every time he harvests. Although the results are not much, IS is still working on it. Moreover, the management does not need special attention. Land clearing is carried out every 3 months by paying workers Rp150 thousand daily for 3 days of work. IS itself is also a fisherman and clove farmer. All these types of work are carried out as a variety of work in anticipation of the development of the seasons. When the wind season is strong, he usually chooses to work in the garden, managing his coconuts and cloves.

The yield from the coconut harvest is not bad for additional income from the sea, especially if the waves are high. The results can be meeting daily needs, school fees, and children's snacks, including buying internet quotas (IS Interview, August 4, 2024).

According to IS, the income from these coconuts will also depend on the season because they have to be in dry conditions, but they already have their own seasonal calendar, which includes when to go to sea and when to harvest coconuts for copra.

2.3. Clove farmers

Cloves are one of the leading plantation commodities that are widely cultivated in various regions in Indonesia. Clove production continues to increase, driven by the demand of the cigarette industry and contributes to the national economy, farmers' income, state foreign exchange, employment, health industry, and MSMEs. In 2017, national clove production reached 113,178 tons and increased to 140,997 tons in 2021, with a growth of 7.47%. In Central Sulawesi, clove production increased by 16.26%, from 5,324 tons in 2017 to 18,187 tons in 2021 (**Ditjenbun, 2021**).

Cloves are also one of the agricultural sectors that residents in Matanga Village are engaged in. The interesting thing in Matanga Village is that cloves are also cultivated by the Bajo people, who are better known as fishermen than farmers. The Bajo tribe is very famous for the nickname of the boatman, whose life and death are in the ocean.

Cloves began to enter Matanga Village brought by a teacher named Haji Rais around 1984. Several residents then followed in his footsteps, although not massively, because the price of cloves at that time was still very cheap. The clove trend began in 2004, or 20 years ago, when the price of cloves increased rapidly. Many residents, both from the Bajo people and Banggai and Bugis, began clearing land from once unmanaged forests. IR, a Bajo resident, admitted to planting cloves when he saw a good price. He previously had experience growing cloves, learning from Haji Rais, when he was in elementary school.

In the past, he also helped Haji Rais grow cloves, so he had a little experience. So it is only a matter of learning again from other country residents (Banggai people) who have planted cloves first (IR Interview, August 4, 2024).

Although IR and several residents have started planting cloves, they are not necessarily followed by other Bajo people. Some people are still not sure of the results of cloves before they actually get results. The conditions changed five years later during the first harvest, where the yield of IR cloves showed abundant yields. Like getting a collapsed durian, IR's livelihood improved compared to the other Bajo residents. That's when the enthusiasm of other residents emerged to participate in planting cloves. Not only cleared land in the forest area, several residents also bought clove land that had been filled.

According to DH, another clove farmer, a single harvest of cloves can be their capital for various needs. Generally, the clove harvest is saved for greater needs, while for daily needs, it is enough to rely on income from fishermen and sometimes from the sale of copra.

If you only rely on income from catching fish or octopus, it is not enough to meet larger needs such as renovating houses, buying vehicles, sending children to school, etc. Income from fishermen can only be used for daily needs. Even then, sometimes fishermen have to go into debt, so the income from fishermen is really mediocre (DH Interview, August 4, 2024).

According to DH, a clove farmer from the Bajo people, clove farming has helped improve the family economy, children's education and social strata. According to him, the surrounding environment is also inhabited by other tribes who work as farmers who have more prosperous living conditions, forcing them to rethink regarding their life and work orientation. They have lived on the mainland for a long time and have cultivated the garden around the house, which means they can also farm. Even if it is difficult at first, they can learn from other tribes that exist, such as the Bugis and Banggai which have an agrarian culture (farmers).

With intense contact with residents from other ethnicities such as Banggai and Bugis, DH admitted to learning a lot about how to farm. This process is not difficult for him to go through because this cultural intersection has been going on for a long time from generation to generation. DH also gets motivated by seeing the social life of other residents who work as farmers who can be more adequate and raise their social status.

3. Reasons for diversifying livelihoods

3.1. Resilience

Resilience in the face of a crisis can be understood as the ability of the household to return to normal conditions. Moreover, in households, it is related to maintenance strategies. According to **Speranza** *et al.* (2014), livelihood resilience refers to the ability of a livelihood to survive stresses and distractions. It is characterized by the assets and strategies used to maintain and improve those assets. A livelihood is said to be resilient if it can maintain its main functions (such as food, income, and welfare) despite being disrupted. These assets are called "livelihood assets," and they include natural, human,

physical, financial, and social resources. A maintenance strategy involves assets, activities, and access to determine an individual's or household's well-being. Livelihood diversification in rural areas is how households create portfolios of activities and assets to survive and improve their well-being (**Ellis**, **1998**).

Fishermen are very vulnerable to changes in resource availability due to their high dependence on the surrounding environment and limited livelihood alternatives. Due to the vulnerability of small islands, resource dynamics are very high. Therefore, fishermen must be able to adapt to these changes, which requires a high level of resilience (Hafsaridewi *et al.*, 2019).

Bajo fishermen have been known only to know maritime culture, but income from marine catches is starting to be limited. This condition forces fishermen to rethink concerning their livelihoods. The options available in Matanga Village are farming, namely coconut plantations and later cloves, and taking part in the government to become a Civil Servant (PNS).

These two commodities have their own advantages and disadvantages. Coconut plantations are relatively easier, regardless of the season, the harvest season is shorter, the maintenance process is easy, and the maintenance cost is cheaper. The disadvantage is the income from coconut products, which is not much. with 1 hectare of land, farmers can only produce IDR3 million 4 million per harvest. Meanwhile, clove plantations need special expertise, higher processing and maintenance costs, more saprodi needs so that production costs are higher, and harvesting only once a year. The advantage is the income from cloves is higher, ranging from IDR90 thousand – to IDR110 thousand per kg and even reaching IDR300 thousand per kg. Meanwhile, the price of stalks is IDR 10 thousand per kg. With 1 hectare of land, farmers can earn IDR 30 million to 35 million per harvest.

DH admitted that he could not build a house and send his children to school if he only depended on the results of going to sea, especially when the season conditions were uncertain. Plus, the debt to the jargo*n* they usually borrow when not at sea. Agriculture is the best choice for them to survive and be able to meet various household needs, including education for children.

Children can attend high school, buy motorbikes and televisions, and build houses from these cloves or coconuts. If other fishermen who do not have agricultural land, they can see that their lives and homes are still the same as they used to be (DH interview, interview August 4, 2024).

The AG admitted the same thing that their living conditions would not move from poverty if they only depended on one job (fishing). He reflects on his family's life in his childhood, which was mediocre. The lack of education from the family also makes them feel insecure about interacting with the outside community. In his new family, his life can be better than other Bajo people who survive as fishermen. It can be seen from the shape of their house buildings, which are already concrete and located a little far from the coast. He can not also send his children to higher education.

It is difficult to survive if you only work as a fisherman, although being a fisherman is still important. Food at home can also be more diverse, although not even, but healthy and can be guaranteed every day (AG Interview, August 4, 2024).

Although AG's clove land is no more than one hectare spread across several locations, the results can give them a better life. At any time, he can shop online for clothes or electronic equipment through the COD (cash on delivery) method because he does not have a credit or debit card that they can use for payment. COD has become a phenomenon in a number of coastal areas in Banggai Laut Regency.

3.2. Seasonal/weather factors

Fishing families face more complex problems than farming families, with a typical life cycle. They use coastal and ocean areas for production activities, namely fishing. However, this activity is full of risks, especially related to fishing gear that must be adjusted to sea conditions. Weather uncertainty often results in fishermen only being able to work about 20 days a month. In comparison, the other 10 days are forced not to go to sea due to high waves, which impacts uncertain incomes, especially during the off-season (Widyastuti *et al.*, 2016).

Seasons play a big role in fishermen's activities; Bad weather can keep them out of sea for months. In this situation, income decreases, and if they force themselves to go to sea, there is a risk of damage to boats and fishing gear. Usually, fishermen use this time to repair fishing gear or look for other alternative activities such as repairing boat engines, cultivating freshwater or marine fish, and processing fish into products that can be sold. The fishermen's wives also contribute by making processed fish or crafts from shellfish. However, lacking knowledge about supporting activities is a major obstacle to optimizing these opportunities.

According to the study by **Tairas** *et al.* (2013), it was found that there are some activities that fishermen do when they are not at sea, such as working in the agricultural sector, laborers, motorcycle taxi drivers, construction workers, carpenters or boat craftsmen. The same thing also happened in Matanga Village. If you look at the distribution of the population based on their work, it can be seen that the alternative work that the people of Matanga Village mostly do is farmers, in this case as coconut and clove farmers. There are also other commodities, such as nutmeg and sweet potato, but only on a small scale.

The agricultural sector was chosen over other formal sectors because this type of work can be done. The village is far from the district capital and located on an island, so limited alternative jobs are available. The agricultural sector is also not disturbed by the seasons and can be done anytime. IR, a fisherman, admitted that the agricultural sector is the best alternative because it does not know the season and can provide enough results to meet their needs. IR also admitted that he had to continue working even though he did not go to the sea because he had debts to pay in addition to the fulfillment of family needs, including the need for data quotas, children's shopping at school, and so on.

If we don't go to sea during the high wave season, we can be idle for weeks without an alternative job. It can also be stressful if you live at home, especially if the kitchen has to stay on. For those with land such as cloves or coconuts, this is an opportunity to focus on the garden, take care of it, and clean it. It can also be while planting sweet potatoes (**IR interview, August 4, 2024**).

Both sweet potatoes and coconuts are short-term crops that can be harvested immediately a few months later. Meanwhile, clove plants cover an income once a year. The results of this agriculture became the basis of their livelihood during the famine seasons. This is a survival strategy (resilience) for fishermen to face the adverse weather conditions that occur.

3.3. Social change

For centuries, the Bajo tribe lived on boats as sea nomads. However, as the times progressed, they began to settle in coastal areas. This change resulted in a change in social values because life on land is ecologically different from life in the sea. Despite living on land, they remain close to the sea because their lives are inseparable from the sound of the waves. This concept reflects the Bajo people's efforts to adjust to the environment, considering cultural change as part of adaptation.

Historically, the Bajo tribe had difficulty integrating with the mainland people, barely interacting because most of their activities occurred at sea. They live in groups on boats, which serve as homes and places to carry out everything from meals to religious rituals. They only settle on the beach when the waters are calm to repair boats and fishing gear and carry out social activities such as marriages and burials.

With the increasing number of Bajo tribes setting up houses on the beach, the number of those who depend on boats is starting to decrease. This change creates a new reality that impacts the social and cultural aspects of the Bajo people's lives, who previously lived on water for centuries.

According to **Arisaputri (2020)**, the movement of the Bajo people from sea to land was triggered by driving and pulling factors. Driving factors include the geographical conditions of their habitats that are vulnerable to the marine climate, while the pulling factors consist of:

- 1. Economic activity: A market allows the Bajo people to sell their marine catch to meet their needs.
- 2. Education: The desire to get an education to get a better job.
- 3. Improved quality of life: Hope to improve economic conditions and access to job opportunities.

These changes changed their social relationships with other ethnicities. Interaction with the people of Banggai and Bugis exposed to agricultural culture, so they began to use the local language and were fluent in Banggai and Bugis.

The meeting between marine and agricultural cultures resulted in positive social and cultural changes. Awareness of the importance of education is increasing; Many Bajo children are now attending school, even continuing to college. Previously, this tribe was known to be backward in terms of education. In addition, new jobs have emerged, with some Bajo switching professions to become farmers or traders, not just fishermen.

Access to the internet and social media also broadened their horizons. On the one hand, this opens up new opportunities, but on the other hand, *hoax* information and online gambling have become a problem among fishermen, including in Matanga Village.

In addition, customs began to fade; The younger generation is less familiar with the traditions and rituals that used to be carried out frequently. Education encourages parents to hope that their children will be away from poverty, changing their dreams from accomplished sailors to civil servants or farmers. Many Bajo youth went to migrate and were reluctant to return so the regeneration of local wisdom decreased.

Lastly, a consumptive lifestyle is emerging, focusing on secondary needs beyond financial capabilities, such as technological goods. The house model has also changed to modern minimalism, eliminating the characteristic of floating stilt houses that are the identity of the Bajo tribe (Salipu, 2000).

DH recorded the change in the community and his environment as a Bajo person. In his childhood, he played a lot in the sea, had limited interaction with other tribesmen, a model of change that jutted out into the sea, and several rituals that were no longer practiced in his community. The same is also true at the level of education and the type of work carried out by the community.

In the past, most elementary school graduates. As soon as it was finished, SD immediately went down to the sea and got the catch. It's not fun not to play as a child, and you can make your own money. Catching fish in the sea is usually at night and can last until dawn. School-age children who participated could not get up early and finally did not graduate from school (**DH interview, August 4, 2024**).

This condition is not typical for the people of Matanga Village but also for the Bajo people in other places or other coastal communities, as happened in Bajoe Hamlet, Bone Regency (Salipu, 2000; Nurlaili, 2012; Tahara, 2017), Desa Latawe Mjuna Barat (Hamzah *et al.*, 2019), among others. In Matanga Village itself, there have been significant changes in the last 10 years. However, DH did not confirm that the various changes occurred due to socio-economic changes in some Bajo people who began working in the agricultural sector and the government.

CONCLUSION

From this research, two things can be concluded: First, that the people of Matanga Village, the majority of whom are Bajo people, have some alternative jobs other than fishing which has been their main job so far. In addition to working as fishermen, the Bajo people in Matanga Village are also coconut and clove farmers. As fishermen, they catch a lot of octopus and abalone (seven-eyed snails) with high economic value. If coconut plantations have been carried out for a long time, then clove farming has only been pursued on a large scale in the last 20 years.

Second, some fishermen have alternative jobs because they are resilient to the environment and changing times. Other reasons are seasonal factors and social changes.

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