Wakatobi

IN THE VORTEX OF AGES: AN ANTHOLOGY

Wakatobi in The Vortex of Ages: an Anthology

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Dicky Lopulalan

Authors:

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Jofie DB

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Wisanggeni91
Terasmitra
2021

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First Edition, September 2021

National Library of Indonesia: Catalog in Publication

Lopulalan, Dicky (editor)
Wakatobi in the Vortex of Ages: An Anthology–Jakarta: Terasmitra, 2021
(xvi + 204 hal) (170 x 247 mm)

ISBN 978 602 52216 9 9

Publisher:
Terasmitra
Jl. Bacang II No.8 Keramat Pela
Kebayoran Baru, South Jakarta, Indonesia
P: +62 21 720 6125; +62 21 727 90520
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Supported by
Global Environment Facilities-Small Grant Programme (GEF SGP) Indonesia

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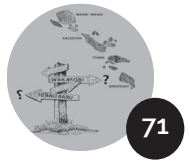
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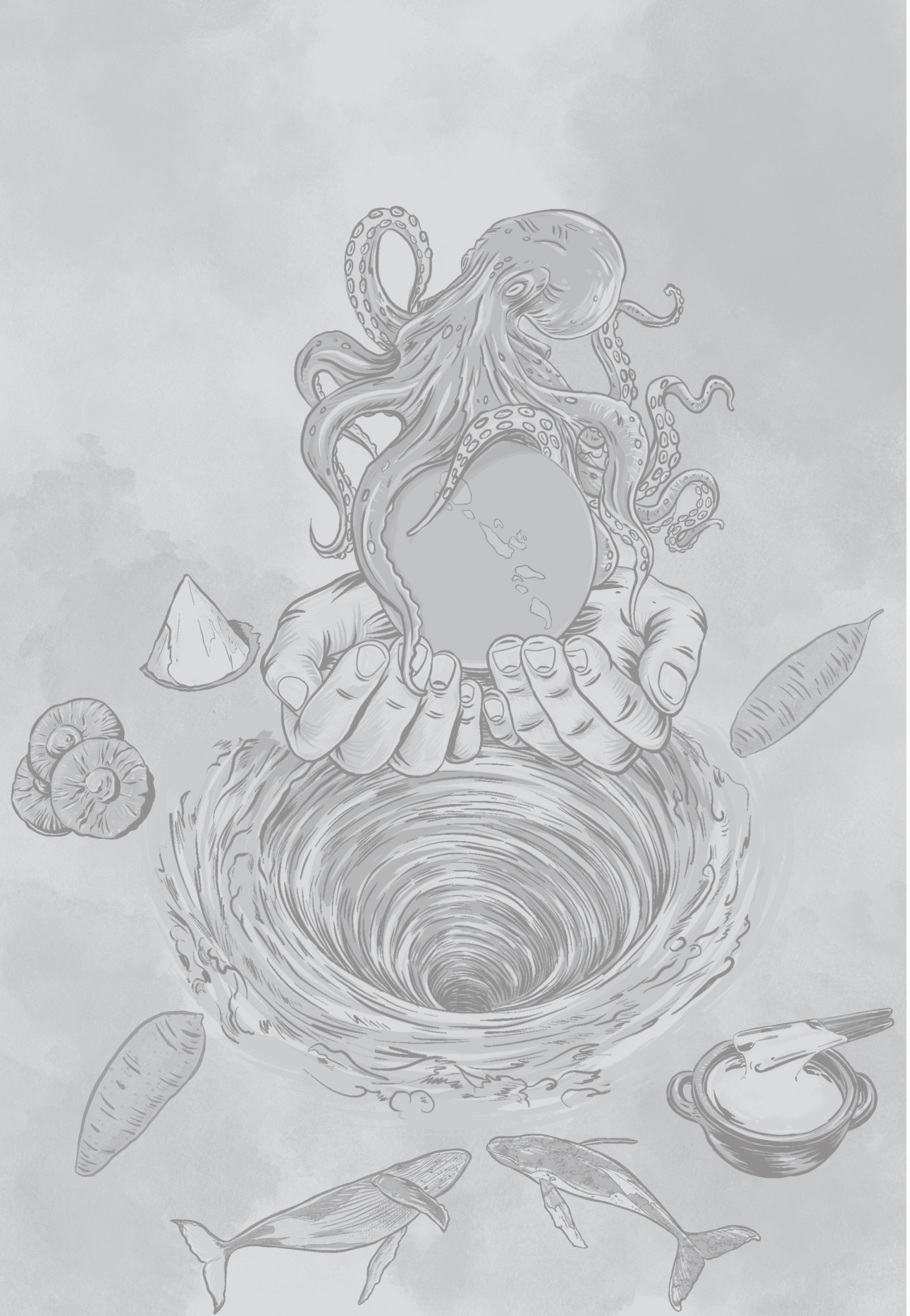


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABRI	:	*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia)
AKKP	:	*Akademi Komunitas Kelautan dan Perikanan* (Marine and Fisheries Community Academy)
ASI	:	*Air Susu Ibu* (Breast Milk)
ASN	:	*Aparat Sipil Negara* (State Civil Apparatus)
BAPPENAS	:	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional* (National Development Planning Agency)
BBM	:	*Bahan Bakar Minyak* (fuel oil)
BPS	:	Central Bureau of Statistics BOP : Tourism Authority
BTNW	:	Wakatobi National Park Hall
CITES	:	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
DLH	:	*Dinas Lingkungan Hidup* (Environmental services)
DPR RI	:	*Dewan Pewakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia* (People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia)
GEF SGP Indonesia	:	Global Environment Facilities Small Grant Programme
FONEB	:	*Forum Nelayan Binongko* (Binongko Fisherman Forum)
FORKANI	:	*Forum Komunikasi Kaledupa Toudani* (Kaledupa Toudani Communication Forum)
GT	:	Gross Ton
HMI	:	*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Islamic Student Association)
IPB	:	*Institut Pertanian Bogor* (Bogor Agricultural Institute)
IUCN	:	*International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources*
KADIN	:	*Kamar Dagang dan Industri* (Chambers of Commerce and Industry)
Kemenparekraf	:	*Kementerian Pariwisata dan Ekonomi Kreatif* (Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy)
KKP	:	*Kawasan Konservasi Perairan* (Marine Protected Area)
KKP	:	Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan (Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries)
KPK	:	*Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (Corruption Eradication Commission)
Kpop	:	*Korean Pop*
KPUPR	:	*Kementerian Pekerjaan Umum dan Perumahan Rakyat* (Minister For Public Works and Human Settlements)
LHKPN	:	*Laporan Harta Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara* (State Administrator Wealth Report)
LIPI	:	*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* (Indonesian Institute of Sciences)

LSM	:	*Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (Non-governmental organization)
MHA	:	*Masyarakat hukum adat* (Customary law community)
MK	:	*Mahkamah Konstitusi* (Constitutional Court)
OPD	:	*Organisasi Perangkat Daerah* (Regional Apparatus Organization)
PAN	:	Partai Amanat Nasional
PBB	:	Partai Bulan Bintang
PDIP	:	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan
Perpres	:	*Peraturan Presiden* (Presidential Decree)
PKI	:	Partai Komunis Indonesia
PNS	:	*Pegawai Negeri Sipil* (Government employees)
POV	:	*Point of View*
RCUS	:	*Rujak* Center for Urban Studies
Ripparda	:	*Rencana Induk Pembangunan Kepariwisataan Daerah* (Rencana Induk Pembangunan Kepariwisataan Daerah)
RPJP	:	*Rencana Pembagunan Jangka Panjang* (Long Term Development Plan)
RTH	:	*Ruang Terbuka Hijau* (Green open space)
SDA	:	*Sumber Daya Alam* (Natural resources)
SDM	:	*Sumber Daya Manusia* (Human resources)
SK	:	*Surat Keputusan* (Decree)
SKPD	:	*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah* (Regional Work Units)
SPKP	:	*Sentra Penyuluhan Pedesaan* (Rural Extension Center)
TKA	:	*Tenaga Kerja Asing* (Foreign workers)
TKI	:	*Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (Indonesian workers)
UNJ	:	*Universitas Negeri Jakarta* (State University of Jakarta)
Wakatobi	:	Wangi-wangi-Kaledupa-Tomya-Binongko
WDR	:	Wakatobi Dive Resort
WWF	:	World Wildlife Fund
3 T	:	*Turu Tara Toro*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

THE book entitled "*Wakatobi in the Vortex of Ages: an Anthology*" was born from a zoom meeting between Wisanggeni91 team and GEF SGP Indonesia secretariat (Catharina Dwihastarini, Meinar Sapto Wulan, Hery Budiarto) and Dicky Lopulalan (co founder of Teras Mitra). The idea emerged from the abundance of potential wealth that Wakatobi has yet has never been explored comprehensively in any narratives.

From the discussion, it was agreed to compile a book on the potential of Wakatobi. In early October 2020, the drafting team began to invite six authors of the book *'Dari Sergai to Kefa'* and three other authors as well as conducted workshops to determine content/theme for each author. Furthermore, reportage was carried out online, via telephone, WhatsApp, email and other social media.

In the journey, we encountered several technical and non-technical issues such as unstable signals, psychological conditions of informants who had never met the writers, unstable political situation in Wakatobi (post-regional head election), a series of holidays, busy activities and the health conditions of several writers, all of which are great lessons for us. Of the nine writers who were involved since the beginning of the process, eight writers persisted with different writing characters.

This book is here with to the support, participation, and contribution of many parties. Therefore, we would like to express our outmost respect and gratitude to GEF SGP Indonesia National Steering Committee (Laksmi Dhewanti, Latipah Hendarti, Zainal Arifin, Brigita Isworo, Ikatri Meynar, Julia Kalmirah, Martha Tilaar, Fransiscus Welirang, Yani Witjaksono, Y. Purwanto, Agus Prabowo, Heru Wardhana, Anton Sri Probiyantono) who have given their trust to carry out the idea of writing this book. We also thank the Secretariat team of GEF SGP Indonesia Catharina Dwihastarini, Meinar Sapto Wulan and Hery Budiarto and friends of Terasmitra who never tire of encouraging us to finish this book.

Our gratitude also goes to FORKANI as the host of GEF SGP Indonesia Phase VI for Wakatobi Islands, Southeast Sulawesi and GEF SGP Indonesia Phase VI partners in Wakatobi Archipelago (Forkani, Lawa Toudani, Foneb, Panglima, Yanmar, Famokossa, Komanangi, Poassa Nuhada, Kahianga Mambali, Toudani) for all the information, support and assistance. Our high appreciation to the speakers: La Rabu Mbaru, Sanawiah, Sarpin, La Amursan, Ermawangi, Fajar Afdal Pratama, Waode Syifatu, Nasrun, I Wayan Veda Santiaji, Laode Ajiju, Marco Kusumawijaya, Laode Nahrul Jamiat, Waode Urfa Widya Ningsih, Nur Israfyan Sifian, Nurmayanti, Anggun, Let Zian, Felta, Fathul Karimul Khair, Laode Muhammad Safie, Laode Sariu, Mursiati, Laode Ikhwanus Safaa, La Rum, Akbar, Nuraeni, Marwati, Edi Harto, Laode Dane and others not mentioned one by one. To my fellow writers Efraim Mbomba Reda, Haris Prabowo, Jovie DB, Laras Olivia, Linda Fitria, Maflahah, Ning Palupi, who have participated from beginning

to end of the book writing process, our highest appreciation goes to you all.

We also express our deepest gratitude to Dicky Lopulalan who always maintains the embers of our spirit. To the family, the extended family of Wisanggeni91 who have always supported the writing process, as well as to friends and other parties that we cannot mention one by one, thank you very much.

There is no ivory that is not cracked. This book is far from perfect. Hopefully this book can be useful for many people.

To all readers, enjoy exploring and navigating the ocean of wealth in *Tukang Besi* Archipelago from various sides.

Batubulan, September 2021

Wisanggeni91

FROM THE SECRETARIAT OF GEF SGP INDONESIA

WAKATOBI is an acronym for the names of four islands in southeast Sulawesi including Wangi-wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia and Binongko Islands. It is famous for its beautiful underwater tourism and the diversity of marine life. Wakatobi also belongs to the path of the world's coral triangle called the "golden triangle". There are six countries make up the 'golden triangle' including Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia (Wakatobi, Bali, Kalimantan, Lombok and Papua), Timor Leste, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands in the Pacific Ocean. We should be proud that Indonesia with its Wakatobi is located right in the heart of the coral golden triangle.

However, reading page by page of the book entitled "Wakatobi in the Vortex of Ages: an Anthology", readers will find pieces that have never been mentioned in any narratives. This book contains stories from word of mouth arranged into interesting stories that creates deeper interest in Wakatobi. These narratives fill the gaps in our knowledge of Wakatobi and uncover the unknown stories of the islands.

These stories were compiled as part of the implementation of the 6th phase of the GEF SGP program in Wakatobi. Learning about the culture and people in which we operate is part of the process of implementation in the field. The 6th phase of GEF SGP Indonesia has collaborated with the community in Wakatobi since 2017. The implementation of the 6th phase of the program is indeed finished but the fabric of stories, relationships, and activities will never end.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the authors of this book: Dicky Lopulalan, Efraim Mbomba Reda, Haris Prabowo, Irene Aprilya Meok, Jovie DB, Laras Olivia, Linda Fitria, Maflahah, and Ning Nirmala Palupi; the entire National Steering Committee of GEF SGP Indonesia: Laksmi Dhewanti, Fransiscus Welirang, Agus Prabowo, Latipah Hendarti, Julia Kalmirah, Ikatri Meynar Sihombing, Yohanes Purwanto, Zaenal Arifin, Martha Tillaar, Heru Wardhana, Yani Witjaksono, and Brigita Isworo. We also recognize our friends in UNDP Indonesia (Anton Sri Probiyantono, and Elin Shinta), the secretariat of GEF SGP Indonesia Meinar Sapto Wulan and Hery Budiarto as well as Terasmita for publishing this book.

To all the friends of GEF SGP Indonesia, thank you and let's enjoy and get lost in these stories till the end.

Best regards

Catharina Dwihastarini
Coordinator of GEF SGP Indonesia

PROLOGUE

THE wharf of ships and boats was long, jutting into the ocean. Located in Tampara Village, South Kaledupa, the wooden pier is the gateway from Kaledupa to other islands in Wakatobi region. There were no ships at the end of the pier. Several wooden canoes and fiber boats were moored at the edge of the pier.

Quiet.

Apart from us, there was no one else in sight.

'We have to wait.' Mursiyati, an activist from Forkani who escorted me and my colleagues told us. In my mind, there would be a ship docked – out of nowhere – to take us to Binongko Island.

We waited for a long time until a wooden ship appeared at the end of the ocean horizon. Suddenly, two young boys appeared, gesturing for us to follow them into the fiber boat. Without asking, I rushed towards them, then got into the boat whose engine had been turned on and the mooring line was immediately released. The fiber boat was driven fast, rattling against the waves, and made splashes of water wet our bodies.

The boat driver ignored the waves heading towards the boat and made the boat jump when they hit it. He was chasing time as we headed straight for the wooden ship waiting for us in the middle of the sea. Once approaching the ship, the driver loosened the throttle and aligned the boat with the wooden ship door. The assistant driver grabbed the rim of the boat, held the boat against the hull, and motioned for us to board the boat. It wasn't easy to move the body and luggage in the middle of high wave swings. The help of the crew made the moving process ran more smoothly. After the transfer was successful, the fiber boat separated from the ship and headed back towards the pier at Tampara with the sound of the engine roaring increasingly faint. The wooden boat we were riding now began to move towards Binongko.

The experience of moving from a boat to a ship in the middle of the sea was the first time in my life. It was both thrilling and exciting. And, apparently this was not the last. During my nearly two-week trip around Wakatobi, I repeated the experience several times. It made me understand a little more about the life of the Wakatobi people who are very familiar with marine life.

My trip to Kaledupa, Binongko, and Tomia aimed to collect pieces of local knowledge in Wakatobi natural resources management. I went around and interviewed fishermen, farmers, planters, weavers, mosque imams, traditional birth attendants, to residents in general. In the exploration, I found that Wakatobi not only has the potential of marine wealth as predicted in tourism promotion. More than that, there are many other pieces need to be explored and taken into account, such as the wealth of local food, customs and culture, until the

residents are stretched to face the latest challenges. Not all of these findings can be published in the book *Sangia, Hui, Sang Hyang Dollar, dan Para Pembaca Bintang* previously published by Terasmitra.

I then discussed the findings with the Coordinator of the National Secretariat of the Global Environment Facilities Small Grant Program (GEF SGP) Indonesia Catharina Dwihastarini. We then agreed to bring up and deepen these findings in a special book publishing project carried out by a knowledge management group based in Bali, Wisanggeni91.

The National Secretariat of GEF SGP Indonesia, Wisanggeni91, and Terasmitra then selected the authors to be involved in this project. Most of the writers selected were young writers who had participated in the project writing the book *Dari Sergai ke Kefa: Kumpulan Reportase Geliat Hidup Rakyat/* From Sergai to Kefa: Collection of Reports on the Life of the People (Terasmitra, 2018). Linda Fitria, Maflahah, Jofie DB, Haris Prabowo, Laras Olivia, and Irene Aprilya Meok were selected. Other authors later co-authored a book entitled Wakatobi in the Vortex of Ages: An Anthology. The additional writers are activist of Wisanggeni91 Ning Nirmala Palupi, activist of Terasmitra Efraim Mbomba Reda, and me.

Problems arose when COVID-19 pandemic finally hit Indonesia. The government imposed travel restrictions to prevent the spread of the corona virus. As a result, the authors were not able to travel to explore materials and data nor deepen the information. Not to be outdone by the situation, the authors conducted information searches by interviewing sources by telephone and literature studies, both through published researches and articles in the mass media and the internet. In addition, data and information were also collected from various digital platforms, such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, etc. From these materials, the authors then assembled them into interesting narratives presented in this book.

The article entitled *The Sea and the Unspoken Things* by Linda Fitria opens this book. The article, begins with the story of a dead whale stranded with a stomach full of plastic waste, invites us to enter the lives of the Wakatobi people; strong fishermen and sailors, including matters related to beliefs and myths about the sea which are still fresh among the Wakatobi people as well as the governance of indigenous peoples (MHA) in managing the natural resources in the islands. One important question is presented by Linda at the end of the article; 'How will marine life and conservation of this marine area survive in the midst of the changes that Wakatobi faces today, especially amid the plan of the central government to make it a priority tourist destination?'

The second article entitled *Tough Sailors from Earthy Coral Island* is written by Maflahah. In this part we can understand more about the lives of fishermen in Binongko through a conversation with La Amursan and Akbar from Binongko Fishermen Forum (FONEB). Not only talking about the ups and downs of fishermen's lives, it also presents how fishing organizations play a role in water

conservation and improve the welfare of the fishermen; their members. Not only dealing with the affairs of life at sea, Maflahah also shows another side of the lives of the residents, including the role of housewives to maintain food security by cultivating rocky land on land. How women look for alternative food ingredients from the forest in the neighborhood where they live is also presented in this section. For Binongko residents, food security is very important because it determines their resilience to survive. Sea cannot always be relied on. Bad weather, strong currents, and high waves can prevent them from going out to sea to catch fish. The availability of food in the garden is also not always as expected. Pests and diseases, as well as errors in calculating the growing season make family unable to meet the family's needs. The introduction of wild food sources is very helpful to make up for the shortage.

Food management is important for the Wakatobi people, but life is not only about eating. Wakatobi community also has the ability to produce literary works, especially oral one. Jofie DB through *Triumvirate of Coral Land: Sea, Music and Dance* raises Wakatobi pop culture works, both created by Wakatobi residents themselves and in collaboration with outsiders. The works highlighted and analyzed include poetry, fiction, installation art, films, dances, as well as music and song compositions. The author looks at the diversity of artistic potentials that can be extracted from the lives of the Wakatobi people as well as provides a critical note of the dangers faced by the tourism industry in the future and political stigma in the past.

To gain a further picture of the tourism potential in Wakatobi, let's read an ink stroke by Efraim Mbomba Reda entitled *Wakatobi Tourism Map: Abundant Potential, Needs to be Carefully Looked at.* In the article, he describes the potential for natural tourism (sea and land), culture, and traditional villages on Wangi-Wangi Island, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko. The potential is abundant, but it needs deeper and careful reflection because there are various issues that can become obstacles in the future including the problem of waste, clean water, coordination among stakeholders, and the risk of economic dependence on the tourism industry. A lesson can be obtained from Nusa Penida which collapsed due to the impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic. It becomes a warning conveyed by the author. At the end of his writing, Efraim asked a reflective question on the plan to develop tourist destinations on a large scale, "Who are all the plans for?"

Haris Prabowo in *Magical Hands of Wakatobi* is likely to answer Efraim's question. Haris sees that while Wakatobi has abundant tourism and fisheries potential, the poverty rate is the second highest in Southeast Sulawesi Province. This is inseparable from the low household income as a result of limited sources of livelihood. To get a job, Wakatobi residents have to look for job outside the area. Tourism industry which was predicted to improve the people's economy is controlled by only a handful of elites. They come from local officials and private parties who have been there since the New Order era. Haris dissected "the elites" one by one. It is suspected that these elites will get the most benefit when

the "10 New Bali" project is successfully implemented in Wakatobi.

The story about Wakatobi is not only about its abundant economic potential but also about the people who live on it. Over the centuries the Wakatobi people have developed customs passed down from generation to generation. One of the customs is related to human life cycle as described by Laras Olivia in *Wakatobi Human Life Cycle Rite.* In the article, she recounts the various rituals that Wakatobi people must perform from marriage, pregnancy, birth, children, youth, to puberty. While there has been a shift in ritual procedures, the life cycle rite is still believed, obeyed, and practiced by most of the local people.

The position of women in Wakatobi society received attention from Irene Aprilya Meok in an article entitled *Wakatobi Women and Their Different Roles.* Irene raised the figures of Ratu Wakaa-kaa and Ratu Bulawambona who were the first and second leaders in the Buton Sultanate. These two queens are reflection of how in the early days of the Buton Sultanate, women were placed in strategic positions in the government. It turns out that not only in government, women also have important positions in the family to the date. For example, women are the financial managers in the family and men who misbehave women will have no place in society.

I myself contribute an article entitled *Food Security in Tukang Besi Islands*. I was lucky to have the opportunity to visit Wakatobi before the COVID-19 pandemic that I could meet many local people and tasted various culinary delights in Wakatobi. This article is derived from the information I gathered during the trip in March 2019. In this paper, I describe the enormous diversity of food ingredients and various processed foods. This is rooted from the limited land and community access in these small islands. The diversity of local food and the processing of various types of culinary are part of the Wakatobi community's efforts to survive. I introduce the readers a smart strategy from these islands called *prosumsi* which means to consume what they produce. In the past, this strategy succeeded in saving residents from starvation during pest and disease outbreaks, crop failures, or when the supply of basic commodities was blocked from entering Wakatobi due to bad weather, strong currents, or high waves. Unfortunately, this food security is starting to weaken. People's dependence on rice and various basic commodities that cannot be produced at the local level can threaten the safety of the residents. Eventually, it indirectly becomes a factor causing the high poverty rate in Wakatobi.

In the last article in this book, Ning Nirmala Palupi through *Wakatobi in Folklore* invites us to explore the fairy tale world of Wakatobi people. The story is about a mermaid, the twin octopus named imbu, *Wa Ode Iriwondu* crocodile, sea ghost, yellow shark, golden crab, and many others. Besides stories, Ning also brought up folk games, Wakatobi dances, traditional ceremonies, children's naming systems, weaving, architecture, and other local wisdoms. Everything

presented in this section shows that the civilizations that exist today are rooted and intertwined in the stories of the past.

Readers,

The stories presented in this book offer different and varied perspectives. A mere economic perspective is not enough because there are many other important aspects to pay attention to. "Reading about Wakatobi is not merely about listening to the beauty of the maritime paradise campaign created by the rulers and tour guides," Ning Nirmala Palupi wrote in her small note at the end of her writing. There are billions of mysteries for priceless treasures if continue to explore. And, just like the illustration at the beginning of this prologue, we'll jump as if beaten by the sea waves.

Enjoy digging the treasure of Wakatobi!

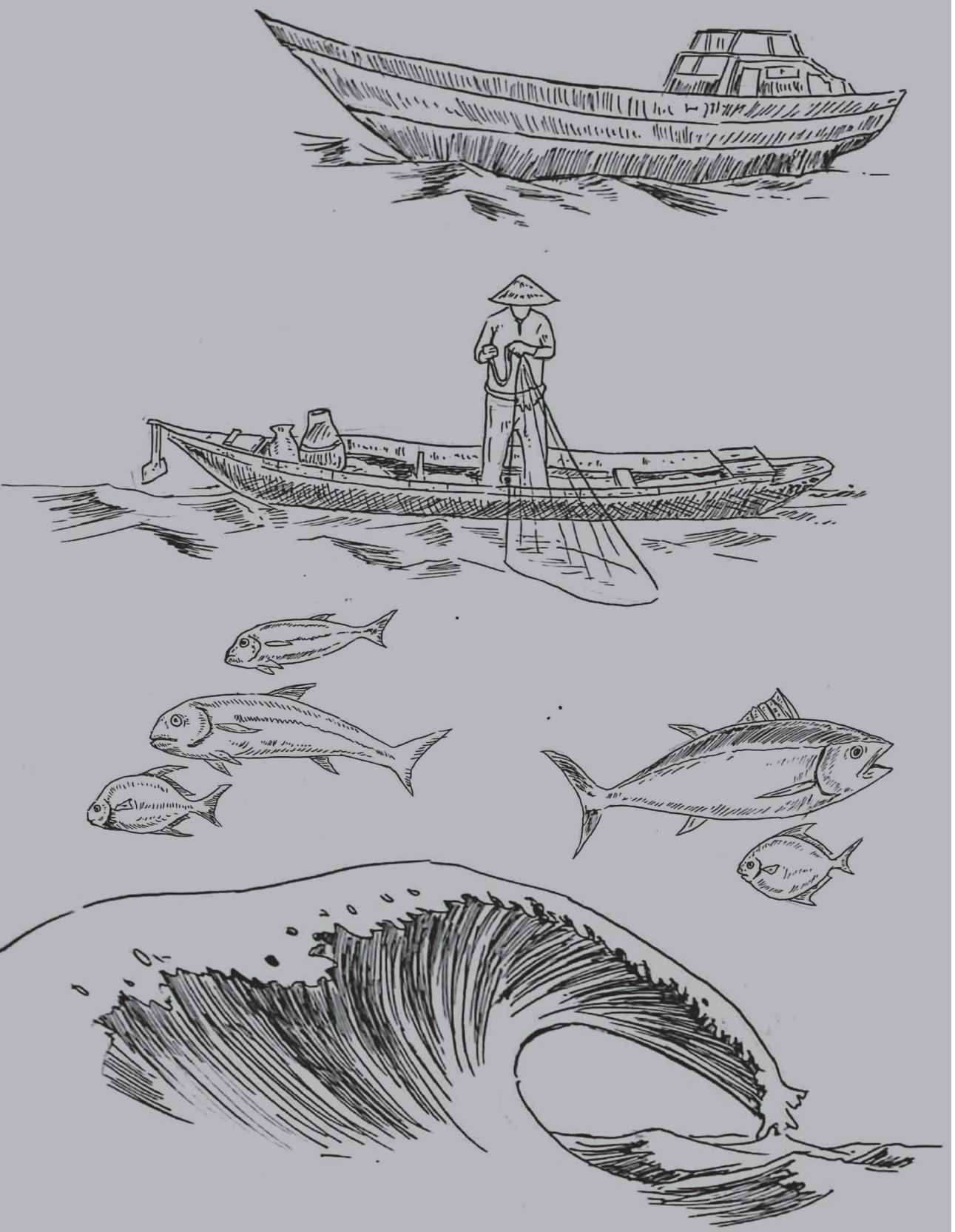
Jimbaran, 17 December 2021

Dicky Lopulalan
Terasmitra

I

The Sea and the Unspoken Things

By Linda Fitria



Ghosts Threatening the Sea

In the afternoon around four o'clock in the afternoon, a sperm whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*) was found in a decomposing condition by residents of Kapota Island, an island belongs to Wakatobi Regency[1]. The calendar shows 18 on November 2018 page when the poor whale was found. It only took a moment for the phenomenon of the discovery of whales in Wakatobi waters to go viral. The reason is that the sperm whale was not only stranded and rotting, but also found about six kilograms of plastic waste in its stomach which was allegedly the cause of the whale's death.

Approximately 600 kilometers from the point where the whale was found, Fathul Karimul Khair, a young man from Waduri – a village on Kaledupa Island, Wakatobi – could only watch online information about whale discoveries in his village. He was in Makassar when many people in his village updated stories on social media with information about the discovery of a rotting whale that had washed ashore in Kapota. Fathul, his nickname, was still a student of history at one of the universities in Makassar.

In November 2020, two years after the discovery of a rotting whale in Wakatobi, he was asked to recall an incident from his village that had shocked the general public. "*When I think about it, I see that one of the problems in archipelagic areas like Wakatobi is the issue of where to dispose of garbage*," he thought. He understood that the garbage in the whale's body is a collection of various places, not just one point. However, he wanted to try to see the discovery of the whale with its stomach filled with garbage as a reflection of what was being seen in his village, Wakatobi.

"*Now, a lot of people throw trash under his place (re: stilt house)*," he explained. Slowly, he tried to describe the conditions in Waduri Village, his village in Kaledupa, Wakatobi. "*Waduri was once the sea. Each house here is built on a rock taken from the sea. The corals are then piled up for the foundation so that the pillars of the house stand*," he said, remembering stories about his village in the past.

This process then results in a view of lined houses on stilts in Waduri which are about 7 to 15 meters from one house to another.

"Waduri was once the sea. Each house here is built on a rock taken from the sea. The corals are then piled up for the foundation so that the pillars of the house stand,"

1 Mongabay.co.id. "Ditemukan 5,9 Kg Sampah Dalam Perut Paus Sperma di Wakatobi. Kok Bisa?" accessed via https://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/11/20/ditemukan-59-kg-sampah-dalam-perut-paus-sperma-di-wakatobi-kok-bisa/on November 15, 2020.

Figure 1 : view of the stilt house in Kaledupa

This distance then creates a gap in each house. From the stories of the old people in the family, until the 80s, the gaps between houses were used as a place to anchor for bangka or boats with a payload capacity of 15 to 30 tons. That is, the gaps between these houses were once deep. "*Now, for example, if I go down when the tide is high, it's only as high as my chest*," he said.

From what Fathul tried to observe, the shallow waters around his village were caused by two factors. First, silting due to rain. "*Every time it rains, the water in Waduri becomes muddy*," he said. Second, of course because of garbage. Every time the water recedes, he often sees piles of garbage. "*In fact, there used to be a place here which was said to be a location for making boats. Now, the place has become a garbage dump on the coast*," he recalls.

The story that Fathul heard from his father was that the boats built around his village still existed until 1989. In 1992, boat makers were no longer busy. "*Now, the boats made are canoes, not Bangka boats that can sail far, even to Singapore and Japan*," he added.

The activities of making boats that have been eroded by time and the insistence of the arrival of garbage that has begun to pile up everywhere, have finally made the Wakatobi local government plan to build a kind of bridge that crosses to the outside of Waduri. "*Perhaps the government thinks, just stockpile them since there are no more boats*," explained Fathul.

"Owning a stone house is currently being considered contemporary. For people living on small islands like Wakatobi, this is difficult," explained Veda.

He revealed that currently there is a growing perception in the community that those who have houses on stilts are no more 'advanced' than those who have stone houses. Stone houses here refer to permanent buildings with walls that require sand as the main raw material. "*Even the government itself identifies stone houses as more livable houses*," he added.

As far as Veda remembers, the two stone houses in the 70s built in Wanci (Wangi Wangi) were the first stone houses he knew of in Wakatobi. But then with the development of Wakatobi as an independent district in 2004, the development is increasingly widespread. Since then, government offices and houses for employees whose incomes are more stable have been built. "*A more steady income makes them more daring to apply for credit to build stone houses*," he said. The latest data from the BPS for Wakatobi Regency states that in 2019 the number of civil servants in the Wakatobi Regency Government increased compared to 3,094 in previous years.

We know that in the area of small islands there is limited sand as raw material. In contrast to large islands such as Sumatra, Java, or Bali which geographically have a volcanic landscape that occasionally produces sand when it erupts.

"*This is another threat to coastal areas like Wakatobi, but people are not aware of it. Even local governments see this as a slight problem*," the Veda continued.

As part of a conservation organization, he sees the phenomenon of stone houses as a threat to coastal ecosystems. But, personally, he sees the trend of stone houses as a matter of knowledge or public awareness of the impact.

Limited knowledge of the impact of an activity does not only apply to the phenomenon of stone houses. In the early period of establishing Wakatobi as a national park, Veda saw that there were still many people who did not fully understand the purpose of forming a national park. He got this finding when in 2002 WWF Indonesia started to open a program in Wakatobi. "*But this can be understood because of some obstacles emerging in reality*," said Veda, who was preparing to explain several things.

The first obstacle according to the Vedas is infrastructure. According to him, at that time Wakatobi National Park did not have adequate infrastructure to reach people in many scattered villages, so that information about the national park was not fully understood by the public. Second, the method or approach to the community is deemed ineffective in conveying the objectives of the establishment of a conservation area.

Back when he went to Wakatobi to conduct an assessment of the WWF Indonesia program, Veda asked several people there about their understanding of national parks. The question he asked was something like, "*Have you ever heard of a national park?*" From the various answers he

"Owning a stone house is currently being considered contemporary. For people living on small islands like Wakatobi, this is difficult,"

heard, the one that stuck in his head was the response of the people who said, "*Oh, we know that national parks are full of flowers, like on Hoga Island*," said Veda imitating. At that time, he concluded that people's perception of national parks revolved around their image of a garden filled with flowers.

The interesting thing that was found by Veda was that even though at that time the terms 'national park' and 'conservation' were foreign to the Wakatobi community, the behavior of the people themselves was still very conservative. This means that many traditional values and materials delivered in schools carry messages of conservation. The level of utilization of fishing, mangroves for firewood, or spaces for cultivation, is also still in the corridor of sustainability that can still be controlled. Thus, Veda admitted that it would not be too difficult to generate public support for conservation efforts in the Wakatobii National Park area.

"The biggest problem from the community at that time was the use of fishing gear that is dangerous and destructive, not only for natural resources, but also for humans," he added.

At that time, in the early 2000s, tools such as potash and fish bombs were still often found. But, once again the Vedas emphasize if such things are discovered as a result of their impact which is not understood by society. They see these tools as other fishing gear such as nets and fishing rods that are not dangerous. So in those days, it was very easy to find fish bombs for sale in the market, even the police also saw transactions for these dangerous fishing gears as normal.

"Efforts to build community support to stop destructive activities were finally supported since the awareness of the impact was carried out," Veda concluded.

"The biggest problem from the community at that time was the use of fishing gear that is dangerous and destructive, not only for natural resources, but also for humans,"

About the Marine Guards

Fathul's story, reflecting on the discovery of a stranded whale in Wakatobi as a form of threat – in this case garbage to the coastal area of his village - is different from what La Ode Muhammad Safie saw. In 2017 to the end of 2019, Safie was assigned to the Department of Fisheries and Marine Affairs of Wakatobi Regency. "*Actually, things like that (stranded animals) are not something new*," Safie said that night. He started talking to me via telephone at around half past nine in the evening, right after coming down from the mosque to pray Isha'. According to him, this is the best time to chat with people in the village.

"For those of us, the presence of stranded marine animals is a sign. It could be a bad sign, or it could be a good sign. But often to bad assumptions," he said seriously. "What is this? Why is there an animal that is considered a 'king,' how can it be stranded like this?" he continued, trying to recreate

the questions people asked when they found the whale stranded in Kapota. As much as he knows, usually stranded marine animals are often found alive. However, it was different from the pope in Kapota two years ago.

"In the past, when a large marine animal was stranded, people were afraid to approach it," he recalled. In the case of the whale in Kapota, people dared to approach and even cut open the whale's stomach, which turned out to be full of garbage. This then made the whale's discovery become crowded to a wider audience.

"That time we never knew the reasons why the sea animals were stranded and died because of what. In the conservation era like today, then find out what the problem is," he continued.

The belief that sea animals died because of person A or person B had never been thought of before. "*People used to not believe that. Who wants to go and disturb his life there (in the sea), because people only go fishing 1 mile or 100 meters from the beach, why should they be blamed?"* said Safie. Now, people have begun to develop their understanding so that scientific reasons are also starting to be accepted.

To make sure that the phenomenon of the stranding of marine animals is not something new, Safie said that in Binongko (his village) there is a place called *Buku*. In the days of his ancestors, there was a large whale that washed ashore there. The reason for giving the Buku name for this place is because there used to be a lot of stranded whale bones scattered about. "*In Buku, I also have a coconut garden. Right below it is one of the snorkeling spots in Binongko*," he concluded.

Figure 2: Coconut plantation in Binongko

Safie's story then continued on the beauty of the marine landscape around his village, Binongko. As one of the large islands in the Wakatobi Archipelago, Binongko is known as the 'head' that composes the body called Wakatobi. Like a head that is physically hard, so are the conditions in Binongko, the ground is hard and barren. In this well-known landscape, Binongko has customary institutions that regulate many things on the island, including environmental matters.

La Rabu Mbaru, a person from Binongko, shared with me the description of the traditional institution in Binongko commonly referred to as Sarano wali Binongko.

"*There are three customary areas in Binongko,*" the man who is more familiarly called Rabu opened the chat. First, there is the traditional area of *Lakina wali*, which is commonly called *Sarano wali*. Second, *bonto papalia* area held by Lakina representatives in the villages. The last one is *jou palahidu*. In ancient times, all these territories were governed in Wali -now Wali Village. So, if there was a problem in *bonto* or *jou*, then everything would be resolved in the Wali as the center of government.

"*Perhaps if we consider the administrative area today, this man is like holding a regency area. Bonto is a sub-district, and jou may be a village, that's the system in rough*," La Rabu explained.

Di jaman dulu, pemilihan para pimpinan *bonto* dan *jou* tidaklah jauh-jauh dari lingkungan keluarga *lakina wali.* Misalnya saja ketika cucu *lakina wali* yang keempat diutus dan 'dikasih kawin' di *papalia* sebagai *bonto* yang pertama. Ada pula cerita yang mengisahkan anak *lakina wali* lainnya yang diutus ke *jou palahidu.* Penunjukan anggota keluarga *lakina wali* di masa itu dianggap mampu menjaga ketentraman di masyarakat.

In the past, the selection of *bonto* and *jou* leaders was close to male guardian family. For example, when the fourth wali's grandson was sent and 'given to marry' in *Papalia* as the first bonto. There is also a story that tells of another guardian son who was sent to *jou palahidu*. The appointment of a family member at that time was considered capable of maintaining peace in society.

"Perhaps if we consider the administrative area today, this man is like holding a regency area. Bonto is a sub-district, and jou may be a village, that's the system in rough,"

"*In Binongko there are still areas where it is forbidden to take fish and coral because these points are fish spawning areas. And it is protected by custom,*" La Rabu continued the discussion about the marine spaces surrounding Binongko.

"Anyone who violates the rules by taking fish and coral in the prohibited area will be condemned to be affected by a disaster," stated the written regulation referred to by La Rabu. This prohibition is commonly referred to as *kaombo*. *Kaombo* area covers more than two hectares. The location is in Mbara-Mbara, Wali Village. In practice, it is the Sarano Wali who is in charge of supervising the Kaombo, where the Sarano Wali is led by a person called a Lakina wali.

Lakina wali means the representative of the sultan of the Buton kingdom in Binongko. Talking about Binongko or

Wakatobi in general, we really can't let go of their historical story which is very closely related to the Buton kingdom. As a representative of the sultan, if at one time there were traditional events and the sultan of Buton could not attend, then his presence was represented by a wali. Usually, *Lakina wali* wears a traditional dress called *mbero mbero* with a fan-like headdress attached to the top (head). But when there is a sultan, the part that resembles a fan must be opened.

Within the structure of *Sarano Wali* traditional institution, there are many areas under the leadership of *Lakina Wal*i. La Rabu patiently explained to me one by one the parts of traditional institutions, along with their duties and functions in society.

*Lakina agama*is the first part he mentioned. Inside it is filled by several people who serve as prayer leaders (imam), sermon readers (khatib), drum beaters before prayer time and take care of the affairs of death (modim). Then, the second part which both contain the name 'lakina' is the position as a manangi or youth section.

"*The next is 'pangalasa,' whose job is to open traditional events*," La Rabu continued. Not only that, pangalasa is also a companion of the Lakina wali. Later, this pangalasa will divide the institutional tasks. The body of the pangalasa is divided into several parts. La Rabu then asked me to write down the parts of the pangalasa he wanted to mention carefully.

Pande buri basa is the first part he mentioned. In interpretation *'pande'* means'those who are experts,'then'buri' is 'write,' and *'basa'* is 'read.' *Pande buri basa* means someone who writes. *"Today, it might also be called a clerk"* he added. The next second I then knew that the clerk of Sarano Wali was currently held by La Rabu. He laughed loudly when he told me that he was a *pande buri basa.*

One by one La Rabu mentioned the other parts while briefly explaining the function of their existence.

"Pande Bahangka is a boat expert. Those who are good at making boats. Those who are good at making houses are called *pande ka ana,"* he explained.

Not only *modim* assigned for death, there are also modim on duty before the birth of a baby is also regulated in traditional institutions. *Pande sando* fills this section, a position that is currently required to work closely with midwives. "In the past, people who gave birth did not go to the hospital, instead they were given drinking water that had been blown (given prayer) by *Pande Sando*, they could immediately give birth," he recalled.

Lakina wali means the representative of the sultan of the Buton kingdom in Binongko. Talking about Binongko or Wakatobi in general, we really can't let go of their historical story which is very closely related to the Buton kingdom.

Tradisi 'tiup' ini tidak hanya berlaku untuk mereka yang hendak melahirkan. Orang-orang

sakit hingga mereka yang dianggap kesurupan juga ditiup agar bisa sembuh. Tugas ini dipegang oleh *pande kombi*, situkang obat atau tukang tiup.

This 'blowing' tradition does not only apply to those who are about to give birth. People who are sick to those who are considered possessed are also blown so they can recover. This task is held by the *pande kombi*, the medicine man or the blower.

A few seconds later there was only silence, before he finally resumed his explanation.

"Pande Lelei is a news reporter like a public relations officer. Pande ngaji is an expert on religion or the Koran. Pande tereka is a master cook who knows how much to cook for so many guests," La Rabu continued.

Pande mantoroka often works with *Pande lelei* and often works together. "*He (pande mantoroka) usually arranges the distribution of rice, meat, whatever, when there are guests at a celebration. The principle is that even if you get a little, as long as everyone is full and evenly distributed,"* he said. Pande mantoroka's prowess in managing staple foods is expressed by an expression, "*Unless the sand runs out on the beach, the food doesn't run out."*

Pande manari or art experts concludeLa Rabu's story about the pandes in Binongko's guardian structure.

Now it's time to move on to *cungguno* or 'guard' section. *Cungguno pasi* is the first one La Rabu mentioned. He is at the forefront of guarding coral reefs and the sea in Binongko . The rules and supervision of kaombo are also under *cungguno pasi*. *Kaombo* is considered sacred to the Binongko people. People who deliberately fish there are often affected by disasters. "The Almighty is watching, so don't even try; there have been incidents (caused by disasters) because of it," La Rabu explained.

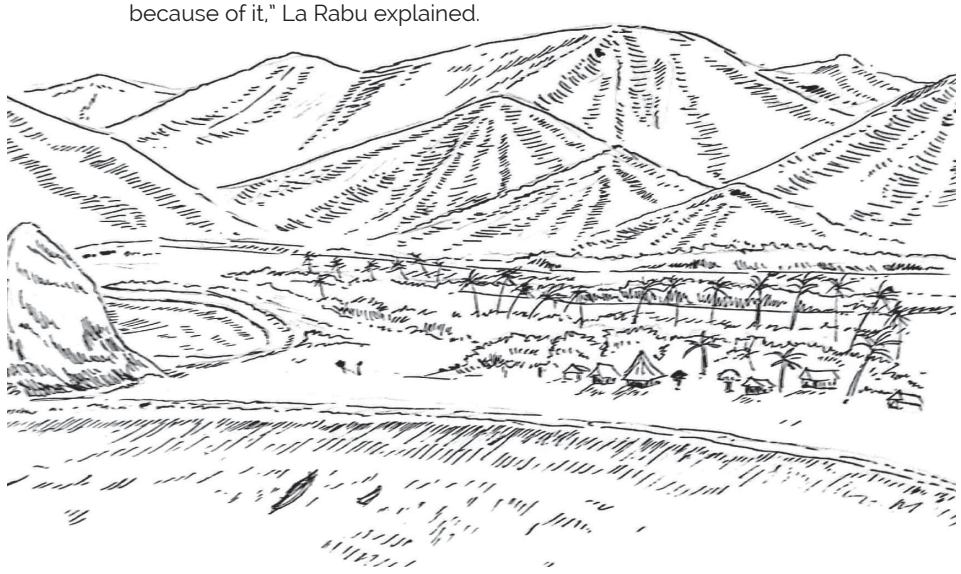


Figure 3 : Sea view

La Rabu aacknowledged tat people of Binongko has known the rules and have not violated the kaombo provisions. Those who often violate are 'immigrants' or fishermen outside Binongko and Wakatobi. "*There are many immigrants who come to try from outside, not our people*," he concluded.

In addition to the rules not to take marine products in prohibited areas, the use of dangerous fishing gear is also completely prohibited in the waters of Binongko which is a conservation area of Wakatobi National Park.

One of the locations where naughty fishermen use dangerous fishing gear is often found in Karangkoko. La Rabu said that Karangkoko is Wakatobi's fish store. This condition made a lot of people from outside to bomb fish there. As a result, many corals in Karangkoko are bleached and even destroyed. Finally, two months ago, La Wednesday heard the news that the national park had arrested fishermen who violated the rules of Karangkoko.

Apart from those who guard the sea area, *cungguno liwu*, also known as *pajore*, is a village guard or security guard in a populated area. The word "*Liwu*" means "country" or "village."

Cungguno maranggo or forest ranger is what La Wednesday will further mention. There are several points of forest that are protected by Sara (re: Sarano Wali) as is the case in the marine area in Binongko. Protected forests include *lapungga* or wood/wild forest, and *tongke'* or *mangge-mangge* which means mangrove forest. One of the protected mangrove points in Binongko is located on Yoro Beach, Wali Village. This beach is one of the famous beaches for its beauty, located right in the southeastern part of Binongko Island which is directly opposite the Banda Sea.

"The mangroves here (at Yoro Beach) are different from other areas. Here, mangroves grow in the lake in the middle of the beach," La Rabu then offered to send me pictures of the natural state of Yoro Beach so I wouldn't be curious.

Figure 4 : Mangrove forest / yoro beach

Furthermore, *cungguno ngapa* was another he discussed. "He is a coast guard who is now more commonly referred to as a syah bandar," he explained.

Lately, indeed, many parts of Sarano Wali have changed their names for adjusting to the times. Those who are in charge of the finance department or refer to the sentence La Rabu, "in charge of holding Sara's money," have also been called treasurers. In the past, this section had the name *cungguno ruru*. Even though the name has changed, the duties of the cungguno ruru are still the same; collect customs-related fees.

On Binongko Island there are some forts left by the past. People here used to call it *bette*. According to La Rabu's statement, there is a part of the traditional institution that guards the *bette*. They are called *cungguno bente* or fort guards. There are about 15 forts spread across Binongko.

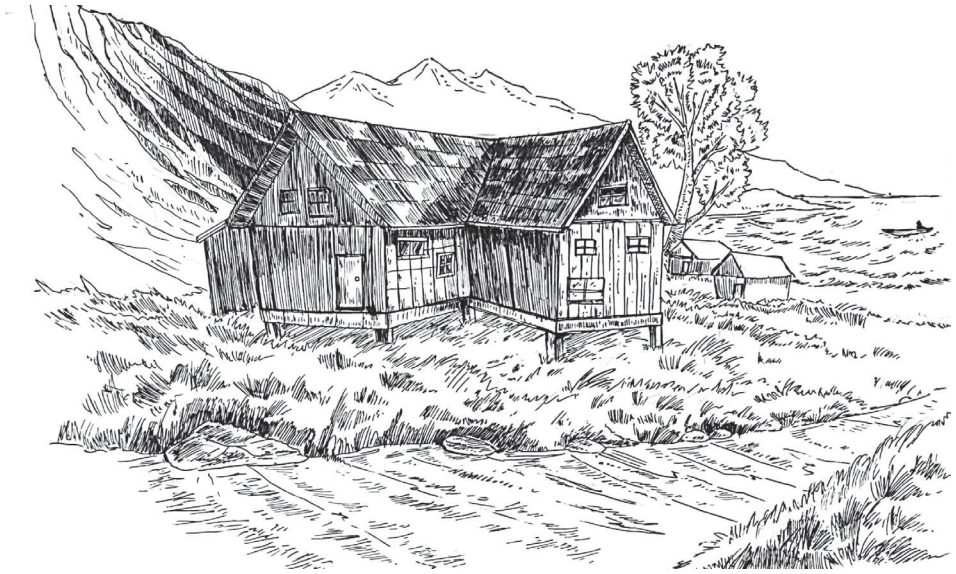


Figure 5 : Fortress, custom home (baruga)

Not only forts, in Binongko there is also a traditional house whose main function is to hold traditional deliberations. This house is often called the *Baruga*. *Cunggono baruga* is part of the Sarano Wali who looks after the *Baruga*.

In addition to physical forms such as forts, forests, seas, and traditional houses, there are also those who serve as *cungguno pake*, or cultural guardians. This position is usually filled by those who know the ins and outs of culture and customs in the village. For example, the case of lineage and the level of 'caste' in society which is divided into several parts, such as La *Ode*, *Sirimbona*, and *Papara*.

From the row of positions in the body of Binongko's trusteementioned by La Rabu, there are no special rules or bodies in traditional institutions that

focus on dealing with waste problems. According to him, this field does require collaboration from various parties, not only traditional institutions. And he admits that for now, waste management in Binongko is still poor.

"There was once a garbage collector who sent garbage to Bau Bau, but because the price was cheap, people were not interested in collecting garbage. So, there is still a lot of garbage scattered on the beach," he said..

In Binongko, household waste is usually taken to the garden and used as fertilizer. This activity is carried out long before people increasingly used plastic. In the past, people in Binongko or Wakatobi generally used banana leaves to wrap food before finally getting plastic in. When plastic is used and people are still using the process of disposing of waste in the same way as before, it is no longer relevant. La Rabu said, "*Plastic waste turns out to be toxic because it can't be damaged by bacteria.*"

The existence of plastic waste is a problem of modern life. Its existence seems to be separated from traditional issues regulated by traditional institutions such as Sarano Wali Binongko. When discussing the rules for managing coastal areas from the perspective of local customary institutions, the issues discussed are not far from the prohibition of taking marine products in certain areas or the prohibition of using certain types of fishing gear. The problem of waste, which is now the biggest threat to coastal areas, has failed to be strictly regulated by traditional institutions.

Similar things are found on Kaledupa Island. On this island, the functions of traditional institutions, better known as *Barata Kahedupa*, are still alive. Within its institutional structure, *Barata Kahedupa* is led by a *miantu'u kahedupa*, a position that can only be occupied by the *Kaumu*.

According to La Ode Sariu- the public relations officer and leader of the Kadie Laulua *Barata Kahedupa* customary area- *Barata Kaledupa* is the unification of the Sultanate of Buton. Previously, *Barata Kahedupa* was a Kahedupa Kingdom consisting of small kingdoms with the name sara sara fungka. In the past, *Sara Fungka* was led by a king called *Henan Kara*. Since holding the Buton Kingdom, *Barata Kahedupa* still has the freedom to regulate his own territory, like the state system in modern government. *Barata Kaledupa* then has the responsibility to regulate the general government in the *Kahedupa* area, both land and sea areas.

The problem of waste, which is now the biggest threat to coastal areas, has failed to be strictly regulated by traditional institutions.

Among the surrounding large islands, Kaledupa marine area has complete marine ecosystems ranging from mangroves, seagrass, to coral reefs. All three are very dominant in Kaledupa. On land, Kaledupa is also fed by fresh

water, which when compared to the surrounding islands, the existence of fresh water is more difficult because there are no small rivers like in Kaledupa. River banks in Kaledupa are traditionally regulated not to be privately owned and functioned as buffers. The flow of these small rivers will eventually flow to the sea.

At sea, *Barata Kahedupa* has the authority to supervise the use of marine space from four meters from the shore to the deep waters. There is an area called *namonusara* which can be managed by the community at certain times, for example every six months. *Namo* means lagoon. Later, there will be *naeri* or retribution for those who use these spaces.

In addition to the regulations on utilization areas, there are also forbidden areas for marine products to be taken. I learned about one of these areas from Fathul. He said, there is a place called *Lente'a*, the island next to Kaledupa which is still part of Barata Kaledupa. From what Fathul heard through his parents' stories, there used to be a place to get fish for *Lakina Kelaedupa*. In the era when people in Fathul's father and mother's generation were young, taking fish there was no longer prohibited. *"Maybe in accordance with the male role which is no longer significant,"* said Fathul.

Her mother told her that in *Lente'a* there was a *kukure* (sea urchin) which was so big that the eggs overflowed. *Kukure* with such conditions exist throughout the season. "*When my mom went rowing, she could see there were so many fish lying down like they were sleeping. My uncle also said that if we fish there, 5-10 minutes someone will definitely go up because there are a lot of fish*," said Fathul excitedly.

"When my mom went rowing, she could see there were so many fish lying down like they were sleeping. My uncle also said that if we fish there, 5-10 minutes someone will definitely go up because there are a lot of fish,"

The sea richness invites ignorant hands who ignore common interests in the use of marine resources. Barata Kaledupa then came to arrange these kinds of things. Usually, violators will face three stages of guilt (sanctions); light, medium, and heavy. In severe cases, they will be fined *porboka*, which is a punishment that is regulated according to a customary agreement. These three stages of error apply to natural resource violations both at sea and on land.

Not only stand alone in fortifying spaces on land and sea, these traditional institutions also synergize with government agencies and conservation institutions such as the Wakatobi National Park Office, the local Marine and Fisheries Service, to WWF Indonesia. The roles of management and utilization of marine and coastal areas in Wakatobi are also enlivened by local institutions filled by the Wakatobi community.

In Kaledupa there is a Forkani or Kahedupa Toudani Forum. It is a Kaledupa community self-help forum that was formed in the early 2000s as a response to the problems that the Kaledupa community is currently facing. Over time,

Forkani is currently engaged in carrying out activities around environmental conservation, education, tourism, social culture, health, advocacy, and the economy.

In an online meeting, Mursiati, a member of Forkani, explained that currently there are two challenges in managing natural resources in Kaledupa. First, the existence of indigenous peoples such as Barata Kahedupa in the eyes of local governments.

"Does the MHA (Customary Law Community) get a place in the RPJP3K? If there is, how can this MHA encourage the provincial government?" Mursiati said.

According to her, this is a formidable challenge when people manage coastal areas and need local government legalization. The second challenge is the process of inheriting customary law values which are currently considered very difficult to pass down to the younger generation. Of the many challenges that exist, Mursiati and Forkani see that these two points are the biggest.

Watching Indigenous and Sea from Young Shoots

As one of Kaledupa's youths, Fathul has a different view of seeing the culture and traditional institutions in Kaledupa. For him, nowadays young people don't really have a place in the realm of customary law. From the most basic thing, namely information, Fathul felt that young people did not know where to ask.

"In Kaledupa, we (he and his kinsmen) asked my grandmother. The stories about the customs were then passed down to my mother. But my mother is quite modern-minded, so when asked, she often elaborates what she has been handed down with what her children should do," he explained.

In fact, he really wanted to know how customary rules were interpreted and implemented in the past. "*Children should not go back to the past*," Fathul imitated his mother.

From Fathul's perspective, he sees that in Kaledupa, each family has special abilities, ranging from the ability to treat broken bones (massage), to those who are skilled at making Kaledupa powder. "*There is a composition that only the family knows, including knowledge and prayers*," he said. Knowledge from each of these families is not just passed down. For example, there are young people like Fathul who ask, they will definitely be asked back, "*Which family are you from*?"

If those who ask in one family, then that knowledge can be passed down. *"If you are still a family, you can take knowledge from him,"* Fathul added. The technique of understanding where to ask questions and about what knowledge can be derived, it is not clearly explained. These kinds of things often trap Fathul in confusion.

The community structure in Kaledupa as in Buton includes *kaumu, walaka, papara*, to *batua*. Each of these layers in carrying out their duties and has their own grip. That was why when a young person came from an unsuitable layer,

they would be more constrained when asking questions. "*If something goes wrong, the family name can be affected*." he said grinning.

Fathul admits that until now he himself has not been able to map the patterns of inheritance of knowledge between families. As a young man who is currently pursuing a master's degree in history, he feels that he wants to explore the history and culture of his village, Kaledupa more.

When young people are considered to be one of the problems in efforts to preserve adat in Kaledupa, as a young person in Kaledupa, Fathul feels that this statement is not entirely wrong, but it is not entirely true either.

"We are the second generation who no longer see how the custom works in Kaledupa. First, he needs a structure, legitimacy, or traditional apparatus behind it," *Fathul asserted. He continued that in the era when his generation was born and grew up, those things no longer worked. If traced, the existence of traditional institutions in Kaledupa was in the time of his father.*

"Most importantly, if we ask, 'why is it difficult to pass it on to the younger generation?' The answer is yes, because custom is no longer visible on the surface like it used to be," concluded Fathul

Policies during the Old Order and New Order administrations influenced the existence of traditional institutions in Indonesia, including Wakatobi. La Rabu Mbaru once said, "*Our customs once sunk*." He said that the weakening of traditional institutions in Binongko was in line with the weakening of the Buton Sultanate. In 1960 when Sultan Muhammad Fahili Qaimuddin died, the central government forbade a successor to the sultan which later became the culmination of the loss of customary institutions.

Five years later, in 1965, the government established *Desapraja* through Law Number 19 of 1965 concerning *Desapraja* as a Transitional Form to Accelerate the Realization of Level III Regions throughout the Republic of Indonesia. Although the process did not work, the rules aimed at uniforming the form of government are increasingly marginalizing traditional institutions.

"We are the second generation who no longer see how the custom works in Kaledupa. First, he needs a structure, legitimacy, or traditional apparatus behind it,"

During the New Order era, the government issued Law Number 5 of 1979 concerning Village Government. With the same goal as the formation of desapraja --to homogenize the lowest level of government structure-- this rule has implications for the existence of traditional institutions such as *Sarano Wali Binongko* to *Barata Kahedupa*.

La Rabu continued, since then the *kelakian* (re: *lakina*) has changed to a system of government called the village. Traditional institutions are getting weaker because what is seen and considered is no longer *lakina wali*, but the village head. During the period when the law came into effect, customary institutions could no longer optimally implement

the rules that had previously been mutually agreed upon within the community, including those relating to the use of marine resources.

Several years after Wakatobi blossomed as a district, many efforts began to revive traditional culture and institutions. "*Since 2008 it has been developed. Our culture already exists, right? But resurrected*," recalled La Rabu.

There is a moment called *kariya'a wali ajamani*, which is an event to commemorate the entry of Islam on Binongko Island which entered around the 15th century. As the name suggests, *'ajamani'* which means eight. This commemoration is held every eight years. That moment later became a turning point for the revival of traditional institutions in Binongko. This incident also occurred not long after the issuance of Law No. 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, which states that indigenous peoples must be guaranteed their involvement in every process of spatial planning. This law is also referred to as the momentum for the return of the rights of indigenous peoples.

According to La Rabu, one of the biggest challenges in reviving customs is the issue of passing on knowledge to the younger generation. But slowly, the older generations give an understanding that reviving traditional institutions does not mean going back. In the beginning, these young people often said, "*What is that? It's oldish, do we want to go backto the past?*" La Rabu imitated.

"We told them that if not everything behind it is bad. We are born from behind, from the previous person. We tell them how the old people used to live," said La Rabu.

The process of reviving the existence of traditional institutions is not easy, especially when calculating the long vacuum. Those who from birth have not had time to feel the existence of traditional institutions - such as Fathul and those who are called the younger generation - certainly need time to adjust.

La Rabu then introduced me to La Ode Ikhwanus Safaa, a 32 year old Binongko youth who since 2015 has been appointed as *manangi mangi*. As previously explained by La Rabu, Lakina Manangi is part of the structure of Binongko's trustee who is in charge of youth affairs. This position is a representation of youth representation in traditional institutions.

"Since 2008 it has been developed. Our culture already exists, right? But resurrected,"

"As the young generation who will become the successors, of course, it is important to take part in taking part in society, including traditional institutions. Every decision and policy taken by traditional institutions, youth always take part and involve themselves. Starting from the planning process, decision making, to the action," Ikhwanus explained.

Formally, the representation of youth in Binongko trustees is 30%. However, informally youth also play a role. Outside traditional

institutions, youth participate in overseeing every policy through institutions outside traditional institutions, such as youth organizations, SPKP (Rural Extension Centers), to FONEB (Binongko Fishermen Forum).

Ikhwanus acknowledged that as a youth representative in traditional institutions, he faced two major challenges. The first comes from the element of youth itself. He sees that there are still many young people who are apathetic towards traditional institutions, even some of them who are members of youth organizations sometimes make programs that do not heed the decisions of traditional institutions. What the Ikhwanus sees as a tendency to 'disobey' is the result of differences of opinion among young people.

"The second challenge is the challenge from outside: parents and society," Ikhwanus continued. He sensed that there was still a lack of trust from the elderly towards young people. In addition, the current of modernization is also often difficult to adjust to the traditional perspective.

As a *lakina manangi* he expecteda greater portion of the authority to make customary policies through separate programs. Ikhwanus imagines that one day young people in traditional institutions can realize a youth program that has full support from traditional institutions, the government, and the whole community. For now, the movement of young people in traditional institutions is limited to how they input the programs proposed by the older generation.

The existence of young people like the Ikhwanus in traditional institutions is fresh air for the process of reviving the structure of traditional institutions that had been suspended. The classic problem, such as clashing views about who does not trust and who does not want to be inherited, is still visible. But what really matters is how these two groups are aligned to accommodate the provisions of customary institutions in the realm of government. As Mursiati said, "*Our culture depends on the sea and mangrove forests which are managed by indigenous peoples*." This means that the rules of customary institutions must continue to be guarded until their existence is truly recognized.

The Remaining Sailors

Talking about the sea and everything that accompanies it, it would not be complete without including the stories of fishermen whose lives depend on the sea. Regarding the fishermen, La Rabu said, currently there are still many Binongko people who are still fishermen. "*In the past, I used oars, now I use machines aided by the government or personal belonging*," he said.

The fishermen he knows do not only operate on the coast, but also in faraway places such as skipjack and bagang[2] fishermen. Many Binongko people go to sea as far as Aru and Dobo, about 1,700 km away from Wakatobi waters. This long distance has made Binongko known for having tough sailors.

2 Bagang or bagan is a fishing tool that uses nets and lights, so it can be used for light fishing (light fishing method). Usually, bagang is used to catch marine products that are not too large, such as small fish, squid, to shrimp

"That's the life of the Binongko people. They can send their children to school because their life is like that," said La Rabu.

The fishermen operating in the waters of Aru use fishing gear from coconut leaves and bamboo that they made in Binongko. When the season comes, coconut leaves are usually dried on the streets around the village. On the other hand there are usually several people building ships.

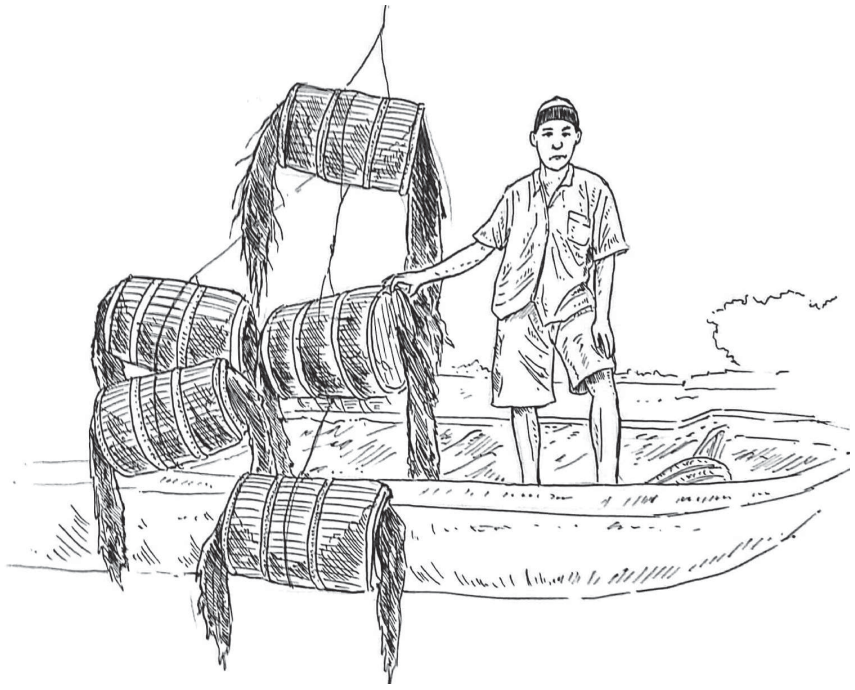


Figure 6 : Egg catcher of flying fish

One of the rows of sun-dried coconut leaves belongs to La Rum. La Rum has been a fisherman for decades. The man who was born in 1971 began to go to sea at the age of 24 years. His family is a fishermen family. Occasionally he goes to sea to the waters of Irian, but mostly in Aru because the base for collecting catches is in Dobo, the capital of the Aru Islands Regency, Maluku.

On each day of departure for Aru, he and five other people use a privately owned boat. They often start their journey in the third month or March. The trip from Binongko to Aru will take four days and four nights. The Banda Sea, which is known to be fierce, is the route they take. "*From Binongko, we go straight to the east, the direction of latitude six*," he explained.

For six to eight months they wander around the waters of Aru, collecting catch. In October or November, then they return to Binongko with the results of months of sweat on the ocean.

"There (Aru) we live on the ship," he said.

Now, their main catch is flying fish roe, and occasionally La Rum and his friends also look for 'fins.' The fins he refers to here refer to shark fins.

While some types of sharks are a reserve catch that La Rum occasionally takes, there are also certain species that they do not take. Apparently, the untaken sharks have a story of their own. If there is a time when a large shark that even rivals the size of the ship's hull and deliberately comes over to the fishing boat, for the Binongko people, the shark is giving a sign.

"This is a bad omen for the parents in the village, or the family," La Rum went on to explain other characteristics of the harbinger of the harbinger apart from size. Usually, sharks that are not taken and are a bad omen for the people of Binongko are called 'star sharks.' One tail has a large body, on the top of them there are white spots. The type of shark referred to by La Rum is generally better known as the whale shark or *Rhinocodon typus.*

Whal shark is the largest fish species in the world. Decree of the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries No. 18 of 2013 concerning the Determination of Full Protection Status for Whale Sharksstates[3] that this shark species is a fully protected fish species. The waters of eastern Indonesia are often the migration route for whale sharks. Unfortunately, their numbers in the wild are decreasing due to frequent bycatch[4] by fishermen because of their large size but slow movement.

Besides being protected by national regulations, whale sharks have previously been included in Appendix II of CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). Appendix II category means this species is not threatened with extinction, but will be threatened with extinction if trade and capture continue without being protected by regulations. In addition to being listed in CITES, whale sharks are also on the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) red list with the vulnerable category. Long before whale sharks were categorized as near-extinct, the Binongko people believed not to catch them, and even hoped not to meet whale sharks in the sea.

If there is a time when a large shark that even rivals the size of the ship's hull and deliberately comes over to the fishing boat, for the Binongko people, the shark is giving a sign.

La Rum's work in the Aru Sea is an integral part of the patron-client relationship between the owner of the capital and the fisherman. "*There, we have a boss. We are handled by the boss*," La Rum tried to explain how the relationship worked so far. Once upon a time he and his friends lacked the capital to go to Aru. He immediately connected the telephone line from Binongko to Dobo. On the other side, the boss he was

3 Directorate of Conservation and Biodiversity, Director General of Marine Spatial Management, Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. KKP Designates Whale Shark (Rhincodon typus) as a Protected Fish. accessed via: https://kkp.go.id/djprl/kkhl/article/3303-kkp-tetapan-hiu-paus-rhincodon-typus-as-ikan-yang-dilindungi on December 24, 2020

4 a term in the world of fisheries that refers to by-catch/not the main fishing target.

referring to received a call and moments later an agreement was born between the two; La Rum can still go to Aru with the help of their boss.

In addition to capital matters, those who are called by the boss will also take care of where the catches of fishermen like La Rum will end up. This kind of capital and catch collection system, as far as he knows, has been around for a long time. *"We can also change bosses. For example, we don't like the first boss, we can change to another one,"* he explained.

When it's in season, in the Aru Sea he doesn't only meet fishermen from Binongko and its surroundings, he also often meets fishermen from Riau. *"There were so many people from all over the place. There were also a lot of those Chinese ships."* La Rum says, in the best seasons for fishing, Aru is suddenly bustling like a city floating on the ocean.

Large ships usually carry out fishing with a contract system. But this system does not apply to La Rum which has a private boat. His ship is GT 20 (cargo capacity is about 20 tons). Several years ago, this ship was built on Kelang Island, one of the islands in the West Seram Regency, Maluku.

The length of time for La Rum to remain at sea for a period of time depends on the catch he collects. The more he and his friends earn, the longer they will be at sea.

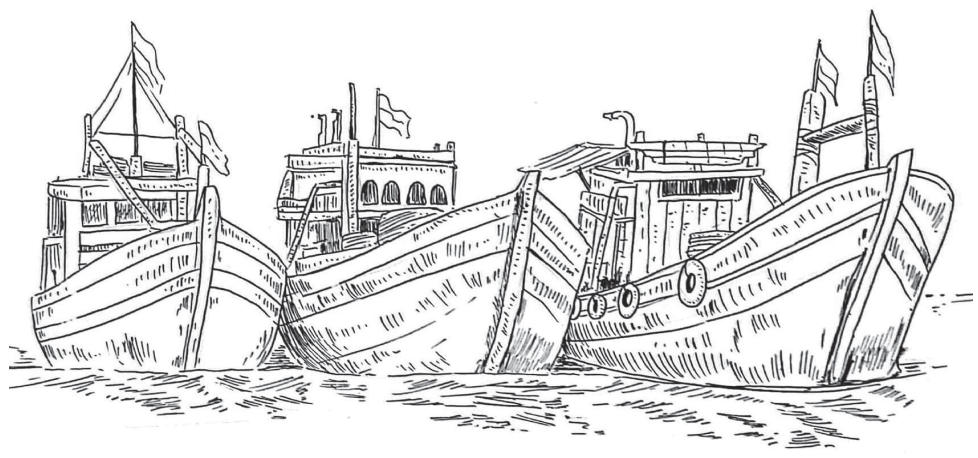


Figure 7 : Fishing boats

He told me that the sales of the catch also occasionally fluctuate. For shark fins, their selling price depends on the dollar exchange rate because this commodity is later exported. The fins are sold at a basic price according to the size of the fins. "*Size 40 is priced at 1,300,000 per one kilo, that's super. In the Super A category, the price is 1,500,000 to 1,600,000*," he explained. La Rum's revenue used to be better in the fins, but now it's the other way around. His biggest incomeis from flying fish eggs.

Flying fish eggs have a base price of 300,000 per kilo. Usually, once a month they go to the city to deposit the results. In one month, if the luck is good, they can get flying fish eggs up to almost a ton. Sometimes they only get 300 kilograms in a month. Mostly 500 kilograms is the amount they carry most often.

For fins, in a month the total rupiah generated is in the hundreds of thousands. According to La Rum, even though it's less than a kilogram, this figure is good.

"There are some bosses here, but there are not as many reef fish here as in Aru," La Rum describes the condition of the waters around Wakatobi. In addition, the quality of catching flying fish eggs in Aru is also very good, especially when it is in season. According to him, the right time to look for bright fish eggs peaks in July. *"Usually from the fourth month there are results, but the peak is in the seventh month,"* said La Rum, who is more accustomed to mentioning the order of a month than the name of the month itself.

In contrast to flying fish eggs which enter peak yields in July, hunting for shark fins is best done from August to October. So usually, November to February is the month in which many Binongko fishermen 'go home.'

For nearly eight months at sea, the weather in the months of high winds is a challenge that La Rum and his friends experience. Usually when they are at sea and strong winds come, then for approximately three days, their search process at sea will be disrupted.

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Their catch will be divided by ten. The ship gets four parts (four people), plus another six parts for each fisherman who goes to sea on the same boat. *"For example, if you get 100 million, it means that each one gets 10 million."* La Rum calculated.

Coconut leaves and bamboo are the two important components that help La Rum collect flying fish eggs. *"The smooth part of the coconut leaf is taken, the bones are opened, the branches are also opened so that they are light when dried in the sun,"* he explained. Apparently, in December when he returned home, the leaves were dry and ready to be used. *"It's ready to go, just take the bamboo,"* he said when contacted in December.

These two materials will later be made like a raft. Bamboo sticks serve as bars. Each bamboo will be split one to two meters long, with a width of about two to three fingers of an adult hand. Two whole bamboo sticks are needed to make one raft. Later, these cut bamboo sticks will be tied together and form a rectangular raft. In the middle of the raft, hung dry coconut leaves. These leaves are later snared between two bamboo blades that are three fingers apart. "*We measure on the fingers. Three fingers away,*" La Rum explained.

"When it is finished, the raft will be given to drift into the sea," he continued. Remember, there is a main rope that accompanies the raft, usually made of ten miles of rope.

Usually, La Rum and his friends set up the raft in the morning. While the raft is in place, it looks at sea conditions to determine when is the best time to lift the raft. "*Depends on the number of fish playing.*" If it turns out that at that time the fish are busy, then at 1 pm the raft has been pulled. Three in the morning is the 'late' time to pull the raft.

"We also learn from the people of Makassar, to." He explained that this kind of fishing method was previously learned from Makassar people.

La Rum says that flying fish eggs do have a much higher price than the flying fish themselves. Only occasionally flying fish are taken to be salted (salted). These pickled flying fish are those trapped in the rafts of flying fish eggs. "*If there is no time to take the big ones, then they will be thrown into the sea for nothing,*" he explained. Those who die themselves trapped in the raft show how densely the flying fish eggs are netted on the raft. Hundreds of flying fish can accidentally be caught in one raft.

While at sea, La Rum had difficulty communicating with those on land. He would usually notify the family in Binongko when he went to Dobo to deposit his catch. If you are lucky to get a good signal, communication with people in the 'city' can also be done via all band radio, a large radio set on a ship. This radio acts as an intermediary for communication between him and other fishermen at sea.

"All band radios depend on the antenna. If it is good, it can penetrate the city, " La Rum explained. Good here refers to conditions where the weather is friendly and there is minimal 'provocation' in the radio connection. The first person to call when the radio signal is good is the boss. In that town, the boss also has the same radio to receive the latest news from fishermen like La Rum.

Usually, La Rum and his friends set up the raft in the morning. While the raft is in place, it looks at sea conditions to determine when is the best time to lift the raft. "

Unlike himself and other Binongko fishermen who go to the Aru Sea to hunt for flying fish eggs, fishermen operating in Wakatobi waters mostly look for reef fish and tuna. Some fishermen also catch fish with FADs. When compared, the number of Binongko fishermen who go to Aru and those who decide to fish only around Wakatobi have the same number. "*Half*," La Rum compares.

A few seconds of silence filled our conversation. La Rum was putting together a sentence to close the conversation. *"Nowwe can still go to sea. But if you're old, you can't anymore.*

So this fishing is only for us to get together when we are old," he concluded.

Currently, the agricultural, forestry and fisheries sectors are still the dominant business fields in Wakatobi. This means, jobs like those in La Rum are still the majority. However, although the number is still the main one, the growth rate in this sector in 2019 is slower than other sectors. According to data compiled by BPS of Wakatobi Regency, currently, the increase in growth in Wakatobi is mostly driven by business fields that make up the tertiary or service sector.

La Rum stated the plan for one of his children to go to sea on his next departure to Aru in the third month of 2021. His son is currently 20 years old and has just graduated from high school. He chooses to follow his father to sea because he does not want to continue his education to a higher level. If the child succeeds in going to sea, then we can still hear stories about the reliable sailors of Binongko while we also do not know whether job in this field will continue to be dominant in the future, or vice versa.

II

Tough Sailors from Earthy Coral Island

By Maflahah

THE middle-aged man rushed down under the bridge. He shook the cell phone in his hand and hoped the signal would be good with him. He just called someone on the other side who was vaguely identified as his partner.

The man is La Amursan; a fifty-six years old man whose most of his life was spent inthe sea because of his profession as a fisherman. Every day he fights with the roar of the waves, goes to sea with his comrades, three to four nights venture in the ocean looking for fish, then in the morning he lands with hundreds of kilos of catches.

A local resident named Amursan has been the chairman of Binongko Fishermen's Forum (FONEB) since more than ten years ago. He decided to join this forum in 2007, two years since FONEB was founded. Many people are no longer active in this forum; only the core administrators of no more than 10 remained.

Not manyare willing to join FONEB because there is no incentive. Sometimes they merely join and do not really participate in developing it. Only the chairman, secretary, treasurer, and other departments and facilitators are trusted to assist. However, FONEB always involves the local community to dicussmatters related to marine resources. Residents are invited to discuss, examine problems and find solutions together.

Amursan's humility has become his reason in developing FONEB even though he sometimes feels left behind by advances in technology, especially the pandemic that demands everything online. Anyhow, his enthusiasm never faded to revive FOEB. Amursan tries to build a network and partner with many parties so that FOEB can develop; one of them is the collaboration with Yekan Bali in collecting reef fish data for the last two years.

Broadly speaking, FONEB is in charge of managing fishing regulations and marine resource management. *Sarano Wali* is customary rule that regulates fishing. The traditional area of *Sarano Wali* is an area that prohibits illegal fishing. In addition, FONEB also regulates the use of fishing equipment so as not to damage the environment, marine life and coral reefs.

When the twilight is perfect with its orange color, night comes to greet and the waves rumble loudly, this is time for Amursan to go to the sea. "Fishing" is the word that comes out when question is addressed to him regarding his daily activities. In its true sense this term is to go to sea. He and some of his fellow fishermen go to the sea when the waves were rough and the season

Amursan's humility has become his reason in developing FONEB even though he sometimes feels left behind by advances in technology, especially the pandemic that demands everything online.

is friendly. He has a big boat he calls the body of the boat and he usually used it with a group of fishermen to fish together. He and his partner sail to *Sarano Wali* customary sea area.

Sarano Wali is a system of customary values that functions to regulate the harmonization of the life of the local community. This customary rule also contains *Kaombo* tradition, a prohibition on exploiting natural resources on land and at sea so that the preservation of nature is maintained.

The summary of participatory research conducted by WWF (World Wildlife Fund) Indonesia in 2015 to the community in Wali Village, Binongko Island, shows that the people in this village had a high awareness of nature conservation (jelajah.kompas.id). The local community does adhere to the traditional rules of SaranoWali. "The *Sarano Wali* tradition must continue to be applied so that nature is not damaged, marine products are abundant, and God gives blessings. *Sarano Wali* has been around for a long time and must always be there," Amursan asserted.

The traditional rules of *Sarano Wali* have been enforced since 1950. Along with the times, the rules contained therein have undergone changes and updates. *Sarano Wali's* customary rules which were updated and published in 2013 issued to a number of customary rules which are believed by the community to be able to maintain harmonization of relations between citizens (jelajah. kompas.id). One of the articlesstates "We must not destroy natural resources, both on land and at sea" and "We must use natural resources fairly, both on land and at sea" - Article 1 Paragraph (3) *Sarano Wali* 2013 (explore. kompas.id). This rule is obeyed by Amursan and Binongko residents in general, and applies to fishing activities as well as prohibiting the use of explosive devices that can damage the sea.

In every fishing time, Amursan and his colleagues usually spend three to four nights and when the fourth morning approaches, he lands on the coast and prepares to sell their catch of fish which can reach hundreds of kilograms. Even though he doesn't go to sea every day, his boat never misses hitting the waves and taking turns at sea with other groups of fishermen. There are certain times that even require Amursan and the fishermen to be tossed around in the ocean for months in search of fish. The sea area hunted is not only around Binongko, but wider areas even those with strong currents like Arafuru Sea.

This customary rule also contains *Kaombo* tradition, a prohibition on exploiting natural resources on land and at sea so that the preservation of nature is maintained.

The morning when the boat is docked is a happy time for Amursan and his fellow fishermen. While tiredness is clearly visible on their faces after days and even months collided with the waves in the middle of the ocean and jet-black skin baked by the sun, a feeling of happiness flourish. Fish middlemen are ready with scales and money in hand. They are prepared to pay for the fish caught by the fishermen.

The middlemen used to come from outside the island, but in recent years there have been local middlemen from Binongko. They buy fish from fishermen and distribute them outside the island, such as to Kendari, Baubau, and several other crowded places with the selling price of fish being higher than when they buy directly from fishermen.

Figure 8 : Atmosphere at the harbor. Men, harvesting fish and bustling fish transactions

The prices offered to Amursan and other fishermen vary and are determined based on the type and weight of the fish. For sunu fish, for example, the price can reach 25,000 rupiah per kilogram, while grouper is set at 20,000 or 18,000 rupiah per kilo gram. Sometimes the price of fish offeredtends to be cheap. However, no matter how small the amount of money obtained from the sale of fish, they feel grateful for as a gift from the Almighty.

Sailors like Amursan have a unique character because they are closely related to the activities in the fisheries and marine sector that they do. Socio-economically, the character of coastal communities in Wakatobi is not much different from coastal communities in other places, including theoseof the Java Sea. Their lives depend on nature, especially the sea in their expanse.

According to Amursan, he and other residents who live in Wakatobi are very dependent on what nature provides. His lunge at sea is also not always smooth. There are natural constraints that are often unavoidable by local residents. Seasonal factors, for example, can be an obstacle for fishermen and disrupt household economic stability. But it's all beyond human will because God has arranged it in such a way.

Seasons determine how the wheels of the economy can spin in the life of the Wakatobi people. This is because of the limited facilities and infrastructure for fishing. The tools used by fishermen tend to be traditional and limited. During the sea wave season, all fishermen will be very busy at sea, fish are abundant. However, when the famine season arrives, the frequency of fishing will be rare and that means the income of fishermen will also decrease. Usually, they carry out other economic activities such as gardening and farming with limited types of crops such as cassava and corn that can only live on rocky soil.

Various studies have shown that coastal communities are the people with the lowest welfare level (poor) compared to other communities, especially on land. In fact, they are the poorest group in all countries with the attribute "the poerest of poor" (the poorest among the poor) (Nikijuluw, 2002). The main factor is fishermen's income. When the catch is low, the income is proportional to the catch. This also happens to fishermen in Wakatobi. Sometimes they go to sea and bring up to hundreds of kilos of fish. But when the seasons change, they can return home without any result.

In social relations, fishing communities living on the coast of Wakatobi have strong kinship relations between community members. They are open to fellow citizens or outside their community, except for the Bajo tribe who live in the sea. They are less open to people outside their community, although that's not all. The kinship that exists between members of the coastal community is also seen in economic activities and marine resource management. Catches from the sea are not only for their families but also become a necessity for the wider community.

Social relations are not only intertwined in economic activity. The culture of *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) has existed since our ancestors and continues to be preserved to the date. This is performed when building houses, holding weddings or celebrations, building facilities and infrastructure on the island and so on. This social relationship grows and continues to this day. A form of social capital that will continue to be fought for because this is part of them surviving and facing every challenge at the same time.

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The main occupation of the local community is fishing, but there are other additional sources of income such as garden produce. The level of income in each fishing household will have a role and effect on the level of welfare of their standard of living. Their income will also be oriented towards determining the purchasing power of food and non-food needs such as housing, health, education, and other needs. The average income of fishermen is the result of all incomes for each period divided by the number of periods. In one month, for example, the frequency of fishermen goes to

sea no more than 12 times. So, their income for one month is the total income for 12 fishing trips divided by 30 days. Amursan said the average income in one month is approximately 2,000,000 rupiah. The availability of fishery facilities and infrastructure is also the cause of the level of income differences.

In Wakatobi, fishing activities generally still oriented towards the local market. Most of the fishing equipment and fleets owned by the fishermen are still below the minimum standard. Many fishermen use boat engines under 5 GT and are operated by 2-3 people in one boat. This condition is inversely proportional to the potential of Wakatobi waters which are very potential in the field of fishing and the ship's engine should be used is an engine with a minimum capacity of 30 GT. Large engine capacity will trigger an increase in the number of fishermen's catches and have an impact on increasing fishermen's income.

Season is also a determinant of the income of fishermen in Wakatobi. In the world of fisheries and fishermen's life, there are three seasons, they are strong wave season, transition season, and weak wave season. The productivity level of fishermen is greatly influenced by this condition. When the season is transitioning and famine and the waves are weak, it clearly affects the number of fish caught by fishermen.

Binongko is known as the "Coral Island". This is due to the location and area of Binongko Island, which is mostly coral soil. It is not the soil surface that contains coral, on the contrary, the coral land contains a small amount of soil. Among other islands in Wakatobi, the infrastructure and facilities on Binongko Island are the most concerning even though this island holds millions of potential marine tourism and historical tourism. A number of places are protected by the traditional *Sarano Wali* rules and are regulated in the *Kaombo* area.

Binongko Island is located on the outermost side of the Wakatobi archipelago and is directly adjacent to the Flores Sea and the Banda Sea, which are vast like endless. In the past, inter-island merchant ships took months to reach this place. This place is rarely visited when the weather is bad, making it difficult to expect supplies from outside. The people of Binongko for generations have inevitably had to develop intelligence and ability to overcome existing limitations.

Pendapatan masyarakat setempat memang utamanya adalah nelayan. Namun ada juga tambahan sumber pendapatan lainnya seperti hasil kebun.

Custom is a very important part in efforts to protect nature. Real sanctions are given to anyone who violates the traditional rules of SaranoWali and the *Kaombo* area. One of the rules states that if there are fishermen or anyone who deliberately takes turtle eggs, each item will be subject to a penalty of Rp. 600,000. Catching dolphins or whales is subject to a penalty of IDR 6,000,000

per head, intentional use of a bomb to catch fish is subject to a penalty of IDR 25,000,000 for each violation. The use of potassium to catch fish is subject to a penalty of IDR 6,700,000 (jelajah.kompas.id).

The strict sanction of the *Sarano Wali* tradition does not only apply at sea but also for residents who take sand and rock cliffs in the *Kaombo,* Yoro Beach and Mbara-mbara Beach areas. Residents who deliberately take sand and rock cliffs in the *Kaombo* area are subject to a sanction of Rp. 6,000,000 per stick. Residents who deliberately hunt all types of birds will also be subject to a penalty of IDR 2,400,000 per head (jelajah.kompas.id).

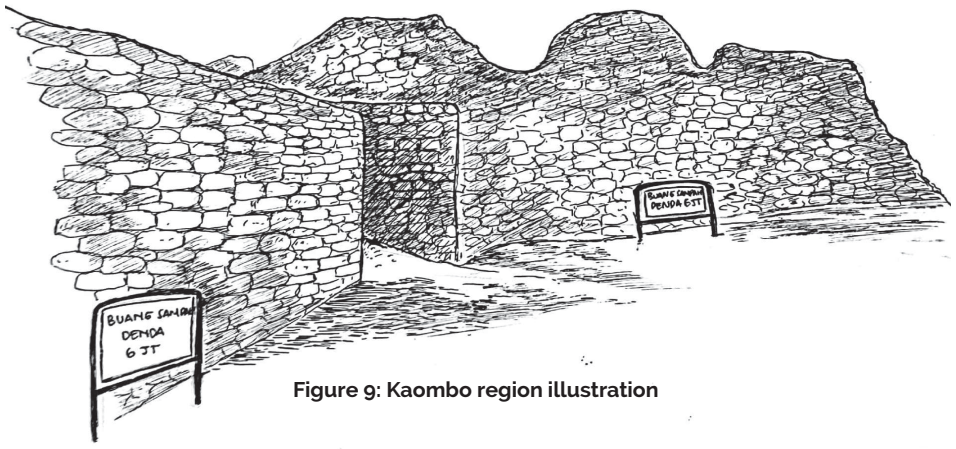

Figure 9: Kaombo region illustration

In the location of the kaombo area that has been determined, the entire community install *Kaombo* boundary signs by sea transportation (jelajah.kompas.id). Amursan stated that the *Kaombo* area is 600 x 200 square meters. This is an area with strict rules and local people must comply. Socialization is carried out with village officials and all residents in order to jointly maintain local wisdom. Marine conservation and biodiversity, natural ecosystems, fish, coral reefs and plants in the waters of Binongko Island cannot be separated from the awareness of each individual to jointly obey the traditional rules of *Sarano Wali*. "Our hope is that nature will remain sustainable and will continue to exist until our children and grandchildren and future generations can enjoy it," said Amursan, dreaming.

Tough sailor

Binongko men are very famous for their prowess in beating the waves of the sea. Limitations make Binongko men a tough fisherman. They go to sea to faraway places to catch high-value marine resources. They are able to read the stars to determine direction, feel the wind propelling their sailboats, see waves and ocean currents and other natural signs that give precise signs of where to fish. In addition, they are able to live in the sea for months or live far from the house for years.

They often go to sea in challenging areas such as the Arafuru Sea in Papua, Dobo Sea in Maluku, and others. Their biggest income is from marine products. The men, including Amursan, took a lot of fish from areas outside Wakatobi. Back when shark fins were still sold and allowed to be taken, the Binongko people were the main hunters. In one night, they can hunt shark fins up to hundreds of pieces. Currently, their income is also supported by the flying fish egg business. The Binongko men make rafts from coconut leaves and the rafts are used for flying fish to lay eggs.

The sea for the people of Binongko is not limited to the Wakatobi waters. For them, the sea is how far they go for fish, no matter what end. The sea is life. When you go to sea at night, the atmosphere in the middle of the sea is like full of stars. The sparkling lights became a bustling atmosphere in the midst of the roar of the waves and the waves echoing each other. Ships sailing with twinkling lights like city lights illuminate the Arafuru sea, the deepest and widest sea in Indonesia and is a sea with very strong and powerful currents.

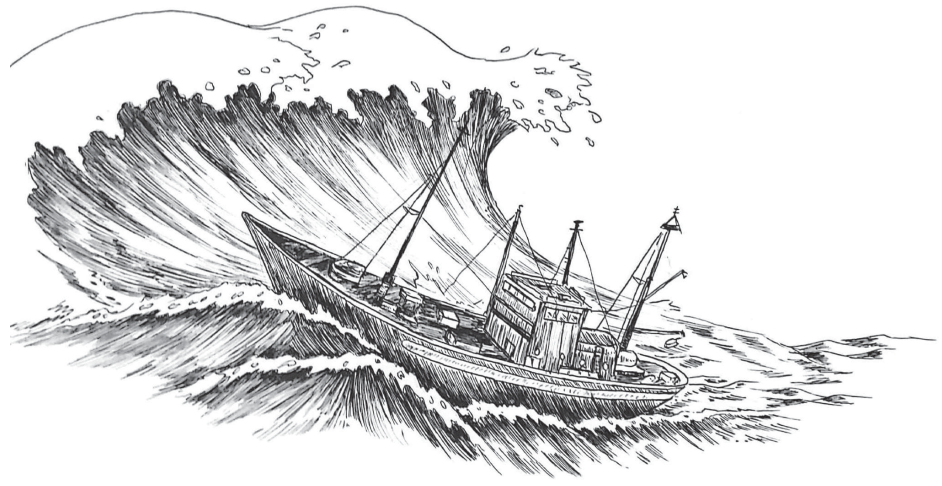

Figure 10: Ships in the middle of the sea

There is no way an ordinary sailor can beat the mighty currents of the Arafuru ocean. Only the great sailors managed to conquer the Arafuru sea. It takes high skills to be able to go to sea and conquer the currents in the middle of the Arafuru ocean. For the Binongko sailors, the Arafuru sea is too ordinary for them. Tens or even hundreds of times they go to sea and fight the wave in the midst of the harsh currents of Arafuru and they came home victorious. The Binongko people can't be doubted about their fishing abilities. "We go to sea and drift in the middle of the Arafuru Sea and come home with abundant catches," said Amursan, chuckling.

In the East, when we mention the origin of Wakatobi, the people who come to mind are Binongko. The fame of Binongko people in maritime affairs is no longer local gossip. Binongko men are sailors who started to enter other areas such as Papua, Maluku, Seram, and other eastern regions.

Binongko does hold great power even though their area is full of limitations. Binongko is full of stories and impressions for its residents. There was a time when the men of Binongko went to fight against the harsh currents and waves in the ocean, the land of Binongko was empty and only women left. These times usually occur when the time to go to sea arrives. Men go to sea in droves and women work in their homes and gardens.

FONEB and the challenges ahead

Amursan's struggle to revive FONEB is very hard to do alone. Fortunately, it has a solid member with a compact administrator. Although in the last few years the management has started to fade due to the issue of management incentives and so on. However, their spirit never dimmed. For example, Akbar, a man born in 1978 who is now the secretary of FONEB.

Akbar is a true fisherman like Amursan. The sea has become a good friend to him. He told me that since childhood he was bornand grew up as a resident of Binongko. His colleagues are fishermen, and so are his neighbors. Some of them are also farmers, but just farming to survive. Planting on rocky soil and must wait for the right season to plant. The agricultural products are not very productive, only for odd jobs. If you want to earn a lot of income, then the choice is to migrate outside the region, whether to Ambon, Batam, Makassar, Papua, and other places.

Almost every day Akbar is involved in the social world, especially in the institutional and activities section at FOEB. He is a fisherman who really cares about FOEB activities. Akbar told about the rules for fishing, territorial waters, fishing gear and other activities arranged in such a way for the benefit of the community. In general, traditional fishermen use environmentally friendly fishing gear in accordance with the prevailing *Sarano Wali* customs. When *meti-meti*, the sea recedes, a lot of women who go down to look for shells and fish. "They catch it with kabombong, a traditional tool made of bamboo with a fishing rod in it," said Akbar.

Binongko does hold great power even though their area is full of limitations. Binongko is full of stories and impressions for its residents.

For Akbar, fishing is a work to support his household. Some of his neighbors are farming and raising goats, but the numbers are few compared to fishermen. Usually, their agriculture is limited to cassava, corn, and other crops that can survive on coral soil. Waiting for the harvest is not long, it can take six months to a year to harvest cassava. Farming activities are mostly done by women. "Here mothers survive by farming, the fathers go out of the island," he added.

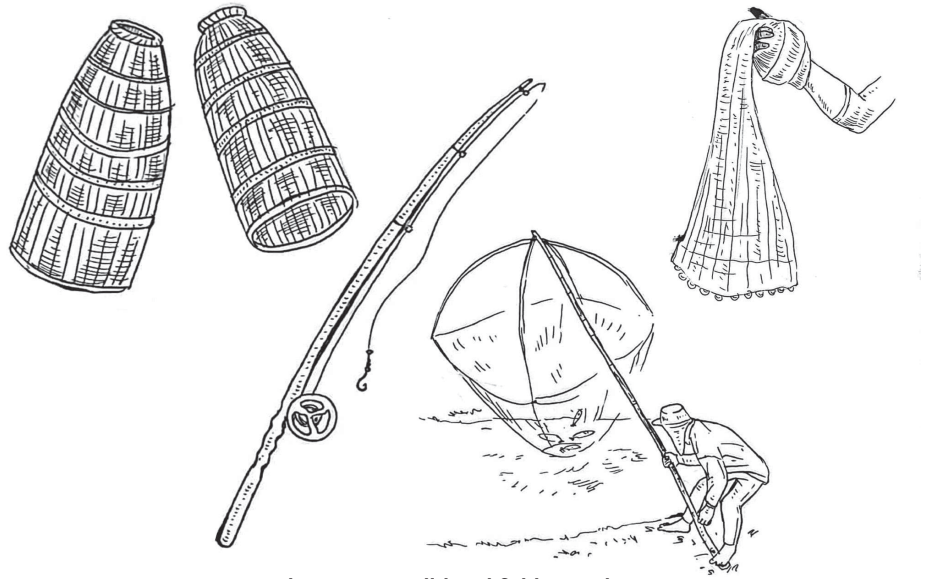

Figure 11 : Traditional fishing tools

In Binongko fishermen are divided into small and large boats. Large boat or often called circle ships usually go to open seas which are full of challenges. They leave at four in the afternoon, spend days at sea, and return in the morning with the catcehes. When the fishing boats docked, women are ready with their combat equipment, a cork box filled with ice. They pack the fish in ice boxes to be shipped and sold outside Binongko Island.

The ice box is one of the problems for fishermen and the people of Binongko. Their catch often cannot be shipped maximally outside the island for sale due to the limited amount of ice. Fish caught will spoil quickly if not refrigerated in an ice box. Ice that serves to preserve fish so that they can last a long time are few in number. This is because ice production on a small scale uses home refrigerators. There are no refrigeration machines or ice-making machines on a large scale. This is often complained of by local fishermen. Fishermen with large ships can only survive three days at sea because the ice supply is limited. As for fishermen with small boats, they go to sea in the afternoon and return in the morning with their catch, which is often an uncertain number.

Middlemen in the waters of Binongko help the fishermen to distribute their catch. "In the past, before there were fish middlemen around the village and the village next door. Fish are sold per bunch, not per kilo. One bunch is 10 thousand, it can contain more than one kilo," said Akbar, remembering how difficult it was before there were fish middlemen. In the past, collectors came from outside the island, but now some local residents have become collectors as well. The middlemen are open 24 hours and there are two collectors in Binongko. The distribution of fish becomes more accessible to many places because of the middlemen.

Strong women

Besides fish fishermen, there are also octopus fishermen in Binongko. Hunting for octopus is adjusted to the season and price. Octopus has its own middlemen. Most octopus fishermen are women who work at *meti-meti*. Women do not sit idly waiting for money from their husbands; Nuraeni and Marwati, for example.

Nuraeni is Amursan's wife. As a wife, she said that she also participated in developing activities in FONEB, especially with fisherwomen. Her main occupation is a housewife and is interspersed with gardening. When the fishing season arrives, Nuraeni peddles the fish caught by Amursan to go around the village or to the villages nearby.

Usually the fish that are sold around are fish that do not pass the sorting at the collectors because the collectors or collectors only take fish that are large in size and of certain types. This is because the main purpose is to sell it outside the island and big cities, so the fish selected must be of good quality. Thus, fish that do not pass the sorting at the collectors will be sold around the village.

In addition to selling fish around the village to villages nearby, these women also try to process fish into products that have more value. "Sometimes we make shredded, crackers, salted fish, and others to sell," said Nuraeni. Processing fish to become shredded and crackers and other processed products requires tools that are not simple. FONEB is the place for them to learn. Usually the activity is carried out when the fishing season arrives because of the abundance of fish.

Marwati is one of the many Binongko women who struggle against the "hardness" of life. She only graduated from junior high school in Binongko. At the age of 18, this woman born in 1972 married and gave birth to a child. The marriage did not last. When his son was two years old, she divorced. Then, she decided to migrate to Ambon, working as a shopkeeper. There, she met La Amir, a man born in Ambon who later became her husband. They got married in Binongko and decided to stay in Marwati's hometown, Wali Village.

The life on the mainland of Binongko faced by the women is just as "hard" as marine life traversed by the men. Marwati referred to the mainland of Binongko as "earthly rock". "More stones than soil. It's like that, water is limited, planting can only be done during the rainy season," she said.

To start cultivating land, they must know when the rainy season arrives. If it is too early, before the rain arrives, the seeds planted will die. On the other hand, if it is too late, after the rain has fallen, they will find it difficult to clear the land and burn the bush waste. The time has to be precise. How do they know? By reading natural signs, such as the growth of moss on the rocks by the beach, bird migration, and the appearance of whales in the sea.

The women of Binongko responded intelligently to the earthy stones in the residents' gardens. They created special farming techniques and tools such as hardwood or iron rods that were pointed at the ends to drill holes in

Figure 12 : Mothers activities of gardening, harvesting garden products, selling fish around the village, and fish derivative products (shredded, kerupuk/ crackers, salted fish)

soil and rock to insert corn seeds. They also make bamboo roofs for growing cassava. During the plant care period, Marwati and the Binongko women also used various creative ways to fertilize the soil and repel plant pests. They get this knowledge not from school, but from responding and adapting to existing limitations.

The harsh conditions of the agricultural land do not always provide sufficient yields to meet the family's needs throughout the year. To cover it, the community uses various wild plants as food raw materials. For Marwati and the women of Binongko, this knowledge is very important to fulfill the need for alternative food sources.

Several types of wild plants are consumed, including *hopa* and *santa*. Some types of hopa and santa are cultivated in the garden, but many also grow wild in the forest. One type of hopa that grows wild is *kambuku*. Kambuku tubers are round and wide, easy to process, just need to be boiled. Marwati blushed when she said the name of this tuber plant. Apparently, the word "*kambuku*" in the local language also means female genitalia.

Local food wealth

Another type of tuber used is *sago*. *Sago* here is not a commonly known type of palm, but rather like a turmeric plant with long tubers like white carrots and lots of fiber. Usually, this *sago* tuber is cooked into *kale* and *papeda*. *Kadese wolao* is another wild plant whose flowers and tuersare also used. This plant is in the form of a large tree and its flowers are like papaya flowers. Its wood is also used as firewood. The taste is bitter, so to reduce the bitter taste, people usually boil it first before sauting it.

Another wild plant in the form tree is *kaukomba*. The tree is large and has a white trunk and its young leaves are used for cooking. It is usually cooked by boiling with coconut milk. A part from the *kaukomba*, other wild plant leaves used by local residents are *kakukurisa*, *hopali*, *tamaluda*, and *terebu*.

Kakukurisa grows creeping and is commonly found in coastal areas. Residents pick young and old leaves to make vegetables with coconut milk. Kakukurisa leaves are poisonous. To process it, the leaves must be washed and squeezed many times until the washing water is clear. If it is still blue, it means that there is still poison left and can cause itching.

Hopali is the name for a banyan tree whose leaf shoots can be used for vegetables. These leaf shoots age quickly so they must be picked quickly. If it is old, the leaves become hard and can no longer be eaten. Usually, *hopali* leaf shoots are cooked in coconut milk or sauteed. "Well, when the hopali leaf shoots are out, the ladies are competing. Oh, it's coming. Search, chase, search in the mountains. Scramble," said Marwati. *Hopali* shoots grow close to the rainy season. So, this tree is often read as a sign of nature. If these leaf shoots come out, it is a sign that the rainy season is about to come.

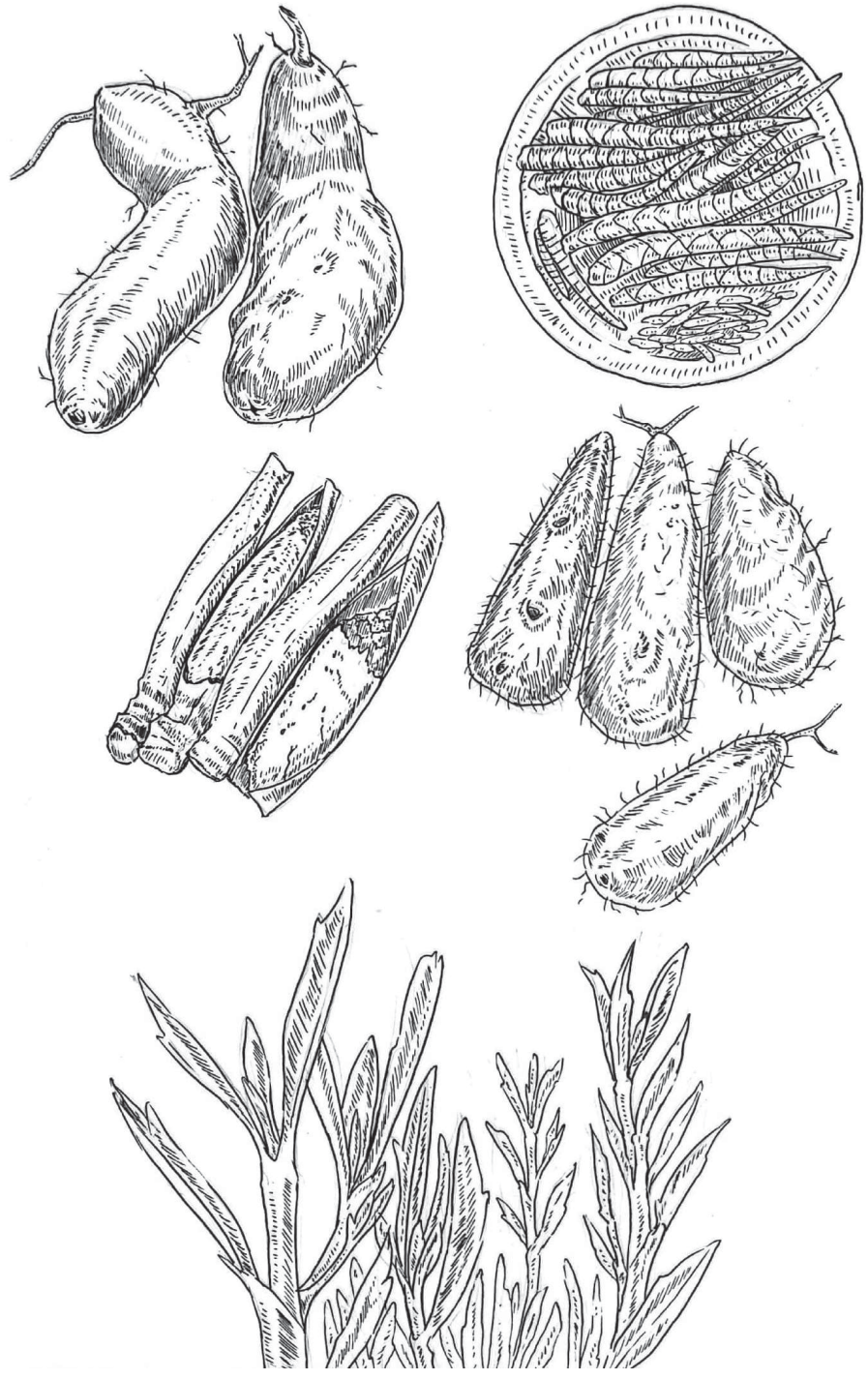

Figure 13 : Types of garden produce

Tamaluda is a one-meter-tall shrub. This plant appears in abundance when the rainy season approaches and its shoots are used. Sugarcane is a creeping plant. Just like *tamaluda*, the shoots are used. This plant lives all year round so it can meet the needs of vegetables in the dry season.

The men and women of Binongko have their respective battlefields. When men struggle hard to beat the waves of the ocean for abundant catches, are willing to leave their wives and families for months, women also struggle on land. They struggle to find a way to survive and manage their family's needs with the help of nature as their best friend.

Even though Binongko is an island with limited facilities here and there, coral reefs that cannot turn wood into plants, this island is charming for its residents, even for Sarpin, a scholar who chose to return home to build his home. This young man from Wali village is a graduate of Economics at Halu Uleo University. He admitted that Binongko has a lot of potential, especially for its waters and maritime areas.

The 26-year-old young man has been fond of fishing since he was a child, only to stop when he was in college. So when he graduated from college, he decided to go home and help build Binongko. He helps manage FONEB with Amursan and Akbar. In addition, he also works on a contract with WWF for fisheries data collection and customary law assistance.

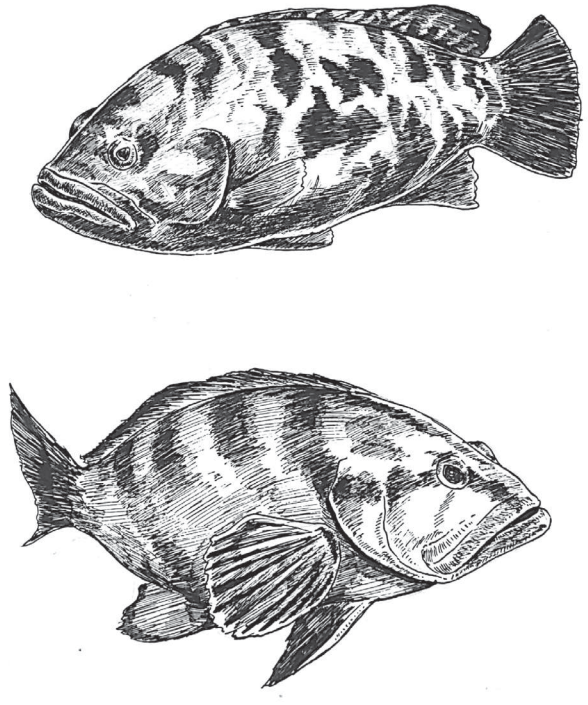

Figure 14 : Grouper, red fish

During the day, he is busy with FONEB and WWF while and at night he goes to sea to look for fish. "I go to sea at night, the results are pretty good. In my opinion, the results of fisherman are quite promising because the fish are abundant. I just love going to sea, it's not my main job," explained Sarpin, starting the story. He went to sea in a canoe with some of his friends, sometimes he was alone. The tool used is still fairly simple in the form of a fishing rod. Once at sea he can get five kilograms of fish and that's more than enough for him. In a week, he usually goes to sea tigs up to four times. The rest is spent on land activities.

There were more than a hundred scholars in the vicinity of his residence. But many of them choose to have a career in the city with all the facilities and conveniences of life available. For Sarpin, returning to his hometown is the heart call. Binongko is a potential area to be managed.

In recent years, the issue of tourism has become more and more intense. The government has asigned Binongko area as one of the national tourism strategic areas. There are two locations that have been determined by the government. Of course, the local community hopes that tourism will involve the community and be able to grow the community's economy. "Currently, the existing tourism has not benefited the community. The local community hopes that if there are outsiders who visit Binongko, the community will also feel the benefits," said Sarpin.

Usually, tourists come to Biongko in one package with the tour guide. They usually have prepared a tour guide from Wanci. The people of Binongko should have been actively involved. "We have no problem with tourism, but it must be community-based tourism," added Sarpin. Several homestays have been prepared by residents to support local tourism so that people can earn additional income. Tourism is still a very long discussion and it has been more than five years that the issue has not yet come to light. The community remains focused on activities and living their daily lives as fishermen.

For Sarpin, Binongko is one with his body and soul. He was determined to participate in developing the region. He is a youth part of change, who becomes a liaison actor for welfare in the midst of conditions full of limitations. He believes that the people of Binongko are strong people under all conditions. Nature has taught many things about the science of life.

The people of Binongko are not those who give up easily with circumstances. They are tough sailors who overcome all limitations. They work hard not just to survive, but to stand tall against limitations. Socio-economic resilience is not just survival. A way to break the perception that has

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developed in our lives that resilience is not just about surviving and not just taking advantage of what is within us and the environment around us.

For the people of Binongko, resilience is about fighting against limitations and looking for opportunities outside their area to save their condition. Their exploration out of Binongko is part of surviving and fighting against limitations. Forever, Binongko will be famous with his nickname as the island of tough sailors from the land of coral islands.

III

Triumvirate of Coral Land: Sea, Music and Dance

By Jofie DB

Part I

you won't be able to see the beach from the window
even with trembling lips
too short as a pain
yet very long as sorrow

That's how Irianto Ibrahim opened one of his poems. The poem was written in 2007 in Buton, Southeast Sulawesi. At first glance, this verse depicts the limitations of a human being who can no longer look at the beach with the admiration that is usually associated with it. This may represent the COVID-19 pandemic situation in 2020 even though this poem was written 13 years earlier. The risk of going to the beach during a pandemic is too expensive, because it can endanger life and that of many people. So why *can't* the subject of this poem *see the beach out the window*? What does Irianto really want to convey in this piece of verse?

The intentions of the famous Southeast Sulawesi poet become clearer after knowing title of this poem, *"Alamat Maut"* (Address of the Death). The title instantly adds to mortality impression. You could say "Address of the Death" is not only a celebration of life but also of death.

Seeing the beach out the window is a metaphor for gazing at a horizon, realizing the blue within. The *beach* and the *sea* are evidence of the inner turmoil of the subject of this poem, and proof that humans are part of nature. *Lips tremble* because life and nature never cease to amaze. *Not being able to see the beach from the window/even with trembling lips* means that life can no longer be maintained and all that is beautiful in life has been lost. *Too short as pain/ too long as grief* is sure to mean death.

M. Syamsul Mubarak, Amirudin Rahim, and La Ode Sahidin from Halu Oleo University Kendari interpret "Address of Death" as a symbol of human limitations. We live in a mortal world and humans are temporary creatures. Death will pick up every human being and no one can save us.

"Address of the Death" is not an obsession with death like Scandinavian culture, yet a classic fairy tale about life and death. It is general in nature and not only Southeast Sulawesi people can relate. *"Alamat Maut"* is also relevant to my life as a young person in Jakarta with a timeless

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play about the real "home". All kinds of life on earth originated from water and will return to water. Like the familiar saying of the heavenly religion, "From the soil return to soil."

If "Address of the Death" says something general, let me dive into something more specific. A culture observer from Wakatobi, La Ode Muhamad Saleh Hanan wrote an eight-part serialized fictional story about the cholera epidemic that hit *Tukang Besi* islands (another name for the Wakatobi islands) in 1970[5]. Saleh adapted this serialized story from bits and pieces of facts about the COVID-19 pandemic in his village. his page on Wangi-Wangi island. Let's read these two paragraphs:

Tuan Guru Isa's plan, which is called the preparation for the famine season, reminds the ancestral messages of the arrival of a time of turmoil. It is said that famine occurs everywhere, theft is rampant. Hungry people and greedy people steal, then hungry people attack greedy people.

What is described in the horror period is like the current epidemic condition. The movement of people is limited, food is getting less and less. Everyone just gasped to feel they had land but did not plant enough. They had the sea but the canoes were mostly laid down on the beach, not for fishing.

The above snippet is written in the second part entitled "Lord Guru Isa and Preparations for the Season of Famine." From Saleh's confession, the tense situation illustrated in his work is similar to the atmosphere of the COVID-19 pandemic terrorizing Wakatobi. Just as the virus from Wuhan infects millions of vulnerable people around the world, in Wakatobi there are riots, the economy collapses, and it is increasingly difficult for people who are struggling to survive.

In short, Saleh told the story of a cholera outbreak in Wakatobi that made many people flee to the small, quiet islands around Wangi-Wangi. Some took refuge in garden houses and huma; a small house where fishermen dry fish high on high reefs. The disaster left five youths living in abandoned *langgar* (mosques); leaving only those who regularly prayed there. They clean the mosque. These five unnamed youths were waiting to sail to Ambon, Samarinda, and Makassar for the military entry test.

It is said that famine occurs everywhere, theft is rampant. Hungry people and greedy people steal, then hungry people attack greedy people.

It is told that a number of other characters often go back and forth to the *langgar*. Pak Ijo, a former port lamp, Tuan Guru Isa, who had just returned from Buton, La Kamba, who fell in love with an Ambonese woman, Marhasdin, a flamboyant man who had wandered for years to gamble, Querque, a young boy looking for his missing father, Sauri, who had just arrived. from Singapore, and other. Each character created by Saleh has its own significance. Like pieces of a puzzle, each character's unique background completes the complex identity of Wakatobi.

5 This serial is published on the Suaradesaku.com page

Figure 15 : A depiction of the atmosphere during a cholera outbreak

La Kamba, a character who is predicted to be an all-knowing person, leads us to the origin of the vicious plague that attacked Wakatobi. It is said that one day there was a dark-faced man walking on the knee-deep sea to the beach, pulling his leaky *sope-sope* boat. The drinking water was gone and he was thirsty. Arriving at the beach, he stopped at a coastal settlement to ask for water. But none of the beach dwellers cared. Instead of receiving help, the man's boat was pelted with dirt. Instantly the dark-faced man disappeared out of nowhere. "Since then the cholera outbreak strucked like invisible caterpillars burrowing through leaves," La Kamba said.

The cause of the plague appeared more like a humanitarian tragedy than a natural disaster. Wakatobi seemed to be punished. Like an exclusive society that does not want to accept other people who are different from them. That conflict is what makes bad luck happen. This sounds like a subtle warning: not respecting others will lead to disaster.

That is why this essay is rich in various stories of overseas life. Almost like the opposite of Gabriel Garcia Marquez's novel '100 Years of Solitude' which tells the story of a group of people living isolated in a swamp forest, Saleh's Wakatobi is a meeting room for many individuals; a melting pot; four people back and forth. The sons and daughters of the original Wangi-Wangi migrated off the island and many outsiders came to the island. Wakatobi's face seemed alive because of it.

Saleh's shrewd way in closing his story impressed me the most. In the eighth chapter, "Chasing the Wind to the Grassland," a whole month of Ramadan has passed not as lively as before. The *Kajiri'a* tradition, which is usually celebrated every twenty-sixth day of the fast, was passed because the cholera epidemic is still plaguing Wakatobi. When Idul Fitri arrived—because the Eid prayer cannot be performed—the five youths went to the sacred site of Watu Kapala Tosore at the top of the hill. Miraculously, unexpectedly La Kamba was waiting for them in the meadow. Even more strange when that morning La Kamba offered to be the imam of the Eid prayer as well as give a sermon afterward.

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"We are on a rock whose story has been passed down as a shipwreck turned to stone. For some people, this is a sacred place. A place to put betel leaves and make a wish to the Almighty. "For the six of us, this is a place for Eid prayers." La Kamba opened his sermon.

What is surprising is that La Kamba's sermon that morning was not in the form of moral advice as in general enlightenment preaching, but a long history of the creation of Wakatobi islands. In the Tertiary period (2-66 million years ago) the Wakatobi islands emerged to the sea surface. It can be seen from the fossil corals and shells scattered around the islands. According to the myth, millions of years ago *Watu Kapala Sore* fossil was formed from a shipwreck. Then La Kamba continued his monologue with the voyage of the wealthy Israelite leader King Solomon (Prophet Sulaiman) in the 10th century BC.

La Kamba's lectures connectedto another old exploration, the exploration of a princess named Wa Surubaende. Remembered as the ancestor of the Wakatobi people, the Melanesian princess sails the sea to the west in search of her missing father. The father was named La Sumaila, a prophet. "Was La Sumaila Prophet Ismail or Prophet Solomon? We never know."

La Kamba said takbir, then suggested that the legendary stories be accepted like the Koran and hadith. The minds of the five makmum were still vacant. La Kamba said, it is important to nurture imagination about the past. The past is the future, he said. The history of maritime nations has proven it. It was facts and literature from the past that aroused the passion for hunting for spices in the archipelago, also initiated the arrival of the modern Israelites to Jerusalem, and much more.

"This shipwreck was on a voyage from the Melanesian islands to Jerusalem. It is buried into stone with a cargo full of gold, under our prostration on this day of victory," said La Kamba with a soft intonation. He compiled the stories of the epic voyage into one whole story. As if there is a slice, despite the fact that the explorations are separated from one another in chronology of time and place.

Saleh's intention in composing La Kamba's sermon in such a way—as if the character was composing his own book of Genesis—is to give a "second life". It's like imagination giving fresh air to five youths who have been trapped in a cholera epidemic for so long. "Second life" because Eid purifies every Muslim, it's time for them to rediscover their nature. "Second life" for the chronicle of the past glory of the Islamic Sultanate of Buton (1332-1960) which is still flowing in the blood of the Wakatobi people.

The most important thing, of course, is to give Wakatobi a "second life". The cholera epidemic in Saleh's story, and the reality of the COVID-19 outbreak that is still spreading, can bring new meaning to Wakatobi. The sacred site of Watu Kapala Sore and the forerunner of the Wakatobi community only stems from tragedy; the shipwreck and the daughter whose father was missing instead give life to Wakatobi.

Saleh's essay is full of meaning, subtext, and detailed references that are neatly intertwined; to the point where I thought short stories like this could only be written by Wakatobi people.

"Kapal karam ini dalam pelayaran dari kepulauan Melanesia ke Yerusalem. Terkubur jadi batu bersama kargo penuh emas, di bawah tempat sujud kita pada hari kemenangan ini,"

A complete story about the origin of the living coral islands flanked by the Buton Sea, Banda Sea, and Flores Sea; and the culture of the majority Muslim community descended from the Islamic kingdom which is always crowded because of its strategic location. This is the best way to package a story about Wakatobi: Let them tell it themselves. From Wakatobi, to Wakatobi. Something that is quite difficult to find due to the Java-centrism inherited from the New Order.

In fact, Wakatobi is a coral archipelago that is still alive today. During the Sultanate of Buton this area was called Liwuto Pasi. Liwu means village and Pasi means coral. The district which was split at the end of 2003 has an area of 1.3 million hectares, and 97 percent of its area is water. The entire Wakatobi area is also the Wakatobi National Park Center (BTNW), which was established in 1996.

Along with the release of Wakatobi from Buton district, the campaign to make this area a marine tourism destination began to be intensified; especially during the tenure of the regent of Hugua (2006-2016) from the PDI-P party. The Regency Government and BTNW partnered with WWF (World Wildlife Fund) to harmonize the development of district expansion with the development of national parks that were prepared as tourist destinations. In 2007, eight conservation visions were made as the main targets; including coral reefs, mangroves, seagrass, economically important fish, spawning fish, marine mammals, turtle nesting beaches, and sea birds and their habitats.

Wakatobi's maritime wealth has brought a senior visual artist from Jakarta, Teguh Ostenrik, to work all the way to Wakatobi. In August 2015 Teguh, who has always tried to tackle environmental issues in his works since the 1990s, threw an iron statue with a batik motif measuring 8 x 6 meters into the Wakatobi sea. The iron statue was named Domus Longus; *Domus* means house in Latin, and *Longus* is taken from the Longnose Butterfly fish species that became the mascot of BTNW.

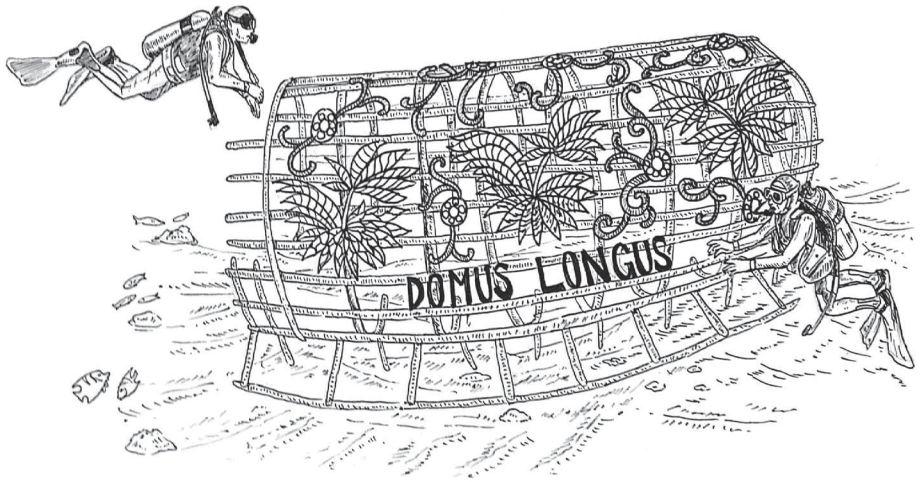

Figure 16 : The batik-patterned iron sculpture ' Domus Longus'

The Rupa Reef Foundation is a community founded by Teguh in 2014 and focuses on making ARTificial Reef, works of art as well as coral reef transplants. The installation is projected to become a giant house for fish. Teguh used biorock technique, which will be an artificial coral medium that can grow eight times faster.

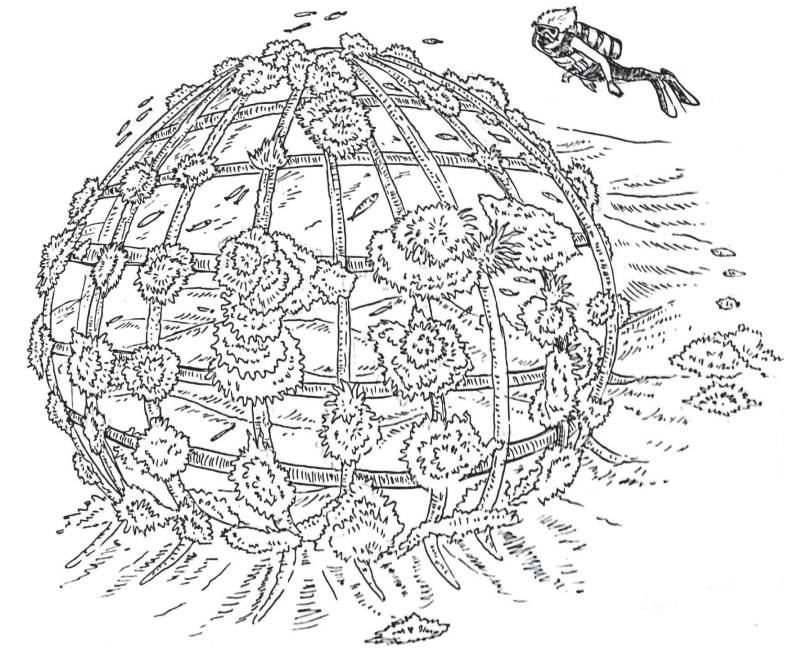

Figure 17. Biorock

Triggered by anxiety about the imminent threat of an ecological disaster in 2050, Teguh was intrigued to do something. A report he read explained that almost 70 percent of the earth's oxygen content is produced by marine life. The destruction of marine ecosystems will push humanity to death. Countries in the Coral Triangle, including Indonesia, which hosts at least 500 species of coral reef-building corals will fall into the brink of massive destruction. The cause? human greed.

Teguh admitted that he always tries to work with the principle of community empowerment. Therefore, the beauty of the appearance in Domus Longus is as important as its function as an artificial reef. *Domus Longus* is expected by Teguh to become a tourist attraction, such as a new point for diving so that his work can have a positive impact on the wider community. He gave an example, from travel agents to women who sell meatballs at the dive point it can be "splattered" with the economic impact.

"I want to create a work of art that is not hung on the sofa of a rich person's house, which only he and his assistants can enjoy, but which can open the door to a livelihood for the people around him," he explained.

However, Teguh said that he flinched for a moment when he arrived at Wangi-Wangi and saw that many houses were "facing the road," and instead "turning their backs to the sea". He considered it a bad representation.

Figure 18 : the position of the house in Wangi-wangi : facing the road and back to the sea

The heavy burden is of course returned to the hands of the local government. If the government takes the wrong policy, Wakatobi's image will be bad; is seen as a beautiful tourist area but has no identity. This is especially so if the rulers and their conglomerate relations exploit Wakatobi's resources mercilessly and ignore local cultural arts.

Talking about representation in cultural arts, the track record of the Wakatobi Regency Government is also not outstanding. Their sponsored film, *Laut Bercermin* (*Mirrored Sea*, 2011) represents Wakatobi in a questionable style. The most obvious one is excessive exoticism. The shots of underwater beauty crave the visuals, but the tourism promotion feels harsh. The director, Kamila Andini, who was brought all the way from Java, was also unable to turn this blatant advertisement into a soft-selling work. Even the beautiful acting of the Wakatobi children could not save them.

The initial premise of the *Mirrored Sea* is actually similar to the legend of Wa Surubaende. A Bajo daughter named Pakis (Gita Novalista) misses her father who was lost while sailing. He lives alone with his mother (Atiqah Hasiholan) in a

stilt house in the Bajo village. They have a dolphin researcher from Jakarta, Tudo (Reza Rahadian) who stays at their house while working in Wakatobi. But from there, the story goes on the wrong tracks.

This film by Kamila, who is the daughter of the famous director Garin Nugroho, further proves this country's acute Javanese-centrism. This polemic of representation was also excited when Green Book won the Best Picture trophy at the 2019 Oscars. In the Mirrored Sea, the main problem of representation arose because of Kamila's decision to create a "savior" figure in Tudo's character.

The brave girl's fern peeked at Tudo several times out of curiosity. Symptoms of puberty are blooming, where signs of attraction to the opposite sex begin to appear. In addition, Pakis sees the father figure every time he looks at the stranger. Ibu Pakis is even more deeply attracted to Tudo sexually. At one point, Pakis caught his mother and Tudo kissing. The reason for their unexplained intimacy makes Pakis' mother look like a lonely widow. Tudo also teaches elementary school children in Wakatobi who are considered "smart people" from Jakarta. A scene shows Tudo showing off the contents of his laptop to the Bajo children while asking, "This is Jakarta. Do you want to go to Jakarta?"

The problem is, why should there be a central figure named Tudo? Why does Kamila feel the need to add the perspective of "smart people" from Jakarta in her film? Are the stories of local characters insufficient, or less commercially appealing? Why should Tudo cure Pakis and his mother's longing for a male figure in their house? Is he a foreigner? Can't the Wakatobi men heal their wounds? Is it because Javanese men are better? Why do the Wakatobi women in this film need a man who can help them? Is it because Wakatobi women are considered weak? Furthermore, why did the Wakatobi Regency Government have to choose Kamila—who is a member of the middle class from Java—to direct this promotional film? Are local Wakatobi artists considered unable to tell their own area?

In fact, at least for me, local artists like Saleh Hanan have good skills to tell a perfect portrait of Wakatobi's life. But the Sea of Mirrors has created a mess of representation in pop culture. The Bajo people are re-enacted in the dry fantasy of ivory tower artists.

Southeast Sulawesi is one of the largest concentrations of the Bajo tribe in Indonesia. Coming for the first time from an archipelago in the south of the Philippines, the Bajo have the prestige of a nomadic nation and are nicknamed "sea gypsies". Their anatomy is different from normal humans. They dive deep into the sea as deep as 60 meters without breathing apparatus

This polemic of representation was also excited when *Green Book* won the Best Picture trophy at the 2019 Oscars. In the *Mirrored Sea*, the main problem of representation arose because of Kamila's decision to create a "savior" figure in Tudo's character

and catch fish with simple spears. With improvised tools, the head of the Bajo family can take his wife and children to sail for months across borders between countries to hunt for marine catches. Even the Australian Government had held counseling to Wakatobi because too often Bajo sailors sailed illegally to the land of kangaroos.

If the Bajo are the suppliers of aquatic products, it is the descendants of the Butonese in the four Wakatobi islands (Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko) who run the inter-island trade economy. They brought basic necessities and other agricultural products to Maluku, Makassar, to Papua. According to them, every commodity can be sold. That is why there is a slanted image of them as smugglers, for example for selling Papua's rare birds to foreign countries. They are also the ones who bring in bales of used clothes (thrift clothes) from Singapore, enter via Batam and Bintan, and are traded even to Surabaya and Jakarta.

Like the story of Saleh Hanan, there are many stories of the heroic voyages of these two tribes. Often the sailors of Bajo and Butonese disobeyed the port administrator's ban on sailing. Instead, they see it as an opportunity, because there is not much competition when the weather is extreme. Unfortunately, not a few of them were lost in the sea.

Now, the people of Wakatobi are overshadowed by a new problem: Tourism. I Wayan Veda Santiaji, a WWF activist who worked in Wakatobi from 2002-2010, said that tourism in Wakatobi must make its people the main actors. The rapid development of infrastructure must be balanced with public education. Tourism will absorb a lot of workers in the service sector, and the Wakatobi people must adapt to these conditions. Adequate services are one of the determining factors for the quality of tourist destinations.

"The level of civilization starts from hunting [including fishermen], to agriculture, to industry, then to services. So there is a leap that the Wakatobi people must go through. Otherwise, they will just be spectators."

With improvised tools, the head of the Bajo family can take his wife and children to sail for months across borders between countries to hunt for marine catches.

In February 2016, the Ministry of Tourism announced the development policy of "10 New Bali" with Wakatobi mentioned in it. Two months later, Jokowi planned to speed up a Presidential Regulation (Perpres) for the establishment of the Wakatobi Tourism Authority (BOP), which will focus on developing tourism-supporting infrastructure. Previously, Jokowi signed a Presidential Decree for the Lake Toba BOP and Borobudur BOP. May 25, 2016, a thousand Wakatobi residents staged a demonstration against the construction of the Wakatobi BOP because it was considered detrimental to local residents. One of the articles states that in terms of management rights, BOP has the right to lease land, borrow land, and make cooperation with third parties without involving the local government and the community.

Part II

Imagine sitting in a small boat that is cruising to the shore of an island. The towering coral hills on the island can be seen from a distance. You feel the sea breeze pushing the boat closer to shore, it's like it's stroking your back from behind. There was a faint knocking sound like the ticking of a clock on the wall, or like a metronome. And the sound was getting louder and clearer.

Arriving at the island, you drop your bare feet into the calf-foot sea and walk slowly towards the beach. The fishy smell of salty water occasionally passes in front of the nose. Small waves stick to the beach, and you can feel the wet white sand slipping between your toes. The sound was now very loud, resounding, like the clashing of metal. You look for the source of the sound, but can't find it. The deeper you walk, the louder the sound becomes, booming, as if shaking the whole island.

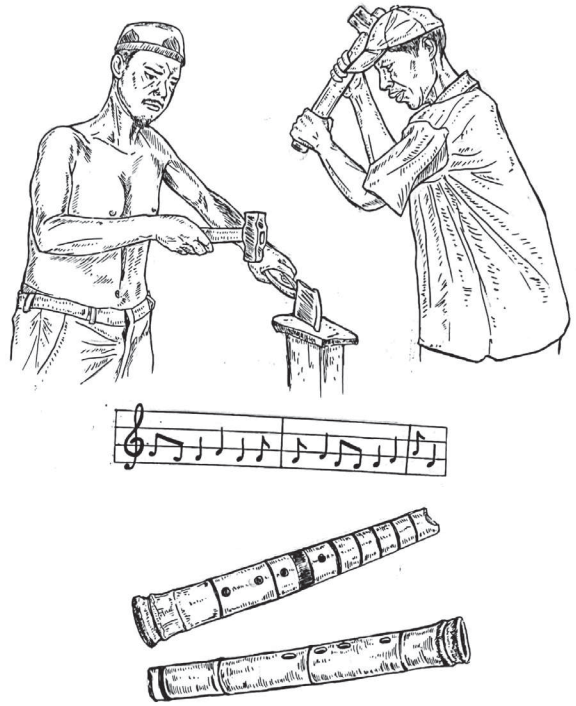

Figure 19 : Iron forging activities, musical notes, wind instruments Sakhuhachi

Maybe not exactly the same, but that's the scene you might feel when you arrive on the island of Binongko, Wakatobi. The loud noises came from busowa; small huts where traditional machetes or machetes are forged. In Binongko, there are more than 20 busowa which are operated every day, morning to evening. That's where the name Tukang Besi islands was taken from. Their name

is famous for supplying their products to outside the island since hundreds of years ago, such as to the Javanese kingdoms. You can imagine the sweaty Binongko men working their hammering tools with their muscles, or how loud it would sound if you got into the *busowa*.

It was these voices that lingered in the head of Misbach Daeng Bilok, a music artist from Selayar, South Sulawesi. InNovember 2014, Misbach live-in while working for 20 days at Binongko. In the first weekhe tried to explore every corner of the outermost island in Wakatobi; hoping to be inspired and discover unique customs. "Interacting with the community to get local narratives that allow for deconstruction with the art activities they left behind."

Misbach invited five ironsmiths to work with him. The result was a musical composition entitled "Din Busowa, La Honuttu" which means "The watchers of Busowa[6]". Misbach blends the natural sounds of a forged chiming instrument, a hot iron dipped in water, an island breeze, with the notes of a Sakhuhachi wind instrument and a local hum. A seven-minute rhythm that enchants our consciousness, takes us to Binongko.

The history of iron forging in Binongko is integral to the history of the civilization of the Wakatobi archipelago. Although no one knows for sure when the iron forging in Wakatobi began, at least the activity was passed down as a tradition that lasted for hundreds of years. It is difficult to find written facts, but to this day the science of forging is still passed on to the young Binongko boys.

Although no one knows for sure when the iron forging in Wakatobi began, at least the activity was passed down as a tradition that lasted for hundreds of years.

One of the other works that Misbach worked on while in Binongko was "Musik Gumba La Guci[7]". In this composition, Misbach invited dozens of Binongko children to work with him. The boys hit the jars with their sandals, the tempo set to percussion. The girls were wearing shawls and dancing to the beat. They sing together lyrics taken from the waliyo literature, an original Binongko oral script that functions as a mantra. In waliyo there is a cosmological aspect of the relationship between humans and nature.

Misbach chose the jars for his percussion because of a unique history. The ancestors of the Binongko people first brought the jars from mainland China. Navigate the sea in their traditional boat. In the past, jars were used to collect rainwater or a place to carry water. Since the local government initiated the clean water storage program, the function of the jars has been replaced by modern reservoirs and pipes. As a result, a stretch of idle jars can be seen in Binongko's houses. Although the jars are sometimes also used to store valuables.

6 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-Y-aTMmdGg
7 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mKXfiHsO1yo

Figure 20 : Children's arts activities

"I conserve historical objects by reconstructing their functions, not as rainwater containers, but by innovation as musical instruments played by children," Misbach explained.

On the final day of his residency, Misbach brought tens of Binongko children to perform their songs at Wangi-Wangi, the capital of Wakatobi district. The journey took five hours by boat. Most of the children had never been to Wangi-Wangi before, so they were very happy. They appeared in front of the regent and local officials.

Misbach as not alone in working at Wakatobi. He came along with nine other artists for the Liwuto Pasi expedition organized by WWF and the Rujak Center for Urban Studies (RCUS). The idea for this residency had actually been thought up since the 2010s, but it was only implemented at the end of 2014. WWF organized this program to empower the arts and culture of the community in the context of the creative economy and tourism as an alternative to the exploitation of the Wakatobi sea. The backgrounds of the selected artists vary, from musicians to gastronomists. They did residency work not in tourist areas, but go into villages, come into contact with native people and wereassigned to dig up local stories.

Tedi Nurmanto is a musician from Jatiwangi, West Java. He was placed in the Bajo village in Wangi-Wangi. Tedi gave a workshop to make simple musical instruments from everyday furniture. Along with that, Tedi also formed a band with seven young Wangi-Wangi children. The sound components of the common equipment are mixed with single organs and other band instruments. They composed songs and record them with simple recording equipment that Tedi brought. The songs were burned on CD, covered with illustrations, and distributed to local residents.

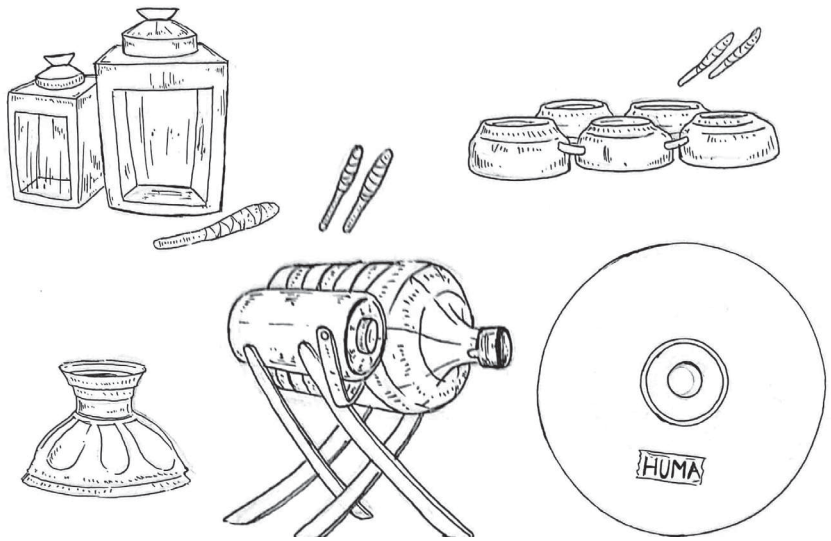

Figure 21 : illustration of musical instruments from everyday furniture

This process resulted in four songs which were compiled into an EP entitled Huma[8]. In one of his songs, "Ta Ka Wakatobi", Tedi and his band combine percussion sounds with accordions. The lyrics contain the love of Wakatobi young people for their area. The arrangement of "Ta Ka Wakatobi" was made catchy from the first second. Once the Regent of Hugua heard it, he wanted it to be played on ships and airports to welcome guests. This made Wangi-Wangi's young people flattered.

In the song "Saloh" they alluded to the tension between the Bajo and Buton tribes in Wangi-Wangi. Although not so critical, there is a small feud between these two tribes. The Bajo tribe, who are immigrants, are considered a "difficult to manage" society. There is also a sentiment that the Bajo are an uneducated tribe, and their status is lower than the Butonese. This song contains a kind of apology from the Bajo children to the Butonese children.

Two of the band's personnel taken by Tedi came from the two tribes. As a result of the collective creative process, the social gap becomes blurred. In other words, music can be an alternative language for discussing sensitive issues. "Because art serves to melt something hard."

Just as it creates images in your head, music can also present memories of the past; brings nostalgia. Wakatobi musician known by his stage name Sari Ena Nahi sent me a link to a Wakatobi folk song. Sari said she heard the song since she was a child, since she was a child. The song is entitled "Hune[9]", sung by a Baubau. He said it was the song that inspired him to become a musician.

8 https://soundcloud.com/hanyaterra/sets/huma
9 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9nGdkkOZ58

Figure 22 : Musical instruments (gambus and tambourine) and women singing

"Hune" is the name in Wakatobi for a species of bird. In Indonesian, the bird is called Walik Kembang. Hune birds make an impression in the memories of the Wakatobi people because they are entrenched in the banyan trees that are bearing fruit and say "hu hu hu… hu hu hu… hu hu hu…." When the song plays, and the singer sings the first stanza, "Ane kehu nesu, ane kehu nesu sahulu," Sari was transported to the past, when she was little she listened to the birds from under the tree.

Now Sari has her own Youtube[10] channel where she releases her songs. The genres range from acoustic pop, Malay music (single organ), to traditional Wakatobi music. Some of the songs he mixed Wangi-Wangi with Indonesian. She conveys many topics in his songs, from love affairs wrapped in single organ music in the song "Na Akala Aku" (meaning: Kau Bohongi Aku), religious songs with a touch of acoustic pop with his daughter, Yani, in the song "Kumelu Di Mo'ori" (meaning: Pray to Allah), to a song inspired by the Makassar keroncong entitled "Wa Ina" (meaning: Mother).

Previously, Sari had a single organ group that often performed at Wangi-Wangi events. She learned the organ piano from a young age. With her group, usually Sari plays a dance accompaniment song. In Wakatobi, different dances have different music. *Manari Tuhun-Tuhu* has a fast tempo, *Manari Kalipso* is for the *Kalipso* dance, *Manari Kadayo* is dangdut music from Minang for the back and forth dance, and *Manari Lulo* is remixed music typical of Southeast Sulawesi for Lulo dance. Since 2011, Sari has had a solo career and she has started to explore other music genres.

One of the songs performed by Sari is entitled "Bose-Bose"[11] which means "Paddle-Paddling". Sari together with Nurdin performed a song about

10 ttps://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3sBDiRjq3n8Bp8DxVVtxPw/videos?view=0&sort=dd
11 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mCvXVe2y5ww

the voyage with the help of stringed instruments and tambourines; instrument that is closely related to the spread of Islam in Malay. Hundreds of years ago gambus arrived in Wakatobi via the Buton Sultanate. This musical instrument became popular as Islam spread to the kingdoms in the eastern archipelago.

It was traders from the Arabian peninsula who brought gambus musical instruments into Malay. There is no exact year, but his arrival is thought to be between the 9th-16th centuries. The great migration of the Hadramaut people from eastern Yemen to the Malays in the 19th century also brought a new type of gambus at that time. The new gambus is different from the previously brought gambus which is known as Hadramaut Gambus.

Sari still remembers when she was a child, people danced to the rhythm of a simple gambus. In the past, his village in Wangi-Wangi had a gambus maestro named La Ode Kamaluddin. In addition to frequently performing singing, the skill of playing the gambus was passed down by Kamaluddin to the young people of Wakatobi. Today, Sari and other musicians in Wakatobi mix the gambus with a single organ, which is also one of the identities of Malay music. She said, "To keep up with the spirit of the new generation."

Kamaluddin, the person who was named by Sari, was not a random person. He is also known as the singer of kabanti, a local poem from the Sultanate of Buton.

Like the gambus, *kabanti* is also the fruit of the spread of Islam in Buton. Its contents are closely related to Islamic Shari'a. In line with the Butonese philosophy, "*Bolimo karo sumanamo lipu, bolimo lipu sumanamo sara, bolimo sara sumanamo agama*" which means, "There is no need for self as long as the state remains intact, there is no need for the state as long as the law is upheld, there is no need for the law to be upheld as long as religion is implemented. "Therefore, kabanti poetry is usually written in Malay Arabic script. Kabanti chanting also at first glance sounds similar to the intonation of the Koran.

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Kabanti is divided into five types, they are *Katola*, *Watulea*, *Gambusu*, *Modero*, and *Kusapi*. Kabanti is a channel of creativity in the communication space of the Wakatobi community. This oral manuscript lives as an oral tradition as a medium of conveying messages. What is sung can contain expressions of the heart, teaching customs for young people, and much more. Like one of the famous musicians named La Ode Ajiju, who is famous because he brings lyrics with romance nuances.

Therefore, anyone can chant *kabanti*, not limited to gender and age. This oral tradition can be recited by anyone, anywhere, and anytime, can be for conveying social protests, to the community and the government. *Kabanti* is a form of conveying the message in a polite manner.

Another function of *Kabanti* is entertainment. Celebrations in Wakatobi usually invite *kabanti*. This verse can be enjoyed with stringed instruments, tambourines, and other musical instruments. You can also accompany dances, such as the *Pajogi* and *Lariangi* dances. In the mid-1970s, *kabanti* became popular and is considered the main art product of Wakatobi.

One of the unique *kabanti* is "Bue-Bue", a lullaby to lull children to sleep. "Bue" means to rock, "Bue-Bue" illustrates a mother rocking her baby.

Bue bue aneho pe'i
Aneho teni temban-temba

Swing my stupid son (innocent because he's still a baby)
Still to be rocked

Then continue in the baby's POV (Point of View):

Wa ina ina nayaku
Hepago tiron-tiro naku

Mother oh my mother
Come see me

However, the enthusiasm of the younger generation of Wakatobi for *kabanti* is fading with time. Many of the those who make kabanti their main source of incomenow they live in economic constraints. Fewer events in Wakatobi involve kabanti. The knowledge of *kabanti* is usually passed on to their children orally. So most of the converts today are the children of the ancients. But now most of them are old and do not know who to pass their knowledge to. As entertainment, the *kabanti* stages are replaced by modern music such as single organs and bands. It feels like the extinction of *Kabanti* is in sight.

Apart from being eroded by modernization, Wakatobi's art and culture also faces threats of representation and coercion of cultural uniformity. Marco Kusumawijaya, the well-known architect who founded RCUS and curator of the Liwuto Pasi expedition, spoke about an issue that he said was worrying, namely the imposition of "National Culture". The problem of Java-centrism more or less stems from this issue. This coercion deals not only with the spirit of anti-colonialism and independence, but what Marco calls the "concept of the state". Moreover, according to him, Indonesia is a "new concept".

Apart from being eroded by modernization, Wakatobi's art and culture also faces threats of representation and coercion of cultural uniformity.

During independence in 1945, according to its administrative definition, Indonesia gained an area that was previously a colony of the colonial government. Unfortunately, without realizing it, some are divided because of it, for example, the Malay nation. Areas based on the Malay language include Sumatra, Malaysia, Brunei, to southern Thailand. But precisely because of the existence of the Indonesian state, the boundaries of the cultural area have changed. In fact, the Acehnese are culturally closer to the Pattani people in Thailand than to the Javanese.

Another example is in the 18th century, when the Dutch colonialists monopolized trade in the eastern part of the archipelago, the Bugis were forced to go west. They entered Sumatra as far as Riau, and even crossed to Singapore. The Bugis traders developed Singapore as their maritime trading base. They have had a lot of influence on the development of Singapore, but now Indonesia and Singapore have become independent countries.

"In my opinion, there is no need for such a thing as an effort to form a national culture. We don't need to be united because of the same culture," he stressed.

According to Marco, culture should not be associated with the state. The country is indeed Indonesia, but it doesn't have to be "Indonesian culture". There are Bugis culture, Malay culture, Chinese ethnic culture, Arab ethnic culture, Balinese culture, Sundanese culture, and so on. It has been recorded in Indonesian history that forcing the formation of a national culture has almost always led to conflict and suffering, especially when the New Order regime came to power. Several times our conflicts with Malaysia, for example, are also the result of national boundaries that divide cultural spaces.

He gave an example with the existence of a folk song singing competition in the 1980s on TVRI. That's one way of the state to state that the national culture is built from regional cultures, and is hierarchical in nature. It can be seen from the singing competition, which generally starts from the smallest level, such as a village or sub-district. They are pitted, then the champion from each sub-district will be competed at the district level. After looking for a winner in each district, then so on will be competed at a higher level. Until finally the champion of each province was brought to Jakarta to be shown and chosen as the national champion.

"In my opinion, there is no need for such a thing as an effort to form a national culture. We don't need to be united because of the same culture,"

"Why is culture being competed as if there is something better? In culture, we cannot apply the principles of competition and hierarchy." That is also the reason why Marco brought artists from outside Wakatobi to study there, and did not bring Wakatobi artists and cultural works to Jakarta.

However, we must also be careful with the idea of "diversity". Despite being championed and glorified by many, Marco saw that there was a hidden agenda behind the idea.

There is an attempt to unify the understanding of "diversity". The nationalists dictated our attitude about "diversity", set standards of tolerance that were often full of stereotypes and ultimately affirmed the superiority of Java. The case stems from the idea of nationalism which is applied to the cultural level.

"The modern state just thinks of it as something rational. We are united because we are a political economy unit, not because of culture. Why? Because from the beginning, our culture was not the same," commented Marco.

Part III

Every morning, La Ode Nahrul Jamiat helps his mother sell yellow rice. He only lives with his mother and sister who are still in school. His father has been a migrant worker in Malaysia since he was a child. Due to the pandemic, his father couldn't go home for Eid. It has been more than a year since the father and son last saw each other face to face. Therefore, Nahrul's mother was worried if her children went far away. Since her husband left her to earn a living, she is used to always beside her two sons. Every day she gardens for planting cassava which can be made for kasoami, Wakatobi's staple food. She also opened a shop that his children used to help look after.

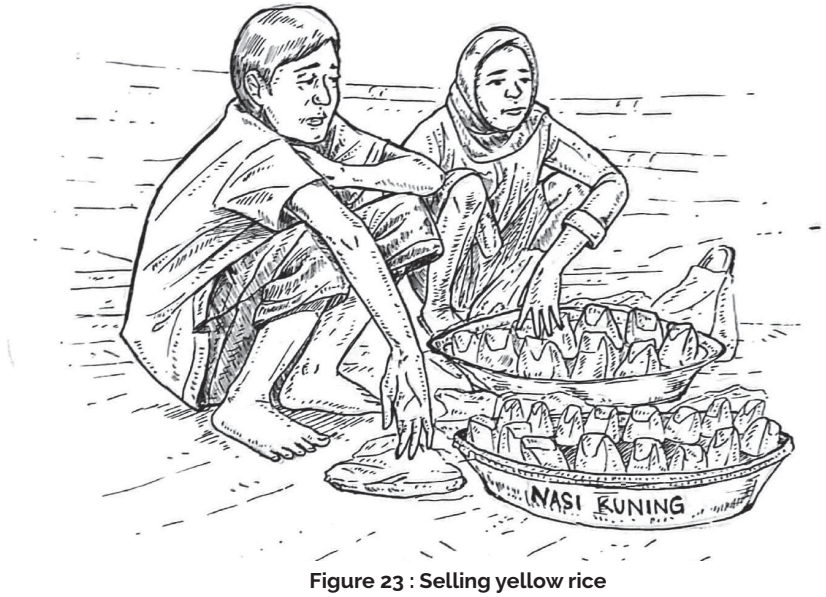

Figure 23 : Selling yellow rice

Nahrul, now 22, is currently in Kendari undergoing his final semester of undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Public Health, Halu Oleo University with the help of a full scholarship from the government. He is writing a final project to complete his studies, and has spawned an idea for his hometown in Wangi-Wangi. In 2019, at a village budgeting meeting he proposed a village midwife program, in which villages pay and employ villagers who have medical

knowledge for counseling and routine health checks. The proposal made the goal. Starting in 2019, the idea worked on. He was relieved because his village did not continue to carry out physical development, and began to utilize existing human resources.

"There is no need to call outsiders from the health department anymore. It's better to use the money in the village, for our own people," he said. Nahrul said he was a fresh generation of young Wangi-Wangi, because he could studyat a well-known campus in Southeast Sulawesi. Wangi-Wangi used to be left behind in education, when compared to Tomia and Kaledupa. Tomia and Kaledupa people are more concerned with education. He said it was a tradition. Wangi-Wangi's children were educated to be independent by their parents, suggesting they quickly make money overseas.

As a result, the heads of institutions and civil servants in Wangi-Wangi, such as teachers and school principals, were filled by Tomia and Kaledupa people. The Regent of Hugua, who was passionate about campaigning for Wakatobi as a marine tourism destination during his tenure (2006-2016), is also from Tomia. It made Wangi-Wangi's parents envious, of course with positive connotations. Since then they have paid more attention to the orientation of their children's education. Today, said Nahrul, Wangi-Wangi are "comparable".

But Nahrul feels that youth activities are still not getting enough attention from the government. He tries to persuade his peers to stop being so ignorant about local village problems. For example, education on tour guide services to prepare the absorption of Wakatobi tourism workforce or find a solution for the many tuna heads dumped on Wangi-Wangi beach as well as preserving the identity and culture of Wakatobi. He jokingly invited me to his village to participate in the matchmaking peanut event (Herapo-rapo), a unique tradition of match making during the month of Ramadan in Wangi-Wangi. He laughed when I said Wangi-Wangi kids don't need Tinder.

With many cultures of the Sultanate of Buton being passed down in the form of oral traditions, Nahrul hopes that the youth of Wakatobi will document it in writing. As far as he knows, more people outside Wakatobi study their cultural archives. "The issue of Buton doesn't exist unless we want to go to the Netherlands,"

With many cultures of the Sultanate of Buton being passed down in the form of oral traditions, Nahrul hopes that the youth of Wakatobi will document it in writing. As far as he knows, more people outside Wakatobi study their cultural archives. "The issue of Buton doesn't exist unless we want to go to the Netherlands," he said because the Dutch colonial government actually had a historical record of their culture.

I was surprised when Nahrul admitted that he only found out that Wakatobi is an abbreviation of four islands (Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, Binongko) when he was in college. He admitted that at school, from elementary to high school he was never taught that. Local content only teaches coastal life. "From elementary school we are all taught the history of the Javanese. But as for our own history, we don't know."

He learned more about the identity and culture of Wakatobi from the cultural studio. At Wangi-Wangi, there are four cultural studios to teach local dances to school-age children. Nahrul participated in Sanggar Wangi-Wangi Puncak from elementary to high school. He said he got valuable knowledge to be confident in appearing in front of many people. While still in the studio, he mastered the Hebatu dance. On his Instagram account, Nahrul writes his biodata openly as a dancer.

Wa Ode Urfa Widya Ningsih joined the studio since 3rd grade. He is now 15 years old and is in grade 10 of a public high school in Wangi-Wangi. Despite having learned many kinds of local dances, the most challenging for Urfa was the Pada-Padangku dance. The technique requires the dancers to be more patient.

Urfa wants to become a nurse so that she can take care of her parents if one day they fall ill. She complained about the many young Wangi-Wangi her age, some even under her, who married young because they were pregnant out of wedlock. Urfa feels they are not old enough to take care of children. She said it was "embarrassing". When I asked him what she wanted for Wakatobi, Urfa replied "Red light, because there is no red light here," after which she chuckled.

Urfa has performed dancing to the outside of the island, to Tomia. Her favorite dance is Pajogi. The reason is because the pajogi is being watched and given money (*sawer*) by the audience. The money that Urfa and the other dancers get from Pajogi is used for snacks. The last time he performed Pajogi was at the Regent's office. The total *saweran* (money given by the audience) obtained reached two million rupiah.

Besides Wakatobi dance, Urfa admits that she likes dances in the style of Korean Pop (Kpop) groups. While on a training break at the Wangi-Wangi Puncak studio, Urfa and the other girls filled their time following the Kpop dances they saw on Youtube. Not just for fun, Urfa and five of her studio friends have even performed K-pop dances at the Wangi-Wangi Independence Square.

Sanggar Wangi-Wangi Puncak was initiated in 2007 with around 20 children being trained. Before the pandemic, they could perform up to twice a month. They are usually present to complement local celebrations or religious rites.

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Figure 24 : Girls practice dancing

What's so special about dance? In fact, dance is almost as old as the human race itself. Initially, dance was present for communication. Prior to the creation of written language, dance was a crucial oral method of passing on stories from one generation to the next. In later times, movements in dance began to have aesthetic values (beauty) and symbolic meanings. Quite special if you imagine; 3300 BC Prehistoric Egyptian civilization was dancing[12], and now, in 2021, we are still doing it.

In Wakatobi, most of the local dances are meant for social participation. Therefore, the dances are not only for viewing but also invite as many people as possible to dance together. It is formally called Social Dance by its well-known dance names, such as Waltz and Polka and in Wakatobi it is popularly known as "joget"; dance to music.

No event takes place without dancing in Wakatobi. There are no exceptions. If that sentence seems exaggerating, just imagine that at least almost every night on all the islands in Wakatobi there is one or two places to dance; actually almost every night. That's on a normal day. The festive season, such as the month of Ramadan and the end of Eid could be even more. Roughly speaking, dancing can take place in hundreds of places throughout Wakatobi. A whole month. Absolutely every night.

Wakatobi people also dance everywhere; literally anywhere -i roads, fields, yards, wherever it is possible to congregate. They danced all night to the accompaniment of dangdut music and the strains of the singers. Joget can be done in pairs, male and female. The choreography is made in two long lines, on one side for the girls and on the other for the boys.

12 Found in a painting in an Ancient Egyptian tomb

This can also be done with the women sitting on chairs lined up in an arena, while the men standing outside the arena, to the left and right of the rows of chairs. When the music starts, the man walks in front of the intended woman, showing respect such as bowing to invite the woman to dance. The rule is that women are not allowed to refuse or choose a male partner to dance with. That's the order when the women enter and sit on chairs in the arena.

If you have free time, please surf to Youtube and write the keyword "Joget Wakatobi". I guarantee you will find hundreds of videos of them dancing. Well, now imagine that atmosphere can be found every night, and takes place everywhere. Saleh Hanan said that dancing has become a way of life in the horizontal relationship of the Wakatobi people. "A staple after work, eat and make love," he wrote.

Joget for Wakatobi men symbolizes masculinity. Men who join the dance must be neatly dressed, as a sign that they are successful and civilized sailors. Likewise women, must be neat. Thus, dance is seen as an effort to celebrate social status.; meeting good women with good men. Even though they are in pairs, Wakatobi's dance does not aim to indulge in sensuality. Joget is not a reckless street party.

There are many dances in Wakatobi that involve the audience. In Kaledupa, in particular, the composition of Lariangi is divided into three parts: the opening, the dance section, and *nyibing*. In *nyibing*, the dancers choose a man from the audience to be shrouded, a sign that the man must give *saweran (*money*)*. That is what is expected from the audience's contribution, appreciation for the dancers.

Lariangi was declared a National Cultural Heritage in 2013. This dance is performed by 12 young women wearing brightly colored costumes full of ornaments and beads, sarongs, plus all accessories, such as bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One hand holds the scarf and the other holds a traditional fan. The fan was once used to fan a tired king.

According to Nur Israfyan Sofian or commonly called Ririn, a lecturer at Halu Oleo Kendari University who studies Lariangi, Lariangi is believed to have been brought to Kaledupa for the first time in the 17th century. At that time Kaledupa was under the leadership of King La Kasawari. At the administrative center of the Sultanate of Buton in Wolio (now Baubau), it was not allowed to have performances involving women performing in front of large crowds. Therefore, Lariangi was taken to Kaledupa, which used to be one of the west of the Buton Sultanate; the dancers' three pins symbolize it. Since then, Lariangi has been used as a dance to welcome the guests of the Sultanate in Kaledupa.

If you have free time, please surf to Youtube and write the keyword "Joget Wakatobi". I guarantee you will find hundreds of videos of them dancing.

In ancient times, Lariangi was performed all night long. Players play dozens of songs, and convey many messages, ranging from history, war, maritime, romance, and more. If the current saweran is in the form of money, previously it could be in the form of rice and other agricultural products. The women who become dancers must also be beautiful, and they are chosen by Lariangi's trainer. Couldn't offer myself.

Now more democratized, all Kaledupa girls can learn Lariangi if they want. Every kelurahan in Kaledupa already has a Lariangi group; including schools. Every August 17, a competition is held and there are still celebrations in Kaledupa such as weddings, circumcision, and others. In the past, hairpins were only allowed to be worn by dancers from the nobility, but since 1958 all dancers have been allowed to wear them. Some of the accompanying songs were also made into Indonesian versions so that they could reach a wider audience.

Lariangi is like the heart of Kaledupa as a maritime community and a representative of the Kaledupa people. Ririn explained that Lariani contains cognitive messages from the community. The dance can be a tool to bridge us with past information. When we watch Lariangi, we are not just watching a show, but a public representative. The composition of Lariangi is filled with various components, such as motion, costumes, poetry, music, which are the result of the creation of an established culture of society. Each element complements each other and is elementary in nature. For example, Lariangi will not be played without music.

"I dare say Lariangi is Kaledupa, Kaledupa is Lariangi. When we talk about Kaledupa, we cannot separate ourselves from Lariangi," said Ririn.

More than that, Lariangi's life is the life of the multicultural community of Wakatobi. The results of Ririn's study show that there are 20 kinds of songs that accompany Lariangi, each song has its own style, and uses many languages. Tanaka is believed to be in Arabic, Yamalahu contains Bugis expressions, some are in Ambonese, as well as Kaledupa's own language. All of this is documented in history as an oral tradition; not written but memorized.

Like dancing, Lariangi is not a performance for female entertainers to satisfy lust. According to Ririn's explanation, the people of Kaledupa give a special portion to women. They are "protected", but not "contained". The dancers' basket covers the entire chest. When nyibing, the men may menyawer, but may not hold the dancers. After all, most of those who performed were young women.

However, there was a time when Lariangi was banned. Roughly around 1960's. Suharto's authoritarian government

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not only regulates the economy and administration, but also intervenes in the cultural domain. Lariangi's rehearsal activities and performances were limited on the pretext of security stability. After the political turmoil in 1965, the government showed its streak by implementing a curfew and crowd dispersal policies in many cities in Indonesia, including Kaledupa. The state also intervenes through educational institutions. Girls caught taking part in Lariangi were threatened with expulsion from their school.

The New Order's centralized governance in Java acted arbitrarily in ordering certain ethnicities or regions to adopt foreign rules, and often without any consultation at all. Just as the Suharto government sabotaged Wakatobi's culture, the New Order regime was also seen as weakening the remnants of the Sultanate of Buton politically. Baubau, which was under the Sultanate of Buton, was originally the capital of Southeast Sulawesi. But in 1964, the central government moved the capital to Kendari. Buton people consider the decision to be detrimental because Kendari is not more successful than Buton in the economic and cultural fields. They feel that it is the root of the decline of the Butonese tribe.

At that time, diplomatic relations between the central government and Buton were also not harmonious. This started in the mid 1960s when Buton was accused of entrenching the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Meanwhile there is no sufficient explanation for the charges. There are indications of partisanship in journalism reports, but the facts are not sufficient to support this claim.

In 1969, suspicion of the PKI base in South Sulawesi peaked. Rumors circulated that a Chinese ship loaded with weapons had arrived at Sampolawa Bay in Buton, and was about to move to Java. The rumors were never proven to be true, but the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI, now TNI) arrested 40 Butonese officials, including the Regent Muhammad Kasim, who was brutally tortured and killed.

Many Butonese people think that the wild accusations are the result of their tribal rivalry with the Makassarese and Bugis. Within the ABRI Sulawesi, the Makassar and Bugis blocks emerged as promising candidates. Meanwhile, Buton's strength in ABRI is getting weaker. Many of the Butonese people believe that accusations

Meanwhile, Buton's strength in ABRI is getting weaker. Many of the Butonese people believe that accusations of PKI affiliation were deliberately carried out by Makassarese and Bugis people, with the aim of controlling Buton and its natural resources. The Makassar and Bugis factions eventually succeeded in occupying ABRI command posts in Buton.

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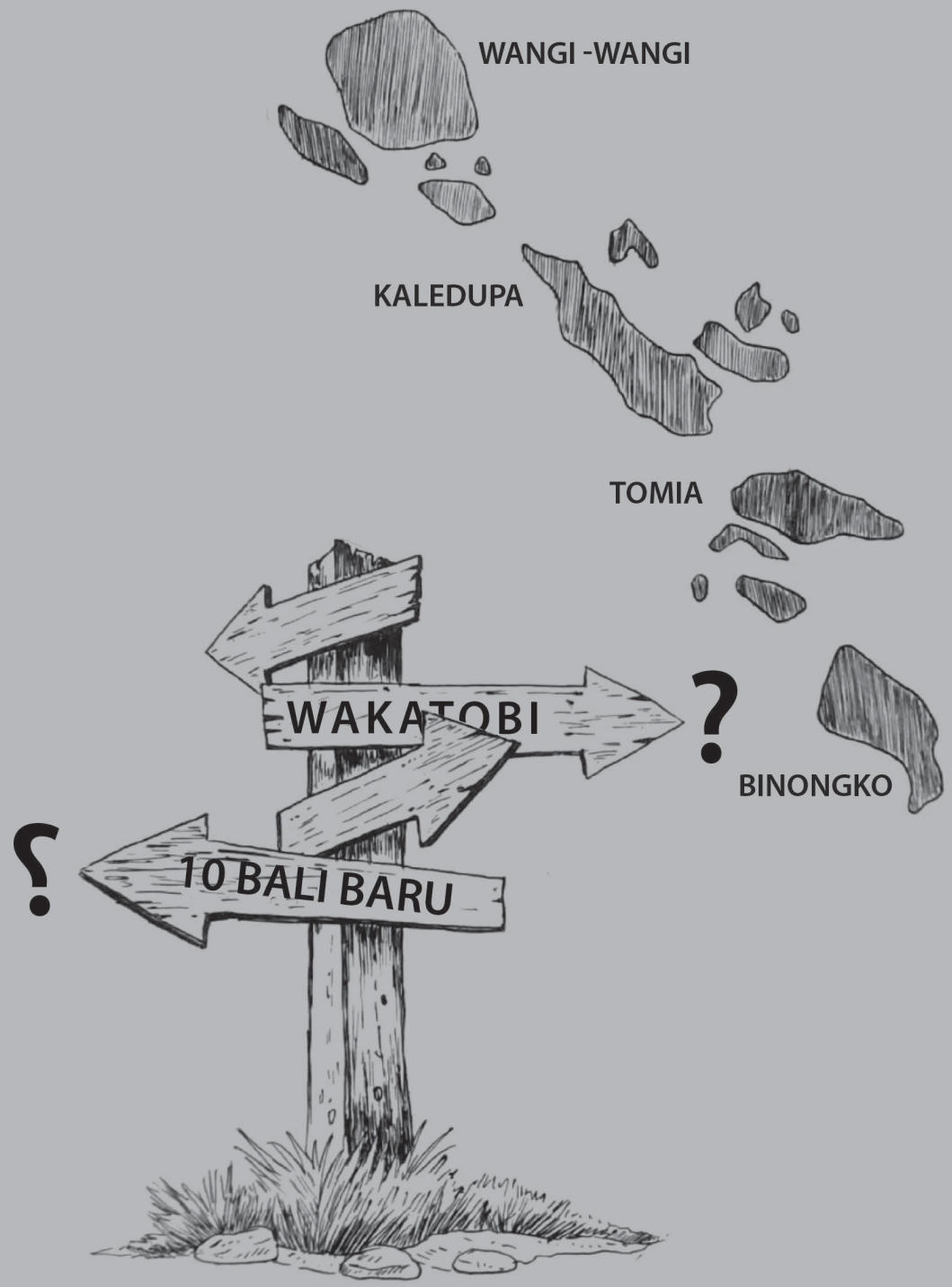
In the same year, Colonel Zainal Arifin Sugianto was appointed regent of Buton. He is the first regent of Makassar blood. It was thought that Zainal and his men had deliberately crippled Butonese culture and identity during the two terms he ruled in 1969-1981.

After that case, the Butonese people became a marginalized society. Slander as a wing of the PKI was occasionally reappointed in the following years, at least its intensity has decreased since the New Order collapsed in 1998. Unfortunately, many Butonese people chose to migrate outside their islands and change their names to Javanese names in order to escape the New Order's repression. .

IV

Wakatobi Tourism Map: Abundant Potential, Needs to be Carefully Looked at

By Efraim Mbomba Reda



THE The wonderland named Wakatobi is an area projected by its local government to become a real underwater paradise at the center of the world's coral triangle. Wakatobi is an acronym for Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko; four islands in the archipelago. The area, previously known as an archipelago of Tukang Besi, has slowly turned into a tourism destination, even becomes one of ten areas designated by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy to become priority tourist destinations or the "10 New Bali".

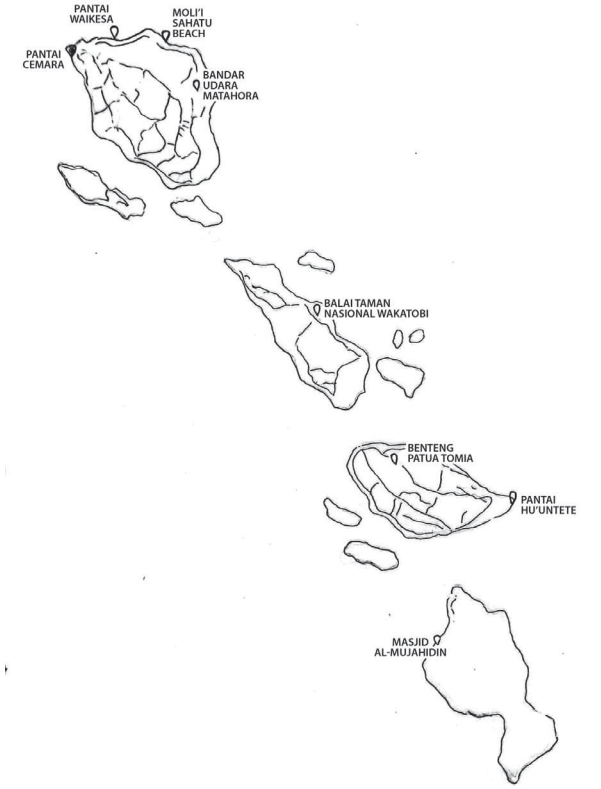


Figure 25 : Wakatobi Map

Wakatobi Islands are a group of coral islands, most of which have a sloping topography with a height of 3 to 20 meters above sea level (masl). The total area of Wakatobi Regency is around 19,200 km2 consisting of 823 km2 (3.00%) of land and 18,377 km2 (97.00%) of water (sea). The release of the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) of Wakatobi Regency shows that in 2019 a total 95.892 residents lived in this area.

Located on a strategic route, Wakatobi is flanked by the waters of the Buton Sea, Banda Sea, and Flores Sea. According to Schmind-Fergusson

classification, Wakatobi has a type C climate with two seasons: dry season (east season: April-August) and rainy season (west season: September-April). The west wind season lasts from December to March which is characterized by high rainfall intensity. The east monsoon season lasts from June to September. The transition season occurs in October-November and April-May. According to Betoambari Class III Meteorological Station, the rainfall in Wakatobi Islands in the last 10 years has ranged from 0.4 to 288.2 mm. The highest rainfall occurs in December with an average of 19.51 mm.

Before Indonesia's independence, the Sultanate of Buton ruled over the Wakatobi region. After independence and Southeast Sulawesi became one province, Wakatobi became part of the Buton Regency. Wakatobi was then designated a district on December 18, 2003 based on Law Number 29 of 2003 concerning the Establishment of Bombana Regency, Wakatobi Regency, and North Kolaka Regency.

Wakatobi is in the administrative area of Southeast Sulawesi Province with the district capital located in Wangi-Wangi. Wakatobi waters are designated as a National Park area based on the Decree (SK) of the Minister of Forestry No. 393/Kpts-V/1996 with an area of 1,390,000 ha and a coastline of 600 km long coral islands. Within the Wakatobi National Park (TNW) area, there are 25 clusters of coral reefs with a circumference of the coast of 600 km coral islands, 93 species of ornamental fish with high economic value, and several types of sea birds, such as the brown rock goose, Malay plover, and the Erasian king prawn.

Wakatobi Sea has a very high diversity of coral reefs. According to records in the Tourism Guide in Wakatobi (2012:21), there were 750 types of coral reefs from 850 species of coral reefs in this region. In addition, there were 942 species of fish in the world with 100 identified diamond dive sites. A total of 1,180,000 ha of coral reefs and Kaledupa Atoll (48 km) were also found here and are said to be the longest single atoll in the world.

Several species of animals in TNW are rare and endangered, thus in protected status. They include hawksbill turtles, green turtles, napoleon fish, canary crabs, clams, lola, dugongs, dolphins, and black-spotted squid.

Several species of animals in TNW are rare and endangered, thus in protected status. They include hawksbill turtles, green turtles, napoleon fish, canary crabs, clams, lola, dugongs, dolphins, and black-spotted squid. Operation Wallacea in 2003 found that several families of *Cetaceans* such as sperm whales, short-finned guide whales, killer whales, pygmy killer whales, spotted dolphins, rough-toothed dolphins, gray dolphins, bottlenose dolphins and Watermelon head whale is endangered. Currently more than 500 species of fish have been identified, although many have not been recorded.

Area Exploration

In Wangi-Wangi District, the panoramic view of the peak of Wanginopo is mesmerizing. From the top of the hill, tourists can see the scenery around Wangi-Wangi Island, Kapota Island, the expanse of the high seas, and sunset. In the South Wangi-Wangi sub-district, Liya Village, tourists can enjoy mangrove forest. This island is the administrative center of Wakatobi Regency and the entrance gate of Wakatobi with Matahora Airport. The main attractions on this island are Kaluku Beach, Sala Tonga Forest Beach, Tupa Cave Lake, and many more.

Wisabi Nua is a restaurant that stands on a natural rock where tourists can see the sunset. According to the host of My Trip My Adventure Trans TV, Marshall Sastra, "Wasabi Nua is really suitable for enjoying mesmerizing sunset. It's absolutely the best spot. With the the cool air and lots of trees, tourists can feel at home and relax here." Wangi – Wangi Island offers more varied hotel for the tourists becuase number of accommodations on this island is higher and varied compared to that in other islands.

There are a lot of marine tourism destinations in Kaledupa Island including three stunning beaches.

First, Hogayang Beach with a stunning underwater panorama where divers can act around coral reefs and fish. Tourists can choose whether to dive in the deep sea (diving) or in the shallow sea (snorkeling). Tourists can also sunbathe. Hoga beach is equipped with guesthouse facilities, tourist huts, and lodging.

The next beach is Sombano which is located in Sombano Village. On this white sandy beach, tourists can sunbathe, enjoy the natural panorama, and exercise. This beach also has tourist facilities such as guard posts and shelters. Perora Beach is similar to Sombano beach with its white sand. This beach is usually used as a place to relax to enjoy the natural panorama and the morning sun.

Located in Dea Lagole, tourists can visit Hendaopa which is a natural bath surrounded by stalactites and stalagmites. To reach this village, tourists need to use a small boat or canoe so as not to damage the corals scattered in the waters of this island. Tourists are also advised to use anti-mosquito cream because the island is surrounded by trees that become mosquito nests.

Located in Dea Lagole, tourists can visit Hendaopa which is a natural bath surrounded by stalactites and stalagmites.

One of the best diving destinations in Wakatobi is on Tomia Island. In addition to presenting the beauty of the underwater world, the mainland has an attraction that can make tourists fascinated by its beauty. Tomia Island has

a collection of well-maintained coral reefs with very clear sea water. For tourists who like snorkeling, coral reef tours are the main attraction, because they will be accompanied by cute fish that live on coral reefs. Tourists can also dive in the afternoon. The sunset presented by Tomia Island is so charming. The island managers and local guides stated that there are about 28 popular diving spots on Tomia Island including Ali Reef, Rome, Cornucopia, House Reef, and Maya Bay.

The mainland of Tomia is filled with hills, valleys, and savannas widely stretched along the island. On the mainland of Tomia, tourists can find historical sites such as Patuha Fort. Hu Un Tete beach is also the longest beach on the island with sandy beach with and coconut trees. Onemobaa Beach located in Lemanggau Village. This beach also presents a stretch of white sand with coconut, cypress and mangrove trees. To reach this place, tourists must use a traditional boat such as a *ketinting* with a journey of about 30 minutes from the sub-district capital.

Hills stretch on the island with its top known as *Puncak Kayangan*. From Kayangan Peak, tourists can enjoy views of the lush grassy savanna and blue sea. Kayangan hilltop is one of the best points to enjoy the sunset in the Wakatobi area. The journey to Kayangan Peak should be taken by motorbike so that it is easier to reach every corner. Tourists can also use a car if they want to feel more comfortable. In the second month of the Islamic calendar, traditional feast called Safara is performed here. In traditional party, people flock to decorate the ship and bring various foods which will later be thrown into the sea as offerings.

Figure 26 : Coral reefs, cute fish, view of the kayangan hilltop

The next island, Binongko is popularly known as the "Coral Island". The island offers marine tours and historical tours. On this island there are a number of land and water areas that are forbidden to enter and dive into because they are part of the *Kaombo* customary territory.

The tourist attractions here include Puncak Koncu Kapala Wali, Palahidu Beach, Pasir Panjang Beach, Yoro Beach, Buku Beach, Wee Beach, and Belaa Beach. Binongko Island is surrounded by beautiful rocky hills. There are 10 historical forts that tourists can all of which were built since the days of the Binongko Kingdom in the 13th century. The island often becomes the site of the Archipelago Festival which takes place every year in June and July. This festival aims to introduce the culture and history of Binongko Island with the craft of blacksmithing. It's a good idea for tourists to bring food supplies when visiting this place because there are not many places serving food.

Cultural tourism

The four main islands in Wakatobi have their own cultural tourism. In Wangi-Wangi there is Tindoi Fort which is located on the top of Mount Tindoi. It is made of rocks forming a circular fort with two layers of defense that has two secret doors. Tindoi Fort can be reached by two-wheeled and four-wheeled vehicles for about 15 minutes from the city center.

Figure 27. Fort liya

Another fort, Fort Liya was built in the 15th century during the time of Sheikh Abdul Wahid. From the fort which is located on top of this hill, tourists can clearly see the northern, eastern and southern sea areas. Inside the fort, tourists can find Keraton Liya Mosque. The trip to this place can be reached using two and four-wheeled transportation for about 15 minutes from the district capital. In addition, there are Mandati Tonga Fort, Togo Molengo Fort, and the Lighthouse.

Makam Tua (Old Tombs) and Kamali are located in Pale'a Village in Kaledupa, South Kaledupa District. This old tomb is sacred by the local community because it is the tomb of Bontona Kaledupa and Haji Padha. Bontona Kaledupa was the person who led the government of Barata Kahedupa, while Haji Padha was the first to spread Islam in Kaledupa.

Other destinations are Ollo Fort and the Old Mosque in Buranga Village. Ollo Fort and the Old Mosque are historical sites of the local community's cultural heritage that are maintained and preserved. La Donda Fort is located in Tampara Village which is on a hill. On top of the fort La Donda, tourists can see the natural scenery of the southern part of Kaledupa.

Fort Patua is situated on the island of Tomia, in the village of Patua II. In the past this fort was used as place of defense and settlement of residents. From the top of the fort, tourists can see Kaledupa Island clearly. Suo–Suo Fort located in Kahianga Village. The fort was built as a place of defense from enemy attacks that came from Tobelo and Ternate. The location is about 3 km from the sub-district capital. Onemay Old Mosque is located in Onemay village. The construction of this mosque resembles the Buton Palace Mosque.

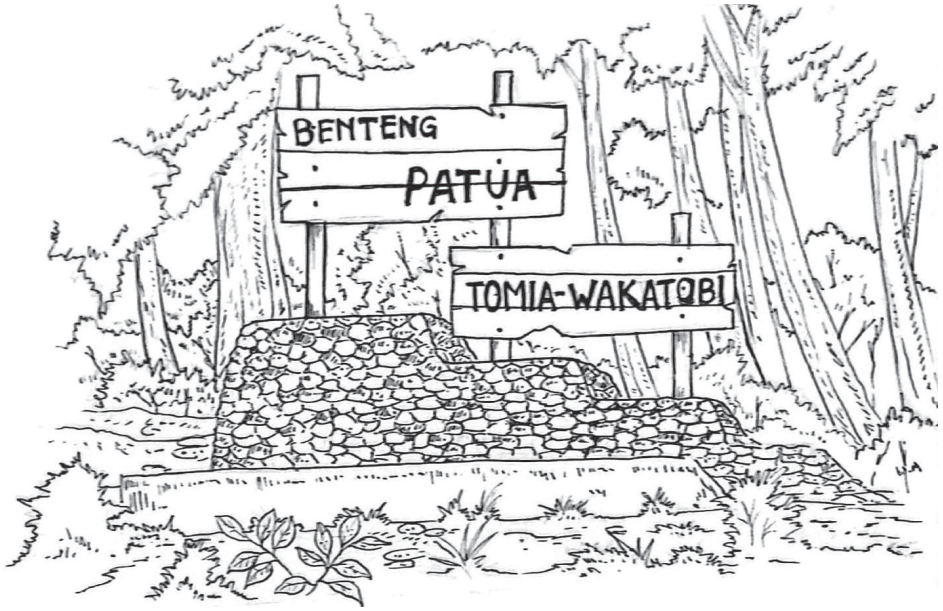


Figure 28 : Patua and suo-suo fortress

Palahidu Fort is situated in Palahidu Village, Binongko. This fort is located on a cliff north of the coast of Binongko Island. From the top of the fort, tourists can see the natural scenery and the stretcheing sea panorama. The location of the fort is about 2.5 km from the capital of Rukuwa District and can be reached by two-wheeled or four-wheeled vehicles. Next, the Guardian Fort which is in the Wali Village. The Wali community maintains and cares for the fort so that tourists can witness the cultural historical sites of the Wali community

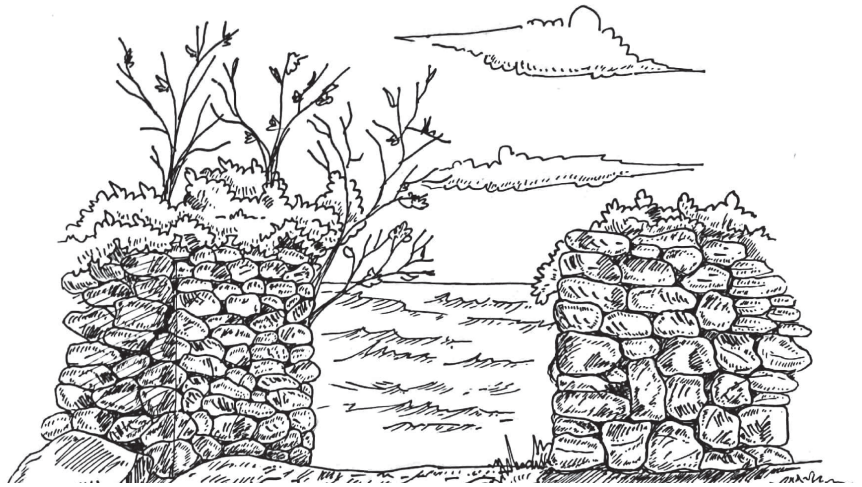


Figure 29 : Palahidu fortress

Tourists can feel the charm of culture maintained and preserved by the community. On Kaledupa Island, for example, there are traditional Kaledupa dances called Lariangi Dance, Hebalia Dance, Sombo Bungkale Dance, and Honari Dance. These dances have historical value and their own uniqueness. In Kaledupa, Karia'a traditional parties and traditional martial arts traditions that are interesting to watch. In Tomia we can find Mboria Dance, Sajo Wowine Dance, Sajo Moane Dance, and Saride Dance. Safara traditional parties and the Bose – Bose tradition are also parts of the culture here. On Binongko Island we can enjoy Balumpa Dance.

Bajo Village Tourism

Kampung Bajo is located in the Wangi–Wangi and Kaledupa areas. The Bajo tribe is a group of people who depend on the sea for their lives. A number of anthropologists explain that the Bajo tribe's love for the sea began when they tried to avoid war and chaos on land. It is estimated that in the 1950s the Bajo tribe began to occupy Wakatobi. They used heaps of coral to build their homes above seawater. They also built bridges made of wood to connect them to the mainland. Here tourists can enjoy seafood from fish, shrimp, to fresh lobster because under the house of the Bajo tribe usually a fish farm is built.

The dynamics of the Bajo suko are interesting to explore. Currently, the way of life of the Bajo people has undergone major changes, especially after they know sedentary life. The government urged the Bajo people not to move (nomadic) but to settle down since the 1970s. Another factor that causes the Bajo tribe to settle is because of the fulfillment (economic) needs and the meeting of marine culture and mainland culture. These changes have an impact, including the emergence of education awareness. In the past, the Bajo tribe was left behind in terms of education with an average of only elementary school education. Nowadays, by living around mainland communities, access to education is getting closer and easier. In the past, the main and only livelihood of the Bajo tribe was fishing. Currently, some have started to switch professions to become small traders and this has led to an increase in their standard of living.

However, in addition to the positive impact, this also brings social changes that have a negative impac: culture erosion. Bajo children who go to school dream to become civil servants or employees instead of becoming fishermen. Many Bajo youths no longer aspire to be fishermen like their parents and ancestors. Many Bajo youths are reluctant to return to their hometowns after studying or working outside. Consumptive life patterns and changes in house models eliminate the characteristics of the floating stilt houses of the Bajo tribe.

Figure 30 : House on stilts and the situation in Kampung Bajo

Wali Community

Wali is a village in Binongko District. Wali indigenous people are generally known as the historical source of Binongko. As indigenous peoples, Wali has customary institutions and practices. The community agreement regarding Kaombo contains a prohibition on abstinence at a certain location and period of time, does not exploit natural resources on land or sea. This is intended to maintain the sustainability of certain resources as a supporter of the sustainability of people's lives. Violators of the rules get punished. The challenge in implementing Kaomboini is that there are still fishermen from other villages who secretly catch fish in the prohibited areas.

Sarano Wali community with its *Kaombo* is a good example in terms of governance of customary coastal areas with a combined system of ecosystem regulation for biodiversity, cultural values of the local community, as well as binding institutions that are formed, agreed upon, and implemented jointly by the community.

A community leader from Binongko, La Rabu Mbaru hoped that Wakatobi's cultural values would be well preserved. Therefore, the newcomers (tourists) who visit Wakatobi must adapt their cultural values to those prevailing in Wakatobi. "Wakatobi can continue to advance in the tourism sector by not abandoning or losing cultural, religious values, and being able to carry out intercultural and inter-ethnic cooperation both in Indonesia and with other countries in order to maintain mutual respect and respect for one another," said La Rabu Mbaru.

Final Notes

The process of tourism development in Wakatobi is interesting to highlight, especially since Wakatobi is one of the ten areas projected by the government as Indonesia's mainstay tourist destination. From the records of the Wakatobi Regency Government, 18,027 tourist visits were recorded in Wakatobi in 2015 and the number increased by 60% in 2019; a fairly rapid increase. The length of visit also increased from 6.5 days in 2015 to 9.1 days in 2019. This indicated that the quality of tourism management in Wakatobi Regency and the level of tourist satisfaction were getting higher.

According to the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) the main strength of Waktaobi lies in the potential for marine tourism which is supported by cultural tourism. Its main markets are Japan and Korea and can be expanded to countries in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

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In BAPPENAS integrated planning, the development of Wakatobi destination will be carried out by preparing tourist attractions, transportation facilities and infrastructure, public facilities in the area, providing fuel and electricity, building destination development institutions, coordinating destination development, and providing infrastructure support outside the destination area of Wakatobi.

The need for infrastructure support was immediately responded by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) by building a number of infrastructure supporting Wakatobi tourism such as road construction, Green Open Space (RTH) in Sousu Village and construction of village boundary gates in seven villages. The development of other infrastructures such as airports, transportation facilities, and quality tourism supporting facilities will soon be implemented.

To strengthen BAPPENAS planning and PUPR support, Wakatobi Regency Government filled an empty gap related to the availability o f quality tourism human resources (HR). Therefore, in 2019 the government explored cooperation with university-level institutions in Bali to collaborate in developing a tourism school in Wakatobi. This initiative is expected to create good quality human resources at decision-making, managerial, and tourism industry players.

Despite the optimism of the central government and district governments over Wakatobi's potential, there are some important notes. First, waste problem. The Department of Environment (DLH) of Wakatobi Regency Government noted that every day the four main islands in Wakatobi produced 45 tons of waste and more than 50% of the waste was on Wangi-Wangi Island. There is no clear strategy for handling the big amount of waste. If the flow of tourist to Wakatobi is higher, more waste will be generated. This will be a «ticking time bomb» for the district whose entire water area is included in Wakatobi National Park conservation area. Indeed, the Regent of Wakatobi issued a circular in 2018 regarding the ban on the use of plastic containers or wraps in all government activities, but that was not strong enough to stop the pace of waste production.

This initiative is expected to create good quality human resources at decision-making, managerial, and tourism industry players.

The second important note is related to clean water services. The plan to build Wakatobi into an international-class tourism industry center presupposes the availability of abundant clean water. This is an absolute prerequisite. The problem is, almost all areas in Wakatobi have problems related to this clean water. On the islands of Binongko and Tomia, for example, water for meeting the needs of the residents is brackish and limited. If more tourists visit Wakatobi, the issue of clean water will be bigger. Not only it is not enough to satisfy tourists, residents will also increasingly have difficulty

getting clean water because priority will be surely given to supporting facilities for the tourism industry, such as hotels and restaurants.

The third issue is related to the aspect of coordination of stakeholders in Wakatobi. Currently there are many interests with overlapping authorities in Wakatobi, such as the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, Wakatobi National Park Office, Southeast Sulawesi Provincial Government, Wakatobi Regency Government, Customary Law Society (MHA), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), investors, private sector industry players, and more. One case example is the the conflict in the management of Kapota Island between the Tourism Office and the Wakatobi National Park or the overlapping case of the customary territory of the Barata Kahedupa MHA and the zoning of the Wakatobi National Park. There is no good strategy to break down the overlapping powers.

On the other hand, Law No. 10 of 2019 concerning Tourism changed after the government stipulates the Law on job creation on October 5, 2020. There are many controversies in the process and content of the law. Article 15 of the Job Creation Law, for example, states that tourism entrepreneurs are required to fulfill business permits from the central government or local governments in accordance with their respective authorities based on norms, standards, procedures and criteria set by the central government. The Job Creation Law removes a number of articles that are also crucial, including Article 56 concerning Foreign Workers (TKA) and Article 64 concerning the imposition of sanctions in the tourism sector. The fate of the job creation law became unclear after the Constitutional Court (MK) ruled that the job creation law was conditionally unconstitutional.

Beyond these, there are lessons to be learned from other areas, for example, the development of the tourism industry in Nusa Penida, Bali Province. Since the waters of Nusa Penida were designated as a Marine Conservation Area (KKP) in 2014, it has been promoted as a new tourist destination with the jargon "the new paradise" and "backpacker paradise". As a result, within five years there was an increase in tourist arrivals of more than 500%. This wave of tourists caused a lot of investment to enter Nusa Penida and attracted residents to seek income in the tourism sector. Hotels, restaurants, cafes, boat rentals, motorbike rentals and others grew rapidly. Land price rapidly soared and massive development took place everywhere without any spatial and territorial arrangements. As a

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consequence, many gardens were sold or left abandoned. Social activities and local wisdom were cut in order to get income from tourists. Dependence on the tourism sector was very high with almost 70% of the population working in tourism sector.

At first glance it looks good. The economic growth rate and regional income soared, residents had abundant income. However, it is very susceptible to interference. And, it was proven when the COVID-19 pandemic hit the world, including Bali and Nusa Penida in mid-2020, the tourism industry collapsed. Tourist arrivals dropped dramatically by 97%. The optimism that was so towering turned into pessimism and despair over unemployment and the debt that had accumulated in the banks. Finding other alternative jobs is difficult because the land has been sold, garden is abandoned, or they don't know how to garden anymore. A high dependence on the tourism sector must be paid dearly.

The signs have actually been seen in Wakatobi. The COVID-19 pandemic has also impacted tourism in the islands. For example, Sanawiah, one of the tourism actors on Hoga Island, admitted that the movement restrictions imposed to prevent the spread of the corona virus caused tourist visits to drop drastically. As a result, many employees were laid off. They search for a new source of livelihood. "On average, the laid-off employees survived by looking for sea cucumbers in the sea. Sea cucumbers are sold at a price of IDR 50,000 per kg. Fortunately, they received assistance from the government," said Sanawiah.

The notes and lessons learned from the COVID-19 pandemic should serve as material for reflection and review of the plans that have been built. Maybe we can pay more attention to what potentials to be developed other than simply "selling" Wakatobi's natural and cultural beauty. It is, therefore, important to listen and make plans with the stakeholders for the future of Wakatobi.

In the end, we need to ask, *"Who are all the plans for?"*

V

Magical Hands of Wakatobi

By Haris Prabowo

THE SKY WAS DARK and the wind blew hard on Binongko Island on the night of December 26th. Sarpin, a young man born in 1993, just wanted to lie down at his house, away from his daily routine: fishing in a small boat and coming home with a few kilograms of fresh fish. Usually, all these activities were carried out just when the sun sets.

Living on an island in Wakatobi Regency, Southeast Sulawesi, which consists mostly of the ocean, makes Sarpin work according to the geographical conditions and the environment he lives in. Since he was in elementary school, the activity his father passed down is one of the oldest professions in the maritime history of the archipelago: fisherman.

He is still involved in this activity even though he has completed his studies at the Faculty of Economics and Business, Halu Oleo University, Kendari, in 2018. Becoming a bachelor of economics did not make Sarpinleavethe place where he came from.

Usually, he starts sailing alone at sunset until close to midnight. At eleven o'clock in the evening returns to land. With only a fishing rod and a hook, Sarpin can bring home five kilograms of fresh fish every night, mostly katamba and red snapper.

After fishing, Sarpin brings the fish to the market to be sold to the seller. Katamba fish is valued 18 thousand rupiahs while red snapper is valued 22 thousand rupiahs per kilogram. Not all of these fish are sold. Some are taken home.

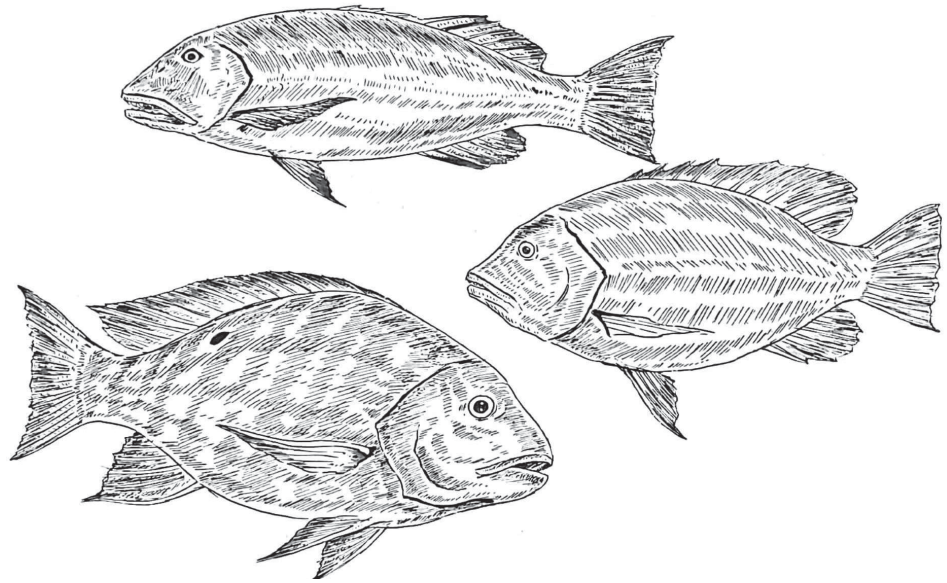

Figure 31 : Several types of fish : katamba, red snapper

"At least I don't need to buy fish in the market, I have my own fish for my daily needs at home," Sarpin said.

Amursan is another fisherman. The half-century man could even go to sea faster. At four o'clock in the afternoon, he sails in his small boat until one o'clock in the morning. Apart from red snapper, he can get more varied fish: white fish, bottom fish, grouper, and trevally fish.

Most of the fishermen in the area immediately bring their catches to the market to be sold to the fish middlemen. "They are local middlemen," said Amursan. The price is not much different from that of told by Sarpin. In the local fisheries trade system, the middlemen take the fish to Kendari and Bau-Bau City.

Of the various types of fish, not all of them are accepted by the sellers, especially the fish which are relatively new and are considered cheap in price. For Amursan, these types of fish are brought home to be served on the family's dining table.

Amursan realized that his profession as a fisherman cannot immediately meet the basic needs of his family. Apart from fishing, he also gardens sweet potatoes in his home field. Likewise, Sarpin. That's how they survive.

Wakatobi is a young district. It was only formed in 2003 as a result of the division of Buton Regency through Law no. 29 of 2003 signed on 18 December. Of the total area, the land area is only 4.3 percent (823 square kilometers), compared to the ocean area which reaches 95.7 percent (19,200 square kilometers). It's not surpising that the profession of fishing in coastal areas is one of the mainstays.

The name Wakatobi comes from the four main islands there: Wangi-wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko. However, in fact Hoga Island and Kapota Island are also included in the administration of Wakatobi, whose capital is Wangi-Wangi.

The name Wakatobi comes from the four main islands there: Wangi-wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko. However, in fact Hoga Island and Kapota Island are also included in the administration of Wakatobi, whose capital is Wangi-Wangi.

Wakatobi is one of the areas in Indonesia with abundant marine biodiversity and is among the best in the world. There are 750 species of coral from 850 species of coral in the world, 942 species of fish and 90,000 hectares of coral reefs. However, behind its natural wealth, there is one bitter fact: high poverty.

Of the total population of 95,892 people in 2019, 14.75 percent falls into poverty category. Compared to all poverty in Southeast Sulawesi Province, this poverty rate is the second highest after Central Buton Regency by 15.77 percent.

In 2016, a researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Ngadi, conducted a study in several villages examining high poverty in Wakatobi. He assessed that the poverty could not be separated from the low household income as a result of limited sources of livelihood. According to him, in order to find work, Wakatobi residents, especially those in coastal areas have to work outside the area despite the great natural resource potential within the area.

"Fishery activities are also faced with the fact that catches are decreasing due to non- environmentally friendly fishing practices. Fishermen households also have problems with the low quality of human resources and fishing equipment, so they cannot compete with fishermen from outside the region," Ngadi wrote in his research.

Three academics from Halu Oleo University, Southeast Sulawesi, conducted research in a village called Timur, on Tomia Island two years ago. They found that ereawre many marine resources that have the potential to improve the welfare of its citizens. However, the fact shows that there are still many citizens live below the poverty line and underdeveloped.

Little Kings

AFTER MEETING THE PRESIDENT, Minister of Tourism Arief Yahya immediately held a press conference at the State Palace, Jakarta, February 2nd, five years ago. He admitted that he was urged by President Joko Widodo to immediately accelerate the development of 10 priority tourist destinations. He was targetted to bring in 10 million tourists within four years.

Since 2015, the Indonesian government has had the ambition to build 10 priority tourist destinations spread across 10 regions including Borobudur, Mandalika, Labuan Bajo, Bromo-Tengger-Semeru, Thousand Islands, Lake Toba, Tanjung Lesung, Morotai, Tanjung Kelayang, and Wakatobi. These ten tourist destinations are said to be "10 New Bali", which could be the legacy of the government under the Joko Widodo regime.

Five years ago, Minister Arif stated that caldera in the Lake Toba area, which was predicted to be one of the world's heritages, would become an international standard destination. From previously only stuck at 270,000 tourists, the Government targetted one million tourists with income targeted to reach one billion US dollars.

Five years have passed and there is no significant development of President Jokowi's dream on Lake Toba. Even, tourism destination development project was vehemently rejected because it was accused of displacing income source plantations belonging to indigenous peoples.

Fishermen households also have problems with the low quality of human resources and fishing equipment, so they cannot compete with fishermen from outside the region," Ngadi wrote in his research.

How about Wakatobi?

Prior to discussing further about the development of these priority destinations, we also need to look at the state of the tourism industry and the actors monopolizing political-economic access to massively dominate the industry in Wakatobi.

Broadly speaking, the tourism industry in Wakatobi has been controlled by a handful of elites. They come from local officials and private parties who have come since the New Order era. All economic and political access in the management of the tourism industry is controlled by them.

Figure 32 : Pyramid of power : ruler-businessman-politician

Let's start with Hugua, a man who was born on December 31, 1961. The politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is the former Regent of Wakatobi who served for two terms, from 2006-2016. Starting as a cadre of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) and an activist in a non-governmental organization, he is known to have succeeded in bringing about clean water programs whose funds were obtained from international donor agencies. Because of this he is famous among Wakatobi residents.

While in office, his sister-in-law, Nursalam Lada, who is also a politician sat as Deputy Chairman of the Wakatobi DPRD. In 2019, Hugua ran as a member of the Indonesian People's Representative Council (DPR) for the chosen region of Southeast Sulawesi. Since then, he officially walked to *Senayan* as a member of Commission II for the Election until 2024.

Hugua is not always clean. He was summoned several times by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) as a witness for the alleged fictitious development project run by PT. WaskitaKarya throughout 2009-2015. Hugua was under investigation as the former Regent of Wakatobi.

His wealth as an official was last reported in the 2019 State Administrators Wealth Report (LHKPN) reaching Rp. 11.6 billion. A total of Rp. 10.5 billion of which is land and buildings and are divided into 35 different certificates. That does not include private vehicles of four cars and two motorcycles.

In business, he has resorts, diving and travel businesses, one of which is Patuno Resort which is the only resort located in the district capital, Wangi-wangi, in a strategic location. To stay there, tourists must spend a minimum of IDR 750 thousand/night. In addition, Hugua also has a travel business of airplane tickets called PataPulo Travel, which is based in Makassar, South Sulawesi.

In 2016, three senior academics—La HusenZuada, Eka Suaib, and Waode Syifatu—from Halu Oleo University conducted a study and assessed that during Hugua's decade in power, he only focused on the marine and water tourism sector, which is also his business network. During that time, there have been no significant developments in the mainland area.

Hugua often used the jargon "paradise of the sea" for Wakatobi, but those who conducted the research also made another joke: "paradise in the sea but hell on land". According to the three academics, the analogy above accurately describes the high number of Wakatobi residents living in poverty while Hugua and his political elite circle were getting richer.

"Since the establishment of Patuno Resort and PataPulo Travel, Hugua has often confused the interests of the local government and his personal business interests. Patuno Resort and PataPulo Travel have become 'money printing' machines for Hugua," wrote the three academics whose research was published in LIPI.

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The next figure is Arhawi, Deputy Regent of Wakatobi in Hugua's second term in office. He was the Chairman of the Wakatobi Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) for the 2006-2008 period and the chairman of the Wakatobi National Mandate Party (PAN) DPD. This position has made his path smooth as Regent of Wakatobi since 2016, continuing what Hugua did in the past decade.

His ambition was high. Arhawi advanced for the second period in the 2020 regional head election contestation. Apart from PAN, he was also promoted by major parties including Golkar, Democrats, Gerindra, and Hanura. In fact, big names in the Democratic Party, such as Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Andi Arief became his campaigners. However, the big names did not save him. He lost in the 2020 regional electionto his rival, and filed a lawsuit with the Constitutional Court (MK). His name was also tarnished because he was reprimanded by the Minister of Home Affairs Tito Karnavian for violating health protocols during the campaign period in the midst of a pandemic.

Before becoming an official, Arhawi was known as a businessman in the marine transportation sector under PT. Saputra script. In fact, in the 2016 Regional Head Election, when he first ran for Wakatobi Regent, there was an incident that forced resident from one of his ships to disembark because they did not want to vote for him.

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Next is Haliana. He was the winner of the 2020 Regional Head Election and officially becomes Wakatobi Regent until 2026. He is a PDIP politician – a Hugua circle – who was also supported by the Nasdem Party and PartaiBulan Bintang (PBB). Several big names took part in the campaign team, such as PDIP politician Budiman Sudjatmiko, Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives RahmatGobel, Secretary General of the United Nations Afriansyah Noor, and the former chairman of the Wakatobi DPRD DaryonoMoane.

Like Arhawi, Haliana was also reprimanded by Minister Tito for holding a *dangdut* concert on October 5 during the campaign period and violating health protocols in the midst of a pandemic.

Before trying her luck in politics and public office, Haliana was a big businessman. His business sector spreads in many fields such as contracting (CV. LiyaPersada), trading (UD. Rezky Abadi), oil (PT. Tomia Bersinar), and palm oil (plasma member of PT. Agrosawit Indonesia).

His last reported wealth in the 2020 LHKPN touched the IDR 30.4 billion. Rp 21.6 billion included land and buildings in 20 different certificates. His eight personal vehicles—five cars and three boats—making a total of IDR 2.5 billion.

The last figure—as well as the "oldest" in Wakatobi's tourism business—is Lorenz Mader, a Swiss businessman who has been the "king of tourism" there since the New Order. He is the owner of Wakatobi Dive Resort (WDR), the most exclusive tourism business in Wakatobi waters.

According to the Wakatobi Tourism and Culture Office, WDR contributed to local revenue until 2002, and it continues to grow every year. The income that can be dredged by WDR also reaches Rp 64.8 billion per year (2007 data). This is because to stay and enjoy the facilities at WDR, one needs to prepare up to IDR 4.5 million per night.

According to La Husen Zuada et al, Lorenz's business reaps pros and cons in the Wakatobi community. This concerns land rents that are disputed by land owners, contributions to the surrounding community, prohibitions on local fishermen from fishing, and labor violations.

When serving as Regent of Wakatobi, Huguafrequently said that Wakatobi was widely used and controlled by foreign parties. The PDIP General Chair Megawati Soekarnoputri, the leader of the party supporting Hugua, said similar statement. However, within a decade of Hugua's leadership, there was no concrete realization of restrictions on foreign ownership in Wakatobi.

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By looking at the map of the top-class actors in Wakatobi, we can see how tourism business there is indeed controlled by a few people—especially the officials and the elite of investors. They are people who are economically and politically benefited from having easy access than comkoners like Sarpin and Amursan.

In the Grip of Predator

"GUS DUR was the only President of Indonesia after Bung Karno who did not follow an oligarchic agenda. That's why he was immediately taken down."

Jeffrey Winters, an American political scientist, delivered a public lecture at the State University of Jakarta (UNJ) in 2016. The title of the lecture that day was firm: "Jokowi in an Ocean of Oligarchy". He strongly criticized how President Joko Widodo was similar with previous presidents. He was held hostage by the oligarchs.

Figure 33 : Illustration of the Wakatobi Islands in the grip of a predator

In contemporary political studies, Winters defines "oligarchy" as a handful of people who control political, economic, and natural resources and use all of these resources to accumulate wealth and maintain it.

In the world of oligarchs, officials and politicians will try their best—by any way—to be able to maintain their wealth, one of which is by building a political dynasty. They encourage their wives, children, in-laws, and even their relatives to also become public officials—at least to become members of the council. In the world of oligarchs too, the economic elite and investors will be happy to establish relationships with politicians and public officials. They will become donors in the political agenda or provide facilities for political elites to campaign. All done so that their business and accumulated wealth are well preserved in the area.

After the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, one of the most vocal and successful reform agendas was to carry out political decentralization. Each region has an authority to further regulate the direction in which public and development policies will be carried out—something the centralistic Suharto regime did not allow. However, for Vedi Hadiz, a political scientist from Indonesia, the policy of decentralization brings out a dark side. In his study entitled Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia Perspective, the decentralization policy in Indonesia opened the door for local kings to rise up and consolidate into what Vedi calls "local oligarchy". The local oligarchs are the

political and economic elites in each region who are increasingly monopolizing power and wealth.

Moreover, Vedi continued, such a situation is not guarded by independent social movements and civil society. This was further exacerbated by the situation in which the local oligarchs rose up complete with their respective militias and thugs in each area. They are organized for electoral interests to security from the non-state apparatus.

For Vedi, decentralization policy strengthens the economy and politics of the "local oligarchs" rather than strengthening local communities. The effect is clear: social, political, and economic inequality is rampant in the regions. Under President Joko Widodo, this situation is getting worse because the oligarchy is getting more gripping and democracy is getting worse.

Dissecting the map of the political and economic elite in Wakatobi using the knife of "oligarchy" analysis, La Husen Zuada et al referred to the above actors as "oligarchic predators". Those people have all kinds of resources and make power only revolves in the hands of a few people.

Moreover, there, these powerful people are closely related to *mosega*, a strong person who is good at martial arts and is said to be immune from sharp objects and witchcraft. In the context of local politics, *mosega* is like a *jawara* in Banten or a *blater* in Madura.

"*Mosega* has the informal power to influence voters in a persuasive and repressive manner. *Mosega* is often used by the political elite as a means of coercion and their protection, in addition to the police and government officials," wrote La Zuada et al.

They also explained that the tourism business in Wakatobi did bring in a lot of tourists. Local revenue has also increased. But at the same time, this achievement is not accompanied by an even distribution of income due to unequal economic access.

"Wakatobi economy is dominated by the political and economic elite, while the public only reeives a small share of the effects of economic growth," they wrote. "Southeast Sulawesi Province development analysis report in 2015 categorizes Wakatobi as an area that has experienced high economic growth but has reduced poverty and unemployment below average."

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Below is the poverty rate data referred to by La Zuada, et al., in their research, sourced from *Wakatobi Regency in Figures*, 2015.

Wakatobi Regency Poverty Level Table in the Period 2008-2014

Year	Poverty line (IDR/head of family/month	Number of poor people (thousands of people)
2008	151.202	24,86
2009	179.390	23,05
2010	191.496	18,49
2011	198.229	17,10
2012	202.103	15,06
2013	206.570	16,46
2014	-	15,63

Meanwhile, through the same source, the open unemployment rate in Wakatobi Regency reached 5.73 percent in 2012, 7.07 percent in 2013, and 3.59 percent in 2014.

Building Inclusive Tourism

IN THE MIDDLE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, 24 years old Ermawangi was anxious. She is the treasurer of Akka Moolu—an ecotourism group in Tampara Village, Kaledupa Island, Wakatobi.

Akka Moolu was formed on March 31, 2019. The purpose of this group is to empower the residents of Tampara Village and build ecotourism businesses and free from capital's grip. To introduce Wakatobi as not only underwater and coral tourism area, Akka Moolu built a bridge called Titian Mangrove. Akka means mangrove and moolu means shade. "Mangroves are an alternative to tourism," said Erma some time ago. She added that Akka Moolu also intends to explore more stories and potential natural destinations that can be introduced to wider tourists.

Figure 34 : Mangrove forest with footbridge/bridge

Besides Akka Moolu, several other ecotourism groups also offer alternative nature tours on Kaledupa Island, including Pangilia in Pajam Village, Dewara in Darawa Village to Forkani on a larger scale.

In the middle of the activity, a pandemic came. No tourists came. Akka Moolu and the other small tour groups were blown away. This also affects the income of the families of the ecotourism group activists.

The chairman of Akka Moolu, Fajar Afdal Pratama, 25 years old, confirmed this. Due to the pandemic effect to of the ecotourism group, the members racked their brains looking for other ources of income. "Some did apprentices in schools, worked as village officials, became construction workers, some have migrated, some have recently become civil servants," Fajar asserted.

Now, mangrove ecotourism managed by Akka Moolu is only visited by local residents to just take selfies. He said that the impact of declining income due to the Covid-19 pandemic was not only received by Akka Moolu, but also other ecotourism groups on Kaledupa Island.

"It's very impactful, at the beginning of the corona until now there have been no [outside] tourists visiting the mangrove ecotourism, Tampara Village. Groups in other villages are equally affected, but they can market their ikat products to Wanci online," he said.

Data published by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) shows that every year there is an increase in the number of domestic and foreign tourists who come to Wakatobi, except in 2012 and 2018.

Table of Tourist Visits to Wakatobi Period 2011-2018

Year	Domestic	Foreign countries	Total number
2011	2.274	5.424	7.698
2012	2.219	3.534	6.253
2013	3.315	9.055	12.370
2014	4.520	9.740	14.270
2015	6.626	11.401	18.027
2016	7.820	14.560	22.380
2017	7.020	20.419	27.439
2018	6.402	19.035	25.437

More than 50 percent of tourists are foreigners. In 2013, Wakatobi was designated as a biosphere reserve by UNESCO. This year, the number of tourists visiting is around 2,000-5,000 people per year. This figure did not experience a drastic increase; same as other years.

In early 2020, the Head of the Wakatobi Tourism Office, Nadar, stated that the number of tourist visits in 2019 had fallen by 10 percent from the previous year. However, to the date, there is no official data can be accessed. On the other hand, Nadar once said that the first two months of 2020—January and February—at least 28,000 domestic and foreign tourists visited the area. However, one month later, he claimed that the number of tourist arrivals fell by almost 65 percent during the first three months of 2020. He said that the Central Government's policy of limiting the arrival of foreign tourists due to the COVID-19 pandemic greatly affected the tourism sector.

However, even before the pandemic, the flooding tourist did not change kitchens of small communities or ecotourism group activists such as Ermawangi. In 2016, three academics (Kasmiati, Arya Hadi, and Deddy S. Bratakusumah) from the Study Program of Regional and Rural Development Planning at the Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) through their studies on "the linkage of ecotourism, socio-economic inequality, and its linkage with the livelihood system in families in Wakatobi" found that the overall structure of the livelihoods of the people in Wakatobi—particularly in two areas, Kapota Island and Bajo Mola raya—had not improved due to the development of ecotourism activities.

In the end, agricultural and fishery sectors are the main sources of livelihood. In their findings, the level of income per capita of the Wakatobi

community in all levels of the household is still low—especially the lower middle-class income, which is still very far from the poverty line.

"Better management of ecotourism and ability to involve all levels of the household has the potential to increase economic and environmental resilience," they said.

The three academics' finding is in line with the opinion of Wa Ode Syifatu, an anthropology lecturer at Halu Oleo University, Southeast Sulawesi, who has cariied out a lot of studies with Wakatobi residents. According to Wa Ode, one of the main problems why the small community in Wakatobi were marginalized because they were not involved in formulating the Regional Regulation on the Master Plan for Regional Tourism Development (Ripparda) for 2016-2025. This regulation later became the basis for all kinds of tourism development in Wakatobi—one of which was the 10 new Bali projects

"It is clear is that the formulation of Ripparda in Wakatobi and Southeast Sulawesi does not support the involvement of small people, because the formulator was not capable in performing the task," said Wa Ode Syifatu in early January. He emphasized that the Ripparda must be reformulated so that regional apparatus organizations (OPD) to regional work units (SKPD) can empower small communities more. "To be able to move together to empower the community towards tourism that acts locally, has a national perspective, and becomes a global attraction," he added.

Nasrun, a lecturer at the marine ecotourism study program at the Wakatobi Marine and Fisheries Community Academy (AKKP), which is under the auspices of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP), also has a similar opinion. According to Nasrun, so far community participation in ecotourism management is still relatively low, especially at the planning and evaluation stages. "Local communities are only involved in the implementation phase through local government projects, such as the construction of a footbridge, gazebo, and so on, where building materials are obtained from the local community. On the other hand, local community involvement can also be influenced by educational factors and local political dynamics," said Nasrun.

Because they have not been involved since the planning stage, activists from ecotourism groups such as Ermawangi do not know much about the plans for 10 new Balito be built, one of which is in Wakatobi. "I've been with the news, but it's vague. That too comes from social media," said Ermawangi.

"Better management of ecotourism and ability to involve all levels of the household has the potential to increase economic and environmental resilience,"

In line with Wa Ode, Nasrun considered that the formulation of Ripparda initiated by the Regional Government should have involved representatives from each island and various other stakeholders. This is because Wakatobi Regency is an archipelagic areawhich cannot only rely on the centralized policy of Wangi-Wangi Island as the capital city.

According to Nasrun, there are a number of ecotourism groups on each island, such as AkkaMoolu, but they look like dying because their programs does not work. "People's awareness of tourism is low and guidance from the government is also low," he said.

Another factor contributing to the low exploration is the lack of access to transportation. The only airport, Matahora Airport, is located on Wangi-Wangi Island. To reach Wakatobi by plane, the only access to get to the airport is only from Haluoleo Airport in Kendari. "Wakatobi is still weak in connectivity with other regions. In my opinion, at least there are direct flights from Makassar to Wakatobi, if necessary, Wakatobi from Jakarta," Nasrun added.

Furthermore, Nasrun explained that Wakatobi does have the potential of natural and cultural resources to become one of the 10 new Bali, the Government's major projects. However, to make small communities involved not merely as spectators, they must be invited to be more empowered in their own area. "Especially the arrangement from the institutional side of human resources in Wakatobi," said Nasrun.

Various shortcomings have emerged in Wakatobi and nine other regions – one of which is the importance of involving the community in a more inclusive manner, which has been heard `by President Jokowi. In a limited meeting on the development of priority tourism destinations, July 15, 2019, he revealed several problems of obstacle to his big project, one of which is the development of human resources. "Trainings, trainings are given so that they can really be able to serve tourists well with hospitality, a good smile, and improving facilities and infrastructure," he stated via the setkab.co.id website.

Amursan warned that the new 10 Bali project to be implemented in Wakatobi would only become an arena for the seizure of indigenous peoples' territories by big investors and businessmen.

Since entering into President Jokowi's big project, Wakatobi Regional Government plans to form a Tourism Authority Agency (BOP) which function as the executor of tourism development. However, since then this has also received opposition from the people to the leadership of the Wakatobi DPRD. According to them, the BOP is like a new style of colonialism who will seize the territory of indigenous peoples and has the same authority as the local government. Nasrun admitted that one of the root causes of the problem was the lack of socialization of the plan to form the BOP to the people themselves. "It is understandable that local people who do not understand the BOP refuse because they are afraid of harming the local community. The local community just wants to know the clarity of the BOP, the benefits for the community," he explained. Amursan confirmed the rejection. According to him, changes and developments in an area are something that cannot be denied. "However," he added, "Involvement of the little people". Indigenous peoples must be made more inclusive considering that they are local natives. It is okay to develop tourism, but in our opinion, we must also listen to the people's responses. We, as people who own the territory, do not want to be spectators in our own territory."

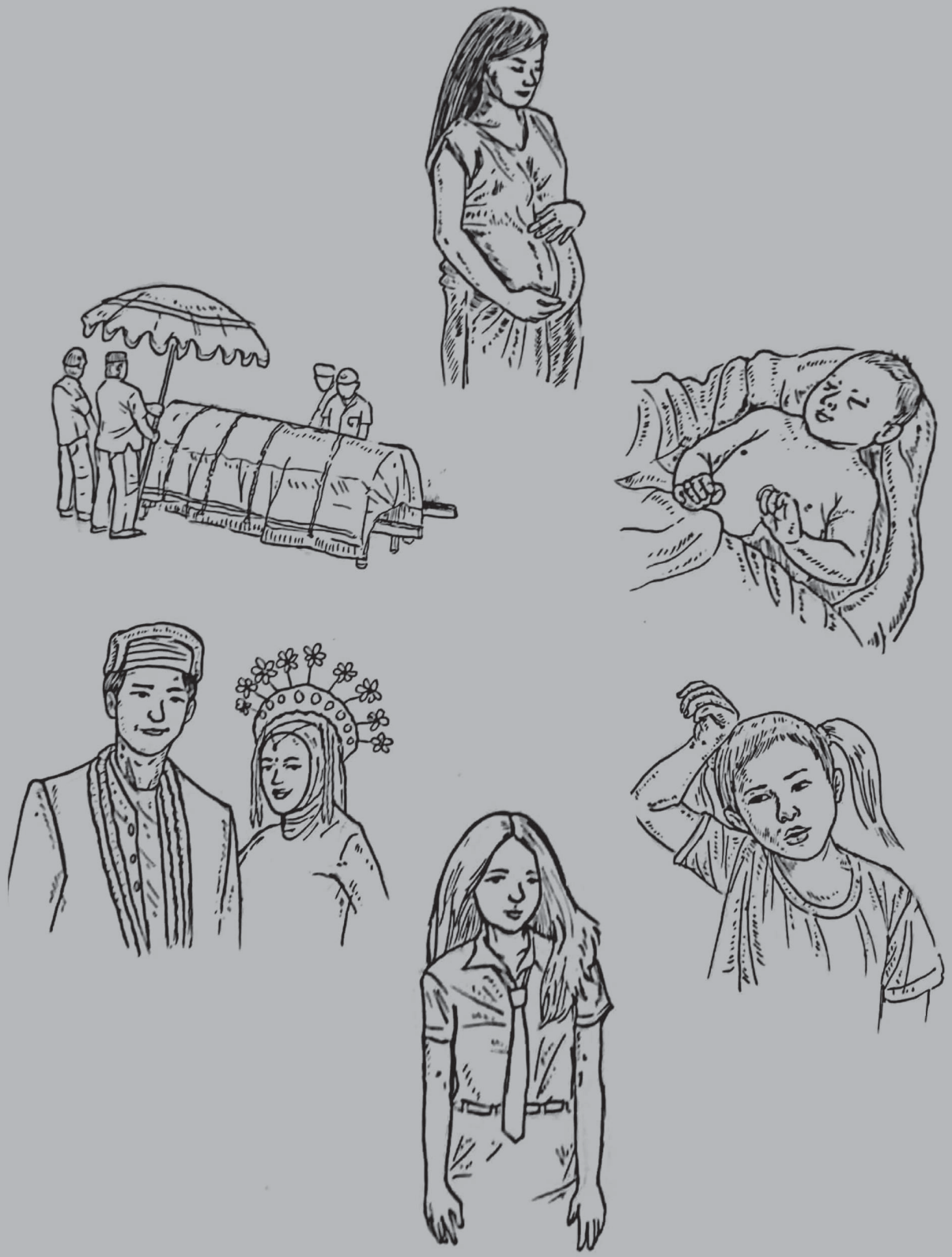
Amursan warned that the new 10 Bali project to be implemented in Wakatobi would only become an arena for the seizure of indigenous peoples' territories by big investors and businessmen. "For example, big investors, if they want to claim or force the community's will to build according to their wishes, we honestly don't agree with that. We do not agree that only a handful of people manage. Tourism must be based on the wider community," he said.

Ermawangi also hoped that the 10 New Bali national project in Wakatobi would not marginalize the small people, especially indigenous peoples, women and children. More massive involvement is necessary so that all can feel the positive impact of the project. "Isn't one of the goals of tourism is the welfare of local villages?" concluded Erma.

VI

Wakatobi Human Life Cycle Rite

By Laras Olivia



HIS face was sparkling indicating that she was happy for the smoothness that God had given to his wedding procession. Yanti, a young woman who lived in Sandi Village, South Kaledupa District, Wakatobi was grateful to be able to get married with the traditional procession of her ancestors. Moreover, the husband who married her was from the same tribe, the Butonese.

The relatives felt the joy. For ten days before the main event, they worked together to make preparations. Some people took firewood, bamboo to make tents, caught fish and made cakes. There were also those who went to their families to deliver invitations, going around from house to house called *lelei*. Furthermore, there was a *Bawa'a* activity which means delivery until the consent was granted.

The seclusion process is carried out one day before the wedding day. In the afternoon, the groom comes to the bride's house in a seclusion or *sombo'a* ceremony. Before being secluded, the bride is bathed or in Kaledupa language called *hebulusi*. Furthermore, seclusion is held in the room of the prospective bride. During the seclusion, envoys from the prospective groom accompanies the groom until the seclusion process is complete. The process takes two hours, after the Asr prayer until before Maghrib.

Yanti told me that there were a number of obstacles ahead of the wedding. The supplies of the groceries they ordered came a little late. This was because she had to buy rice and flour from Baubau. It is eight to ten hours from where Yanti lived in Sandi Village. The journey to transport the materials was by ship and the ship was damaged.

However, all was not a significant obstacle. The happy day arrived on October 17, 2020. At 09.00, the groom came to Yanti's house in a sunny and hot weather. Yanti was grateful and happy because the process ran smoothly. According to her, in the wedding procession, there is something different today from the past. The *tambu'a* (mashing) event, for example, used to be pounded with corn, but now it is replaced with rice. For tools such as clothes and accessories, Yanti had no trouble obtaining them. "It can still be obtained and is still appropriate (similar)," he said.

The *tambu'a* (mashing) event, for example, used to be pounded with corn, but now it is replaced with rice. For tools such as clothes and accessories, Yanti had no trouble obtaining them. "It can still be obtained and is still appropriate (similar),"

Traditional Wedding Ceremony

La Rabu Mbaru, a writer for Binongko Civilization, Wakatobi, Buton, tells about the traditional marriage ceremony and its rituals. According to him, before a man proposes to a woman, there is a special meeting called *parara'*. It is conveyed to the woman's family so that at night she does not to go anywhere because someone will come. After *parara'*, there is another process called *pacindak* to determine whether the male side is accepted by the female's family.

If the man is still studying, the process is continued by engagement with the agreement of a few months to a few years for wedding. If the wedding is in the near future, then the engagement period is is short. There are two reasons why an engagement can be delayed. First, both men and women are still continuing their education. La Rabu gave an example, in the past there were still few who went to school, but usually many men migrated to earn money. They migrated to Java, Singapore and so on. Second, the couple are still learning from each other. For example, if the woman has been officially proposed and then harassed, then the harassing person can be subject to a fine for disturbing other's fiancé. The woman will also be fined twice. Fines can be doubled or even tripled.

"A few days later, women will be taught by their parents how to serve their husbands. The need to be trained and there is a ritual called *tando*. There is a ritual where husband feeds his wife and vice versa," said La Rabu.

Figure 35 : Bride and groom

Furthermore, La Rabu stated thatprayers are also arranged on the pillows and mattresses of the bride and groom. The goal is to have healthy and filial offspring. After the wife delivers the baby, a process of reciting prayers called batata is performed. There is an oral tradition expressed by a traditional leader from the woman's side, she said that "Now you are married, and don't go anywhere other than with your husband. No one else can touch except your own husband."

The man who was born in Binongko saw that the majority of Wakatobi people have embraced Islam. However, mystical rituals such as using incense and incantations are still performed. He considered that incense was a Hindu cultural heritage. This culture is carried over even though the population has embraced Islam.

"It is quite difficult to throw away the old culture for the new culture. So the community wants to be followed first. When they converted to Islam and said the creed eight years later they were converted to Islam. It's not that easy. In ancient times people still worshiped many gods, there was a god of stone, a god of statues. Whereas what we know is that there is only one God, the One and created humans," he added.

To the present, the ritual of burning incense is still carried out. The four islands in Wakatobi are still synonymous with incense. Usually, incense is present in every traditional wedding ceremony, treatment, circumcision, and even death. According to La Rabu, incense is actually used to remove bad odors. Incense is burned so that people who come can avoid unpleasant odors.

"The smoke of the incense will spread everywhere, so it is also used to ask for the Almighty that the spread of the smoke can bring sustenance and mercy. Rituals by calling elders of the village are performed for newborn, wedding and moving a house. The prayers are carried out for the bed, read by religious leaders and traditional leaderr or the elders in the village. Until now, the ritual still exists," he explained.

Discussing marriage and family, the local people of Binongko is told a story that is always remembered even though they migrated to other countries. It is toldby La Rabu that long time ago, there was a story about a woman who was liked by a man named Lang Kaidewa. The woman was from a noble family named Wa Ode Ndilea. They liked each other but did not get the blessing of their parents. They continued to work on their relationship. Then the man asked the woman to meet somewhere. At that time there was a sexual

" In ancient times people still worshiped many gods, there was a god of stone, a god of statues. Whereas what we know is that there is only one God, the One and created humans,"

relationship between them. Then Wa Ode's parents swore, even though their child was pregnant, they would still be separated.

When Wa Ode craved, she wanted to eat fish from the sea. She didn't want anyone else to catch the fish except her man, Lang Kaidewa. He asked Lang Kaidewa to get her one type of fish. When the fish was caught, Lang Kaidewa carried it with his basket, and was about to offer it to Wa Ode. However, the house was guarded by Wa Ode's parents. The front door was guarded by the father, while the back was guarded by the mother. Finally, Lang Kaidewa could not meet Wa Ode and he was sad. He then hang the fish he got on a wooden tree, which called*libo* wood by the local people of Binongko. Wa Ode could never eat the caught fish. Finally she said, "Whoever in the future after my child is born, both a boy and a girl, do not remember this history, they will not have any offspring. If they do, the kids will be stubborn or flawed."

By the parents in Binongko, the story continue to be told from generation to generation. "To the present, the story is remembered. When a couple gets married, the inherited tradition is always remembered. Otherwise, they usually have no offspring, have difficulty giving birth to children, or even their children are disabled or miscarried. Because it is an oath or promise that has been delivered by Wa Ode. In order to avoid worries from that, the parents read the history earlier. Prayers are also read so that the boys really love their daughters," said La Rabu.

Pregnancy Ritual

For the people of Kaledupa (in particular) and Wakatobi (in general), the life cycle of a human being is very important. Every point of life's journey, from marriage, pregnancy, birth, baby, toddler, teenager, marriage, to death, is celebrated with various traditional rituals. It aims to maintain the safety of the human being.

After the wedding ceremony, Kaledupa women wait for an important moment of pregnancy. In the past when there were very few doctors, *dukun beranak (sando)* played a very important role. *Sando* checked women for signs of pregnancy by touching the woman's stomach. According to Wa Ode Baluwu, a sando in South Ollo, Kaledupa, now an old man and no longer practicing, sando did not only determine whether a woman is pregnant but also determine the sex of the baby.

"If you feel a lump in a woman's stomach, it is a sign that she is pregnant. A lump on the left means it's a girl. If it's on the right, it means male," said Wa Ode Baluwu.

At three months of gestation, *sando* began to massage pregnant women. This is performed once a month until the time of delivery. The goal is that the baby is in the right position, so as not to make it difficult for the mother during the birth process. In this sorting process, *sando* uses special spells.

Entering the seventh month of pregnancy, a collective prayer event was held called *Hekasuba'a*. In this event, pregnant women and their husbands are bathed. The water used must be taken from the river that flows by taking it in the direction of the current. In the water immersed 40 types of leaves and flowers that are sought from the four winds by a special person. The leaves and flowers include areca nut which is still covered, covered in ivory coconu fllower, frangipani flowers, and others.

The leaves are soaked in water that has been prepared in a family heritage ceramic tin. Then, the leaves become a tool for splashing water nine times on the pregnant woman who sits cross-legged facing the west. Then, the pregnant woman moved to a position facing east and was splashed with water eight times.

"Nine or *sia* in Kaledupa language means vain or unlucky. So, first we have to get rid of bad luck. When it comes to the last count, they will say the sentence, 'go away all bad luck, come with this ninth count'. While eight is an endless number. If nine throws away bad luck, then eight attracts all good to come to follow the child in the womb," said Wa Ode Baluwu in the local language translated by Nursi, his grandson.

After the bathing ritual, the couple will change into clothes and sarongs, then follow a prayer ceremony led by a prayer reader. After reading the prayer, the head of the family hold*spasali* (envelope containing money that was previously placed in the *tobah*, the betel nut) in the palm of his hand and shook hands with the prayer reader. At that point, the envelope will change hands. The prayer reader should not see it, he must put it in his shirt pocket.

In *Hekasuba'a* ritual, the family must invite neighbors and provide a parlor or fried bananas, along with rice, cucur cakes, ketupats, eggs, water, incense, and *tobah*. The spaces inside the tobah have various names and functions like *kopo -kopo* (a place to store betel nut and shards), *tetehiah* (a place for whole betel nuts), *kolongko* (a place for lime and gambier), and *bangkak-bangkak* (a place for betel leaves and cigarettes). In addition, *ketupat* is also provided. There are several types of ketupats that are provided in the prayer event including *ketupat kenari* (shaped like a walnut), *lungkana* (square), and *ketupat fosi* (*fosi* = shrimp, the shape of the ketupat is like the body of a shrimp).

The *tobah* provided must be filled with betel nut, four betel leaves, four cigarettes (in the past, using tobacco rolled with dry young palm leaves, commonly called *letta*), and *pasali*. The betel leaf provided in the *tobah* must be the special leaves.

The leaves are soaked in water that has been prepared in a family heritage ceramic tin. Then, the leaves become a tool for splashing water nine times on the pregnant woman who sits cross-legged facing the west.

Figure 36 : Prayer during pregnancy

The betel leaf has the same segments as the leaf bones meet at one point. Leaves should not be picked from the part near the ground which is commonly called ground scales (*kuruhuta*) because they are dirty and have been trampled on. So, have to take at the top. For information, the betel plant in Kaledupa is propagated on the trunk of the Moringa tree.

"The betel leaf is a symbol of women, while cigarettes are men," said Wa Ode Baluwu.

Impo which contains eggs (eight eggs for the first child or four for the second child and so on), four corn cobs, a pair of discarded coconuts, and rice are also provided. After the procession, the *impo* will be divided equally, one part is placed on the top of the mother's bed, while the other part is at the feet. The impo part in the leg will then be delivered to the *Sando*'s house.

There is a procession of predicting the baby's future. A husband and wife plant planted a banana tree and cut it down with one slash. If the core of the banana stem grows some time later, it is believed that there will be a lot of sustenance for the child in the womb.

"This banana slashing event is no longer performed because it is not uncommon for banana stems to die or grow slowly due to the high risk. Parents will be anxious, thinking their child is not okay. Plus, it will be the talk of the neighbors. Planting bananas is still exists, but not cut down," said Wa Ode Baluwu.

During Labor

In the delivery period, marked by the rupture of the amniotic fluid, *Sando* is called by the midwife. It was a time when there were no birth regulations to be handled by a midwife. *Sando* cut the umbilical cord using a *tumbila* or *sembilu*, a thin and sharp bamboo shaped like a knife. The rest of the umbilical cord which is an inch long is tied with a twisted cotton cord.

Figure 37 : Traditional birth attendants holding babies and mothers who have just given birth

A *sando* in Wali Village, Binongko Island, Wa Sariba, explained that the placenta cut would be covered with limbo leaves and then wrapped in cotton. After that, it is put in a coconut, covered, and planted in the ground. "Usually it is planted in the front yard of the house and given an oil lamp for one week," said Wa Sariba, who has been a sando since he was 20 years old.

Sando and the mother's family who give birth will also make *Singku Sariga*. This base is made of woven bamboo slats with a special calculation, nine vertical blades and eight horizontal blades. In total, 17 blades reflecting 17 *rak'ahs* (rukuk in prayer in Islam for one day). On top of the *singku sariga*, betel leaves, koti-koti leaves, and betel nut fragments were placed. In addition, there is also one lump of rice, one cucur cake, one egg, and one fish intestine. Before placing these objects, a prayer is recited so that the newly born child will live a long life, have a lot of luck, and maintain good health. "If this process is passed, usually children will suffer from itchy, sickly diseases such as stunting, also behave naughty and ignorant," said Wa Ode Baluwu.

According to La Rabu, some people in Binongko still believe in traditional birth attendants in terms of childbirth. They hope that with the help of *Sando*, they can give birth normally. La Rabu admitted that he had heard complaints from the public when they came to the doctor for a pregnancy consultation. "At that time the doctor said it was time to give birth and had surgery. However, when asked to the traditional birth attendant, they said it was not the time. So the residents chose to give birth normally with the help of traditional birth attendants. They will not be troubled and the shaman recites mantras and prayers," said La Rabu remembering the story.

In the 1960s in Buton, the presence of doctors or health workers was very rare. They were usually just an orderly, like an injector. At that time many people gave birth in difficult conditions, because there was no doctor to handle them. They were not referred out of town. Finally, the existing *mantri* was sent to Makassar to learn the process of giving birth by surgery. "After returning from Makassar, the *mantri* carried out his duties. He helped many mothers who were about to give birth until he was tired of himself. At that time the birth attendants finally gathered and he (the *mantri*) asked for the prayers and spells. By sweeping water from the mother's navel, finally the mother could give birth normally, her child was born well and perfectly, "he continued. La Rabu saw that medical science currently supports the birth process. But he reminded, not to forget the Almighty, the creator of man.

According to local Wakatobi belief, after giving birth the mother and child must stay in the room for 40 days. During that time, the mother is not allowed to eat fish on the grounds that her child will smell fishy.

According to local Wakatobi belief, after giving birth the mother and child must stay in the room for 40 days. During that time, the mother is not allowed to eat fish on the grounds that her child will smell fishy. On the other hand, the mother is

required to eat vegetables, such as moringa leaves, katuk leaves, and banana blossoms, so that breast milk is produced in abundance. They also consume turmeric, boiled water, and soupy foods that do not contain fish. These types of food aim to heal internal wounds and restore the mother's health. Especially for children, shortly after birth, they are given a drink of pariah leaf juice. Because it is bitter, the child will vomit it along with the remnants of mucus in the channels in his body.

In addition to the food rules, for 40 days a fireplace (called helara) is lit in the mother's room. The fire in this furnace shall keep alive. The firewood used comes from teaka trees (mangroves). The heat that comes out of the furnace aims to warm the body and clean the post partum blood that comes out of the mother's body.

It is sando's job to take care of mother and child. Every morning and evening, Sando will bathe the mother and child using hot water and massage both. This activity is called *hete'emokada*. At the time of boiling the water, various types of leaves efficacious are used as medicine. These include old banana and castor leaves.

Special rules apply for the first child in the family. The child is not allowed to sleep on the floor yet on his lap for the first eight days and nights. Usually, family members will take turns holding the child. After eight days, the child will be put to sleep on a large tray called *endak*. On the 36th day, the family prepares *Singkus Sariga*. The top is covered with betel leaves and betel nut, then covered with a mat. Then, *tenabuhan singkus saringa* procession is held by offering rice, *cucur* cakes, eggs, and *usu-usu* fish. The baby will be placed on top of *singkus*. It becomes a crib for the next four days.

On the 40th day, the baby is removed from *Singkus Sariga*, fed a small piece of the ingredients of the offerings as a condition. Then, *singkus sariga*, various offerings, and stoves are removed from the room. The "seclusion" period for mother and child is over.

The 40th day is the first day the child is taken out of the room and into the family home. This event is called *Pattuhu'a*; bringing down children. This procession is carried out before dawn. The term "bringing down" the child is related to the shape of the Wakatobi people's stilt houses in the past. That is, down through the stairs of the house. Even though now the Wakatobi people's houses are no longer on stilts, the term "bringing down" is still used. "Whoever meets him for the first time and carries him must give this child money. The value can be anything," said Nursi adding Wa Ode Baluwu's explanation.

It is sando's job to take care of mother and child. Every morning and evening, Sando will bathe the mother and child using hot water and massage both. This activity is called *hete'emokada*.

Childhood and Adolescence

An important ritual in the Wakatobi human life cycle is carried out by children at the age of one year. This ritual is called *Nabudasa*. It is sually carried out by the family from generation to generation. The goal is for children to behave well (not naughty, evil, ignorant, or like to steal) and maintain their health. "Especially for boys, this ritual is to avoid touching their genitals," said Wa Ode Baluwu, chuckling.

In the ritual, a child aged at least one year is bathed on his mother's lap. The water used to bathe the child is placed in a Chinese ceramic container, as used in the *Hekasuba'a* ritual. In the container, 40 types of leaves are mixed specifically for certain people. The leaves are soaked for four days.

After being bathed, the child is then rolled over nine times to the left and eight times to the right on a stretch of banana leaf that has been coated with ivory coconut oil. Under the pile of banana leaves are axes, machetes, and a tent (a sword-shaped loom made of wood). After the procession of bathing and rolling, starting with the shaman, the family and those present, splashing the remaining water in the container, including the walls of the house. Everything must be wet.

In this ritual, usually there is some kind of advice that is conveyed in a sarcastic way, not using the word "don't". For example, the advice not to steal is not conveyed with the words "don't steal", but "only steal a lot so you don't have to work." Another advice can be, "Some need the school so that we are fine, the naughty ones are free." This form of satire in giving advice is often misinterpreted by those who do not understand, as if the family supports evil deeds.

"Sejak berdirinya Patuno Resort dan Pata Pulo Travel, Hugua seringkali mencampuradukkan kepentingan pemerintah daerah dan kepentingan bisnis pribadinya. Patuno Resort dan Pata Pulo Travel menjadi mesin

In Nabusa traditional prayer and procession, betel, areca nut, and incense must also be provided. In addition, *teperatu (janur)* and various types of ketupats, such as *ketupat kanari*, *fosi*, *lungkana*, *bafa* (like the shape of an onion), *bale* (elongated like lepet), *langole* (long round like *lontong*), *ketanidole* (like regular ketupats), *bake nukappa* (like cottonseed), *side nukomba* (crescent shape), *pulu nubose* (like oar hilt), and others are also provided. Other important parts of the prayer are food from *usu-usu* fish, *ku uku*, *simba*, *ndoma*, *sore*, *ifi taria*, *ifi losi*, *ifi tambu*, *ifi kuwu*, *ifi melo*, and ifi *pare* must be provided.

There is another type of food that must be made by a woman who still has complete parents. *Kakumbu* is rice cooked with coconut milk. However, this coconut milk is made from a mixture of grated coconut and coconut water. *Kakumbu* is cooked in a clay pot. It is stirred using a spatula-shaped tool made of *kanpa* wood (a type of sengon). Once cooked, the clay pot is covered with banana leaves and *bontu* leaves (wide like teak leaves, only thinner). *Bontu* leaves are

also used as a base for *kakumbu* (placed on a winnowing tray) to be distributed to children in the village after bathing. Kakumbu also contains mixed fish slices and coconut oil tai (a by-product of making oil to be rubbed on banana leaves in the child-rolling process above). In addition, *kano* stew which is cut into small cubes mixed with fish is also distributed.

Children also received rings, bracelets on hands and feet, and belts made of twisted and woven cotton. The cotton rope is colored with fresh turmeric juice. The ring straps, bracelets, and belts can only be removed after four days.

The next procession in Wakatobi human life cycle is circumcision. It is performed for both men and women. There are two ways, first, in a simple (not inviting many people), called *Kenala Koa*. The second, carried out lively, is called *Islamu Parame*. *Kenala Koa* is usually held before major holidays, such as Eid al-Fitr or the night before Eid al-Adha. Only close family attended the procession. Just like *Kenala Koa*, Islamu Parame is also held before the holiday, but with a longer, lively and invites many people. This difference is usually related to the economic capacity of the family.

Circumcision is performed when the children have not reached the age of 12 years. For girls, it is performed before menstruation. Circumcision for boys uses a *tumbila*, while for girls it uses a tool made of a type of seashell. Male circumcision is performed by a male dukun, while for girls it is performed by a *sando* (traditional traditional birth attendant).

In this circumcision ritual, *impu*, coconut, corn and eggs must be provided. If a boy is circumcised, then a plate containing betel nut, areca nut, cigarettes and a pinch of earth must be taken from the base of the main pillar of the house. The soil is used to cover the blood.

Before circumcision, children had no obligation to pray and recite the Koran. However, if they are circumcised, then there are a series of obligations that they must comply with. In addition to praying and reading the Koran, they must also wear pants (men) or cloth (women) when bathing in the well. They also have to wear underwear in everyday life and forbidden from arguing with parents and teachers. If violated, it is considered a sin.

Seclusion

After circumcision, the rituals related to the boy's life cycle are completed. There is only another ritual at the time of marriage. However, it is different for girls. They still have to go through several other processions in which there is a seclusion or sombo'a procession. There are at least three seclusions.

The first seclusion is when girls start menstruating. This is called *sombo'a bungkale*. When a girl has her first menstruation, she will be bathed first, then kept in a room for four days and four nights. Just wearing a sarong, no pads, and sleeping on the floor that has been covered with *koti-koti* leaves. "The leaves have a cold effect and have medicinal properties," said Nursi.

Figure 38: Sombo'a bungkale

Girls usually get advice before their first period arrives. Mothers ask daughters not to keep it a secret. "If you keep it a secret, you will go crazy. You don't know what will happen to you. So, if you see that, you have to tell your mama, and your mama will tell your grandma. They will do what they have to do," said Nursi, imitating the advice mothers give to their daughters.

Even when secluded, the mother still advises her daughter. Girls who have menstruated are not allowed to touch boys anymore, are not allowed to kiss, are not allowed to be too close friends because they can get pregnant. Girls are also no longer allowed to fight with boys because their breasts can be touched. They also have to sleep in different rooms with their brothers. The clothes should no longer be mixed, let alone wearing a brother's shirt. Mothers remind their daughters that since their menstruation they have been different, have grown up.

The second seclusion is carried out during *Kari'a* so it is called *sombo'a kari'a*. *Kari'a* is a large traditional ritual event that is held once a year in Kaledupa which is held in conjunction with the Barata Kahedupa Festival. Meanwhile, in Binongko *Kari'a* is held every eight years. Usually, boys and girls who have entered their teens are required to undergo the *Kari'a* tradition for two consecutive days. This tradition aims to equip boys and girls with moral and spiritual ethical values, both in their status as children, mothers, wives and as members of society. In addition to strengthening the spiritual value of the child after entering adolescence, this tradition is also to pray for the child to avoid calamities and calamities. Even though boys are followed, seclusion only applies to girls.

The background of the emergence of the *Karia'a* tradition began with the victory party of the Islamic fighters in the Kaledupa Kingdom. This party was first held in 1260 AD during the reign of King Kahedupa named Muhammad Umar Muhadar or Muhammad Dangi Tongka.

Figure 39 : Party/ Karia'a festival

The process of implementing the Kari'a tradition in the Kaledupa community in Ambeua Village, include *Hengkade'a, Tepuge'a, Lawatia'a nu bura, La watia'a nu lee, Tesomb'a, Hekasuba'a, Henauka nu mo'ane, Henauaka nu wowine, folk dance performances, Porimbi-rimbi,* and *Hebangka-bangka'a.*

The clothes worn by the *Karia'a* participants are the clothes and equipment used by King Kahedupa and the Saras. It also contains religious value including people's belief in the creator of nature and all of his creations. The cultural values contained in the Karia'a tradition are used as guidelines for community activities which are ancestral heritage so that they are maintained and carried out for generations by the Kaledupa community.

For the local people of Wakatobi, Karia'a refers to celebrations celebrated at important moments in one's life such as birth, old age, and marriage. The climax is a festival. In this festival, *Karia'a* will describe a celebration around a person's age or a ritual that symbolizes the transformation from child to adult. Prior to the festival, those celebrating the occasion would send corn, coconuts, and various other crops to the chief elder of the village. This harvest will contribute to the banquet at the event.

Kansoda is another traditional procession which symbolizes the pride of the Wakatobi family having a daughter growing up. Parents want to show their proud daughters have grown up well. This traditional procession is usually carried out once a year after Eid.

Figure 40 : Kansoda'a traditional procession

Women dress and wear traditional clothes completed with brightly colored accessories and dominated by gold. Their heads are decorated with crowns of flowers and bird feathers. During the procession, women will be carried on a stretcher and paraded around the village. This procession is carried out once in a lifetime.

The third seclusion for women is done when they are about to get married. Commonly called sombo'a kafiya. One day before marriage, the bride-to-be will be secluded. She cannot meet her future husband. In the seclusion process, the prospective bride is taught various obligations that must be carried out as a married woman, including sleeping position. The one who teaches is sando (grandmothers who also work as traditional birth attendants).

Before the sombo'a kafiya procession is carried out, the bride's family must provide two types of ketupats, *lungkana* and *fosi* for the groom's family. The rice for making the *ketupat* comes from the family of a man who must be accompanied by one of his parents' representatives before the bride-to-be is secluded. The ripe ketupat is then bitten by the bride-to-be on a count of nine and eight. The bites are discarded, while the rest will be given to families whose children are still single so they can get married quickly.

Prior to seclusion, the prospective bride is bathed. After bathing, she has to wear a white sarong and told to sleep facing west. The hands and feet will also be colored using henna leaves. The next day, at daw the prospective bride is bathed again, then the front hair is cut into a crescent shape and affixed to the forehead using ongka, the resin of the resin tree which is heated using coconut oil. The comb used to straighten hair is made from coconut fiber. After everything is ready, the wedding procession will take place as described at the beginning of this article.

After the wedding ceremony, the ritual to celebrate the Wakatobi human life cycle repeats itself in the order described in this paper. Apart from this series of rituals, there is one important ritual that is also part of the life cycle, death. However, the ritual will be discussed on another occasion because it requires in-depth excavation and a wider space.

Epilogue

Today, rituals to celebrate the Wakatobi human life cycle face the pressures of modernity and outside influences. The presence of midwives and the regulation of the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia which prohibits traditional birth attendants (*sando*) from handling childbirth has caused a change in the birth ritual. In addition, thewider access to the islands also brings cultural influences from outside Wakatobi. Some places that can be easily accessed, such as Wangi-Wangi Island have clearly shown changes in ritual, such as neglecting some processions, changing the order, or losing details of the rituals. However, in more remote islands, most of the ritual processions are

still believed and carried out according to customary rules. This is a matter of pride for the local people of Wakatobi.

On November 21, 2021, Yanti gave birth to a baby boy weighing 3.5 kg and 50 cm long. The delivery was assisted by a doctor at a hospital in Bau Bau. However, during the five to nine months of pregnancy, Yanti was massaged by *Sando* to keep the fetus in a normal position. She was also examined by the village midwife.

Even though sando and midwife were did assist her during delivery, after returning from Bau Bau, Yanti asked sando to carry out the hete'emokada procession, bathe herself and the baby using hot water, and massage them both.

'Traditions still have to be preserved.'Yanti affirmed.

VII

Wakatobi Woman and Their Different Roles

By Irene Aprilya Meok

THAT afternoon, the sound of drums, *gongs*, and *bonang* accompanied 12 beautiful dancers. The slow and graceful movements made *Lariangi* dancers feel like they were on a wave. They invited audiences to join in moving their bodies.

Figure 41 : Lariangi Dance : a group of women dancing Lariangi

Lariangi dance is believed to have originated from Kaledupa, then developed and spread throughout Southeast Sulawesi. There are different information about the origin of the dance. Some argue that it has existed since the 17th, 16th centuries, and some believed that it has existed since the 11th century during the Sultanate of Buton.

The name *Lariangi* comes from two words, "*lari*" and "*angi*". "*Lari*" means to decorate or carve, while "*angi*" means people. In general, Lariangi are defined as people who are decorated to convey a message or advice to others. *Lariangi* used to be played at the king's palace during special ceremonies and danced for the Sultan of Buton. Now, this dance is danced at the time of welcoming guests and other events. Not just anyone who can dance this dance. Only virgins or unmarried women can dance so that the magical purity of this dance is maintained.

While moving gracefully, the dancers also sang ancient poems that contained history, advice, natural beauty, war, games, love stories, stories of ships that entered Kaledupa Island in the past, and others. In the past, the poems sung were quite diverse, but over time, the ancient poems began to

decrease because many poems had begun to be forgotten or not memorized anymore. This happens because there is no good archiving, unwritten poetry. The uniqueness lies not only in the content of the poem, but also in the language used. In one show there are six languages used, including Wolio, Muna, Bugis, Makassar, Malay, and Arabic. This uniqueness depicts a layered culture in one dance performance.

Lariangi dancers do not only convey messages through graceful movements and poetry, but also through every accessories used. The headdress called *panto* symbolizes nobility and the black layer of *panto* symbolizes the night. On the dancer's hair there is a bun which is interpreted as the Kingdom of Buton and the flower of the bun is like a concrete fence from the palace. In addition, on the neck of the dancer there is a necklace in the shape of the sun and the moon, which signifies the source of light, there is also a dragon decoration which is interpreted as a guard for the palace fort. The hands of the dancers wear stacked bracelets that symbolize the degree of nobility. There is a thin combo that symbolizes a virgin girl or a beautiful married woman. The orange combo layer symbolizes the evening and the white beads worn by the dancers symbolize the light of nature.

In addition to accessories, dancers also wear a *sarong* or *laka*. The red *laka* symbolizes Queen WaKaKa, the first Queen of Buton. Dancers also wear fans and handkerchiefs as part of the dance accessories. The fan symbolizes the coolness in the royal palace and the handkerchief symbolizes the sweat cloth of the King of Buton. Before and after this dance is performed, it is always accompanied by the words "*le..le...*" as a sign that the dance is ready to be performed or has finished being performed. I dance is closed with the *Pajogi* Dance where the dancers are flanked by two men, filled with receiving any souvenirs which are then stored on a tribute gutter by the dancers.

In addition to accessories, dancers also wear a *sarong* or *laka*. The red laka symbolizes Queen WaKaKa, the first Queen of Buton.

"Leggo, leggo!"

The sound of the *gong* sounded again, pampering the ears, as if inviting the body to sway and rejoice. In the midst of the loud sound of gongs, dozens of men were heard shouting the words "*lego, lego*" with enthusiasm and joy. The accompaniment of this sound was heard along with the arrival of the crowd. Seen dozens of men carrying stretchers containing four women. This is *kansoda'a*.

Apart from Lariangi Dance, Wakatobi also keeps another culture that is closely related to women, namely *Kansoda'a*. *Kansoda'a* is an important procession for Wakatobi women. This procession is followed by growing up women. In this procession, young women will be dressed in traditional clothes and decorated with very unique brightly coloured accessories, also on their heads are decorated with decorations such as crowns made of various types of flowers

and bird feathers. Women are dressed in such a way and become the centre of attention.

Woman sits on a stretcher which is paraded around the village by men. On the stretcher there are two to four women. During the procession of parading the stretcher, the men would shout while shaking the stretcher in all directions. And, when the stretcher is shaken, the woman who is on the stretcher must not show her fear. This symbolizes maturity.

Kansoda'a procession is a form of pride from the family because it has a daughter who has grown up and is growing well. In addition, for the men who are parading the palanquin, this procession is also a place for a show of strength. From this culture, it can be seen that women are placed as human beings who have a high position and position and are seen as equal to men.

Maritime Women's Footprints

Seeing beautiful Wakatobi, the journey goes farther. That afternoon the sound of the waves filled the ears of the wind blowing softly. This is Wakatobi; a district formerly known as the *Tukang Besi* Archipelago. The local people of Wakatobi see life as a voyage. They believe that the body is a boat. A marriage is a place where men and women live in a big boat called family. Not only marriage, as an area where the majority of the people work as fishermen, the people also consider death as part of a voyage. Maritime culture is closely related to the Wakatobi people.

Kringggggg,

The cell phone rings. A name "Wakatobi Pak Amursan" appears on the front screen of the cell phone. The voice of a middle-aged man was heard. La Amursan is the Chairperson of the Binongko Fishermen's Forum who lives in the Wali Village, Binongko Island, Wakatobi.

Maritime culture and Wakatobi women are closely related. In ancient times before Indonesia's independence and before the establishment of Southeast Sulawesi as a province in Indonesia, Wakatobi Regency was under the control of the Sultanate of Buton. Wakatobi is part of the Barata region in the Sultanate of Buton. Therefore Wakatobi culture is very closely related to the Sultanate of Buton. In the past, the first and second rulers of the Buton Sultanate were queens, namely Ratu Wakaa-kaa as the first queen and Ratu Bulawambona as the second queen. At that time, women could enter the government system and be a glorious period for women.

Maritime culture and Wakatobi women are closely related. In ancient times before Indonesia's independence and before the establishment of Southeast Sulawesi as a province in Indonesia.

Figure 42 : The crowned queen, in oversized clothes on the throne

The Sultanate of Buton did not only place women as the first and second leaders. Moreover, women are placed in strategic positions in the government system as queens, *oputa bawine* (the noble consort), and *sara bawine* (women's council). In the government system, in addition to determining the criteria for the candidate for the sultan, the candidate for the empress is also determined. This requirement is mandatory as a package in the selection of prospective sultans. If the future sultan's wife does not achieve eligibility as an empress, then the prospective sultan will not be appointed or fail to become a sultan. Women are considered to have an important role and the presence of women is also taken into account in decision-making in government.

In general, the position and role of women in Butonese society is strongly influenced by culture. Buton people have four levels of society including *kaomu*, *walaka*, *maradika*, and *batua*. The first layer, the *kaomu*, is the highest stratum in Butonese society. This layer is aligned with the nobility. The people belonging to this layer were descended from the first king pair. The second layer, *walaka*, are people who come from the lineage of the founder of the Buton Kingdom. The third layer, *maradika*, is the Butonese community who live in the village

environment. People in this layer can be leaders in the village, but cannot lead in the centre of the kingdom. The fourth layer, rock, is the bottom layer. In this layer there is the Butonese community which is considered a condemned community. People in this layer are not free because they made mistakes, such as violating customs and being unable to pay debts.

In this division of society, the position of women is relatively weak. Women are prohibited from marrying men from the lower cultural strata. Different for men. Men may marry women who have a lower social strata than him. This layering actually made it difficult for women at that time. On the other hand, the stratification of society which is actually formed by the people themselves and is not in line with the laws of the Sultanate of Buton which prioritizes equality among all people.

Despite having a strategic position in the Sultanate of Buton, Wakatobi women must understand the concept of *Kangkilo Awalu* (a cultural concept in Wakatobi maritime culture, where one must be able to purify one's physical, mind, and feelings from all things that are captured by the five senses) and *kangkilo ahiri* (the concept of *kangkilo ahiri*) culture where women are required to have steadfast and patient nature). Women must be strong and should not give up hope. Women must also be able to solve various problems and have a good attitude to fight for the dignity of them selves and their families.

The purpose of a woman's life as a person, mother, wife, and member of society must also be continuously fought for. A married woman must also be able to be a shield for her husband and children as well as able manage finances in the family. If the finances in the family decline, it is not the husband's but wife's fault. On the other hand, if the finance of a family is good or the family is successful in the economic field, the wife will get the credit, not the husband. To the date, the financial holders in the household are women. There is a belief or *pamali* for a husband to hold money. The money he gets from trading or selling the caught fish, must be left entirely to his wife. If needed, he must negotiate and ask his wife.

Women also receive high respect in the social environment. A man or husband will lose dignity when he commits violence against his wife or woman. Perpetrators of domestic violence or rape will get social sanctions from the community, ostracized, and their behaviour becomes a disgrace that will continue to live in the collective memory. Very often, violent incidents become the subject of stories among the community for years.

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In the household, women are also valued and taken into account. When a husband goes to work outside the home, the husband's safety is determined by how the wife behaves and prays for her husband. Amursan, a middle-aged man who works as a fisherman said that the prayers of a wife at home greatly affect how he works outside the home. When the husband goes to work outside, the house it is likened to a boat and the wife's prayer at home is the guardian. When going to work, whether it's going sailing or going abroad, no matter long it takes, a wife at home is obliged to wait and continue to pray for her husband.

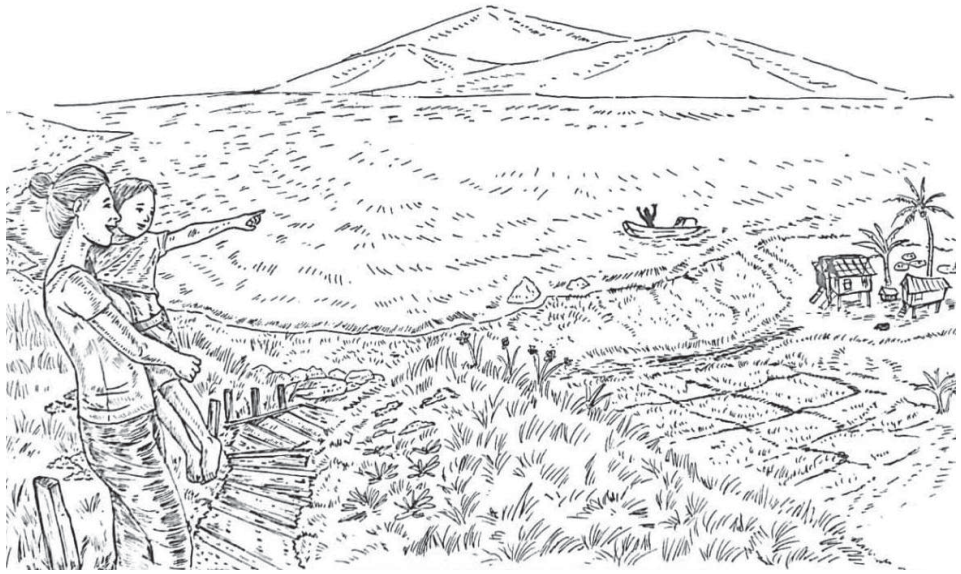

Figure 43 : Illustration of husband going to sea, wife taking care of children and agricultural land

"I go sailing for a maximum of four nights, but I used to go overseas for quite a long time. Unlike most women out there who leave their husbands when they go abroad, the wives here have a duty to keep praying and faithfully waiting for their husbands to come home," said Amursan.

When the husband goes sailing, the duty of the wife is not only to pray for the safety of her husband, but also to continue to fight for the honour of her children, husband, family, village, law, and religion. This honour can be built if a woman is able to take care of children well and is able to maintain her relationships. Wakatobi women are afraid to embarrass their husbands and families when left to go sailing. In this honour-keeping culture, as long as the husband goes sailing, it is forbidden for a woman to ask for anything from her parents-in-law or anyone else, as long as she can work it out on her own. They would rather suffer than risk their honour. In this condition, women must be able

to manage their finances well and must be able to become the backbone of the family such as being farmers and fishermen.

In many cases, women often "lose" their husbands, either because they go abroad for years, remarry elsewhere, or die. In this situation, social environment is also responsible for maintaining the survival of the woman and her family left behind. The form can vary. Female head of families get a share of the harvest from the neighbour's garden.

The role of women is also seen from the process of child development. A woman or a mother is considered the first teacher in the family realm. Its role is very important for the sustainability of the successor of the Wakatobi community. The next generation is determined by how skilful a mother is in caring for and educating her child. In addition to the role of women, a family also has an active role in the success of life. A harmonious family can give birth to good children. On the other hand, problems in the household determine the good or bad behaviour of a child.

Despite having an important role in government and in domestic affairs, the position of women in the Buton Sultanate gradually began to decline. After the second queen led and the leadership changed until the fifth King of Buton, as well as the first Sultan of Buton, the position of women began to be eliminated in any position. Women have never occupied important positions in the Sultanate of Buton, except for the empress as *oputa bawina* (the noble consort). The task of *Oputa Bawana* is to maintain the welfare and safety of the Sultanate. She also guarded the sultanate from various diseases, disasters, crop failures and specifically took care of the sultan's health.

There are several criteria that must be possessed by an *oputa bawina*, including having the ability to manage financial aspects, ability to protect the sultanate from calamities and epidemics, ability to protect the sultan and the sultanate inwardly, and having to understand Buton as cultural capital. In addition to acting as the guardian of the Buton Sultanate, a wife of a future sultan must also be able to become a teacher for the children and women of the Buton Sultanate. Now, the people of Buton start to forget the concept of gender-oriented leadership which was once highly respected by society, government, and even by culture.

Not only related to leadership, women also have a close relationship with culture which

In many cases, women often "lose" their husbands, either because they go abroad for years, remarry elsewhere, or die. In this situation, social environment is also responsible for maintaining the survival of the woman and her family left behind.

is evident in a folk tale that describes the female figure of Wakatobi entitled *Waindho-Indhodhiyu* or better known as *tula-tula*. This story tells of a mother named *Waindho-Indhodhiyu* who worked as a fish and sea shell hunter. She did it to support her two children because her husband no longer cared about the family. Not only that, the husband was also often rude to the whole family. Gradually because of the routine work he does, *Waindho-indhodhiyu's* body gradually becomes scaly and finally turned into a fish.

The story of *Waindho-indodhiyu*clearly shows the role of Wakatobi women from the perspective that a woman must work hard to support her family until the end of her life. A mother in a household has a dual role, not only to maintain family harmony, but also to be able to maintain her role in the public world by being able to support her own family. In addition, women are also the main pillar in the formation of children's character, just as the people of Wakatobi believe.

This story also tells about the bad relationship between *Waindho-indodhiyu* and her husband. She often got bad treatment due to her husband's anger. Women must have full steadfastness and strength, while on the other hand, they become weak in front of men. Women must submit and submit to the influence of men. Before turning into a fish, *Waindho-indodhiyu* continuously taught his children to take care of each other. *Waindho-indodhiyu* emphasizes to love each other, care for each other, take care of each other, and respect each other.

In the end, the representation of Wakatobi women in the Waindho-indhodhiyu story holds the principles of obedience, full sacrifice, and love in the family as well as in the social environment. On the weak side that is told, the strength of Wakatobi women radiates as being responsible, obedient, caring, and willing to sacrifice for the happiness of her family. It is about a woman who until the end of her life continued to try to guide her children well.

VIII

Food Security in *Tukang Besi* Islands

By Dicky Lopulalan

ONE day at the end of March 2019, some residents of Wali Village on Binongko Island were busy working in the house and and mosque yards. Two or three people faced piles of coconut leaf midribs. They split the coconut fronds, removed the middle of the fronds, removed the sticks, and hung the coconut leaves in a row in the yard or under the houses on stilts. Some of the other residents tied the ready-made leaves and transported them to boats docked on the beach not far from the mosque. The coconut leaves were used as a net for catching flying fish eggs in the ocean.

Busyness was also seen in the port. There were more than five 20 gross ton (GT) vessels and dozens of 10 GT vessels. The crews of the ship were seen going back and forth carrying various supplies onto the ship. They also performed ship repairs like painting the hull, checking ropes, anchors and repairing the engine.

According to La Amursan, the chairman of the Binongko Fishermen's Forum (FONEB), the ships would depart for the Arafuru Sea located in the Southeast Maluku Province bordering Papua and Australia.

"They are preparing to sail because the east wind season will soon come," said La Amursan.

In the book of Indonesian Climate Classification Method written by Arifin, east wind season is referred to as the East Monsoon season, which blows from April to October. This wind is dry because it brings dry air masses from the Australian continent to the Asian continent. In this season, the ocean currents are weak and the waves are low, making it an ideal time to catch fish.

Fishermen from Binongko are well known in the Arafuru Sea and eastern waters of Indonesia. They have been looking for and fishing there for a long time. La Bloro, the head of Forkani, a non-governmental organization in Kaledupa, stated that Binongko people have been exploring eastern Indonesia for a long time. "Go around the copra places in Maluku and Papua, they will surely know the Binongko people, even Butonese are known as the Binongko people. Papuans call all of us from Wakatobi as Binongko people. Because indeed, the Binongko people were the first to enter there," La Bloro informed.

However, Binongko people are not the only tough fishermen and sailors. In general, Wakatobi people depend their income on the sea, either as fishermen, fish and seaweed cultivators as well as inter-island trade throughout the archipelago.

However, Binongko people are not the only tough fishermen and sailors. In general, Wakatobi people depend their income on the sea, either as fishermen, fish and seaweed cultivators as well as inter-island trade throughout the archipelago. Their sailing coverage even reaches neighboring countries such as Singapore, Southern Philippines, Deli, Malaysia, Northern Australia, Pakistan, and the Palau Islands in the east of the Philippines. They usedonly traditional sailing boat

called *lambo*. Some even claimed that in 1901 four Binongko sailors succeeded in performing the pilgrimage in the holy land of Mecca by using a lambo boat. They docked at a port in Pakistan and then crossed to the holy land of Mecca by land.

This life as a fisherman and sailor is inseparable from the condition of the land of Wakatobi which in the Dutch period was called the *Tukang Besi* Archipelago. The land area covers only three percent of the entire Wakatobi area is difficult to be processed into agricultural areas. Of the four main islands in Wakatobi (*Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia*, and *Binongko*), only Kaledupa has fertile land while others' are barren and dominated by coral reefs. Therefore, residents on the entire island rely on rainwater. An article in published by *De Sumatra Post* newspaper, March 26, 1931, stated that the condition of the two islands in Wakatobi, Tomia and Binongko, was worrying. They were so barren that even firewood had to be imported from outside the island while drinking water was obtained from the filtering of brackish water.

Wakatobi Islands, which are located between the waters of the Buton Sea, Banda Sea, and Flores Sea, had severe limitations before the 1980s when transportation still relied on sailing ships. Supplies of basic necessities and logistics from other areas were unreliable. It could take months for ships to reach Wakatobi. If the weather was bad and the waves were high, Wakatobi could be isolated.

This condition forced the Wakatobi residents who stayed (not migrate) to develop independent food security strategies to survive collectively. Since centuries they had domesticated various types of forest plants (such as tubers) and cultivated various types of food seeds from inside and outside, taking into account the cycles of the growing season as carefully as possible, developing a food preservation system so that it can last as long as possible, and building a system of social solidarity to support each other's common needs.

The situation changed when the government implemented a motorization program policy in 1977. While on one side the program had shut down shipping in mainland Buton, it succeeded in changing traditional shipping into modern shipping in *Tukang Besi* Islands

The motorization program encouraged more massive trade in and out of Wakatobi. One of the highlights of trade in the 1980s and 1990s was the entry (mostly illegally) of second-hand goods on an international scale into village structures in Wakatobi, particularly in Wangi-Wangi (Wanci). The entry of these goods simultaneously opened up economic opportunities for other communities to market them to various islands or regions in Indonesia, especially in Eastern and Central Indonesia (Kompas, 18 June 1998). These items included Duralex plates (made by a French company that spreads to Southeast Asia via the ports of Singapore and Malaysia), bicycle-moto-cross (BMX) bicycles, televisions, motorcycles, motorized boats, and good quality if used

convection goods. This also included people's food needs, including rice which was originally intended as a monthly "quota" for civil servants.

The opening of the tourist attraction on Hoga Island by Australian businessman Cris Mayor and the tourist attraction *One Mobaa* by Swiss entrepreneur Lorenz Maeder made the islands popular internationally and visited by thousands of foreign tourists every year through the airport and sea at Wangi-Wangi, as well as an exclusive airport on Tomia Island. In addition, the central government's plan to make Wakatobi one of the 10 priority tourist destinations of "New Bali" affects the local food security system. Slowly but surely, forests, coasts, or gardens change in functions while increasing the dependence of residents on food from outside the area.

The "Living Barn" Named Forest

AMBON riots on 11-12 September 2011 unexpectedly changed the life line of the couple La Asiru and Wa Nina, as well as their six children and daughter-in-law. A couple from Tomia who opened a business in Tual, Maluku, had to return home to East Kulati Village in Tomia because all of their assets were caught in the fire of the riots and completely destroyed.

"Our family left from Tual on a sailing boat for a week wearing only clothes attached to the body and could not save anything. During that trip, I was very sad remembering all our lost efforts and I felt anxious about our future," Wa Nina recounted difficult times in an interview at her residence in East Kulati Village in March 2021.

Not wanting to trouble the family back home, Wa Nina, her husband, and children and daughter-in-law built a modest hut on the beach with a roof, walls, and a base made of dried coconut leaves.

To survive, Wa Nina and her family collected various local foods from the forest such as wild *opa* (a type of tuber) and sago. Wild *opa* grows in the forests around the coast and in the gardens of the ancestors of the Wa Nina family. The tubers are large and within an hour of digging, they could get two to three sacks of *opa* which they then boiled or fried.

Wa Nina's daughter-in-law liked to catch fish by *molo* (catching) or with archery and the catch was exchanged for cassava. The exchange continued until Wa Nina and her family opened the garden. They grew cassava, garden *opa* (a type of opa that has been cultivated) and a few other garden crops.

"Our family left from Tual on a sailing boat for a week wearing only clothes attached to the body and could not save anything. During that trip, I was very sad remembering all our lost efforts and I felt anxious about our future,"

"I spent days in the forest, sleeping in the forest too. I planted cassava so we could eat quickly. My body wanted to stop, but the situation didn't allow it. The saddest thing was that we have suffered more than usual," said Wa Nina in a low voice.

After seven months of gardening, things began to improve, they no longer had food difficulties. The garden yielded. "I am was grateful because what we planted throve and was fruitful." Wa Nina said. According to her, land guards and ancestral spirits gave their blessing. After some time, their family's life improved. They could build decent houses in the village, the gardens provided adequate harvests, and their children and in-laws got jobs that provided them sufficient income.

The nature of the Wakatobi mainland is indeed harsh, but it also has a variety of local food potential. The forests in Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko are an important source of food for the residents and are utilized when the garden produce does not meet their food needs. The types of food sources from the forest or the surrounding environment include tubers such as various types of *opa* (called *hopa*[15] in Binongko), various types of *kano*[16] (or *santa* in Binongko), *ondo*, *witak*, *timbo*, *keladi-keladian*, sago[17]; types of leaves such as moringa, pariah, *kaukomba*[18], *kakukurisa*[19], *hopali*[20], *tamaluda*[21], *terebu*[22], *lappa*[23], *pokoloi*[24], forest flower *kadasewolao*[25]; sago stalks; konau(palm); bamboo shoots; various types of fruits such as forest mango, ngaolotu, forest papaya[26], loba (melinjo), *lamabo*[27], wuluh starfruit, tamarind, and many more.

15 One type of hopa that grows wild in Binongko is *kambuku*. The shape is round and wide. It only needs to be boied. The word "kambuku" in the local language also means female genitalia.
16 A kind of *kano*, but poisonous. The leaves are round, the stems are thorny, the tubers are branched like fingers. In the past, during famine, it was consumed with special processing techniques.
17 *Sago* in this context is not a commonly known type of palm, but rather like a turmeric plant with long tubers like white carrots and lots of fiber (similar to arrowroot in Java). Usually this sago tuber is cooked into *kale* and *papeda*.
18 The tree is large, the trunk is white, the young leaves are used. It is usually boiled with coconut milk.
19 Grows creeping and many in coastal areas. Residents pick young and old leaves to make vegetables with coconut milk.
20 The term for a banyan tree whose leaf shoots can be used for vegetables. The tops of these leaves get old quickly, so they must be picked quickly. If it is old, the leaves become hard and can no longer be eaten. Usually, the tops of hopali leaves are cooked in coconut milk or stir-fried.
21 One meter high shrub. This plant appears in abundance when the rainy season approaches and its shoots are used.
22 Creeping plants. Just like tamaluda, eggplant is used for its shoots. This plant lives throughout the year so that it can meet the vegetable needs of mothers in the dry season.
23 Seasonal tree, grows during the east monsoon. The leaves are like cotton leaves. The young leaves and flowers are consumed. The leaves are usually steamed with papaya leaves.
24 It propagates almost like a betel. The young leaves are vegetable.
25 This plant is a large tree, the flowers are like papaya flowers. *Kadesewolao* wood is commonly used as firewood. The taste of the flower is bitter. To reduce the bitter taste, people usually boil it first and then fry it.
26 All used. Leaves, fruit and flowers for consumption. Roots for malaria medicine.
27 The tree is similar to *melinjo*, the fruit is like petai but is usually used for vegetables.

Table 1 : Classification of Local Foods

Classification of Lokal Foods	
Part of plant	**Name/ Type of plant**
Tubers	***tamopa (hopa in Binongko), kano (santa in Binongko), ondo, witak, timbo, taroes, sago***
Stems	**sago stalks; konau (palm); bamboo shoots moringa,**
Leaf	**pariah, kaukomba, kakukurisa, hopali, tamaluda, terebu, lappa, pokoloi**
Fruit	**forest mango, *ngaolotu*, forest papaya, *loba* (melinjo), *lamabo*, starfruit, tamarind**
Flower	***kadase wolao***

For forest mangoes, Kaledupa residents are familiar with nearly 19 types of mangoes including *taepa* (mango) *koba, pulu, hala or karae, tubera, kafu-kafu, tadu, tumbila, sekui, bu, kapaea, patu, mangosa, bulali, rante -rante, laku, masara, kambose, and gola.*

Table 2 : The types of coconut and their morphology

Types of mangoes and their morphology			
Types of Mango (taepa)	**Morphology**	**Flavor**	**Utilization**
Koba	The tree is big and grows a lot on the side of the road. The skin of the green fruit is faded, but when it is too ripe it will appear brown spots. The flesh of the fruit is denser. The color of the skin of the ripe fruit is yellowish and has a distinctive aroma	sweet after ripe	Young mangoes are usually peeled, dried in the sun, and used as a seasoning instead of tamarind.
Pulu	often referred to as sucked mango because the fruit is small with dark green skin color both in raw and ripe. Similar to taepa rante-rante, only the fruit is smaller, the fruit stalk is longer, and in one stalk there are many fruits	very sweet when ripe.	consumed by perforating the skin and sucking the flesh of the fruit.

Types of mangoes and their morphology			
Types of Mango (taepa)	**Morphology**	**Flavor**	**Utilization**
Hala / karae	The tree is big and grows a lot on the side of the road. The skin of the green fruit is faded, but when it is too ripe it will appear brown spots. The color of the skin of the ripe fruit is yellowish and has a distinctive aroma	sweet	Consumed normally when raw /ripe
Tubera	The fruit is large, round like a coconut. When ripe, the skin of the fruit is yellow.	sweet	Consumed normally when raw /ripe
Kafu-kafu	similar to the *taepa tubera*. Soft fruit texture. When ripe, the center of the fruit flesh will be soft while the surrounding remains solid. The color of the skin of the fruit is not too yellow when ripe.	crunchy, sweet	Consumed normally when raw /ripe
Tadu	Fibrous flesh and fragrant. The shape of the fruit is like taepa koba, only smaller.	sweet	
Tumbila	oval in shape and has thick flesh.	very sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Sekui	Fibrous flesh and fragrant. The shape of the fruit is like taepa koba, only smaller. More fibrous than *taepa taepa tadu*. The fiber is more. The shape of the fruit is unique, like the tail of a king prawn	sweet a fter ripe	Consumed normally when ripe
Bu	The bar is tall and straight. The fruit is round, can reach a diameter of 10 cm. The flesh is thick. When cooked not too mushy.	sweet	Consumed normally when raw /ripe
Kapaea	similar to *kafu-kafu*. The color of the skin of the fruit is not too yellow when ripe and not too green when unripe. On the skin of the fruit there are usually black spots.	sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Patu	similar to *taepa tadu*, round, not fibrous, and when raw it is very hard.	sweet	Consumed normally when ripe

Types of mangoes and their morphology			
Types of Mango (taepa)	**Morphology**	**Flavor**	**Utilization**
Manggasa	similar to *kafu-kafu*. The color of the skin of the fruit is not too yellow when ripe and not too green when unripe. On the skin of the fruit there are usually black spots. The fruit size is bigger than *kafu-kafu*.	very sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Bulali	the fruit is smaller than *taepa bu*. The skin of the fruit is pale green and smooth. The flesh is a bit fibrous and mushy when cooked.	sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Rante-rante	Similar to taepa pulu, only the fruit is smaller, the fruit stalk is longer, and in one stalk there are many fruits.	very sweet when ripe	Consumed by perforating the skin and sucking the flesh of the fruit.
Laku	similar to *tadu*, only it is not fibrous and has a strong aroma that is able to attract the attention of wild animals such as civets (*laku = weasel*).	sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Masara	When the fruit is young, there is a reddish purple color at the base of the fruit.	sweet	Consumed normally when ripe
Kambose	The fruit is small and round, like a lime. *Kambose* itself means corn on the cob.	sweet, sour	Consumed normally when ripe
Gola	Similar to *manggasa*, the difference is that the flesh of the fruit is thicker	sweet as gola (sugar)	Consumed normally when ripe

In addition to the name, local people are also familiar with the morphology, taste, use, and social context of each type of taepa. *Taepa koba* for example, has a large tree and many grow on the side of the road. The skin of the green *taepa koba* fruit is faded, but when it is too ripe, brown spots will appear. This type of mango fruit tastes sweet after ripe. Young mangoes are usually peeled, dried in the sun, and used as a seasoning for cooking instead of tamarind. The size of the *taepa koba* fruit is similar to that of *taepa hala* or *karae*, but the flesh is denser. The color of the skin of the ripe fruit is yellowish and has a distinctive aroma.

Another type of mango, *taepapulu* is often referred to as sucked mango because it is consumed by punching holes in the skin and sucking the flesh. The fruit is small with a dark green skin color both raw and ripe. It tastes really

sweet when it's ripe. It is similar to *taepa pulu* and *taeparante-rante*, but the fruit is smaller, the fruit stalk is longer, and there are many fruits in one stalk.

Taepa tubera is different because the fruit is large and round like a coconut. When ripe, the skin of the fruit is yellow. The fruit of *taepa kafu-kafumi* is similar to *taepatubera*. However, the texture of *kafu-kafu* fruit is soft, crunchy, and sweet. When ripe, the center of the fruit flesh will be soft while the surrounding remains solid. The color of the skin of the fruit is not too yellow when ripe. *Kafu-kafu* fruit is delicious (not sour) even when consumed raw.

Taepa tadu fruit has a different character. Its flesh is fibrous and well fragrant. The shape of the fruit is like that of *taepa koba*, only smaller. It is less favorable because the fibers often slip and get caught between the teeth. However, regarding this fiber, *taepatadu*is rarer compared to that of *taepa sekui.* The fiber is higher and the shape of the fruit is unique like the tail of a king prawn.

Taepa tumbila fruit is different from the mangoes mentioned above because it is oval in shape and has thick flesh. The taste of the fruit is very sweet.

Taepa bu tree has another character. This type of mango has a tall straight stem. The fruit is round, can reach a diameter of 10 cm with thick flesh. When cooked it is not too mushy and when consumed raw it is delicious because it is not sour. Children really like this type of mango. Residents remember that this mango was most often consumed in the morning because it fell due to bat bites at night. It is similar to *taepa buya, taepa bulali*, only the fruit is smaller. The skin of the fruit is pale green and smooth and the flesh is slightly fibrous and mushy when ripe.

The fruit of *taepa kapaea* is similar to *kafu-kafu*. The color of the skin of the fruit is not too yellow when ripe and not too green when unripe. There are usually black spots on the skin of the fruit. Another type that is also similar to the shape of the *kafu-kafu* fruit is *taepa manggasa*. It's just that the mangosa size is bigger and very sweet when ripe.

The size of the fruit of taepapatu is similar to that of *taepa tadu*. It is round, fibrous, and hard when raw. *Taepa laku* is also similar to that of *tadu*, only it is not fibrous and has a strong aroma that is able to attract the attention of wild animals such as ferrets (*laku* = ferrets). *Taepa manggasa*is similar to that of*kafu-kafu*, but is bigger and sweeter when ripe. *Taepa gola* is also similar to that of manggasa is, the difference is that the flesh of the fruit is thicker and tastes sweet (*gola* = sugar).

Taepa masara has a reddish purple color at the base when the fruit is young. This makes people often deceived thinking the young *masara* fruit is ripe.

The last type of mango is *taepa kambose*. This mango fruit is small and round, like a lime. *Kambose* means corn on the cob. There is no information what it has to do with this mango being given such a name.

Figure 44 : Local food in the form of leaves for medicine

Some types of food sources originating from the forest are toxic so they need special treatment before consumption. Forest *kano*, for example, must first be soaked in seawater for two nights until the salt water is absorbed. This is then aerated for two nights, washed with fresh water, and dried in the sun for two days. After that it must be curdled for two nights. If it has gone through the process, then this type of *kano* can only be used, either for cooking or stored for months for food reserves. Usually this food ingredient will be sliced thinly before cooking as desired. This treatment is also similar to *ondo*, which apart from being soaked in seawater, can also be soaked in flowing river water. This is to get rid of the toxins contained in the tubers.

Kakukurisa leaves which are commonly used for vegetables are also poisonous. To process it, the leaves must be washed and squeezed many times until the washing water is clear. If it is still blue, it means that there is still poison left, which can cause itching.

In addition to food needs, wild plants are also a source of medicine for residents. This is especially the case in times of limited access to health facilities and supply of modern medicines. Some types of plants that are often used by residents, for example, *Kaukomba* to treat hypertension. The trick is to drink the boiled water of the leaves. Another way is to drink boiled beluntas leaves, boiled dried banana leaves (*kombalu*), avocado leaves, or wuluh star fruit leaves.

Karuliruhi (lantana) can also be used for internal and external wounds. For internal wounds, *karuliruhi* leaves are boiled and drunk or ground and then mixed with water and drunk. As for external medicine, the skin of *karuliruhi* is pounded and then applied to the wound. Besides *karuliruhi*, the local residents also use *komba-komba* leaves, *Kaujava* bark, papaya leaves, insect nests (*sapo pagonggo*), or *koiya* leaves for wound medicine. *Hola* leaves can also be used. The leaves are given whiting, then mixed with saliva, kneaded, and smeared to the wound. Meanwhile, for pain relief (anaesthesia), *kambalole* (amethyst) leaves can be used. *Kambalole* leaves are ground and applied to the affected area.

Kakukurisa leaves which are commonly used for vegetables are also poisonous. To process it, the leaves must be washed and squeezed many times until the washing water is clear.

Residents also use *srikaya* leaves for fever medicine. The leaves are mixed with water, kneaded, then the water is drunk to sufferers of fever. Leaves are used as a compress on the forehead and body. The bark is cut into pieces, soaked in water, and the soaking water is drunk. Another plant used for medicine is *koti-koti*. The cork of this plant's twigs, if crushed, is good for eye pain medicine. For malaria, local residents use a mixture of quinine bark, papaya, *marantawali, samburuto*, and *katende* seeds. To reduce heat, the skin hairs on the stems of *tomu* are used. In addition, a mixture of *dingi*leaves (*cocorbebek*), *nonasrikaya* leaves, *castor* leaves, *turi* bark, and *koti-koti* leaves are also used.

For skin diseases such as scabies, local residents use frangipani bark or turi tree bark. The wood is mixed with

grated old coconut and rubbed into the mange. As for skin diseases such as itching, tobacco leaves are usually used. Tobacco leaves are still green rubbed into the itchy skin. For healing wounds with bruises, guraguranta leaves are used. For skin diseases such as boils, you can use hibiscus, young cocoa pods or limestone. The method of use is the same, the materials are crushed and attached to the ulcer.

In various rituals and traditional ceremonies, residents also use plants from the forest and gardens, especially betel leaf and areca nut. In almost all rituals, both are important requirements. In the *Hekasuba'a* ritual, a prayer to commemorate the seventh month of pregnancy, pregnant women and their husbands are bathed in water soaked in 40 types of leaves and flowers collected by special people from the four winds. The leaves are soaked in water that has been prepared in a family heritage ceramic tin. Then, the leaves become a tool for splashing water nine times on the pregnant woman who sits cross-legged facing the west. Then, the pregnant woman move to a position facing east and is splashed with water eight times.

In *Nabusa* ritual, 40 leaves are used as a complement to the ceremonial requirements. This ceremony is carried out when the child is one year old with the aim that the child can behave well in the future. The child is bathed on his mother's lap using water placed in a Chinese ceramic vessel, as used in the *Hekasuba'a* ritual. In the container, 40 types of leaves are mixed specifically for certain people. The leaves are soaked for four days.

For *sombo'a bungkali* rituals (seclusion for young women who have their first menstruation) it is mandatory to provide *koti-koti* leaves. This leaf is spread on the floor and becomes a place for the girl to lie down who only wears a *sarong* without a bandage. That said, the leaves have a cold effect and have medicinal properties. *Lokaoke* bananas must also be provided during circumcision (stem), death (stem), and heimbua ritual offerings for a nine-tentacled octopus (stem complete with fruit). To ward off ghosts, several types of plants are also used, such as srikaya leaves (kept at the entrance or placed in the ear) and thorny orange twigs, coconut mayang, and sea pandan leaves. The plant parts are covered with a kasoami steamer, then tied under the stilt house.

In various rituals and traditional ceremonies, residents also use plants from the forest and gardens, especially betel leaf and areca nut.

The introduction of community members to the potential of the forest to fulfill their needs for food, medicine, and rituals above shows a close relationship with nature. Forests and the surrounding environment are an important part of people's lives. And, it has been going on for centuries so that it becomes a culture. There is a kind of collective awareness, the

forest becomes a "barn of life" to support people's lives in all their limitations. This collective awareness is perhaps what has caused not many large-scale disturbances to the forest area in Wakatobi. The forest area of 9,828 ha consisting of community forest (7,348 ha) and state forest (2,345 ha)[28] is relatively safe and supports the lives of the villagers around the forest.

Abundant Food Raw Materials

Nature gives signs to read. By looking at natural phenomena, the local people of Wakatobi can determine the season, weather, and all the activities that will follow it. For example, in Wali Village, Binongko, in the past, when they did not know the Gregorian calendar, they relied on natural signs to determine the right time to plant crops.

One of the signs read by local people is the appearance of whales in the waters around Wali. The whales swimming from north to south during the dry season is a sign that the west wind is coming soon, and the rainy season is approaching. Usually, the appearance of the whales occurs in November, the end of the dry season.

Residents who saw the whale's appearance immediately contacted the three leaders (*lurah, imam* of the mosque, *and lakina/* customary leader). The village head will then issue an invitation letter to community leaders and residents for deliberation at the traditional house or *baruga*. This invitation is also read by the *imam* at the mosque. They will check the readiness of the residents' land. If there are residents who have not prepared the land, they are asked to immediately clear the land and burn their garbage, because the signs of the rainy season are coming.

Figure 45 : Whales pass, as a sign of the changing of the seasons

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Figure 46 : Residents hold discussion led by the leaders of 3 furnaces (lurah, mosque imam and man)

Land clearing is not necessarily followed by planting. Residents still wait for the next signs; the reappearance of whales swimming from south to north. This is a sign that it will rain in the next few days. Residents gather again in the *baruga*. This time they pray together, recite mantras or *batata*, and eat the banquet brought by each resident.

According to the Imam of the Wali mosque, La Ode Armin, the imam will determine the planting time and lead the prayer. "The prayers we say contain a request to be given sustenance, may our efforts be blessed, and keep them away from all pests," said La Ode Armin.

The next day, the first planting procession is carried out by the imam of the mosque, the village head, and men of the village. One day later, the residents planted their own land. The types of seeds planted include corn, cassava, cucumber, and pumpkin.

Corn and cassava were staple food crops for Wakatobi residents, especially before rice began to flow rapidly after the 1980s. Apart from the two, residents also plant *opa* and *kano* as staple food crops to replace corn and cassava when supplies run out and wait for the next harvest. Seeds from staple food crops are produced in-house by separating the best fruits from the previous harvest and storing them for use in the next growing season.

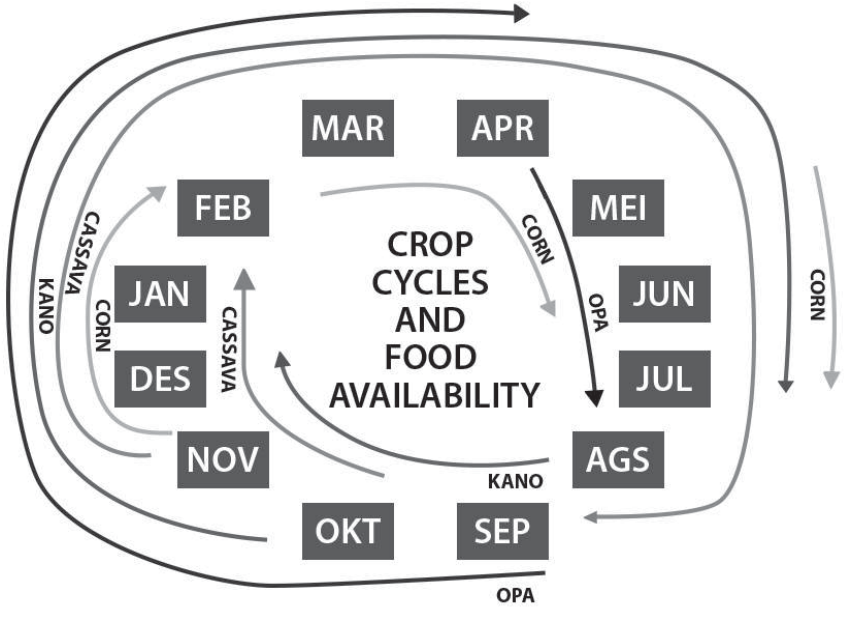

Figure 47 : Cycle of planting various types of local food in Wakatobi (periodization by month/ calendar of the year)

Wakatobi residents have various types of local corn to plant in their gardens. In Wali Village, Binongko, the community recognizes several types of *gandu* (corn), namely *gandu pulu*, *gandu moriri*, *gandu parangi*, and *gandu kapute*. The four types of corn have the same stem and leaf morphology, the difference lies in the color of the seeds.

Meanwhile, in Tomia, residents know at least five local varieties of corn, such as *fullu pong*a (pulut corn, purple seeds), *mohute* (ordinary corn, white seeds), *bolombo* (three colored seeds: white, yellow, and purple), *pulla (pulut)*, and *kelokonde* (yellow seeds). In Kaledupa, there are several types of corn that are well-known to residents, such as *gandu makuri* (yellow seeds), *gandu fungo* (dark purple), *gandu pullu* (*pulut* corn), *gandu buri* (mixed colors of red, yellow, white, and purple), gandu pullu fungo (*pulut* in purple), and *gandu pullu mohute* (*pulut* in white).

After the corn seeds sprouted, residents in Kaledupa and Tomia plant several other types of crops such as cassava, pumpkin, cucumber, sugar cane, and sorghum. These crops will be planted between the corns by utilizing the ashes from burning bushes or wood collected during land clearing.

In Binongko, the community initially only recognized two types of *laa'a* (stems) for *kasubia* (cassava), namely *laa'a yanda* and *laa'a ndoke*. Both have a long harvest period, almost two years. This made the people of Binongko at that time vulnerable to hunger. The local community then began to plant types of cassava whose harvest period was relatively short, six months to one year, such

as *laa'a baggoro*, *laa'a englishi*, *laa'a wungo*, *laa'a kalambe*, *laa'a koicu*, *laa 'a landoke*, *laa'a labia*, and *laa'a jampea*. This type of cassava plant is brought from other areas such as the island of Buton and the Maluku islands.

In Tomia, cassava is called *kaukano*. There are at least nine *kaukano*, they are *mokoro* (same as *bagora* in Binongko and *bogo* in Pajam), *santria, salbia, you, andabula, anda karambau, bogoro, makuri, kalambewanse,* and *kalambe*. Meanwhile, in Pajam, Kaledupa, the community recognizes 14 types of cassava, including white and yellow, *sapiuri, kalambe, bogo, salubia* (same as *salbi* in Tomia), *inggrisi, kanokau pango, andapatua, kanokau bae, makuri, basteli, karau, kanokau mohute*, and *anda*.

Residents can distinguish one type of cassava from another based on the morphology of the plant. Even so, the similarity of the name of cassava on one island to another does not necessarily refer to the same type of cassava. For example, your type of cassava. The name of this cassava is found in Pajam and Tomia, but when traced the morphology of your casubia in Pajam and *kasubia anda*Tomia there are differences. At Pajam, *kasubia anda* has reddish stems, red petioles and white tubers. While in Tomia, *anda kaukano* has yellowish stems, branching shoots, and fruit. The size of the tubers is smaller than *karambau*. This plant can be up to two years old. Likewise with bogoro in Tomia, in contrast to bagora in Binongko and bogo in Pajam. In fact, the mokoro in Tomia is the same as *baggoro* (Binongko) and *bogo* (Pajam).

The types of cassava in Tomia can be distinguished from their physical characteristics. *Andabula* (*bula* = albino) has white stems. The tubers can penetrate rock crevices, making them suitable for planting in rocky soil. It can be two to three years old. *Andabula* tubers which are pure white in color can also be used as a medicine for wounds. The trick, the tubers are grated and applied to the wound. Another specialty of this cassava, it is not easily damaged so that it can be stored as food reserves after being harvested.

Karambau cassava has yellow stems, grows tall withits tubers are large and long. *Karambau* itself means big cow. This plant can grow up to three years old. *Bogoro* has a black stem. *Bogoro* tubers must be harvested at the age of one year. More than that, it doesn't taste good.

Kaukano makuri has yellow tubers that can be harvested at the age of two years and over. This cassava stem is olive yellow, almost similar to *kalambe*. The difference is *kalambe* tubers are hard and fibrous while *kalambewanse* have white spots on the leaf tips. The name *kalambewanse*

Residents can distinguish one type of cassava from another based on the morphology of the plant. Even so, the similarity of the name of cassava on one island to another does not necessarily refer to the same type of cassava.

means girl from Wanci in Tomia language. It is said that this cassava comes from Wangi-Wangi Island.

The morphology and utilization of the types of cassava in Pajam is explained as follows:

The white-yellow *kasubia* has a white skin in the tuber, yellow tuber flesh, cream-colored stems, green leaves, and branching shoots. In addition to tubers, the skin in the tubers can be used to make *roko-roko* cake wrapped in banana leaves.

Simakuri has slightly red trunks, branched shoots, bear small round fruits, brown inner skin of tubers, dark yellow tuber flesh. To make *kasoami* from this cassava, after being grated and crushed to dry the water, it must be stored overnight before steaming.

Kalambe produces white fleshy tubers, bone white stems and petioles, and light green dense leaves. This type of cassava has an inner tuber skin that is firmly attached. To peel it one must use a sharp knife. If processed into *kasoami* it will produce clean white *kasuami*.

Bogo has large tubers with brown outer skin color, yellow inner skin color, and white contents. The stems are tall. This species is the most resistant to being planted in a variety of land conditions, both low water and lots of water. It can grow up to two years old.

Salubia is difficult to live in land that has too much water and rots easily. The skin inside the tuber is pink and the inside is white. This type of cassava produces flowers and fruit. *Salubia* planting period is one year. Another type, *inggrisi*, is similar to *salubia*. The difference is, the inggrisi planting period is only eight months.

Kanukau panga has a reddish stem, red petiole resembling *salubia*. The skin in the tuber is purplish. The stems have branches. It also has flowers and fruit. This type of tuber can be harvested quickly, the planting age is only seven months. It can be directly boiled or fried without special treatment.

Anda patua's leaves and stems are like kanukau panga. However, the tubers cannot be consumed directly but must be made into opi (grated, squeezed) and left overnight before processing.

Anda patua's leaves and stems are like *kanukau panga*. However, the tubers cannot be consumed directly but must be made into *opi* (grated, squeezed) and left overnight before processing.

Kanokau bae has white leaf stalks and yellowish stems similar to *kanokau mohute*. Just like you *patua*, *kanokau bae* must be processed into *opi*prior to cooking.

Makuri has stems yellowish leaves with a pointed end of the tuber. The contents of the tubers are yellow. *Makuri* can be directly boiled, fried, or baked, without having to go through special treatment.

Basteli have reddish stems, red petioles, and white tubers. Like *makuri, basteli* tubers can be directly cooked.

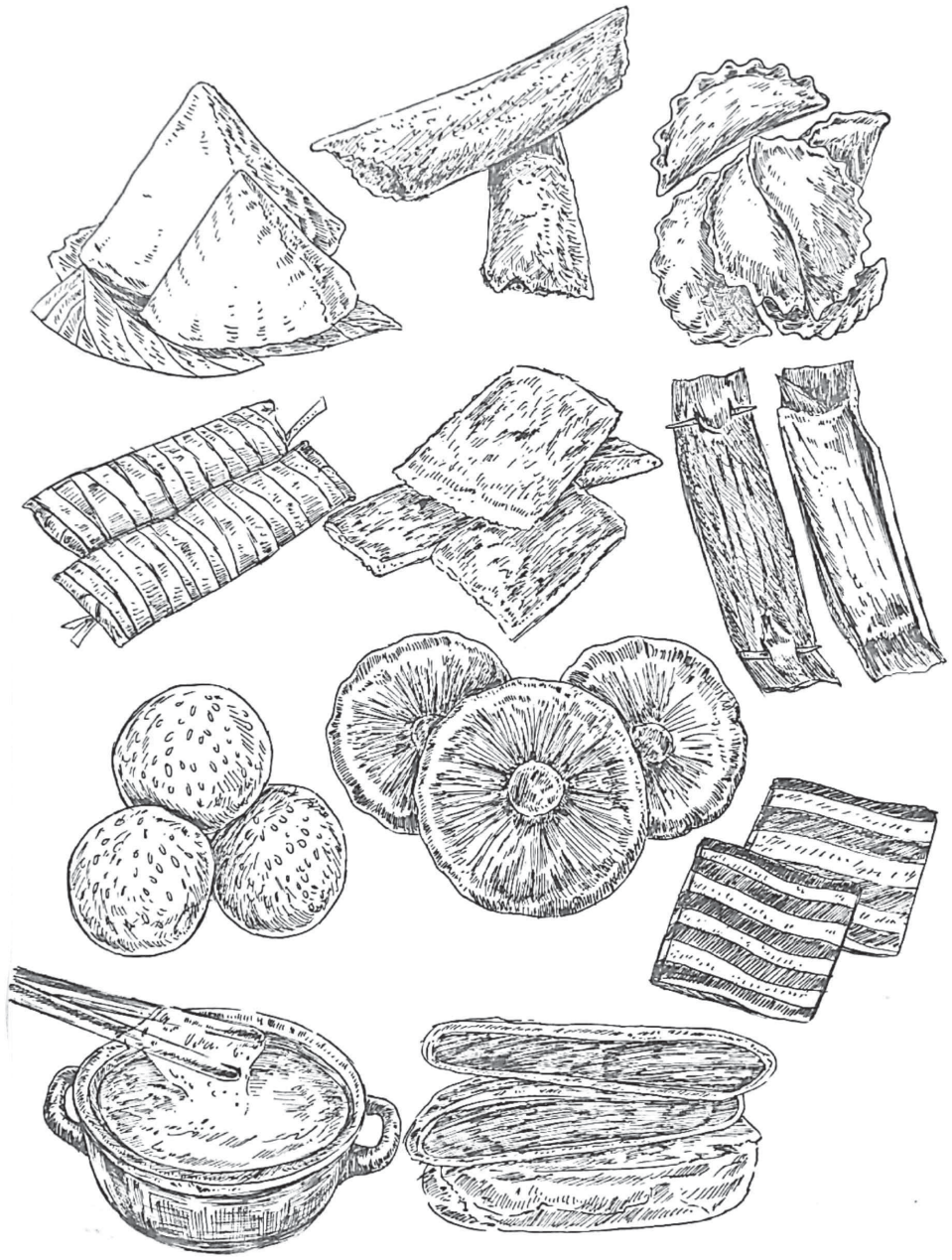

Figure 48 : Several types of processed cassava : *kasoami, sinole, dangi, foro-foro, ilu, kore* (*kangsenga and karasi*), *fufurie, papeda*, buttons, *bubuhuk, onde-onde, epu-epu*, layer cake, *lamet, cucuru*, and *sosulu kaukano matiti*

Karau produces large tubers. The leaves are sparse with reddish petioles.

Mohute has white bulbs and the skin inside the tubers is cream. The skin inside is easy to open without having to use a knife, just by hand.

As mentioned, not all cassava tubers can be cooked immediately, but must be treated especially because they are poisonous. In Pajam Village, Kaledupa, for example, white-yellow *kasubia, suimakuri, kalambe, bogo, anda patua, kanokau bae, karau, kanakau mohute*, and *anda* have to be processed into *opi* first. Meanwhile, the ones that can be cooked directly are *mokoro, santria*, and *salbia*.

In Tomia, the types of cassava that must be specially processed include *kaukano anda, andabula, karambau, bogoro, kalambe,* and *kalambewanse*. Meanwhile, tubers that can be directly processed (steamed, then mixed with grated coconut and onions, or boiled, or fried) and consumed is *salubia, inggrisi, kanakau pango, makuri*, and *basteli*.

In addition to being used as *opi*, another method of processing toxic cassava is described as follows. After peeling, the sweet potato must first be dried in the sun to dry, moldy, and black in color, then it can be processed into food. In Muna, this is called *Kabuto*. "In the past, if Wakatobi was in a famine, we had to load it from Flores," said La Bloro.

From cassava, it can be processed into various snacks, either to be eaten directly or dried to make it last longer. Usually used as provisions for fishing trips. Several types of food made from cassava in Tomia include *kasoami, sinole, dangi, foro-foro, ilu, kore (kansenga and karasi), fufurie, papeda, buttons, bubuhuk, onde-onde, epu-epu, kue lapis, lamet, cucuru, and sosulu kaukano matiti.*

In addition to being used as opi, another method of processing toxic cassava is described as follows. After peeling, the sweet potato must first be dried in the sun to dry, moldy, and black in color.

In addition to corn and cassava, *opa* and *kano* also occupy their own place as staple foods in Wakatobi. While many are found in the forest and only need to dig, people prefer cultivated *opa*and *kano*. According to them, *opa* and *kano* tubers taken from the forest are tougher and fibrous. It could be because of too long buried in the ground.

Opa and *kano* cultivation is very interesting. Some residents consider this plant to be native to the forest and then domesticated by the community. Some people also say that the wild *kano* and *opa* were originally planted by farmers in the garden which were later abandoned so that they grew wild.

Both of these varieties have very high biodiversity. Interestingly, the residents of Wakatobi know very well the differences in each type of cassava, both in terms of shape, color, taste, and their use for food and traditional ceremonies. Even though at first glance, *kano* and opa are very similar, especially between one type of canoe and another, between one type of opa and another. The general morphological

differences that are striking from *opa* or *hopa* with *cano* or *santa* is that *opa* has spiny tendril stems, rounded leaves, and tubers can be numerous over time. As for *kano*, the vines have no thorns, heart-shaped leaves (like betel nut), and only have one cassava that enlarges from time to time

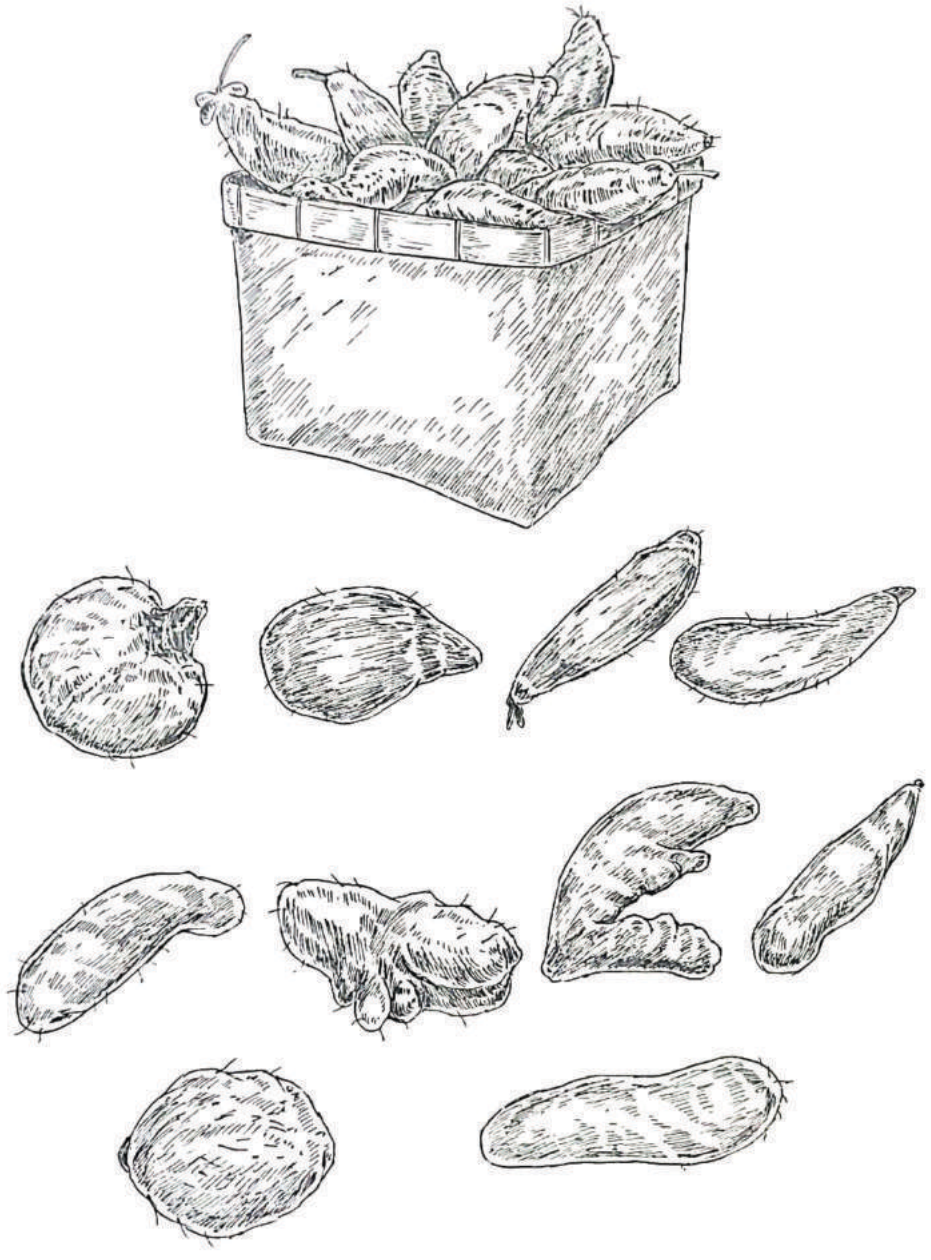

Figure 49 : Types of opa/ hopa

Residents in Pajam, for example, know that there are seven types of *kano* and four types of *opa*. The seven types of *kano* are honey *kano*, *simbuku*, *ifi kabulu*, *ifi tofu*, *ifi lossi*, *ifi loia*, *ifi longko*, and *ambo*, while the four types of opa are *opa kumbili*, *larantuka*, *tade*, and *lelu*.

The morphology, taste, and use of each *kano* tuber are different and are well known by the residents. Honey *kano* has a rather long tuber, white flesh, and tastes sweet. *Kano simbuku* has branch, the flesh is purple. *Kano ifi tofu* is long, yellow skin, hairless, white tuber flesh, tastes sweet, and is usually processed into chips. The base of the *kano ifi lossi* tuber is small, the skin is sparsely hairy near the base, and the flesh of the tuber is white. *Kano ifi loia* tuber has branch, red flesh, usually grated to make canoe porridge or *ndafu-ndafu*. The tuber of *kano ifi longko* are large (like a new born), the skin is slightly hairy, not branched, and the color of the flesh is white. Finally, the tubers of *kano* ambo are large, hairy skin, and white flesh color. Usually, it is only for boiling.

Like *kano*, the four types of *opa* in Pajam have different characteristics from each other. *Opa* kumbili has a bent or curved tuber, the skin is very hairy, and the flesh is white. *Opa* kumbili tubers can be boiled, fried, or baked. Furthermore, *Opa Larantuka* produces small round tubers, the skin has a striped texture, the skin is thick, and the flesh is white. If cooked, *Opa Larantuka* tubers ripen quickly. The residents of Pajam agree that *Opa Larantuka* is the most delicious compared to other opa. It is more even delicious if eaten with coconut milk. *Opa tade* produces elongated tubers, brownish inner skin, and fibrous flesh. Usually, *opatade* tuber is more often used as a material for offerings or offerings in traditional ceremonies at Pajam. Lastly, *opa lelu*. *Opa lelu* tuber is elongated, can reach a size of 20 cm with a diameter of 5-7 cm. The skin is thin, hairless, and the flesh is white.

The morphology, taste, and use of each *kano* tuber are different and are well known by the residents. Honey *kano* has a rather long tuber, white flesh, and tastes sweet. *Kano simbuku* has branch, the flesh is purple.

Residents in South Ollo know six types of *kano*. In Binongko, *kano* is known as *santa*, while *opa* is known as *hopa*. There are five types of *santa* (*kambuku*, *tongke*, *kampuda*, *lole*, and *saa*) and eight *hopa* (*kaloa*, *solo*, *morenggo*, *kombili*, *karumpu*, *larantuka*, *kalolotampu*, and *takarea*) in Binongko. The identification results of Forkani indicate that there are at least eight opa and 27 types of *kano* (*lambagili*, *sapora*, *honey*, *tonalu*, *loiya*, *fare*, *kilito*, *latoba*, *tofu*, *lossi kompru*, *lossi patula*, *kalompa*, *kanonsolo*, *kanonso'a*, *simbuku*, *longko* , *runduma*, *taria*, *kanari*, *melo*, *toro or gasa*, *coolie*, *tambu*, *ba'e*, *pelapa*, *kadola*, and *kalomba*) in Kaledupa. There are four types of *kano* that must be available during traditional ceremonies including *taria*, *kanari*, *losi*, and*toro*.

In traditional ceremonies, there is a procession of giving offerings to the ancestors in the four corners of the world, to the hills, and to the tombs of ancestors. Mandatory ingredients for the offering include red bananas, red sugar cane, red opa, red *kano*, eggs, diamond cake, fried bananas, and cucur cakes. Now the red *opa* is hard to find. The red *opa* is a type of *leluopa*, while the red *kano* is *meha-meha*.

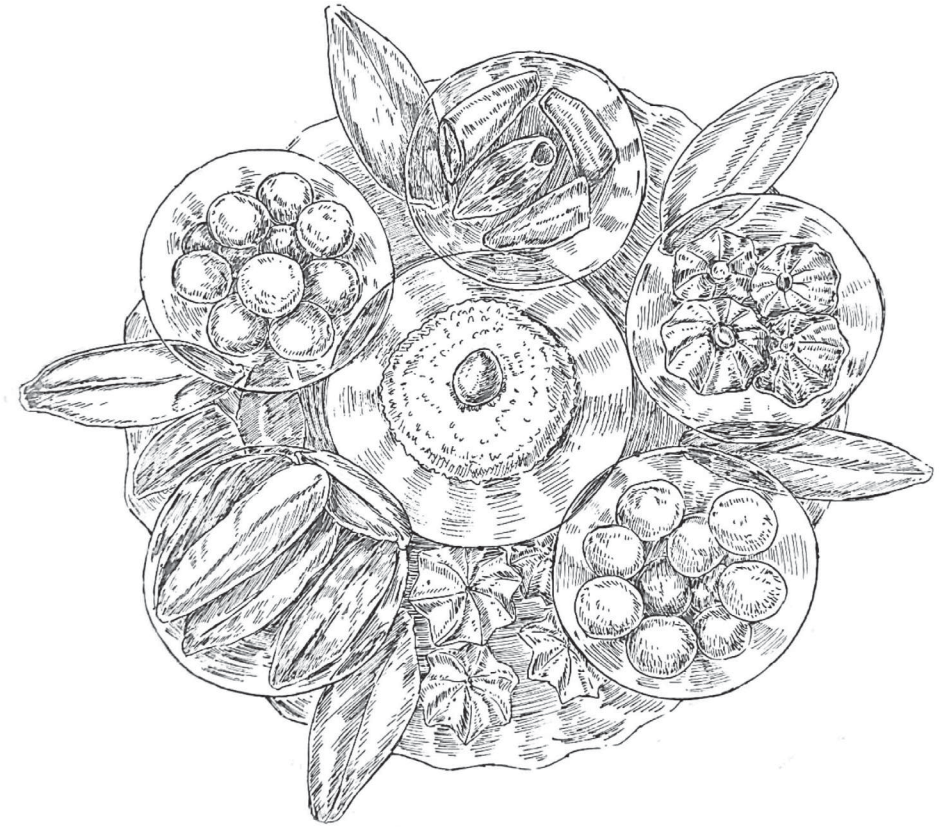

Figure 50 : Materials for offerings to ancestors

In a paper written by Ali Hadara from Haluoleo University entitled *The Dynamics of Traditional Shipping of the Butonese in the Tukang Besi*[29] *Islands*, Wakatobi region has been a center for the copra trade since the early 20th century. The product was brought by Wakatobi sailors to Gresik, Surabaya, and Probolinggo in East Java. The traces of the existence of coconut trees (as copra producers) in Wakatobi can be seen from the knowledge of residents about the types of coconut trees and their uses.

In the data collection process carried out by the author in Kaledupa, at least 10 types of coconut trees (kaluku) were recorded including *kaluku gola*, *ganda*, *liri*, *geresa*, *panda*, *komba*, *mameko or pappi*, *ngongo*, *meha*, and *bengki*.

29 Paper presented at the VIII National History Conference Jakarta, 14-17 November 2006

Table 3 : The types of coconut and their morphology

The types of coconut and their morpholog		
Types of coconut (kaluku)	**Morphology**	**Utilization**
Gola	the trunk is small, strong and the center hardens quickly. It is difficult to make a notch in the trunk of this type of coconut tree. When injured, secretes a lot of fluid. The leaf midrib is short, there are an average of about 30 midribs on one tree. Grows in the meadow, resistant to fire. Fruit in bunches is sparse. Can grow up to 30 meters tall, live for decades (many were planted in the Dutch era and are still alive today). Also called *kaluku langkai* (tall old coconut), although this term also means all tall coconut trees.	often used as a marker of land boundaries.
Ganda	commonly referred to as *kaluku gendang* (large). The tree trunk is big. The fruit is few, in one bunch there are at most six to eight grains.	People usually use this type of processed coconut oil for massage needs for traditional fighters.
Liri	same with gading coconut. The stems are erect, segmented, have leaf midribs that are firmly attached and difficult to detach even though the leaves have dried and died. Fruitful a lot. The color of the fruit is ivory yellow and grows a lot in watery areas or swamps.	People usually use this type of processed coconut oil for massage needs for traditional fighters.
Geresa	*Geresa* / lontar. Many grow in arid areas. The leaves form a fan. The coconut flesh is thin so it is not suitable for copra.	Sweet water to drink.
Panda	The stems are short, fruitful quickly. In fact, when the stems are still short, they bear fruit.	
Komba	*Komba*/moon. The color of the fruit is olive yellow. The shape of the fruit is round like a ball. The skin texture of the fruit is smoother than ivory coconut. This coconut water tastes bland.	
Mameko atau pappi	*Kaluku* mameko is also known as *kaluku pappi*. At the bottom of the fruit stalk is purple. The coir is thick, contains a lot of water, and is easy to decompose. Coconut water is red. The coir and coconut stalks are sweet, often sucked by children. However, if you are not careful, it will leave spots when exposed to clothes.	
Ngongo	The flesh of the fruit is thick and produces a lot of oil when processed. Flesh is difficult to gouge, you have to use a measuring tool. The skin of the fruit is wrinkled, but the flesh is still young and feels crunchy when eaten. Coconut shell skin is thin.	Many of the fruit are processed into coconut oil
Meha	The flesh of the fruit is reddish.	for drug poisoning or certain food allergies.
Bengki	It has broad and long leaves. The sticks are thicker than other types of coconut. Fruit oval or oval in shape, like a large rugby ball. The flesh is easy to peel.	Coconut shells are often used for handicrafts and kitchen utensils (rice spoons (sandu) and oil funnels). Coconut leaves and sticks are commonly used to make cassava molds.

Kaluku gola has a small tree trunk, the trunk is strong and the middle hardens quickly. It is difficult to make a notch in the trunk of this type of coconut tree. If cut, it releases a lot of fluid. The leaf sheaths are short with an average of about 30 midribs on one tree. It grows in grasslands and is resistant to fire. Fruit in bunches is sparse. This type of coconut can grow up to 30 meters tall, live for decades (many were planted in the Dutch era and are still alive today), and are often used as land boundary markers. It is also called *kaluku langkai* (meaning tall old coconut) although this term also means all tall coconut trees.

Kaluku double is also known as *kaluku gendang*. *Gendang* means big. And, indeed, the trunk of this coconut tree is large. The fruit is few, in one bunch

there are at most six to eight grains. People usually use this type of processed coconut oil for massage needs for traditional fighters.

Kaluku liri is similar with *Kelapa Gading*. The stems are erect, segmented, have leaf midribs firmly attached and difficult to detach even though the leaves have dried and died. This type of coconut bears a lot of fruit in vory yellow color. This coconut grows a lot in watery areas or swamps. The trunks are often used for building materials.

Kaluku geresa. Geresa means *lontar*. Many grow in arid areas. The leaves form a fan. The coconut flesh is thin so it is not suitable for copra. This type of coconut water is most popular with residents because it tastes fresh and sweet.

Kaluku panda. The stems are short. This species bears fruit quickly. In fact, when the stems are still short, they bear fruit.

Kaluku komba. Komba means moon. The color of the fruit is olive yellow. The shape of the fruit is round like a ball. The skin texture of the fruit is smoother than ivory coconut. This coconut water tastes bland.

Kaluku mameko is also known as *kaluku pappi*. At the bottom of the fruit, the stalk is purple. The coir is thick, contains a lot of water, and is easy to decompose. Coconut water is red. The coir and coconut stalks are sweet, often sucked by children. However, if you are not careful, it will leave spots when exposed to clothes.

Kaluku Ngongo. The flesh of this coconut is thick and produces a lot of oil when processed. It's just that this coconut meat is difficult to gouge, you have to use a measuring tool. Although the skin of the coconut is wrinkled, the flesh is still young and feels crunchy when eaten. The shell skin is thin.

Kaluku meha. The skin of the fruit is reddish. Residents use it more for poisoning drugs or certain food allergies.

Kaluku bengki. The leaves are wide and long. The sticks are thicker than other types of coconut. Fruit oval or oval in shape, like a large rugby ball. The flesh is easy to peel. The shells are often used for crafts and kitchen utensils, such as rice spoons (*sandu*) and oil funnels. The leaves and sticks are commonly used to make *kasoami* molds.

Kaluku komba. Komba means moon. The color of the fruit is olive yellow. The shape of the fruit is round like a ball. The skin texture of the fruit is smoother than ivory coconut. This coconut water tastes bland.

In addition to the types of plants mentioned above, many other types of plants are also found in the residents' gardens, such as spice plants (ginger, kencur, turmeric, and other findings), basil, chili, *togu gandu* (sorghum), and sugar cane, areca nut, melinjo, and others. The diversity of this plant species cannot be separated from maritime trade activities in Southeast Asia, the Wakatobi community has been going on for centuries. Many plants and various types of birds in the Wakatobi area come from other areas.

The residents confessed that some of the above types of tubers came from the Flores area, NTT. For example, *opa larantuka* (as the name implies, it came from Larantuka, East Flores) and *opa solo*. Cassava is original from Flores. Meanwhile, palm sugar comes from Rote Island in East Nusa Tenggara. This is in line with Heinrich Kuhn's notes in an article entitled "On the Birds Collected on The Tukang-Iron Islands and Buton, Southeast of Celebes," NovitatesZoologicae (1903).

In the article, Heinrich Kuhn called the plants and birds in Wakatobi as "living inscriptions." The history of maritime trade can be seen from the text. It is stated that in that year Wakatobi had Malacca fruit (*Phyllanthusemblica*), Javanese wood (cassava), *po' jupanda* (mango species from Ujungpandang), as well as bird species such as the sea crow (*Butorides javanica*) and sea heron (*Ardea sumtrana*). Based on local information, fruits are usually named according to where they were obtained, e.gfrom Malacca, Malay-Riau, and Penang Island Malaysia. As for the distribution, it is almost certain that the fruits are generally not only eaten, but also for medicinal purposes.

Interestingly, various types of plants are cultivated in Wakatobi. Some failed to adapt, some survived, thrived, and spread throughout the region, and got a local touch, both from naming and utilization. The cultivation of these types of plants is important and supports food security and community independence, which is very limited and vulnerable to distribution disturbances from other areas. With this diversity and biological richness, people can consume food from their own production when the supply of basic needs is hampered due to economic factors and natural factors, such as storms and high waves.

The recognition from residents, both through naming and utilization, which is so detailed proves the familiarity of the residents to the types of plants that live in the vicinity. This means that residents use it in their daily lives, both for food, medicine, and traditional rituals. Materials from nature are still part of their culture, have not been forgotten let alone replaced by materials or commodities imported from outside the region.

Let's Talk about Wakatobi Food

Four men and three women were chatting on the veranda of the wooden stilt house that served as Forkani's office on Kaledupa Island. They had a very exciting conversation about culinary in Kaledupa. The wet after rain afternoon at the end of the west season was warm because the conversation was about the food.

One of the men named La Bloro, the head of Forkani, said that in the past, culinary matters were the forte of Kaledupa people. Fish processing, food ingredients, and spices received serious attention.

"We are good at cooking *parende*. Our knowledge of spices is complete. Likewise, the business of refining food ingredients, we not only pound, but also grind. In other places, sometimes it's just grinding," said La Bloro.

La Bloro's opinion was shared by Mursiyati, one of the three women who were there.

Figure 51: Processed parende

"We have regulations regarding the size of the seeds; which dishes use coarse seeds and which ones use fine seeds, so they have to be ground again after being ground," said Mursiyati with a high intonation full of pride.

"Here, different types of fish has different treatment," he said again.

"*Parende* is the best when you use sour seasoning;this is the best," said La Bloro. *Parende* is yellow spiced fish soup served hot.

"The low level uses young mango, or *belimbing wuluh*," said Mursiyati. "If we don't have all of them, we'll just use oranges."

La Bloro shook his head. He disagreed. According to him, oranges are used for *perangi*. *Perangi* is a type of culinary made from raw fish typical of Wakatobi. The ingredients used are usually minced reef fish meat, sliced orange, kneaded until the meat is white, then salted, chopped shallots and given chilies.

"It has to be orange, can't be anything else."

"If you don't have one, you can use mango," said Mursiyati.

"Ah no. It's best to use oranges," said Bloro adamantly.

Nusi nodded in agreement. According to him, the type of orange should not be arbitrary; different types of fish, different types of oranges. Apart from oranges, there are many other types of leaves used to remove the fishy taste of fish.

"We can use *kedondong* leaves, *kemade* leaves, or tamarind shoots."

The cold wind that blew towards the open veranda made the body shivered slightly. The culinary conversation continued. From food made from fish, moved to vegetables.

"Do you know *kampaki*?" Mursiyati asked La Ode Buke, his sister who was sitting across from him.

Buke nodded firmly. "Yes! That's a papaya shoot."

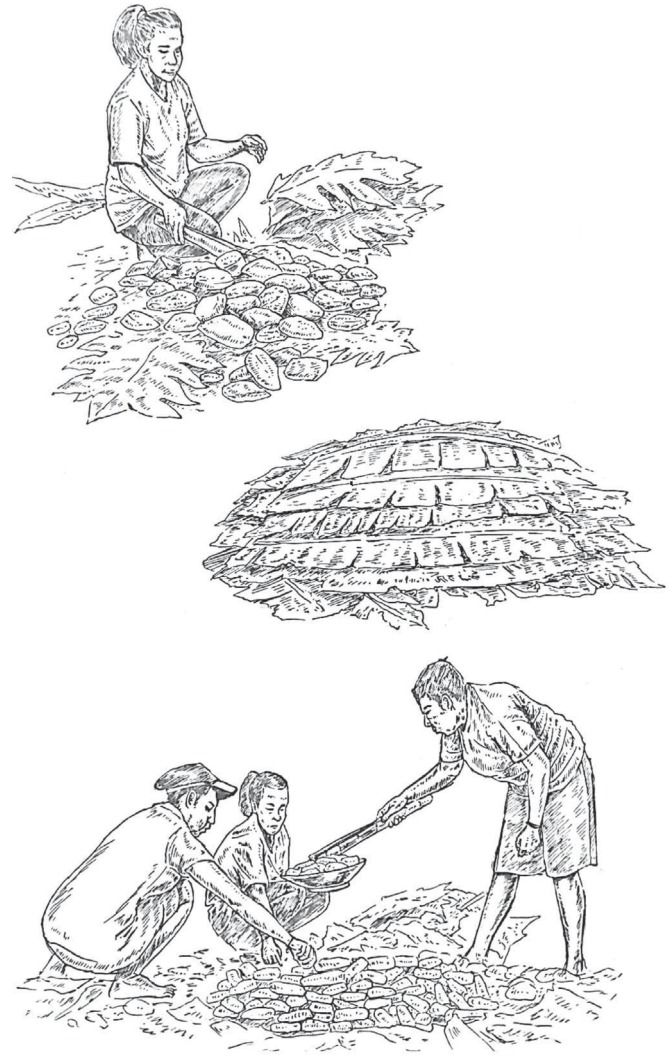

Figure 52 : The composition of the Kampaki and the people who make it

"Yes, it's a papaya shoot wrapped in banana leaves. It's usually used in making *hetombele*," said Mursiyati. *Hetombele* is a ritual of cooking food by hoarding food ingredients, such as tubers, pumpkins, and vegetables in the ground which is stacked with hot stones.

"So, after the hot stones are covered with banana leaves, the papaya shoots that have been wrapped are stored in between. Like steamed. Then, it is covered again with banana leaves, crushed hot stones again, and then covered with soil."

According to Mursiyati, *kampaki* are usually "given" for grandmothers, but are often distributed to others.

"*Kampaki* is delicious. Soft but not mushy," said Bloro. The others nodded in agreement. One or two people began to lick their lips with their tongues. The image of vegetables and foods that smoke like smoke begins to appear in their minds.

Without any command, they took turns telling each other their favorite foods. Like competing to present the most dazzling and tempting images of the stomach.

"When we were young, we mostly ate sago porridge called *fatu-fatu kappa*. It shaped like cotton seeds. First we prepare hot water. After boiling, we pour sago flour, then stir. Not all parts of the sago are mixed, there are grains of sago flour such as cottonseed or pearl sago," said Mursiyati.

"Eh, even now my son is still eating sago porridge," said another man who had been listening all time, Thamrin. "The sago porridge is best eaten with the liquid brown sugar."

"Wow, brown sugar made us compete with our sister," said Mursiyati, laughing at her younger siblings, Buke and Edi Harto. They laughed together. Childhood memories seemed to pop up in the memory.

Sago is also the basic ingredient for making *papeda*. There are two ways to make *papeda*: first, it is doused with hot water, the second method is to mix it with cold water in a basin or baking sheet, then filter and cook in a cauldron until cooked. *Papeda* functions more as a staple food with fish as a side dish.

Papeda can also be made like *kolak* or *cendol*. First it is cooked like *papeda* above, then after cooked or half cooked (already lumpy) it is doused with coconut milk. Then, it is cut into pieces using a spoon into dice-sized portions. After that, boiling coconut milk and brown sugar are poured again. Lemongrass is usually added. Later in the day in Kaledupa, lemongrass leaves are replaced with pandan leaves.

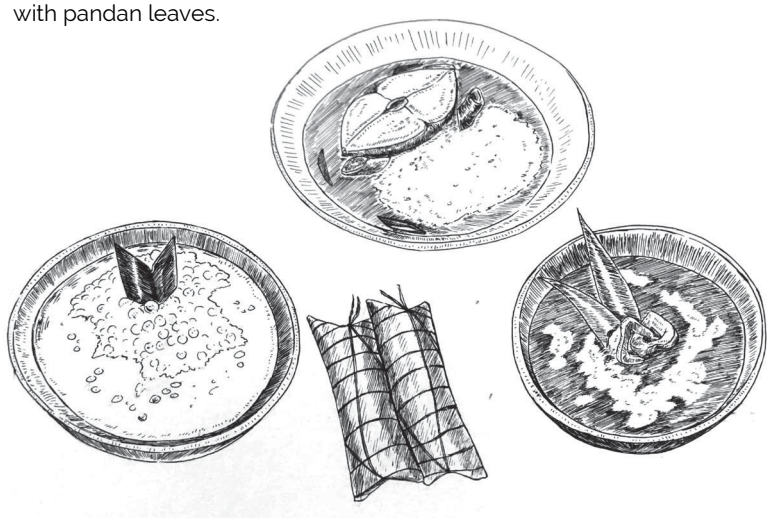

Figure 53 : Various processed sago : Papeda + fish, coconut sugar papeda, pearl sago porridge, kangsenga, lapatokbaro

"The food is best eaten during the day. Especially if the day is hot. All the sweat will come out," said Mursiyati.

"Best eaten with hard cassava," said Thamrin.

Another favorite food that sticked out in the memory was *sueda*. It is sago flour mixed with water until it becomes lumpy then roasted with grated old coconut and added a little sugar. As a result, dry fine granules are reddish yellow in color.

"The sago here is reddish after drying process." said Mursiyati.

Apart from sago porridge, *kangsenga* also appears in the conversation. *Kangsenga* is made from young, undried sago mixed with grated young coconut, added with onions and a little salt while roasting. It is cooked on a metal pot lid, like today's Teflon. The end result is like pancakes.

The drizzle had subsided, the clouds were cleared, and the sun started to feel hot. Hasanudin, one of the leaders of the Forkani, who had been silent during the conversation, suddenly said, "It's best to eat *loku-loku papeda* at this time of the day."

The statement was immediately greeted with a dipper. "Baaaar!" shouted several people in unison.

"And, the idea of cooking loku-loku papeda suddenly appeared," said one of them.

"When the sun is hot," said Bloro.

"And the supply of sago is ready," said Buke.

"Otherwise, we will look for it," said Mursiyati.

"Or, because we accidentally saw it, we hunted for it where people selling sago," said Hasanudin.

Laughter broke out.

Loku-loku is a mixture of sago like *kangsenga*, but added with meat, fish and vegetables. All ingredients are put in green bamboo, the inside is based with banana leaves. The top hole is covered with banana leaves. The bamboo is arranged standing on its side and burned.

"Signs of ripeness can be seen from the lid of the hole that is pushed out because the sago inside expands. It's best eaten when it's hot," said Mursiyati.

Loku-loku cooking activity is usually a youth event. This is also an opportunity for young people to get together, get acquainted, or even find a lover.

Sago can also be made into *sinole* by mixing sago with water and then roasting it.

Loku-loku is a mixture of sago like kangsenga, but added with meat, fish and vegetables. All ingredients are put in green bamboo, the inside is based with banana leaves. The top hole is covered with banana leaves. The bamboo is arranged standing on its side and burned.

Figure 54 : Coconut and its derivative products

"If you eat *sinole*, you can't drink it right away, because it will bloom in your stomach. We can experience shortness of breath, "said Edi Harto who was immediately followed with laughter. One of them recounted the experience of vomiting during college in Kendari because of eating *sinole* with fish sauce and vegetable sauce.

Sinole has social value. Usually it is meal package for sailing which takes months because it can last long. Besides *sinole*, fishermen also brings sago flour because it is easy to cook. Sinole can be also made in the boat because the process is fast.

Sago can also be cooked into *lapatokbaro* and is wrapped in coconut leaves. It is like *lepat* in Java. In the process, sago is mixed with salt, shallots, and grated coconut. The dough is kneaded and then wrapped in coconut leaves which have been coated with young banana leaves on the inside. Tied with koba leaf fiber (*lontar*) and boiled.

"You can tie it with coconut leaves too," said Buke.

"Raffia rope or rice sacks," continued Thamrin.

"Oh, it's an eyesore," said Bloro.

Kambalu is also similar to *lapatokbaro*. Sago is mixed with grated coconut, sago, and salt. It is wrapped using two pieces of corn husk. It is similar with *kaddole pogo*. It is boiled.

Another sago-based food is *soami tobaro*. This type of food uses a mixture of raw bananas. So, raw bananas are peeled, cut into cubes, then mixed with sago, then steamed like cassava.

"We usually make *soami tobaro* by using fruit (raw) bananas that have fallen in the garden. Instead of wasting it, we cook it," said Hasanudin.

"So, if we talk about these types of food, the point is that our lives cannot be separated from coconut," said Bloro.

Everyone nodded. They agreed that coconut cannot be separated from the life of the Wakatobi people. In addition to food raw materials, coconut is also used in various traditional rituals. Coconut is needed in the birth ritual process -- the placenta is kept in a coconut fruit, coconut is used as dowry, and at death is also bathed in coconut milk.

"Women take care of their hair every day with coconut milk," said Yanti, one of the women there who had been quietly listening to the conversation while doing some administrative tasks.

"Yes, in the past, to get coconut milk for hair care, coconut was not grated, but chewed and

They agreed that coconut cannot be separated from the life of the Wakatobi people. In addition to food raw materials, coconut is also used in various traditional rituals.

then mixed with water so that the coconut milk came out and then applied to the hair," said Mursiyati.

"Oops, talking about coconut makes me want *kangkurumbou*," said Edi Harto. *Kangkurumbou* is a drink made from young coconut water mixed with liquid brown sugar. Young coconut meat is scraped using shells and mixed in a drink.

"Coconut can also be mixed into fish dishes or vegetable soup. It's commonly called *sira*," said Mursiyati.

Sira is young coconut. It can also be applied to dishes made from pumpkin. The pumpkin is boiled. After cooking, it is pounded until melted and then mixed with scraps of young coconut meat.

"*Sira* is actually a term for processed food mixed with grated coconut," said Mursiyati.

"*Kulou* is coconut milk made by chewing it, it comes out of the mouth with saliva," said Edi Harto.

"*Santa* is made from coconut milk which is produced by grating," continued Mursiyati. "*Bakaki* is another name for copra. Here copra can be made by roasting using firewood or drying in the sun."

Bakaki is used to cook *salamu* (pufferfish) which is prickly and poisonous. This can be said to be the secret recipe of the Wakatobi people to be able to enjoy *salamu* fish. The *salamu* fish is split and the liver is separated. Then, the fish is boiled. Once soft, the thorns attached to the skin are removed. The meat is shredded and put in a spiced gravy. Then the part of the heart that was separated was stabbed with bamboo and burned with a flaming *bakaki*. After the liver is cooked, it is put into the gravy along with the bakaki that was used to burn earlier.

Bakaki is used to cook salamu (pufferfish) which is prickly and poisonous. This can be said to be the secret recipe of the Wakatobi people to be able to enjoy _salamu_ fish. The _salamu_ fish is split and the liver is separated. Then, the fish is boiled.

"So that the coconut oil juice is left in the gravy," said Mursiyati.

"So, the heart is burned from the copra fire," said Thamrin, who also explained.

One of the young women, a junior staff member at Forkani named Dita, who had been silent suddenly shouted loudly, "This talk is making me hungry eeeeee!"

Everyone laughed loudly at Dita. Dita blushed herself.

Samburangi is also produced from coconut. This is the oil or pulp produced when making *undee* (coconut oil).

"If this is mixed with *opa*, it'ssoooodelicious, it won't help," said Mursiyati, clicking her tongue.

Samburangi can be used to make *kaddole* (*dodol*). Samburangi is doused with water then mixed with sago and cooked in a cauldron, stirred until thick.

"*Samburangi* can also be used to treat thrush," said Mursiyati suddenly.

Coconut milk dregs are called *kosea*. This can be used to find marine worms that are used for fishing bait.

"*Kosea* can also lure crabs out of their holes," said Edi Harto.

"*Kosea* that is deliberately rotted can also be used as torch fuel," said Thamrin.

Kosea is actually a name for two designations. First, for the coconut milk dregs. Second, it is also used to refer to soupy dishes that use grated or grated young coconut.

"Then what are *gola-gola*?" asked Dita.

Gola-gola candies from processed coconut water. To make it, coconut water is boiled in a cauldron, stirred continuously until thickened.

"After it is thick, we prepare the banana leaf midrib which is still young, the hollow part of the midrib is smeared with oil, then the thick mixture is poured there and pulled so that it lengthens into the size of a pinkie," explained Mursiyati.

Then, once dry, it is cut into half inch pieces and wrapped in banana leaves or corn husks. If not wrapped, it will melt again. The color is yellowish like rock sugar. *Gola-gola* can still be found at the night market, but it has been artificially colored.

"Usually it is grandmothers or widows who make *gola-gola*. If we want to get it, we must first draw water from the well," said Mursiyati.

"Or, buy it in exchange for corn," said Buke.

Another type of product from coconut is *kakombo*. This oil dung from the process of making oil using ivory coconut. Usually it is only used for traditional ceremonies.

"*Kakombo* wrapper is a special leaf called bontu leaf," said Thamrin. *Bontu* tree is a kind of sea hibiscus, tall tree trunk, the branches are curved when old, and are usually used for curved boat parts. The leaves are heart-shaped, while the flowers are trumpet-shaped, thin, and yellow or red.

Coconuts can also produce food called *ula-ula*. It's like *serundeng* in Java. Coconut is grated, roasted, and then pounded to remove the oil.

Yanti, who did not comment during the conversation, was busy herself. He made notes and drew a chart on the blackboard next to the long table on the veranda.

Bontu tree is a kind of sea hibiscus, tall tree trunk, the branches are curved when old, and are usually used for curved boat parts. The leaves are heart-shaped, while the flowers are trumpet-shaped, thin, and yellow or red.

Table 4 : Processed sago and coconut

Processed sago and coconut	
Sago	**Coconut**
Kansenga Loku-loku Papeda Pombiti Fatu-fatu kappa Sinole Lapatobaru Kambalu Soami tobaru Kaddole	Kangkuru mbou Kulou Santa Sira Bakai Sira-sira Samburangi Kosea Kaddole Undee Konau Kaluku Gola-gola Kakumbu Ula-Ula Pongasi Kaluku (Mameko, Pappi, Gola)

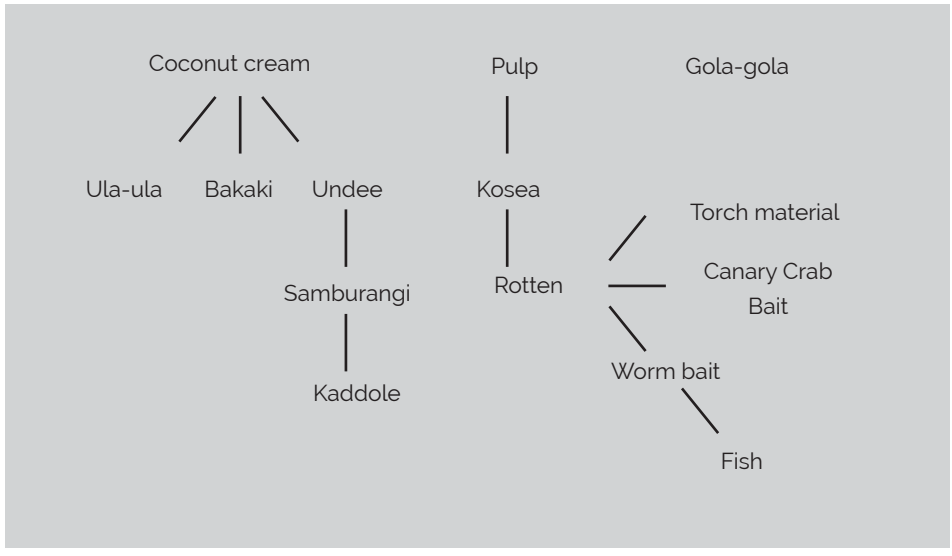

Diagram 1

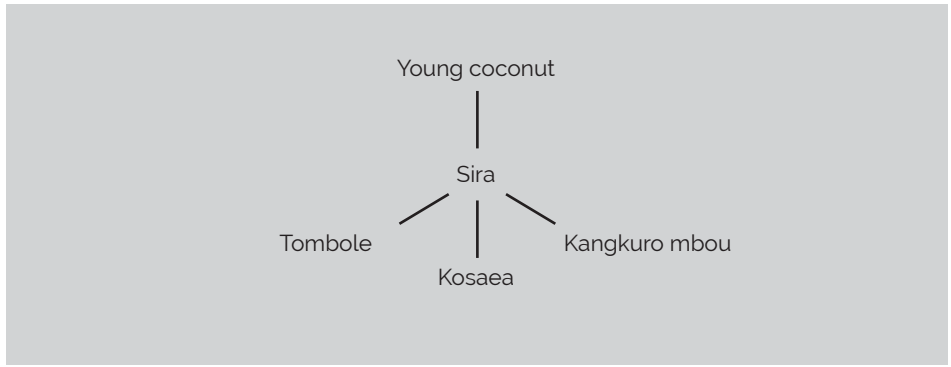

Diagram 2

The conversation suddenly stopped as soon as there was a notification from the kitchen that the food for lunch was ready. The announcement was immediately greeted with a happy face. Everyone immediately rushed to clean the table and help the cooking team to remove dishes from the kitchen and served them on the table: steamy hot *parende* (cooked using young tamarind), two types of fried sea fish, *sira*, *kasoami*, and chili sauce. This is very tempting lunch like no other. It is alsoimpressive because what was discussed earlier was now served on the table and eady to eat. The conversation is not just reminiscing about the past, but the reality of today.

Picture 55 : A complete parende dish and its accessories

The conversation above doesn't talk much about foods made from cassava, corn, fish, and others. There are still many Wakatobi culinary treasures that have not been discussed, but, that's okay. Not everything has to be completed at once in order to keep providing new exploration space. The culinary adventure of Wakatobi does take a long time, although not as long as the history of the life of the humans who live there.

See you in the next culinary adventure!

IX

Wakatobi in Folklore

By Ning Nirmala Palupi

"Ndoli ndoli watu'u
Ulongkai dia"...

Edi Harto, a young Kaledupa youth who now lives in Olo Selatan Village, Kaledupa Sub-district, sang the song melodiously. The verse means 'Shake your knees so you can walk fast' and reminded Edi of childhood memories when every new child could walk, knees were given a circle like an egg and then the circle as shaken around while *ndoli-ndoli* was sung. "Every Friday, there was a small child who is just about to walk, his knee was smeared. We call it *ndoli-ndoli* here. It's like making a ball like an egg, the dough is placed on the kneecap and then shaken while singing *'ndoli ndoli watu'u ulongkai him* (shake your knees so you can walk fast),' Edi, started the story.

"For children to stimulate the nerves of their hands, a verse is sung while placing the hand on the eye which is like a brake eye movement. The hands were clenched, the lids were closed," added Edi.

Every day, Edi is active in Forkani (*Forum Kahedupa Toudani*), a non-governmental organization based in Kaledupa. He talked about his childhood memories when his grandmother lulled him to sleep. Edi felt grateful to have been raised in an environment where his culture is thick, long before electricity was available, and the advent of TV took over the romantic space of childhood. "In the past, because there was no electricity at night, we were lulled to sleep with fairy tales, poetry. My grandmother used to tell me stories every time I went to bed. My grandmother used to tell stories about her nobility over and over again, until we got bored. Haha," Edi recalled.

Edi also talked about his family tree. He is one boy among seven siblings, total of four boys and three girls. "I'm the only one who do not have *Ode* name, although when I was little, I was often lulled by my grandmother who was proud of her nobility. I often protested why I do not have *Ode* in my name. It turns out that the name (Edi's current name) was given by a village head, and my name is Javanese. This village head gave the name for his love for Suharto and Sarwo Edi. There was a merging of names to Edi Harto who lost his cultural roots, Hahaha," he said while laughing.

There are several fairy tales Edi still remembered, including children's games. *Wandiu diu*, the story about the mermaid is one of them. He is also often told by his father about the little clever. "I don't know where my father got that story. Because he migrated and the title is very Indonesian. Through that fairy tale, I felt like a fairy tale telling myself, because I was in the smallest family. I choose smart over smart, haha," he added, laughing again.

Wandiu diu, the story about the mermaid is one of them. He is also often told by his father about the little clever.

In addition to fairy tales, Edi cheerfully also told various types of traditional games, traditions that developed in the environment he grew up in, fond memories of his high school days to sacred places which until now are believed by local people to have a connection with their ancestors. "We are rich, but we often don't realize it," Edi added.

The wealth of Wakatobi folklore

Edi's story is only a small part of the folklore universe that develops in Wakatobi. Folklore according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (2009:414) is a traditional custom passed down from generation to generation, but not recorded. In other words, folklore is the science of traditional customs and folklore that is not recorded.

Peursen (1988: 11) revealed that tradition can be translated by inheriting or passing on norms, customs, rules, assets. Inheritance and forwarding is done orally without using written media. From this, it can be understood that tradition does not live in one generation only, but is still passed down to many generations. The inheritance is done orally without using written media. In line with this, Hoed (Pudentia, 2008: 184) stated that what is meant by oral tradition is a variety of knowledge and customs that have been passed down from generation to generation orally.

Etymologically, the word folklore comes from folk and lore. Folk means a group of people who have cultural identifying characteristics that distinguish them from other groups, while lore means a folk tradition that is passed down from generation to generation through oral means or examples accompanied by actions. Thus, folklore as a whole is part of a collective culture that is spread and passed down from generation to generation, among any kind of collective, traditionally in different versions, both in oral form and examples accompanied by gestures or reminder aids[30].

Folklore is divided into three types including oral folklore, partially oral folklore, and non-oral folklore. Oral folklore is folklore that is created, disseminated, and passed down in oral form (for example: folk language, riddles, poetry/ folk rhymes, folk prose stories, and folk songs). Examples: Popular languages such as accents (Batak, Dayak, Javanese, Banyumasan, Bugis, Sundanese, etc.), folk poetry/ rhymes (*gula berlian klethik diamante/ isih cilik sing prasaja*), nicknames (*cungkring*, short form) and noble titles (*Datok, Teuku, Raden* etc.), traditional expressions such as proverbs (*Koyo monkey Koyo tulip* / like a monkey has chopsticks, like an egg on the top of the horn / dangerous situation), popular stories in prose (such as myths, legends and fairy tales).

Partial oral folklore is a folk tale whose form consists of a mixture of verbal and non-verbal elements such as popular games, popular beliefs (superstition), costumes, folk dances, folk festivals and others. Meanwhile, non-verbal folklore is folklore whose form is not verbal. Examples are popular architecture (Joglo, Minangkabau, Limasan, Toraja forms, etc.), handicrafts, clothing and jewelry and others according to their respective regions[31].

30 Djames Dananjaya in the book of Indonesian Folklore, 2007: 2.
31 https://adalah.co.id/folklore/. Accessed on March 09, 2021 at. 14:53 pm

Oral traditions, stories that grows up in Wakatobi people

In the past, the existence of oral traditions has succeeded in becoming a set of perspectives, beliefs, guidelines for life, and social control for the community that owns it. The story of the gods, rulers of nature, demi-gods, supernatural beings who watch over the sea-forest-sacred places or other figures symbolized by terrifying embodiments and characters, origin stories of descendants and territories, superhero figures, have proven to be able to create certain community identity.

In Wakatobi Folklore book published by the Southeast Sulawesi Language Office and published in 2017, there are at least 30 Wakatobi folklore consisting of legends, myths and fables. This collective wealth is summarized in stories that have been passed down from generation to generation and some of them are still alive today.

MYTH

The sea is an inseparable part of the lives of the people of the Wakatobi Islands. Most of their daily activities occur at sea and their daily economic needs depend on the sea. Moreover, before the fishing/sea season arrives, there are rarely men on the mainland. They are known as reliable sailors who are able to conquer high waves, fierce currents and steep rocks. Here also develop myths related to marine life. The myth of *Imbu*[32] is one of them. The existence of *the* Imbu myth in the community, previously known as the *Tukang Besi* Archipelago, could be one of the supporters of the preservation of the marine nature of the Wakatobi Islands. "People who believe in myths are usually afraid of breaking them. Because they believe that if they violate it, they will be hit by a plague, "said Edi. In *Imbu* myth, every baby born is believed to have an octopus twin. This myth develops in almost all of Wakatobi.

It is said that in a village on the coast lived a very simple family. Every day they looked for shells, fish, and others to meet the needs of their family life. One day the mother was pregnant and when she was full term, she gave birth. The babies she gave birth to were twins. However, one of the babies was a human and the other was an octopus. The incident of the birth of the octopus twins was also spread from one person to another until this news also reached the ears of the ruler of the country. The ruler sent one of his guards to investigate the truth of the news. After returning home, the bodyguards were called to appear. Deliberations were also held to discuss the issue of the birth of the octopus twins. The results of the deliberation decided to throw the baby that resembled an octopus into the sea in order to prevent a disaster that could befall the entire population. Various offerings are prepared. These offerings were floated with the baby who resembles the octopus. Since then, there has been a kind of belief in society that at the time of the sea, the whole family of the baby will be protected by the octopus.

32 Wakatobi Storybook, Southeast Sulawesi Language Center Office, 2016

One time, the father went to sea to fish. When he threw a fishing rod, the hook was hooked on an object. He then dived to find out where the hook was stuck. Apparently, the hook was attached to the roof of a house in the sea. The house belonged to his son, which resembled an octopus, which had been thrown into the sea. "*Te yiyaku ana te anau* (I am your child)," said the octopus. The father then went home and told what had happened. Since then, a myth has developed in the local community not to do activities around the place.

If the prohibition is violated, the person who violates it will be hit by a disaster that can cause him to die at sea. The place is now off limits and is known as Waha, in the Wangi-Wangi sub-district, an area designated specifically for Waode. Their families also believed that when they are struck by disaster in the middle of the sea, *Imbu* would appear as their helper. That is why until now at certain times, especially before the big holidays, the *Imbu* family will make offerings to be thrown into the sea. The goal is to provide food or offerings to the mother who is considered the twin of the child who was born.

To distinguish an actual octopus from an octopus as a human twin, the number of tentacles can be counted. The actual octopus has eight tentacles, while the human twin octopus has nine. This is what is used as a guide for the community to mark the octopus that appears from time to time and appears in front of fishermen or sailors. If at sea a fisherman catches an octopus with nine tentacles, then he must either release the octopus or go home immediately. "*Imbu* is a supernatural being. If someone catches it in the sea and he's sure it's not an octopus, it will be released and it can be a sign that he has to go back to sea soon," Edi continued.

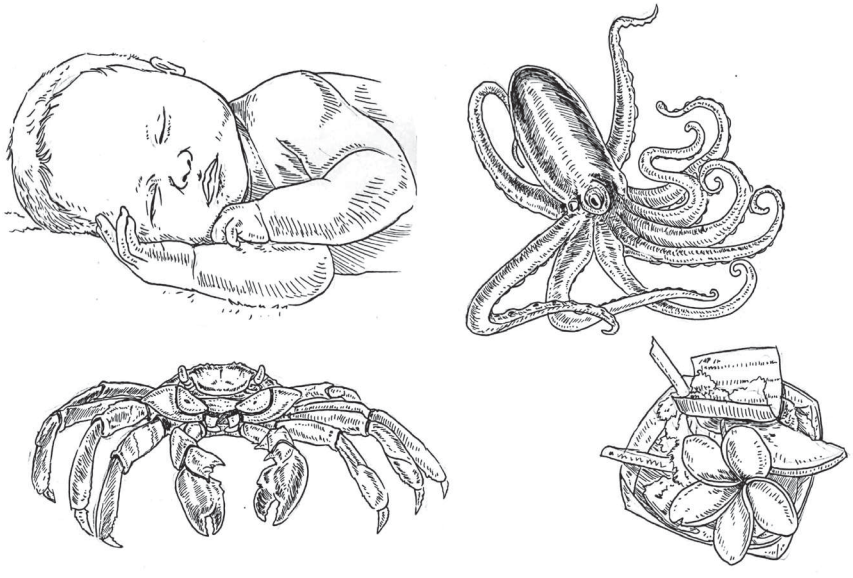

Figure 56 : Baby and octopus with nine tentacles, crab + offering

In addition to making offerings, families who have an octopus lineage also abstain from eating octopus. "If the taboo is violated, the person will get itching. At Wangi-Wangi in the Bajo tribal community, once a woman saw an octopus only, her body was itching. There was a grandson who is studying in Jakarta and tried to eat octopus also experiencing itches," he added. According to this 33-year-old man, if a person eats octopus but in fact he has a taboo on eating octopus, watery spots will appear on his skin similar to octopus tentacles. "If you abstain from fish, it's usually just itchy. If it's an octopus, it looks like octopus tentacles, itchy and watery," he said. Edi himself and his family have restrictions on eating katamba fish. "Yes, until now I have not eaten katamba fish. Each family has different taboos," said Edi. Regarding this taboo, it depends on the twin marine animals that the family has. If a family believes their twin brother is a katamba fish, then he will abstain from eating katamba fish like Edi's family. If a family believes its twin sister is a crab, then the family will not eat crabs and so on. To treat itching on the skin due to eating marine animals which is a taboo, whether intentionally or not, the medicine is enough to take the bones or fish scales, then burn them until they become charcoal and then mixed with village coconut oil and applied to the itchy body part. If no bones or scales are found, you can simply use the soot stuck to the kitchen ceiling and then mix it with oil and apply it to the itchy skin.

In addition to the myth of sea animals as human twins, there is also a myth about the crocodile *Wa Odhe Iriwondu* and his lover that developed in Wangi-wangi. Once upon a time, a king's daughter fell in love with an ordinary man who was not from the nobility. Their love story was not approved by the king. As a result, the king then shaved his daughter and threw her into the forest. In the forest, the king's daughter met her lover. They then decided to commit suicide by jumping into the sea and then turned into crocodiles and breed. Now the location which is believed to be a lot of crocodiles incarnate *Wa Odhe Iriwondu* and his lover is in the Matahora area.

Other myths related to the sea include the myth of *Saki nu'olo* which is believed to be a sea ghost. This scary figure usually disturbs humans when they are at sea. Then the myth of Koto in the form of a giant fish that can swallow humans, *Mo'ori nu'olo* who is believed to be the god of the sea, as a power from the sky in the form of lightning that can damage boats while sailing.

Kodipo Makuri in Tomia means yellow shark. In ancient times this animal was feared, especially by fishermen and children. It is said that *Kodipo Makuri* is believed to be able to kill people by eating only shadows. *Bungka Bulafa* or

In addition to the myth of sea animals as human twins, there is also a myth about the crocodile *Wa Odhe Iriwondu* and his lover that developed in Wangi-wangi.

golden crab is believed to be a guardian creature of one of the caves whose name is also called *Lia Bungka Bulafa*. That said, people believe the creature is highly hunted by foreigners who come to catch it.

Still related to marine life in Binongko, in the ritual before marriage, there is a story that is always remembered and told even though the local residents are far away in other countries. The love story of a pair of lovers *Wa Ode Ndilea* and *Lang Kaidewa* who did not obtain the blessing of their parents became a story that if not told, is believed to bring disaster to the bride and groom and their families. The climax of this story is when *Wa Ode* craved seafood that was caught by his lover himself but never got what he wanted and ended up taking an oath. *Wa Ode's* oath is believed to bring the plague. "Whoever in the future when my child is born, both a boy and a girl, for those who do not remember this history, then have no offspring, or have offspring but are stubborn or disabled."

By the parents in Binongko, the story has been passed down from generation to generation and is still remembered today. This is agreed by La Rabu Mbaru, a community leader in Binongko. "Yes, that's a story that is remembered until now. Couples who are about to get married, the tradition of inheritance continues to be remembered. Otherwise, they usually have no offspring, have difficulty giving birth to children, or even their children are disabled or miscarried. This is an oath or promise that Wa Ode has made so that it doesn't happen. Parents read the history earlier. Prayers are also read so that the man who truly loves his daughter will be fine," said La Wednesday.

Legend

Not only myths that shape Wakatobi's culture as an archipelago that is thick with its culture. In the four islands that became the acronym for Wakatobi including Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia and Binongko, folklore is also told about how these areas were named and then known and known until now.

Wangi-wangi

Folklore that developed about the origin of Wangi-wangi include *Pulo Wa (Wanse/Wangi-Wangi) Pulo Wanianse* or *Te Asala u Pulo Wakatobi* or *Pulau Wa (Wanse/Wangi-Wangi)* Wanianse Island. This story begins with the story of King Wali La Patua Sakti's journey, Sumahil Tahim Alam, who observed the imagery on Kahedupa and Hoga islands. On the way, King Wali La Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alam saw a pair of long legs, Walangka Tuu/Si Long Knee which is said to emit a fragrant smell every step of the way. The fragrance that spreads out is the smell of Wanianse, Walangka Tuu. Another story states that the name Wangi-wangi comes from the smell of cloves on Wanci Island which was smelled by the Dutch who came to Wanci Island at that time. To the date, clove plants can still be seen on Wangi-wangi Island.

Another story about the origin of Wangi-wangi cannot be separated from the name of the Wali on Binongko Island. The name Wali on Binongko Island

was born from a magical procession, a meeting between King Wali Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alam and an Angel Waliullah aboard the Patua Wali Ship. The Patua Wali ship was petrified and the local people call it *Koncu Kapala Patua Wali*. Koncu Kapala Patua Wali Binongko as a historical and cultural heritage tells of the meeting of King Wali La Patua Sakti's soul mate Sumahil Tahim Alam who brought the birth of the Cia-Cia language (Wali) and Putri Waliullah (Princess Bitokawa) as the carrier of the Mbedha-Mbedha language on Binongko Island who later became their child. His grandchildren are scattered all over the world.

Kaledupa

The word Kaledupa comes from kauhedupa which means 'wood made into incense'. Another story says that Kaledupa is composed of the words *kau* and *incense* which means incense wood. In the story of Te Pulo Ka (Kahedupa) Pulo Sombano or Pulau Ka (Kahedupa) Sombano Island, it is told that after Tomia's name was born, King Wali La Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alam rowed the kora-kora. Then he saw a puff of white smoke that smelled of incense (incense). The smoke came out of Bidadari Waliullah (Princess Bitokawa) who was floating on the surface of the sea. Meanwhile, Kahedupa's "coral" has begun to appear. Seeing the incident, King Wali La Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alam immediately *nosomba* 'prostrated'. The name *kahe* was born which in the Wali language means 'a closed place or hole (center)' and the word incense means 'incense' which later emits fragrant smoke. It is said that at that time the center of Kahedupa was around Sandi and Balasuna. Kahedupa is represented as the center of the land of Wakatobi which is full of magical secrets, Dupa Sombano.

There is also a saying that the name Kaledupa was given by a group of explorers/sailors who happened to cross the island of Kaledupa and smelled incense. The island was then given the name *Kahedupa* and later better known as Kaledupa. Incense wood itself is the object closest to the ritual. In the past, when people still believed in supernatural spirits, almost all people used incense as a medium of communication with their ancestors. Furthermore, when Islam entered and spread in the Kaledupa community, the new teaching was then assimilated with traditions, customs that already existed and were passed down from generation to generation.

There is also a saying that the name *Kaledupa* was given by a group of explorers/sailors who happened to cross the island of *Kaledupa* and smelled incense.

Tomia

In Tomia community, the story of *Te Asala Pulo Tomia* (The Origins of Tomia Island) develops. It tells the story of Kaapi, an adviser to the Wasurubentengi queen who ruled Mandati Tonga who decided to leave Koba and sent a

message to the people who still respect him to follow him with a sign of thick smoke billowing into the air. The people who were loyal to him then followed and when they saw the smoke shouted, "*Atoomia, atoomia, te kaapy ilihanto"* while pointing at the hill. The screams of the explorers/sailors who came from Kobahitu were witnessed by the residents of Kaledupa who were looking for snails. Since that incident, the inhabitants of Kaledupa gave the name of the island Tomia, as a result of the cry of explorers/sailors from Kobahitu: "Atomia".

Binongko

Binongko is known as the archipelago of blacksmiths. Some of the stories related to the origin of Binongko are contained in *Te Asala Pulo Binongko* (The Origin of Binongko Island). In the story, it is told that there is a foreign ship anchored in a place. When the crew asked a father with his son, the father did not understand the language of the crew. The son ran away in fear and the father shouted, "*Wine angku…wine angku*" which means "safe the seed…safe the seed". As they walked towards the village, the crew were astonished to see the many nutmeg trees and shouted, "alive Nutmeg..alive Nutmeg".

They came again sometime later. The white-skinned boat passengers shouted, "Binongko!". Such shouts mimic the shouts of the father, "*Wine angku*," the first time they arrived on the island. Next, the crew asked the residents to collect nutmeg and exchanged it for goods that appealed to the residents. Although they did not understand each other's language, since that incident, the island was given the name Binongko. Binongko comes from the word *wine angku* which means 'seeds are secured', while the word nutmeg seems to have also been immortalized into the name of a village, alive nutmeg.

Binongko is known as the archipelago of blacksmiths. Some of the stories related to the origin of Binongko are contained in *Te Asala Pulo Binongko* (The Origin of Binongko Island).

Another legend that also developed in folklore is the story about *Te Asala u Kampo Mandati/* The origin of Mandati Village, *Fatu Sabhoka-Bhoka / Fatu Samboka-Boka* / the origin of the Samboka-boka Stone, *Te Asala Human u Cia-Cia kene Mbedha-Mbedha* / The origins of *Cia-Cia* and *Mbedha-Mbedha* people, King Wali Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahil Alam to the Unseen Realm of Ternate (King Wali Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahil Alam to the Unseen World of Ternate) and descended 4 descendants namely Bacan, Tidore, Jailolo, and Ternate (including the other Maluku Islands and Irian and Banda. In addition there is a story about *Anea u Kadhadhi Wa Ngkalilirihu / Wa Ngkalilirihu* bird who was previously a girl named *Wa Mokori* who has a habit of eating turmeric and climbing the attic and then turning into a bird and reads *'Sia koho-koho*

Tula-Tula

In Wakatobi fairy tale is called *tula-tula*. Usually in other areas, *tula-tula* becomes an inseparable part of childhood life. Before there was electricity, television, radio, let alone mobile phones, fairy tales became entertainment for the children of Wakatobi before going to bed. *Tula-tula* was usually told by grandmothers/grandfathers to their grandchildren, parents to their children or older siblings to their younger siblings, but over time, the fairy tales passed down from generation to generation are starting to be forgotten

Fairy tales are an old literary form that tells about an extraordinary event that is full of fantasy (fiction)[33]. Fairy tales are a form of traditional stories or stories that have been passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors, serving to convey moral teachings (educating), as well as entertaining.

In Tomia, the tale of *Tula-tula Kenta Pana Buta Kene Kenta Kaleppa* (the fairy tale of the hedgehog and the fish of the side) is popular. This story tells about a fish that is good at camouflage. If he hid, it ould be very difficult to find. Because of his prowess, the other fish became arrogant because every time he played hide and seek with other fish, he always won. The story begins with an accidental meeting between the next fish and the porcupine fish. From that meeting, the next fish mocked the porcupine fish and the porcupine fish was offended by the ridicule. Then they agreed to play a game of hide and seek. At the beginning of the game, the hedgehog loses, but at the end of the game, the next fish is pierced by the thorns of the hedgehog. This story explains that pride is not a good behavior and can be disastrous for oneself.

Another story related to morals so as not to be arrogant, deceitful, greedy can be seen from the stories *La Ndoke-Ndoke kene La Kolopua, La Misi-Misikini, Fasungka kene Fasungke. La Ndoke-Ndoke kene La Kolopua* tellsthe story of two people who lived in the forest and planted banana trees to eat together. When it was harvest time, one of them harvested and ate the harvest for himself. As a result, the greedy was hit by a plague.

The story of La *Misi-Misikini* tells of a poor family who grewe watermelons and one of the watermelons contained gold. Then they became rich and arrogant.

The story of *La Misi-Misikini* tells of a poor family who grewe watermelons and one of the watermelons contained gold. Then they became rich and arrogant. As a result of their arrogance and arrogance, all their property was consumed by fire and they returned to poverty.

Next is the story of *Fasungka kene Fasungke/ Fasungka* and *Fasungke*, two brothers,

33 https://rialhadirahmawan.blogspot.com/2018/09/kumpulan-dongeng-unik-tomia-tula-tula.html

one was arrogant, the other was greedy, and the other was generous. Fasungka, whom the fortune-teller predicted would have good luck, was very happy, while Fasungke, who was predicted to have bad luck, was sad. Fasungka asked his mother to throw Fasungke away because he thought it would bring bad luck. The exiled Fasungke could only cry and then meet an old man. The grandfather then died and bequeathed all his wealth to Fasungke. The plot changed; life is not always static. Fasungka and his mother, who were arrogant and happy to spend time, fell into poverty and became beggars. Fasungke invited them to live together. But because of their arrogance and greed that persisted, at the end of the story, they also perished.

Other stories also teach the moral that we should empathize with suffering. As the saying goes, rafting upstream, swimming ashore, stories full of suffering often end happily. Some of the stories that invite us to fantasize about empathy include: *Watu Mokuri*, about the king's daughter named Wa Sima who fell in love with an ordinary man and was then dumped and stranded on an island whose entire island was turmeric. It was hard at first, then they lived happily and reproduced.

La Sikori Cave tells the story of an ordinary young man Lasikori who fell in love with Wa Samania, a noble's daughter. Their love story did not get the blessing which caused Wa Samania to go into the cave for 7 years. Lasikori looked for him and lived in the same cave, but Lasikori could not see Wa Samania. Seven years in the cave, they finally came out and got married.

Then the story of Piri Mohama and Sultan Ali, tells of a traditional leader in Wanci who had 7 children. His youngest child as named Piri Mohama and predicted to have good luck in the future. This prediction made Piri Mohama's brothers jealous and finally Piri Mohama was exiled into the forest. As an adult, Piri Mohama married Sultan Ali, the son of a noble from Java. After they got married, they had a son who was sick with leprosy and could only be cured if he was brought back to Wanci. When Piri Mohama returned to her parents' house, all of her siblings ran away in fear because they thought Piri Mohama was dead.

Other stories also teach the moral that we should empathize with suffering. As the saying goes, rafting upstream, swimming ashore, stories full of suffering often end happily.

Next is the story of Wa Bhaleno Ponda kene Wa Bhaleno Kaluku (Wa Bhaleno Ponda and Wa Bhaleno Kaluku), about the life of Wa Baleno Ponda who is often abused by his mother and stepsister, Wa Bhaleno Kaluku. Wa Bhaleno Ponda had a golden fish twin brother who was then eaten by his mother and stepsisters. The bones of the gold fish were planted by Wa Bhaleno Ponda in the mountain and grew into a tree with gold leaves and diamond flowers. A prince held a contest to see who could uproot and revive the tree, if the woman would be made his wife and if the man would be made a brother. Of all the people who took part in the competition, only Wa Bhaleno Ponda was able to uproot

and revive the tree and eventually became the wife of the prince and they had one child. While the prince was traveling, Wa Bhaleno Ponda was tortured and thrown into the river by his mother and half-sister and then helped by 7 nymphs. Every Friday, 7 nymphs and Wa Bhaleno Ponda came to visit their children and before dawn they left without the prince's knowledge. At the end of the story, the prince, Wa Bhaleno Ponda's husband caught him and finally Wa Bhaleno Ponda couldn't go anymore. They lived happily again.

An elegy has a sad plot at the beginning of the story, then our feelings are brought to a pleasant atmosphere but then the story ends in tragedy. An example is the story of La Misi-Misikini. This story tells about a poor family who had a white, tall, handsome boy who was appointed as the king's bodyguard and falls in love with the king's daughter. Their love story was not approved by the king and ended in mutual suicide.

Another story that makes carried away with the nuances of one's character/heroism can be found in the story of the 14th Lakina Wali La Ode Gorau (Yaro Motondu I Pasi/ Iyaro Burkene) (1835–1865) / La Ode Gorau 14th Lakina Wali (Iyaro Motondu I Pasi/ Iyaro Burkene) (1835–1865). This story tells of La Ode Gorau, a hard-working person who loves the sea, likes to fish on the reef with the coast guard or fishermen. He visited Koko Coral, Koromaha Coral, Moromaho Island, Cuwu-Tuwu Island, and Kente Olo Island which are included in the Binongko area. One time when La Ode Gorau was in Karang Koromaha (the border between Binongko and Tomia), the small boat he was traveling in was hit by a big wave and sank. La Gorau was then rescued by a group of sailfish, in the language of the guardians called *Isa Kopangawa or Surei Sampulawa*. With the help of this sail fish, La Ode Gorau and other crew members were brought to Wali Binongko beach. For this incident, La Ode Gorau has the title Iyaro Motondu Ipasi which means 'the former drowned in the rock'. La Ode Gorau then served as Lakina Wali for 30 years (1835-1865) and chose La Ode Murjani, a timid young man who was provided with various knowledge by La Ode Gorau to fight against La Cadi Raja Muna__an enemy of the Buton Kingdom. The war was won by the Raja Wali troops formed by La Ode Gorau and La Ode Murjani later became the successor to the Sultan of Buton.

An elegy has a sad plot at the beginning of the story, then our feelings are brought to a pleasant atmosphere but then the story ends in tragedy.

The King Wali La Patua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alam into the Unseen Realm of Butuni (The King Wali LaPatua Sakti Sumahil Tahim Alamke the Unseen Realm Butuni / Buton) tells the story of the King Wali Lapatua Sakti Sumahil Tahil Alam Facing the King, Te Putiri Bhithathari Waliullah O Wila Kua Lange / The Princess Bidadari Waliullah to Heaven (Sky).

Other stories that make us enjoy our persistence and loyalty can be observed from the stories of *Waindho-indhodhiyu / Wa Ndiu-Ndiu, Te Fa Odhe Lumangke Peesa / Wa Ode Who Sails Alone, Wa KhaKa kene Palahidu / Wa Khakadan Palahidu, Nu Waindara kene Lataku /* The story of *Waindara and Lataku, Wa Samba-Samba Parie/ Wa Samba-Samba Parie.*

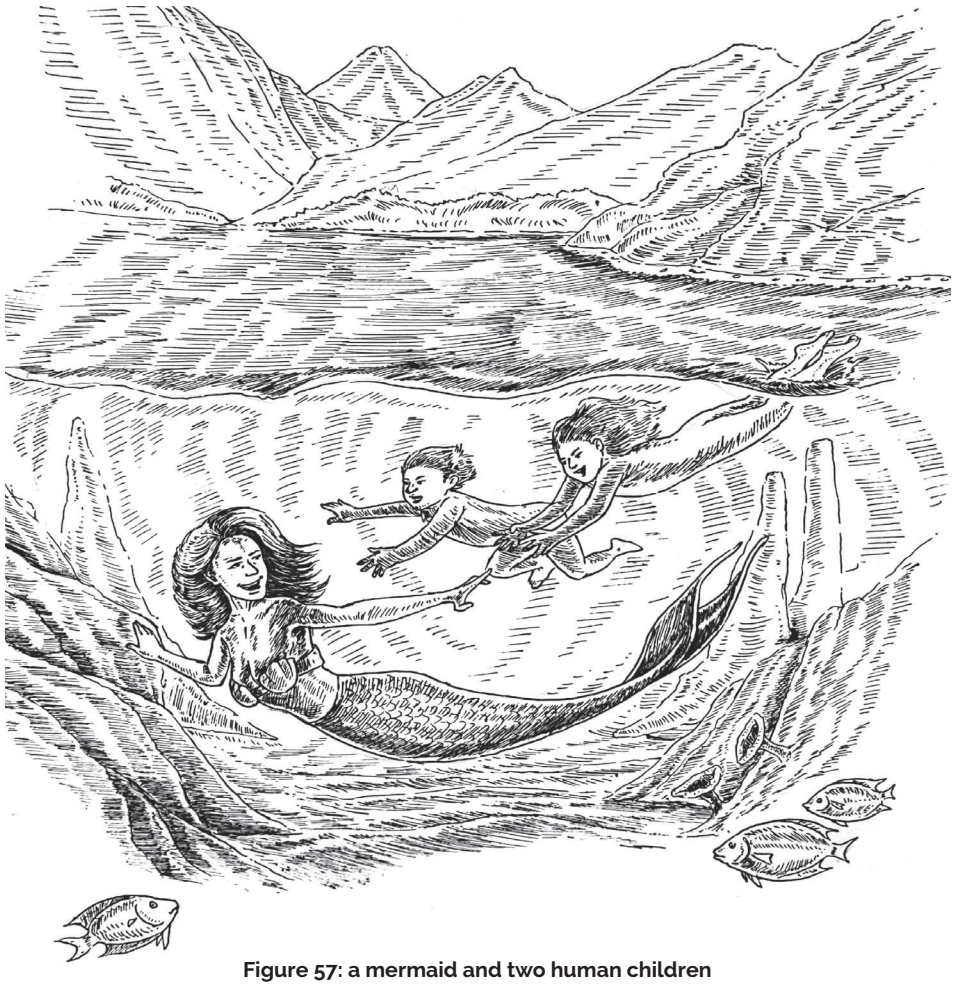

Figure 57: a mermaid and two human children

Waindho-indhodhiyu or familiarly called Wa Ndiu-ndiu is a story of the struggle of a woman as well as a housewife in supporting her family. The woman named Waindho-indhodhiyu always looks for fish and looked for sea shells (in the Wakatobi local language called tunga) when the sea water was receding. She did the work to maintain her life with her children because her husband never cared about the fate and life of her family. Over time, Waindho-indhodhiyu's routine of looking for fish every day caused his body to scale little by little and eventually turned into a mermaid (dhiyu). At the end of the

story, because Waindho-indhodhiyu ould no longer find food for his children, he ordered his two children to save themselves from the giant by climbing a coconut tree that penetrates into the sky / heaven. At the end of the story, the mother and children meet in heaven and live together.

Te Fa Odhe Lumangke Peesa / Wa Ode Sailing Alone tells the story of a girl named Wa Ode from Wangi-wangi who disguises herself as a man to return her father's ship to the ship's owner in Java. He left alone. On the way when he stopped at several islands, he met birds, dogs, monkeys, rats who accompanied him sailing to the island of Java. The ship owner's son did not believe that Wa Ode was a man and tried to dismantle Wa Ode's disguise. The attempt failed because Wa Ode was assisted by the animals that accompanied him during his sailing. At the end of the story, Wa Ode married the ship owner's son and lived happily. This story is the origin of Wangi-wangi's closeness to Java.

Wa KhaKa kene Palahidu / Wa Khakadan Palahidu tells of a young man named Wa Khaka who was tenacious, persistent. For several times this young man managed to repair a damaged foreign ship (Hongkong ship). Because of the persistence and patience of this young man, the captain of the ship gave his wife to be married to Wa Khaka. From this marriage, two children were born, la mala and la mula.

Nu Waindara kene Lataku / The story of Waindara and Lataku tells the story of a husband and wife who lived by the sea. Every day, Lataku went to sea while Wa Indara stayed at home waiting. One time, Lataku said goodbye to sailing and advised his wife did not go to play hebhaongko. While Lataku was left at sea, Wa Indara was persuaded by his friends to leave the house and played hebhaongko. Remembering her husband's message, Wa Indara did not pay attention to the persuasion of his friends. Wa Indara's friends did tricks to get them to play on the swing. In the middle of the game, the swing rope was cut off and Wa Indara was thrown into the sea and was immediately swallowed by the grouper. Returning from the sea, Lataku looked for his wife and everyone who was asked stated that Wa Indara had been swallowed by a grouper. Lataku also asked the grouper to return Wa Indara in exchange for gold. The story closes with the return of Wa Indara to Lataku and they lived together.

Wa Samba-Samba Parie tells of Wa Samba-Samba Parie's persistence in taking care of his sister, Wa Diki-Diki Panamba after his parents died.

Traditional Game

"What was the most memorable thing as a child?"

"Climb the coconut tree."

"Why climbing a coconut tree?"

"Because there is a special pleasure when we find out who owns a coconut tree, and we run wildly until we are nicknamed *'daidana bette paheposo'* (the children at the bete who steal others' coconuts).....hahahaha"

Chatting with Edi often made me laugh to myself. His crisp spontaneous stories made me never stop curious to hear the next stories at Edi's place. The world of children is indeed a world full of images, and playing can be one form of original expression of those images. In some areas, playing activities take place not only during the day. At night, when the moon is full, the children also play happily while singing.

Tuttu kaluku mau-mau lajanam pakedu-kedu
Notondai-ndai isi gusi pale botolo
Jeppa memma

That's one of the poems sung during the round moon by children in Olo village, Edi's hometown. They play *tapu-tapu kea*. This fruit twisting game is played while singing. "Can be in groups, one on one, 2, 3 to 4 people. But still our single player. At that time, there were still many illiterate people here, so the poems were sung," explained Edi.

In line with natural conditions, several types of games that require tools use a lot of various types of objects from nature such as seeds, roots, stems, fruit, twigs, midribs, plant leaves to the available grass. Edi said that there are more than 40 types of children's games in Wakatobi with 90 percent of the materials used come from nature. These games include *hekadese-dese, id'i-id'i, boy-boy, oro-oro bangka, hetaluba, pato-patola, hebagulli, tara-tarapala, enggo-enggo, baka-bakara, maning kau, Jadi-jadi, hekatende, hekari-rii, hegasia, edda baterei, mancoki, heta-hetaahu, siko-sikola, fulu-fulu, mbottu-mbottu, pasi-pasi, fea-fea, herombo, heu-heundee, goro+gorombola, iye-iye, otti-otifo, posa-posafu, imala, tai timara, bolia-bolia, tuttu kaluku mau-mau, taitimmara, tara-tarspala, edda fatu sampali, edda gata'a, kansulou, sabung biji mangga, sabung biji asam, sabung biji jambu, sabung daun keladi, tangki-tangi, tapu-tapu kea, congklak, petak umpet*.

During the guava season, children will play guava fighting. Likewise, when the rainy season starts to fall, the children will play taro fighting.

Games that use seeds or fruits are played according to the harvest season. When it's mango season, children will play a lot of mango seed fights. This game is played by two children. It is made by sharpening the bamboo and attaching it to the mango seed then the coconut shell is attached to the mango seed like a bird's wing. Then, the 'birds' are pitted. If the bird's body and wings are released from the handle then the player loses.

During the guava season, children will play guava fighting. Likewise, when the rainy season starts to fall, the children will play taro fighting. In the westernmost village of Sembano Kaledupa, there is also a game that uses *kansulou* seeds. Played in teams from children to teenagers during the month of Ramadan. These seeds are obtained from vines that only grow in the jungle. This game is still played today.

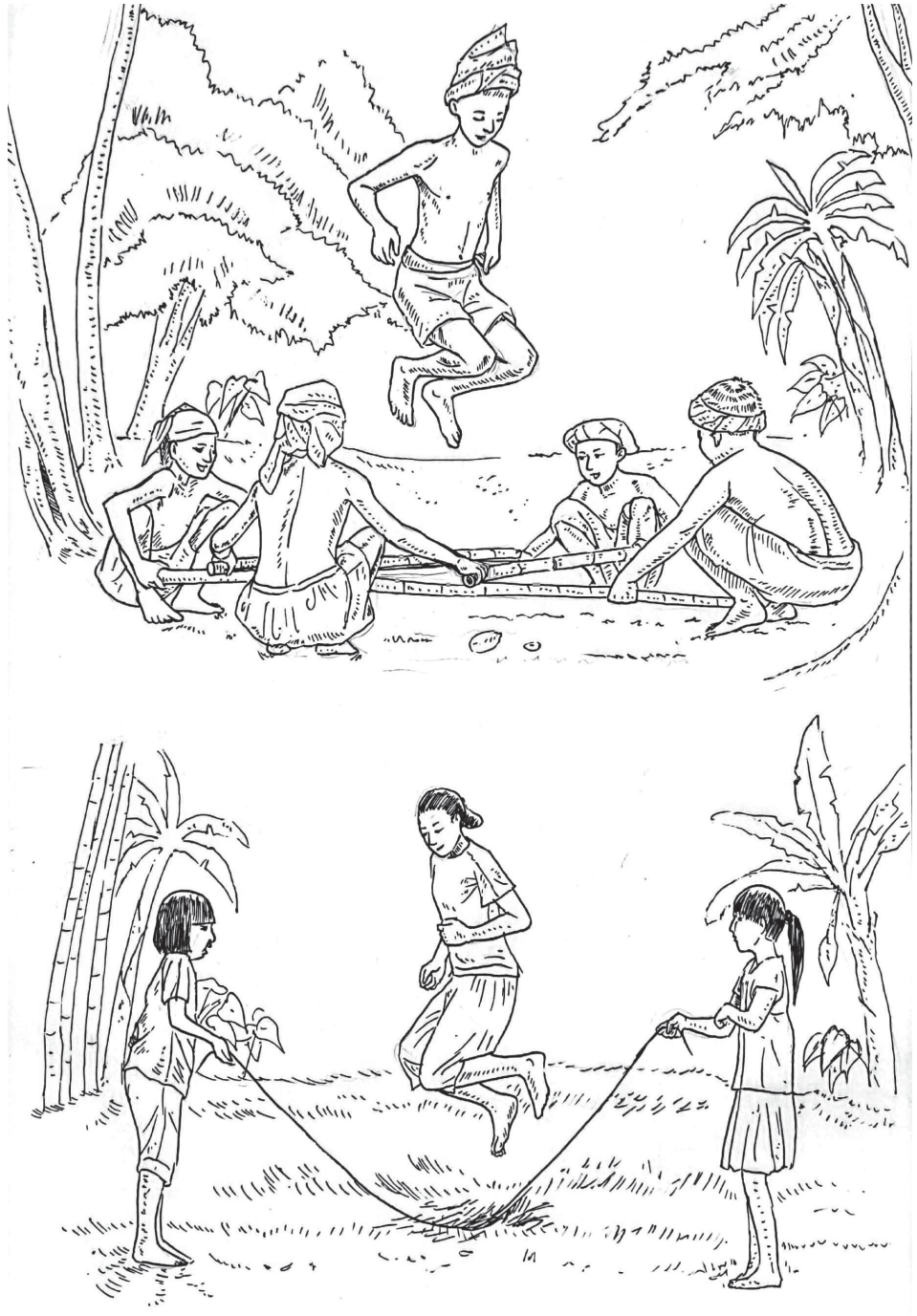

Figure 58: Traditional games.

According to Edi's observations, the various forms of traditional games existed until the 2005's. After that, when TV was no longer a luxury item, the internet began to come in, cellphones became more familiar, slowly, the various types of games faded away.

Dance

"It is said that hundreds of years before Kaledupa Island became part of the Buton Sultanate, a traditional performance called Lariangi Kaledupa was played. This dance has now gone international and has also been performed at the national level," said La Ode Dane. "Now," continued Dane, "the Lariangi dance has become an icon of cultural tourism in Wakatobi Regency".

At first, Lariangi was a dance performance offering staged in front of the Sultan and his guests. Lariangi was also presented to soldiers who were about to leave or return from war. But then it experienced diffusion outside the center of the kingdom and developed and was staged in several local kingdoms that were still in the territory of the Buton kingdom, as was the case with the Kaledupa kingdom. "There are about forty poems that are sung during the show," added Dane. Lariangi comes from two syllables, namely *lari* which means to decorate and *angi* which means to convey a message. So that Lariangi is interpreted as people who are decorated to convey a message contained in the performance and chants sung by the dancers. The combination of motion, rhythm of accompaniment music, costumes and hums forms a unified whole full of messages. The movement in Lariangi reflects the power of Kaledupa women. The accompaniment music shows the closeness of Lariangi's birth to the pre-Islamic period, as does the musical accompaniment of Javanese dances. The costumes and attributes used reinforce the motion, contain an implied message that will be conveyed as a text. Meanwhile, Lariangi's hums contain messages using the ancient Kaledupa language, and nowadays, few people can understand it. Some of the old, elderly dancers who have now become coaches no longer understand the literal meaning of the words in the Lariangi song. When Islam entered, the chants sung by the dancers were mostly articulated in the younger Kaledupa language, mixed with Wolio language with the Kaledupa dialect and started with shalawat with a strong Islamic element (Sofian: 2014).

During the royal period, Lariangi dance was a palace dance which could only be performed in the palace environment. Even the dancers are not random people, but girls who come from the Kaomu and Walaka nobility classes. Because of that, the Lariangi dancer must be a girl with character, beautiful and still a virgin.

Kamaruddin (2014: 54) stated that Lariangi in the oral tradition of the Wakatobi people refers to the self-image of women and as a tradition of the king's offering as well as the name of the costume for the activity. Currently, Lariangi is continuously transforming, becoming a cultural symbol and the

identity of the Kaledupa people, even though they live in other areas. In this case, Lariangi becomes a means that emotionally connects people living in the area of origin with those in the overseas[34].

Kamaruddin (2014: 55) continued, beauty is not only measured by visual impressions including a proportional body shape with straight or curly hair, a sharp nose, a trapezoidal chin, curved arms (kunde), and knees between the heels and ankles that look more attractive. in. Her beauty must also be seen from within, which is known from her melodious and soothing voice, and has a noble character. Virginity is important, because Lariangi is a dance that contains spiritual values, so the dancer must be a holy person (sacre) and able to maintain a mystical atmosphere.

Apart from Lariangi, there are various dances that are still being preserved. The uses also vary. Some are for rituals; some are just for entertainment. These dances include Banda Dance, Mborita dance, Sajomowine dance, Sajomoane dance, Saride dance from Tomia Island; Honari Mosega Dance from Wanci/ Fragrant; and Balumpa Dance from Binongko.

Figure 59: Dances (lariangi, dance banda, mosega, balumpa)

34 Kamaruddin. 2014. *Transformasi Budaya Lariangi pada Masyarakat Kaledupa (Suatu Kajian Etnografi)*, Thesis, Haluoleo University Graduate Program, Kendari.

Banda Dance or *Manari Banda* (Banda dancing) is a type of dance and song played by a group of women and usually followed by *ngiwi* by the fathers. *Ngiwi* is a dance movement performed by men around the female dancers while raising their right hand. At the end of the *ngiwi* movement, a *saweran* is usually made in the form of sufficient money for the female dancers. It is said that this dance originated from Banda Island but was popularized in Tomia. The clothes worn by the dancers are free but they are more dominant in wearing kebaya and scarves. Usually held at night at a wedding or celebration night. The purpose of this dance is to entertain themselves and entertain the people who are present. As for the musical instruments used in the form of drums and biota, accompanied by *banti-banti*.

Mborita dance is performed to welcome immigrants who have just arrived in their hometown. This dance was born because of the background of the Tomia people who are known as a community of sailors and traders between islands, as well as migrants. This *Mborita* dance is played by six dancing girls. One of the six dancers will be chosen by a young nomad who has just returned to his hometown.

Besides *Mborita* dance, Tomia also has *Sajomowine* dance, Sajomoane dance, and Saride dance. These two dances are danced along with singing songs and played in groups by adult women (*wowine*) on the eve of weddings, celebrations, thanksgiving, hospitality and others. The goal is to entertain the invitees and other spectators. *Sajomoane* dance is a type of dance accompanied by singing performed in groups by teenage boys (*moane*) with a total of 16 players. *Sajomoane* was shown in the event to pick up guests to the island of Tomia. While the Saride dance is a traditional dance which means unity and togetherness in completing an activity concerning the public interest.

Ngiwi is a dance movement performed by men around the female dancers while raising their right hand. At the end of the _ngiwi_ movement, a saweran is usually made in the form of sufficient money for the female dancers.

There are also *Kadandio* dances and *Ahonda* dances. These two dances are played by 12 girls and boys in traditional Butonnese clothes accompanied by musical instruments such as gongs, signs, *ndenyu-denyu* and drums. The song is sung in the form of a rhyme called *banti-banti*.

Honari Mosega Dance is Liya's typical war dance, Wangi-wangi. This traditional dance is the pride of the Liya community which was previously developed by the commanders and pirates to defend their territory from enemies who would enter the mainland. This dance is often referred to as the enemy scout dance. It is played by several men, consisting of 1 core dancer called *tompidhe* holding a spear or machete, and equipped with 1 or 4 people as a *Hulubalang* called *manu-manu moane* by holding a spear and yellow leaves as a deterrent to poison or magic. Sometimes there is also a female leader called *manu-manu womine* and one drum or drum beater. The costumes used are in the form of war costumes and the movements are a combination of the Balaba martial arts art with the art of war.

Balumpa dance is a welcoming dance that developed in Wolio, Binongko. According to La Ode Muhammad Rahmat[35], *Balumpa* dance is a social dance that is performed to welcome distinguished guests. That said, this dance was held to welcome the arrival of the Portuguese and Dutch. Apart from being a welcoming dance for guests, *Balumpa* dance is also performed at art performances and cultural festivals. Danced by female dancers with happy facial expressions accompanied by folk music and songs.

Ceremonies

"The election period is a difficult time for us. There are too many side effects," said the middle-aged man in a rather heavy voice. From the other side, he added again with an even heavier voice. "In election era like this, we are ready if at any time we are transferred," he added.

La Ode Dane, a man who has been the principal of an elementary school on Kaledupa Island for 16 years, told a crisp story while waiting for the time for the Asr prayer to arrive. In 2016, he was transferred to Wanci. A year later, this SPG Bau-bau graduate was transferred to Kaledupa and is now a regular teacher. The story of mutation after mutation, up and down positions in the educational institution, became a common thing. According to him, this does not escape the side effects of the election. "Educational institutions usually join the incumbent. This elementary school from the east end to the west end of Kaledupa was affected. This happens every 5 years, every election takes place," he said. This father of two children is very enthusiastic about every question and occasionally jokes to break the atmosphere and increase intimacy.

Dane was born into a noble family. He is the fifth descendant of Sultan La Ode Himayatuddin Muhammad Saidi or La Ode Karambau who is also fondly called *Oputa yi koo* who ruled in Buton in 1752-1755 and 1760-1763. "My grandfather and grandmother were the first grandchildren of the sultan," he said.

The conversation with Dane started with a family story in Pangliyah hill. "No one dared to open a garden there if not us. La ode, we are the fifth descendant of Sultan Himayatuddin. This sultan has three names: *La Ode Karambau* (name in the village), *La Ode Himayatuddin* (sultanate) and *La Oputa yii koo* (ruler). *La Ode Karambau* had a big and sturdy body. Just two years ago, he became a national hero. Because of his national struggle, he thoroughly fought for the archipelago. *Oputa yi koo* was built a fort in Kaledupa to anticipate that the Buton sultanate would not collapse. At that time, Oputa yi koo was only playing tactics, he was guerrilla like Sudirman. Therefore, anyone was appointed at that time as sultan was just a formality, his brother-in-law sat down. In the end, the Dutch were happy because *Oputa yii ko* was no longer in the fort, even though he was

35 http://eprints.unm.ac.id/16587/1/JURNAL%20LA%20ODE%20MUHAMMAD%20RAHMAT%20-%201482041004.pdf.

guerrilla. He made the sultan stealth to outwit the Dutch. From the outside, the Netherlands was crushed because there were spies, *tho.* Outside the fort, *Oputa yii ko* has been prepared," said Dane.

Child Naming System

As an aristocrat, Dana acquired the additional first name La Ode. La Ode is intended for boys, while for girls, Wa Ode is added. In addition to being a characteristic of naming/marking aristocratic descent, the additional names La Ode and Wa Ode have a divine meaning. "La is taken from the sentence La ilahaillallaah. Wa is from Waasyhaduanna muhammadarrasulullaah. Yes, about the sentence of the creed," said Dane. He himself is a person who is not too rigid in applying this aristocratic naming system in his family. For example, for the names of his two sons, he did not embed La Ode in front of the names of his children. "It's Dasrun (his first child), he doesn't have La, but I ordered it to be okay. Her sister has La. that's his sister I continued with my name. Apriyadin La Ode Dane. La Ode Dane is my name," said Dane. This family naming system follows the male lineage. If a man of noble descent marries a fellow noble, the status is equal. If a noble man marries a non-aristocratic woman, the names of the children follow the line of descent from the father. However, if a noble woman marries a non-aristocratic man, then the names of the children will follow the lineage of the father instead of the lineage of the noble mother. "Our father is also from Buton, Sangia. Sangia is a feared person. La Ode too. "So if we are from both (father's and mother's lineages are both noble)," added Dane.

The position of nobility also has an effect on marriage. If a noble man marries an ordinary woman, the dowry is left to the man, the amount is not determined. However, if a noble woman married a non-aristocratic man, the dowry would be high. "The range is 35 to 45 *boka*. Could be more, "explained Dana. A 1 *boka* is worth IDR 60 thousand. Dana herself married her son to a woman who was not both noble. Ethnic differences, too. But his party still gave the dowry because it was women's right to receive the dowry. "Yes, because we respect women, *tho*, that's their right," said Dane.

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Culturally, Wakatobi Islands have a close connection with the Buton Kingdom. The various traditions embodied in rituals are also heavily influenced by Islamic religious values that first developed in Buton. "Yes, here, Islam will enter after Hinduism. So there is some kind of mix. People are born until they die, there is a ceremony," said Dane. For example, the tradition of *akikah* for newborns. "Newborn children are usually read the call to prayer, given *akikah*, then a placenta cut. In the past, the placenta was cut by Tando (a traditional birth attendant). The cut is made using bamboo reeds and then given traditional ingredients. There is also a hair clipper, *tho*, when the baby is two or three months or half a year. But now we have collaborated with the health center," added

Dane. Regarding the use of bamboo reeds to cut the placenta, Dane explained that there is a kind of belief that if one uses anything other than bamboo, later when he/she grows up, a child will be difficu lt to manage, his character can be tough. "If you use anything other than bamboo, for example, you can use scissors, *tho*, later when he is older, if he wanders, he can make a mess. If you solve the problem with violence. If you use iron (cut the placenta using scissors), if you cut it, it won't work. Or if you cut it with iron, the iron can be eaten. There is such a belief," said Dane.

For children who are in their teens or a child enters puberty, there is a karia'a ceremony. This tradition is mostly celebrated on Kaledupa Island. In the Kaledupa community, Karia'a tradition is one of the most important traditions. "It has a long history. In the past, girls were kept in seclusion for 7 days, they were not allowed to go out of the house, their sleep was arranged. But now it has shifted a lot," said Dane. Now, the karia'a ceremony takes place for two consecutive days. The aim is to provide moral and spiritual ethical values for boys and girls both in their status as children, mothers, wives and as members of society. In addition, to pray for the child to avoid harm.

The background of the emergence of this ceremony stems from the victory party of the Islamic fighters in the Kaledupa Kingdom. This party was first held in 1260 AD during the reign of King Kahedupa named Muhammad Umar Muhadar or Muhammad Dangi Tongka Alamu and his consort wearing royal clothes. According to Dane, the Karia'a ceremony is usually held every four years and is currently used as a festival event. "If every year it is not necessarily implemented. Because the number of children who reach puberty is not always there and many. So it's all collected *tho*. Now there is a karia'a festival," explained Dane. The clothes used by the *Karia'a* participants are the clothes and equipment used by the king of Kahedupa and the Saras.

For children who are in their teens or a child enters puberty, there is a karia'a ceremony. This tradition is mostly celebrated on Kaledupa Island.

Apart from *Karia'a*, specifically for the Wakatobi community who have daughters growing up, the Kansoda' traditional procession is held once a year after the Eid celebrations is also held. This procession is carried out only once in a lifetime. Through this ritual, parents want to show their proud daughters have grown well. The girls are dressed up, wearing traditional clothes complete with brightly colored accessories and dominated by gold. Their heads are decorated with crowns of flowers and bird feathers. During the procession, women are carried on a stretcher and paraded around the village.

In addition to rituals related to the rites of human life, the Wakatobi people also hold various

ceremonies that are closely related to nature and the environment. Call it the Nihongo ritual, namely the prohibition of going to sea in fish spawning grounds. Since the first, it is known that there is a special location for fish spawning and the fish should not be taken. This ritual is carried out in a traditional house and there is a special event that states that whoever violates it will be subject to reinforcements or disaster on himself. This ritual was no longer practiced and it was only in 2018, it was reconstructed.

The ritual of rejecting reinforcements *'Bhangka Mbule-mbule'* is often carried out in Mandati II Village, South Wangi-Wangi District, Wakatobi Regency. Bangka Mbule-mbule is a response to the psychic fears of the local community about disasters at sea such as drowning and disease outbreaks such as sarampa disease or smallpox and telele (people die in a week in a row). People believe that if they do not carry out the Bhangka Mbule-mbule ritual, there is *teleleto togonto* or disaster that enters the village.

This ritual is defined as the ritual of the boat leaving home. The practice is carried out by drifting a boat that is boarded by a replica of a pair of humans, a man and a woman as well as various kinds of crops from agriculture. Before the boat and the human replica are paraded around the village, a prayer is made to reject reinforcements. This is often displayed when welcoming Wakatobi's birthday, December 20. Now, it is often held at tourism events.

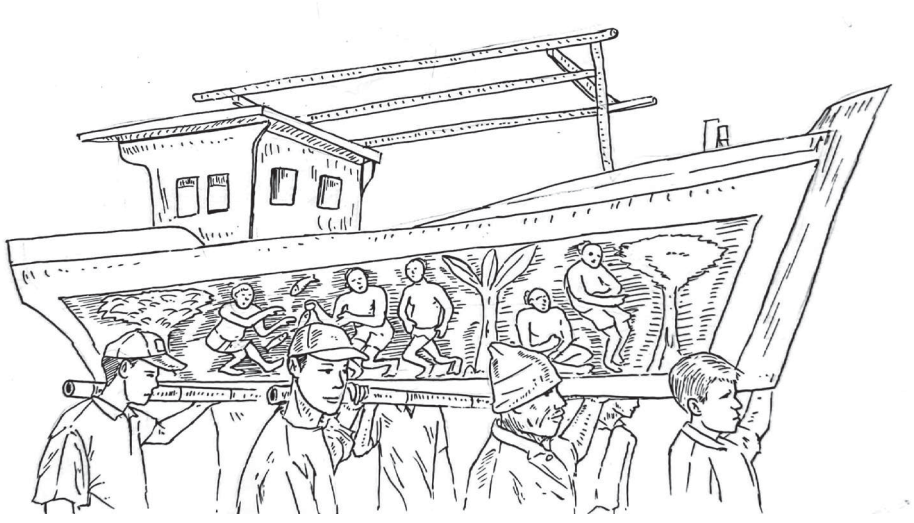

Figure 60: Ship with a human replica being paraded towards the sea

Another rejection ceremony is the Duata traditional party. Usually a party, this ceremony is carried out in groups for three days and three nights. On the third day as the closing ceremony, the handler will dance on the canoe. Dozens of people rowed the canoe into the middle of the sea followed by all the spectators present. The purpose of this party is to eliminate the disease

that enters the village. Another folk party is Palombesi, Manga lewu-lewu. This folk party is popular on Tomia Island. Palombesi party was attended by young people from the visiting villages with the villages visited by displaying various creations of dance and sound arts, as well as folk games. Manga *lewu-lewu* is a people's party that is held as gratitude after they have successfully completed an activity that is beneficial for the benefit of many people, such as building a mosque. This folk party is usually held in the afternoon after the Eid prayer. The participants are children and young women.

Other local wisdom

There are three important philosophies[36] held by the people of Tomia Island: (1) *ara no assamo na hada mou te no dete seasoning* (if the will or will is united, so that the hill can be leveled); (2) *poasa-asa pohambahamba* (united to help each other); (3) *tara turu toro menturu* (tara means resistant in the sense of being strong in facing challenges, *turu* means following good advice, *toro* means calm, always consistent with advice, *menuru* means diligent work). In relation to the principle of menturu, wale menturu wale if, *wale mangare wale mo ommuru* (who is diligent will be full, who is lazy will be hungry). This philosophy is then realized by means of *pohamba-hamba*, which means showing solidarity to help each other. This activity can be seen from the residents who mostly work as sailors. Before sailing, all boat crews jointly repair the boat as a means of transportation used to transport merchandise to several other islands. *Poasa-serva's* prayers do not only involve men, but also women who usually work as women farmers or in agricultural activities. The devotions of worshipers are also seen in other social activities, for example at weddings, deaths, construction of houses of worship, construction of public facilities and so on.

In addition, Tomia community has a local knowledge system in navigating the ocean. The local knowledge in question is the traditional indigenous knowledge[37]. One component of local knowledge is knowledge of good days and bad days. Good days for sailing are days 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 19, 23 and 27 based on the calculation of the moon in the sky. This auspicious day only applies when starting to depart from the island of Tomia, and does not apply when leaving the ports visited. However, there are also those who believe that the auspicious day also applies to the ports that are visited.

The local knowledge in question is the traditional indigenous knowledge. One component of local knowledge is knowledge of good days and bad days.

Tomia people also recognize the existence of *tay monihi* which means low tide that occurs

36 Ali Hadara (2015:1; in Asrifa Usra, 2015:1)
37 Mitchell et. Al (2013:298).

during the crescent moon and *tay tto 'oha* or high tide that occurs on a full moon. This condition is always used by sailors for certain purposes, for example the state of *tay monihi*, is very suitable for sailing, because usually at times like this, the waves are very small. Meanwhile, when *tay tto 'oha* is very suitable for the purpose of landing the boat on the beach for boat repairs. Likewise, when returning the boat to the port after it has been repaired, always wait for this tay tto 'oha situation. Local knowledge about deception and wind direction is also mastered by the Tomia, such as *wande timu*, which is a wind that blows from east to west, *wande waha*, which is a wind that blows from west to east, and *wande sangia*, which is a wind that blows from north to south. , wande salata, namely the wind that blows from the south to the north. Wande betea poriamia, i.e the wind that blows from the southeast to the northwest, *Wande barasumba*, which is the wind that blows from the southwest to the northeast, *Wande baramolanga*, which is the wind that blows from the northwest to the west and southeast, and *Wande Wakampopo*, the wind that blows from the northeast to the southwest.

Of the eight types of wind, the most famous for being strong and very dangerous to sailing is *wande barasumba* which often comes suddenly, then stops and then comes back, disappears and then comes back. In addition, there are also land breezes called *wande subu-subu* and sea breezes called *wande olo*. This kind of wind is felt when you are around large islands on a cruise. Meanwhile, the winds whose direction is uncertain, usually occur before the change of seasons or the transition winds called *wande kabala-bali*.

In terms of astrology, Tomia voyagers know the stars such as the morning star (*fituo ndea*), three stars (*sangia*), seven stars (*lamakoruo*) and the milky way star (*hotofola*). By knowing the position of this star, the weather and seasons can be predicted. They also use palm fiber (*kampenda*) which is placed on top of the boat mast to ward off dangers during the voyage. Various hazards that can threaten safety in shipping at sea include coral collisions (faroki), hurricanes (*mebbuku*), tornadoes (*usallao*) which are also commonly called *moori nutang*, sea ghosts (*saki nutay*). When the west season is not over, usually the wind blows from the west to the east, so the voyage is carried out to the east via the Banda Sea, where the waves are known to be fierce. The journey across the ocean begins towards Buru Island. On this island, inter-island traders market their goods for one or two days. However, in general they continue their journey to Seram Island[38].

Of the eight types of wind, the most famous for being strong and very dangerous to sailing is *wande barasumba* which often comes suddenly, then stops and then comes back, disappears and then comes back.

Bajo community also recognizes *Tubba dikatutuang*. As a group of people who have a traditional and cultural style of fishing and depend on the sea for their lives, the Bajo people

38 WALASUJI Volume 7, No. 1, June 2016: 51—62

have values, customs or norms in which it is an effort to protect an area. They really believe that if coral reefs are damaged, there will be no more fish. Therefore, in 2006 the Bajo Tribe made a mutual agreement with the aim of protecting the conservation area, namely *Tubba dikatutuang*[39]. *Tubba dikatutuang* means dear coral. Its territory is right in front of Hoga island and near the village residents' settlement with a long radius of 400 m. With the condition of coral reefs and fish are still abundant. This area or area is also a marine protected area, where data from 2009 core map states that the percentage of coral cover in the marine area is in good category (62%) with live coral cover consisting of Acropora 16%, Non Acropora 46%, Soft Coral 14% and Rubble 5 %. There is a ban on fishing and it is not allowed to use fishing gear that is not environmentally friendly. The sanctions for fishermen who make arrests in the tuba area are as follows: (1) violation I (mild): still in the form of warning and socialization; (2) violation II (moderate): if caught again and returned to the village; (3) violation III (severe): a fine of Rp. 2,000,000 to be submitted in the district[40].

Parika is an institutional system that exists in the Bajo fishermen group and is an institutional system that acts as a determinant of the time and place of fishing. A *parika* is someone who has higher mystical abilities than others. *Parika* is also considered as a guard, bodyguard and advisor in determining fishing grounds and fishing times. This system has been passed down from generation to generation in the Bajo community and is still being implemented. *Parika's* appointment is based on heredity and the most important thing is the maturity of the fishermen themselves and the ability to lead other fishermen. Through *parika*, as the head of the community, by mutual agreement, limiting the catch and providing space for fish to lay eggs and breed. *Parika* for group members is *henangkara*. This means someone who is followed or (a role model) because he has the ability to determine when to install the equipment or the size of the fishing gear to be used[41]. *Parika's* work system is as the chairman who will decide the time of arrest, the place of arrest and the distribution system of the results. He also leads fishing after the fishing area is determined. Parika arranges the net in a circle and Panuba is in charge of herding the fish towards the net while hitting the sea surface with a bamboo stick. After that Panuba entered the sea water and did fish shooting activities. The distribution system for the catch is as follows: Parika as the owner of the net gets two parts, two sehe (friends) each get one share and what Panuba gets from archery is his own. If there is a violation, a warning will be given to the fisherman who violates it.

Parika for group members is _henangkara_. This means someone who is followed or (a role model) because he has the ability to determine when to install the equipment or the size of the fishing gear to be used

39 Journal of Fisheries and Marine Counseling 34
40 Journal of Fisheries and Marine Counseling 34
41 Hanan, 2010.

Figure 61: activity of parika and her group catching fish

Another local wisdom is to save the sacred natural sites of the Bajo Tribe. This natural sacred site has been sacred from generation to generation and is still ongoing today. In general, sacred sites are maintained and supported by a group of people who are around them.

Karang Tacut (*Karang Pakitta*) is a ritual to ask permission from the sea before carrying out activities. This ritual is also an expression of gratitude to the ocean which has provided various sources of food. The practice is carried out by dipping water glasses or commonly called "mirrors" into sea water, after that washing your face with sea water three times and dipping your wrists in water and saying "we came as brothers and not as enemies". After the ritual is carried out, fishermen can carry out activities in this place.

Muduai arak ritual is carried out when the Bajo Sama Bahari people want to migrate to other areas. This Arak ritual is carried out as a form of appreciation for "Mbo Madilao" the ancestors of the Bajo people. Bajo fishermen believe that "Mbo Madilao" will protect them from diseases and disasters at sea. Of course, this belief is very beneficial for marine conservation so that biodiversity in the sea can be maintained, especially the wealth of fish and coral reef resources. The techniques for catching fish are done traditionally, such as shooting fish, catching fish, using basic fishing rods, counseling and *meti-meti.* However, these wise values have gradually shifted, especially the Bajo Tribe who inhabit Wangi-Wangi Selatan District. This change in traditional values, according to Baharudin (2011), is caused by the increasing number of people, the higher the need for resources, so that the interaction with natural resources is higher and causes competition in obtaining marine resources. Bajo fishermen in the South Wangi-Wangi sub-district who often catch fish on the reef, no longer perform sea opening ceremonies to ask permission from "*Mbo Madilao*" or the marine authorities in marine protected areas.

Gau Satoto which is still held today. *Gau Satoto* is a kind of life principle that reflects the character and attitude of Wakatobi people, especially Kaledupa.

In Ambeua area, on the pier that has been expanded, it says 'land of *gau satoto*'. "The satoto area is a real area," said Dane. He said, in the Ambeua area there is a kind of collective agreement that if someone migrates, they must comply with the advice of their parents in the form of 3 T. The 3 T is *turu tara toro*. *Turu* means one who obeys, especially according to goodness. There is also a similar term *turu* 'where the earth is stepped on there the sky is upheld'. *Tara* means endure. People who migrate must endure everything, be it miserable, happy, sad, happy, ready in all conditions. While toro means upright. "People's speech must be upright, straight, true. Whatever stands in one's way must stand firm. If you can't or halfway, don't play with your life. Totality in choice is a message for children who are out," said Dane. Regarding migrating outside this area, the areas usually visited are Sumatra, Bangka, Ujung Pandang, Java to study.

Weaving and architecture

Wakatobi people, who are culturally closer to the Buton Kingdom, also adopted the royal traditional dress, the Bodo shirt as their traditional attire. Bodo costume consists of velvet fabric with beads. Usually used during wedding processions and other traditional events. "It's a traditional wedding dress. Actually, it was the adoption of the sultan's oversized clothes. That's why the first to use it must be royalty. It's the same as for Kaledupa women, who used to use Kombo, Lariangi clothes," explained Edi Harto.

Figure 62: Traditional clothes (bodo traditional clothes, combo)

According to La Ode Dane, especially in Kaledupa, there is a traditional dress called a touch shirt. Called touch clothes because they get a touch of culture. "In Kaledupa there is an area where cloth weavers are made into touch clothes (traditional clothes here). For example, if the touch clothes are new batik cloth, some of them are used with Kaledupa special cloth. That's why it's called a t-shirt. It means a touch of culture, tho, "explained Dane. The special area for producing woven fabrics in Wakatobi is Pajam village, an acronym for two villages, Palea and Jamaraka villages. Long before synthetic yarns were known today, in the past, the raw material for woven fabrics in Pajam was entirely made of cotton. From the cotton, it is then spun into yarn and then woven into cloth. The coloring used also uses natural dyes from the early tilapia plant. "There is a term nila sii early. It's a plant to dye the color of the fabric so that the fabric doesn't fade even when it's crushed. It's a color that doesn't wear out easily," added Dana. Dana admitted that the existence of cotton and nila sii dinikini plants is now rare. "Now it's rare, at least it's still in Pajam, and even then there aren't many I think. If there is one (fabric from cotton and natural dyes), I prefer to use it, because it doesn't smudge and tear. The price is also quite expensive. Per sheath, up to seven hundred and fifty thousand. Usually the bosses from the district order messages," said Dane. The use of woven cloth produced by Pajam Village is usually combined with other traditional clothes from Buton, such as the Bolio shirt which is commonly used in the Bau-bau area (the administrative capital of Buton).

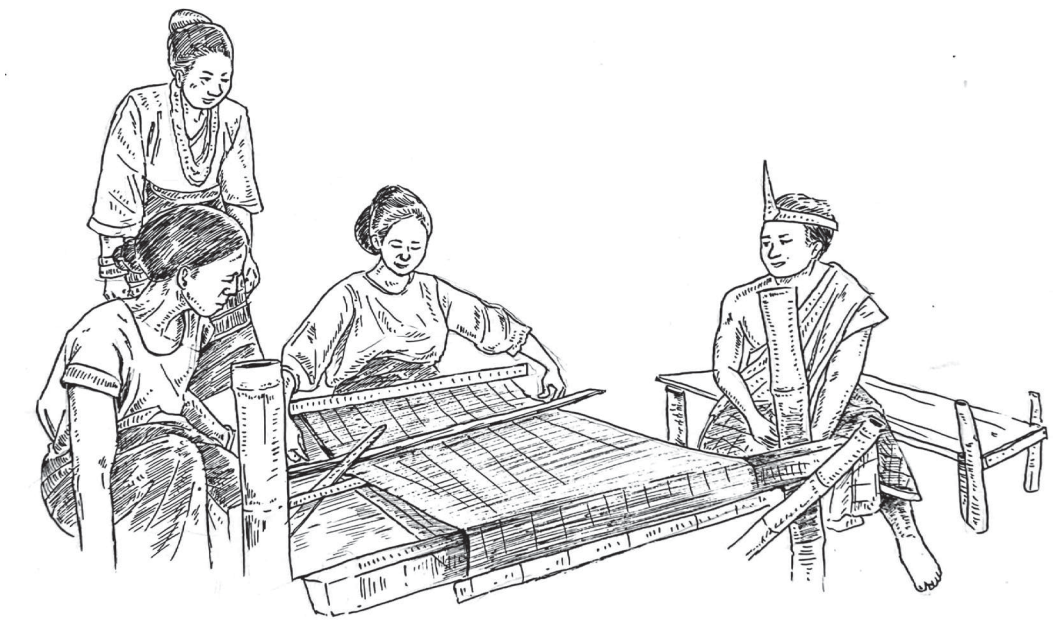

Figure 63: Weaving activity in Pajam

In Pajam Village, there are still old weavers who can still tell about the process of making woven fabrics in their area. The equipment they use is still using traditional looms. The result of this woven fabric is only for the sarong. If worn by women, it is usually distinguished by the way it is wrapped. This is intended to determine the status of a woman, whether she is married, still a girl or is a widow.

For architecture, artistically the building model in Wakatobi refers to the architecture of the Buton traditional house in the form of a house on stilts with a tower at the top and is called the Malige House[42]. "In Wakatobi, this is commonly given the name Sapotade (standing house). There are also those who call it Malige like in Buton. It (the house) is the house of the traditional leader/ sultan/ miantu in office. If it's a king, it becomes a kind of palace. We at Kalidupa call it Kamali," said Edi. Constructed from good quality wood (usually using teak and wool) and erected without ropes or nails but interlocking. "And what distinguishes this traditional house from an ordinary/public house is the galampa (veranda) part," added Edi.

Malige consists of 4 floors and was built as the residence of the sultan of Buton and his family. In the past, under the traditional house, it was used to keep pets such as chickens or pigs. The 1st and 2nd floors are used for the residence of the king and empress. The 3rd floor is used for storing heirlooms and the 4th floor as a place for meditation or worship. On the right or left side of the 2nd floor, there is a special room used for weaving traditional clothes/cloths called bone.

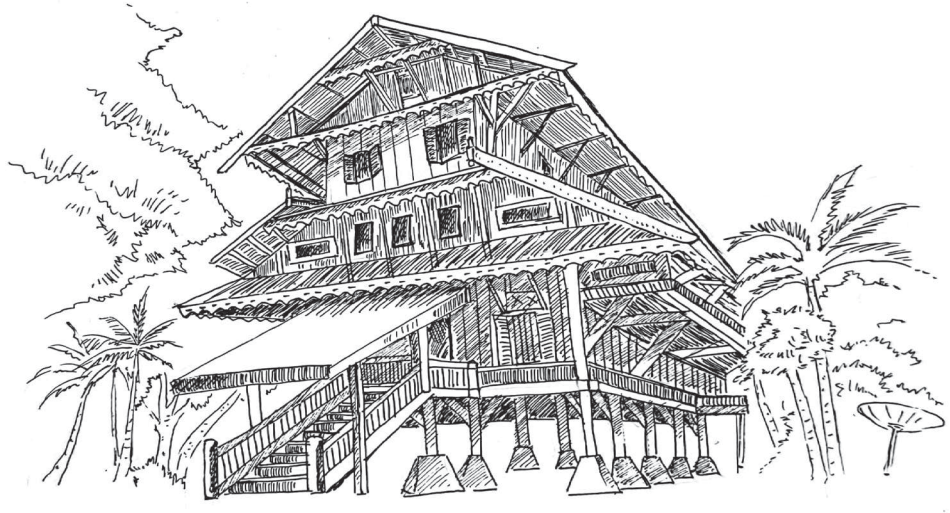

Figure 64: Malige traditional house

42 Zakridatul Agusmaniar Rane (2017) : Getting to Know Traditional Architecture in Southeast Sulawesi

The principle of building this house refers to the analogy of the human body. The front of the house is analogous to two knees and the middle as the umbilical cord. The back is symbolized as two left and right legs and in the center of the house is symbolized as a vital tool. The front is called the facade. The bottom and floor are called the chest and abdomen. The top is called the back, the roof is called the hair, the face and the human pelvis. This building is composed of 40 pillars (5 pillars in the front to 8 rows back)[43].

In this traditional house there are symbols and decorations that are heavily influenced by the concept of Sufism and the use of plant motifs (pineapple, *bosu-bosu*, *ake*, *kambang*) and animals (dragon).

The existence of this traditional house can be found in every traditional territory leader, 18 customary areas that are within the territory of Baratha Kaledupa, which is centered on Kaledupa Island.

A small note

Reading Wakatobi is not just about listening to the beauty of the campaign for the maritime paradise created by the rulers and tour guides. The stories that are scattered in almost every corner of the story 'space', the hereditary speech traditions that tell of supernatural powers, greatness, the forerunners of human civilization that are embodied in the rites of life in these islands, remind us all that the civilizations that exist today are rooted, intertwined. on the stories of the past and inseparable. Wakatobi - like other areas in the archipelago - holds billions of unparalleled mysteries and if it continues to be excavated it will not stop.

43 https://www.nesabamedia.com/rumah-adat-sulawesi-tenggara/, accessed on 12 August 2021

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Seorang lulusan Antropologi Budaya UGM Yogyakarta yang menggemari isu seputar masyarakat adat, gerakan konservasi lingkungan, dan pendidikan. Ia kerap bercerita tentang pertemuan-pertemuan dengan berbagai komunitas masyarakat dan alam Indonesia lewat tulisan-tulisan yang dibagikan di blog *www.sepertisirus.blogspot.com* dan instagram pribadinya di @ceritalinda.

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Wakatobi

IN THE VORTEX OF AGES: AN ANTHOLOGY

In addition to *Tukang Besi* Archipelago, Wakatobi is an island inhabited by 'conquerors' of the ocean. Many things related to Wakatobi have not been uncovered and leave puzzles.

This book explores Wakatobi from various sides including tourism potential targeted by the central government through the 10 New Bali program, local elite political oligarchy, pop culture as seen in contemporary art, rituals of community life, the sea and its mysteries, social changes in society as well as world of folklore to the richness of local culinary/food; all are knitted together into a formidable force of an archipelagic civilization. Timeless; Wakatobi is a young girl who holds a million charms, energy and puzzles.

Publisher:

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In collaboration with

Wisanggeni91
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Supported by

Global Environment Facilities-
Small Grant Programme (GEF SGP)
Indonesia

ISBN 978-602-52216-9-9