

Review: The role of local belief and wisdom of the Bajo community in marine conservation efforts

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Abstract. Maulidyna A, Hartawan BS, Agustin HN, Irfan AN, Septiasari A, Utina R, Setyawan AD. 2021. Review: The role of local belief and wisdom of the Bajo Community in marine conservation efforts. *Intl J Bonorowo Wetlands* 11: 48-63. The Bajo tribe are originally sea nomads, living in eastern Indonesia, South Philippines, and North Borneo. Their maritime culture and *sama* language identify them. They have similarities with the Orang Laut tribe in western Indonesia and the Moken tribe in the Mergui Archipelago in terms of exploring the seas. Today, most Bajo ethnic groups no longer wander on houseboats and live in a particular place; although they still preserve maritime culture, they have similar social and cultural features, including shared shipbuilding and fishing, traditions, beliefs, and myths. The Bajo tribe living from marine natural resources closely relates to the marine and coastal environment. It raises the values of environmental concern in maintaining the sea and coast. This study aims to determine the environmental conservation of the Bajo tribe based on their beliefs. The Bajo tribe is one of the tribal communities that manage, maintain, and utilize marine biological resources based on cultural norms and values institutionalized and attached to the Bajo community. They are maintained through social control based on their belief system. This belief brings the Bajo people to fear breaking the taboo or *pamali* that has existed since their ancestors orally and from generation to generation. The Bajo people have the wisdom to protect the marine environment, namely corals, mangroves, and marine resources. They have a deep concern for preserving coral reefs as a buffer for the underwater ecosystem. They are very aware of the need to protect the sources that are the basis of their livelihood fulfillment.

Keywords: Bajo, conservation, life, marine, trust

INTRODUCTION

As a maritime country, Indonesia is the “main sea,” but three main seas make up Indonesia as a sea system, namely the Java Sea, Flores Sea, and Banda Sea (Surowo 2012). The majority of Indonesia’s territory consists of water areas ($\pm 70\%$), causing many Indonesians to live in coastal areas and depend on the sea for their livelihoods and form a maritime culture (Yuga 2011). In Indonesia, several ethnic groups still apply marine cultural patterns in every aspect of their lives. One of the ethnic groups very well known to support maritime culture is the Bajo (Bajau, Badjaw, Sama, Same). Bajo is an archipelago that lives in the sea (Baharudin 2011). The formation and development of culture significantly influence the national identity; unity plays a role in its construction. The community has a vital role in forming a culture to continue to survive in the times, both directly and indirectly, by utilizing its abilities (Susanto 2010).

The Bajo or Bajau are the names of outsiders, while the Bajo themselves call themselves “*samma*” (Susilowati 2020). The name “Bajo” itself has a negative meaning, namely pirates. The Bajo tribe always feels exploited and suspected by other tribes around them, so with this assumption, they always move from one place to another (Rusba et al., 2018). The Bajo tribe in certain areas has become a minority community because the Bajo ethnic group split up (Syefriyeni and Rosie 2020). Before settling as they are now, the Bajo tribe built a water settlement using wood and palm leaves. This building serves as a temporary dwelling, storage of equipment, and catches. Then it developed, and the Bajo tribe settled in an area and built more permanent buildings (Rahim et al. 2018). This shifting tendency occurred for hundreds of years, but the Bajo people began to choose to settle in coastal areas over time. According to the story that developed from anthropological circles, pirates in ancient times were believed to have come from the Same Tribe as the Bajo Tribe. The meaning is the pirate tribe. Surprisingly, the

name of the Bajo Tribe is more famous and has spread throughout the archipelago. Thus, any marine tribe in the archipelago is often equated with the Bajo tribe (Daeng 2010). There have been many Bajo tribes who have spread along the coast and made permanent homes as residences. Several settlements of the Bajo tribe that have settled with a sizable population are found along the coast of the Wakatobi Islands, Southeast Sulawesi (Ali 2014).

The Bajo tribe built their houses on the sea because they often wandered by boat long ago. Their population was spread across many Indonesian seas (Dai 2020). The Bajo tribe, as a community that cannot be separated from the sea, has a unique tradition. The Bajo tribe is very loyal and proud of their culture (Andri and Anwar 2019). The cultural wealth of the Bajo tribe varies in various places where the Bajo tribe is located, according to their territorial and genealogical factors (Halim 2012). The Bajo tribe has a solid attachment to nature, especially the sea, which has been around since the time of their ancestors. The sea is a source of livelihood and life for the Bajo people (Halim et al. 2020). The dependence of the Bajo tribe on the sea makes them have confidence in the spirits guarding the ecosystem around them. The Bajo community's attachment to the sea makes them greatly respect the sea. Many rituals and traditions of the Bajo people are dedicated to the ruler of the sea to get a good life and be kept away from all kinds of dangers (Chou 2020). Some Bajo community groups also believe that everything on earth has a guardian spirit; if disturbed or damaged, it will cause disaster. Based on the beliefs and traditions of the Bajo tribe, the author is interested in examining more deeply the environmental conservation values contained in the traditional teachings and beliefs of the Bajo tribe, especially regarding the conservation of marine ecosystems. Therefore, the goal to be achieved by conducting this study is to determine the environmental conservation of the Bajo tribe based on their beliefs.

SEA NOMADS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Based on cultural, geographical, and linguistic differences, there are three significant groups of sea nomads in Southeast Asia. The first are the Moken and Moklen Tribes of the Mergui Archipelago in Burma and the islands of Southwest Thailand. The second is Orang Laut or Orang Selat (Celates); they live in the Southern part of Johor, Singapore, Riau-Lingga Archipelago, and the eastern coast of Sumatra. And finally, the Sama-Bajau Tribe or Bajo Tribe occupies islands in the Philippines, Borneo, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Lesser Sunda Islands (Sather 1995; Marsanto 2013; Chou 2016) (Figure 1).

Based on the history and culture of the Bajo Tribe and the Orang Laut, there are similarities but no linguistic relationship. They live a nomadic life, live on boats, and move from one place to another. The similarity from the animist aspect is to give offerings in the form of rice and coconut to the spirits of the sea (Nurrohman 2020). The Bajo

people prefer fishing on coral reefs, submerged coral terraces, associated sandy beaches, and tidal shallows and avoid turbid waters. They rarely use the mangrove shores except to collect firewood. While the Orang Laut prefers places in brackish mud plains and mangrove swamps. According to the environmental conditions, they have developed adaptations for foraging that are very special. However, they cannot meet their own needs. Orang Laut gets other needs, such as food, boats, etc., through trade with riverine Malays. The Moken tribe is very different from the two tribes above. In addition to collecting marine products, the Moken Tribe utilizes the resources around the island, namely collecting honey, fruit, tubers, hunting wild boars, and planting activities on the beach. They return during the harvest season (Sather 1995).

In the 10th to 17th centuries, the sea and rivers were the primary means of transportation, so ports generally became the center of the development of civilization. So, it is not surprising that many maritime communities were formed in the region, one of which was the Orang Laut. Orang Laut had a significant contribution to the era of the Srivijaya Kingdom (7th to the 12th century AD), the first unified kingdom to dominate much of Southeast Asia. Most of the war soldiers of the Srivijaya Kingdom were Orang Laut. Srivijaya wants to strengthen land and sea areas and control ports. The Orang Laut and Srivijaya are in a bond of mutualism. The Orang Laut can survive in Srivijaya's territory, and Srivijaya is vital in the ocean, with the Orang Laut protecting their territory. This is evidenced by the Telaga Batu Inscription on the Sabukingking Village, South Sumatra (Marsanto 2013; Nurrohman 2020).

BAJO COMMUNITY

The Bajo, the world's largest remaining sea nomad group, are scattered across hundreds of recently settled communities in Island Southeast Asia, along the coasts of Eastern Indonesia, Malaysian Borneo, and Southern Philippines; across 1300 km from east to west and 2000 km from north to south. With a significant role in historical trading, the Bajo lived until recently as nomads, spending their entire lives on houseboats while moving long distances to fish and trade (Kusuma et al., 2017). Along the routes they traveled, the Bajo settled and intermarried with local land-based groups, leading to 'maritime creolization' (Nagatsu 2013), a process whereby Bajo communities retained their culture, but assimilated - and frequently married into - local groups. They still have similar social and cultural features, including shipbuilding and fishing culture, beliefs, traditions, and myths (Stacey 2007; Nuraini 2008; Nagatsu 2013). They maintained contact by sharing goods, trading, fishing, and marriage (Kusuma et al., 2017). Their languages belong to a single subfamily, the Sama-Bajau subgroup on the West Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Noorduyn 1991; Blust 2007).

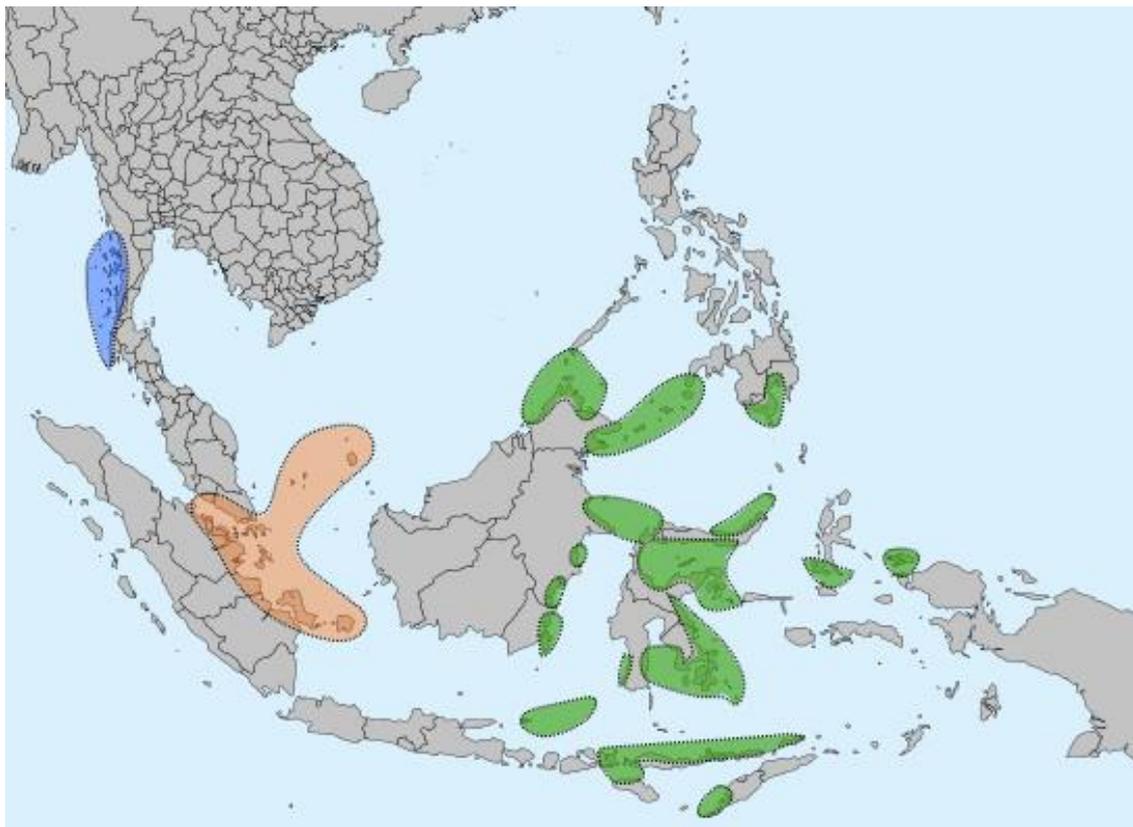


Figure 1. Southeast Asian regions are inhabited by peoples usually known as sea nomads. ■ Moken, Orang Laut, Sama-Bajau (Clarkson and Sopher 1968)

The origins of the Bajau have remained unclear despite several hypotheses from oral tradition, culture, and language. The linguistic and genetic evidence are in broad agreement regarding the timing of the Bajau dispersal along the east coast of Borneo but point to entirely different locations for its origin: Southern Sulawesi for the gene pool and Southeast Borneo for the languages. Bajau likely shares a common connection with Southern Sulawesi, but crucially, each Bajau community also exhibits unique genetic contributions from the neighboring populations (Kusuma et al., 2017).

Some have stayed on the mainland, and some are on the coast and even in the middle of the sea. The people who live in the middle of the sea are truly unique. They are called the Bajau tribe, who are known as tough sailors. In the past, people only knew the Makassar tribe, the Bugis tribe, or the Mandar tribe as kings in the sea. Even though the Bajau people were once said to be part of the Sriwijaya Royal Navy thus, his toughness and skills to navigate the ocean are clearly indisputable (Tahara 2013). The Bajau tribe is famous for its prowess in exploring the sea. Ilardo et al. (2018) state that the Bajau tribe can dive to a depth of 70 meters below sea level with just one breath. Based on the results of his research, the spleen of divers and non-divers of the Bajau tribe has a size difference that is not too significant. Meanwhile, the spleen of Bajau divers is more significant than that of the Saluan tribe. The differentiating factors between these two tribes are diversity, gender, age,

height, and weight. Therefore, it is concluded that the study results are not only due to the plastic response of the spleen during diving activities, but it is suspected that genetic factors can explain the difference in spleen size between the Bajau and Saluan tribes. With ancient boats without modern directional equipment to guide their journey, they only rely on the position of the stars. The Bajau people lived on their boats or were often called nomads in ancient times. However, many Bajau people nowadays build houses above the shallow sea.

The Bajau tribe is widely spread in marine and coastal areas in Southeast Sulawesi, especially the Wakatobi region. Some of the Bajau tribes in the Southeast Sulawesi region include the Bajau Sampela Tribe, the Bajau Mantigola Tribe, the Bajau Loha Tribe, etc. Not only in Indonesia, but the Bajau tribe has also spread across the seas of Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. In Indonesia, they are scattered in East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, and other parts of eastern Indonesia. History says that this tribe originated from the Sulu Islands in the Southern Philippines who lived in the open seas, bringing them to this beloved country, the Indonesian homeland (Utina 2014). The Sama Bajau is the Bajau Tribe who lives in Eastern Indonesia and semi-nomadic life. In addition to Eastern Indonesia, Sama Bajau is also spread in the Southern Philippines and East Malaysia. Like the Bajau Tribe in general, the Sama Bajau have various basic skills,

namely hunting, sailing, navigation, diving, fishing, and maritime warfare (Nolde 2014). In addition, the Bajo Tribe is also found on some of the smallest islands in the Sapeken Islands (East Java) and the East Nusa Tenggara Islands. The Bajo tribe in Sapeken Islands is thought to have originated from South Sulawesi then began to settle in the Sapeken Islands in the 17th century (Rahayu 2019). In general, the Bajo tribe is Muslim and upholds the culture of their ancestors. The Bajo people believe in refusing to ask for kerosene, salt, water, or anything after sunset and also believe in the ritual of ransoming the soul and throwing chicken offerings into the sea. Another uniqueness of the Bajo tribe is that they have a particular culture when they go to sea, see the weather, and educate their children to become tough sailors (Utina 2014).

The Bajo people believe in the existence of spirits in the sea as guardians of the sea, so they often prepare offerings to be carried out in the middle of the sea as offerings for the spirit of the sea guardians (Nurhaliza and Suciati 2019). The Bajo people work as fishermen and are friendly with the underwater world, and their survival also depends on the fishing results they get every day. The Bajo tribe is known as accomplished sailors who live and die on the ocean. Even initially, their entire life was spent in a boat that consistently sailed the seas (Suyuti 2011). The boats used are called *leppa* or *soppe* (Baskara and Astuti 2011). Although life on *leppa* looks difficult, this is not a problem for the Bajo community (Azhari et al., 2020). They start from small children to adults going to the sea every day. *Bapongka* (*babangi*) is an activity at sea for several weeks and even months using a large boat measuring approximately $4 \times 2 \text{ m}^2$ called *leppa* or *soppe*. This activity often involves families, such as wives and children, and some even give birth on a boat. When boys are 5 years old, children begin to accompany their parents (fathers) going to sea. Meanwhile, girls are accustomed to following their mothers to find clean water, wood for cooking materials, etc. According to the research conducted by Artanto (2017), it is explained that the culture believed by the Bajo tribe includes various rules resulting from their experiences and spirituality with their lives that depend entirely on nature (Isabelle 2012). The Bajo tribe has a rugged, decisive, and open character as a coastal community. Because their entire life is facing the sea, the characteristics of their social, cultural, and economic life are greatly influenced by their view of the natural forces that surround daily life (Tjahjono 2013).

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF BAJO COMMUNITY

The economic condition of the Bajo tribe tends to be still low. This is because the Bajo people only depend on their income from working as fishermen. The socio-economic conditions of fishers' families are greatly influenced by fishing season, fishing season, uncertain natural conditions, limited capital, limited technology, and low levels of education (Moldjo et al., 2019). The fishing

gear commonly used by fishers of the Bajo tribe is usually a simple tool with the capacity to catch small fish. For example, in the Kinabuhutan Village, North Sulawesi, Bajo fishers only use simple fishing gear such as fishing rods, nets, charts, or even *soma giop*. The choice of fishing gear for fishers is adjusted to the type of fish to be caught. The operation of this fishing gear is limited to the area around coastal waters. In addition, fishers' activities also depend on the season and climate, so fishers cannot go to the sea every time to catch fish. Especially in the season when the waves tend to be high and big, Bajo fishers will find it difficult to go to sea, resulting in limited catches, even if no catch is obtained. The Bajo people who live in the sea will exchange the fish they catch with staple foods such as sago, rice, and corn to meet their needs. They infrequently buy it with money from selling the fish (Hassan and Peters 2020).

Based on the map of the distribution of Bajo community settlements in Figure 2, it is known that the Bajo tribe population has spread throughout almost all regions of Indonesia. However, most people of the Bajo tribe can be found on the island of Sulawesi. According to Suryanegara et al. (2015), there are three settlement patterns of the Bajo tribe in Wakatobi District, namely the pattern of settlements in the open seas separated from the mainland, settlement patterns that jut into the open sea but are still connected to the mainland (coastal areas), and integrated settlement patterns with the coast. According to Gobang et al. (2017), the distinctive features of the settlement architecture of the Bajo tribe are the symmetrical, orthogonal forms of the plan (horizontal), and sections (vertical), and the Bajo Tribe architecture for *bundaang buliang* and *rumak-diaruma* are considered as space. The majority in the composition of the overall residential building. Apart from the territory of Indonesia, the Bajo tribe population is also scattered in countries in the Southeast Asian region. According to the 2000 population census results, the people of the Bajo tribe in Southeast Asia are around 1,077,020 people, which are spread in the Philippines as many as 570,857 people, 347,193 people in Malaysia, and about 158,970 people in Indonesia (Nagatsu 2017).

In terms of living at sea, the Bajo Wakatobi tribe has a strategy that has been mutually agreed upon with the Buton tribe on land so that in the future, it will not cause harm to both parties. The process of settling the Bajo community in Mola Village, Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi is regulated by *Sara Mandati* (Mandati Adat Institution) as the representative of the land people. It is based on the governance of land ownership and development at sea. Management of land tenure and development at sea. Establishing a settlement must go through several stages until the issuance of permits and recommendations for development at sea, including the appointment of locations for construction of houses and facilities and infrastructure and imposing sanctions if violations are found. In addition, people who have been recognized and approved to build at sea will receive a certificate of land at sea and ownership for buildings at sea (Eryano et al. 2020).

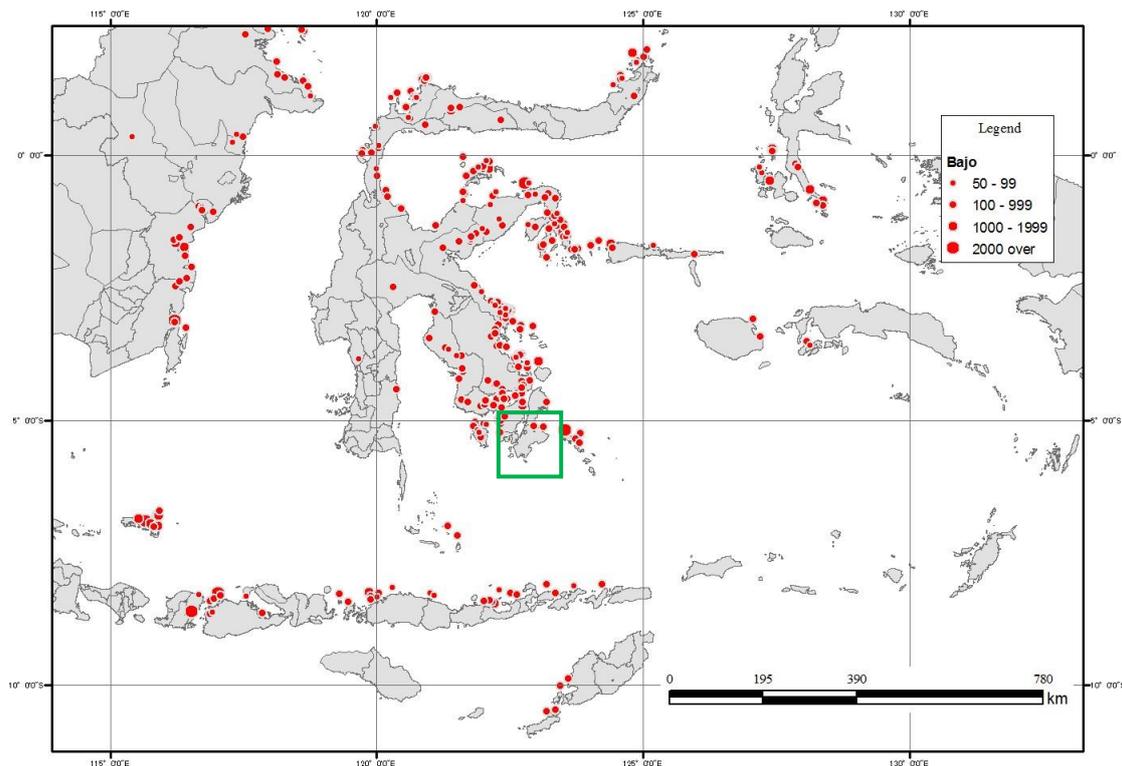


Figure 2. Distribution map of Bajo Tribe settlements in Indonesia and Wakatobi District, Southeast Sulawesi (inbox) in 2000 (Nagatsu 2013)

In terms of social interaction with Bajo's fellow people and the surrounding community can be seen from community activities such as mutual cooperation activities, weddings, celebrations, etc. It can be said that the Bajo people, in general, have a strong sense of kinship with the surrounding community, both fellow Bajo people and non-Bajo people (Kobi and Hendra 2020). For example, the Bajo people who live in the Ranooha Raya Village area have the same characteristics in building social networks, both based on kinship and friendship, and have strong social network ties, both among themselves and others (Jasman et al. 2018).

The level of education of the Bajo tribe varies depending on where they live. Generally, the Bajo people who still apply the nomadic settlement pattern have a low level of education. Meanwhile, the Bajo people who have settled on the mainland and are familiar with information and technology have a higher level of education. The Bajau Maratua tribe is one of the Bajo people who have settled and lived in the mainland of Jenebora, Penajam Paser Utara District. The Bajau Maratua tribe is familiar with writing and reading, so it is not surprising that many of the children of the Bajau Maratua Tribe have succeeded in weaving education to a higher level. The Bajau Maratua is part of the Bajau Tribe touched by modernization because the lives of those who have faith, weave education, live on land, and, most importantly, have socialized like the general public (Nisah et al. 2020). Despite having most people with low education, the Bajo tribe perceives gender equality. This is evidenced through equal opportunities for Bajo men and women in making decisions. Men and women in the family share responsibility in making decisions regarding

matters within the household, whereas men are more dominant in making decisions related to education. In contrast, women are dominant in economic, social, and religious terms (Halim et al. 2020).

In the health sector, awareness of the Bajo community regarding maintaining immunity and the importance of having a clean and healthy lifestyle is still lacking. Most of the Bajo tribe's knowledge about health still relies on traditional medicine, which is passed down from generation to generation from their ancestors. According to the Bajo people, health or illness can occur due to the influence of elements of experience that happened in the past and from cultural factors. The Bajo tribe also believes that the ability to treat various diseases is a hereditary legacy that the Bajo community has recognized until now. They already know about the existence of health services that are much better than traditional medicine, but for the Bajo people, this is an alternative last resort (Syahrani 2020). According to research conducted by Pinto et al. (2020), the most common health problem but less aware of by the Bajo community is the problem of hearing loss. In contrast, as many as 47 divers, respondents from the Bajo community in Bone District, South Sulawesi, 27 or around 49, 15% suffer from hearing loss. Even though they are sea people with excellent diving skills, Bajo divers may also have health problems if they dive too deep in the ocean for a long time. Meanwhile, based on Hassan and Peters (2020), the disease that most often affects the children of the Bajo Laut tribe is skin infections, while the most severe health problems in adult communities are malaria, typhus, and tuberculosis. Some daily activities of Bajo can be seen in Figure 3.

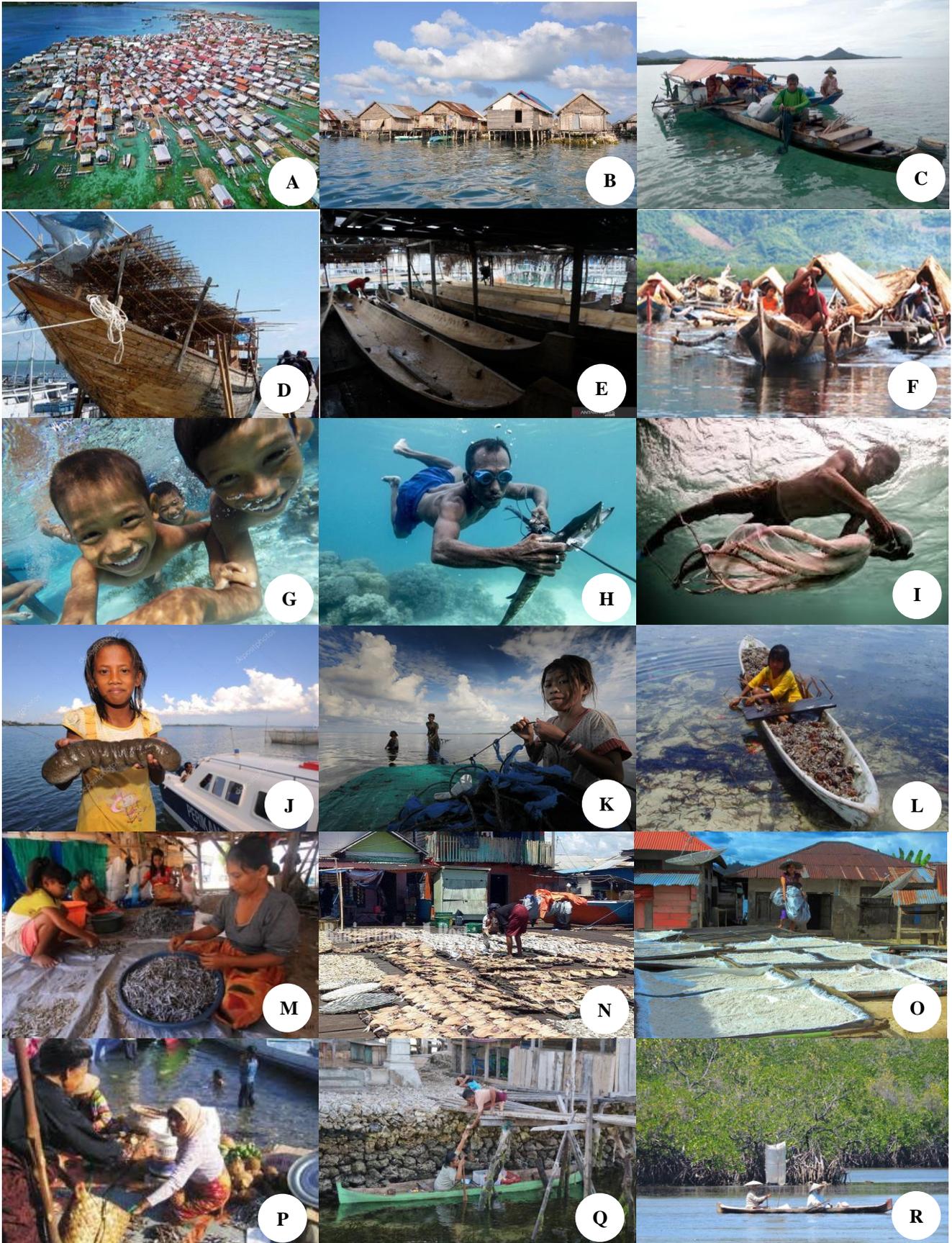




Figure 3. Bajo people nature and activities. A. Bajo typical floating village in Bungin Island, West Nusa Tenggara. B. Bajo housing in Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi. C. Bajo boat house in Togeang, Central Sulawesi. D. Bajo ship-building in Takabonerate, South Sulawesi. E. Making canoes in Torosiaje, Gorontalo. F. Migration of Bajo tribe from Sabah to Derawan, East Kalimantan. G. Bajo boys: play and work in Takabonerate, South Sulawesi. H. Bajo fishing activities: fish and octopus in Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi. I. Bajo girl with trepang in Semporna, Sabah. K. Catching fish with nets in Takabonerate, South Sulawesi. L-M. Cleaning and selecting seafood in Takabonerate, South Sulawesi. N-O. K. Drying of marine product in Rampa Village, South Kalimantan (N) and Bajo Sangkuang, North Maluku (O). P-Q. Selling and buying marine products and others in Wakatobi (P), Bajo Bahari, Buton, Southeast Sulawesi (Q). R. Collecting marine products by anoeing in Torosiaje, Gorontalo. S. Collecting water in Leppe Village, Southeast Sulawesi. T. Young Bajo study of Indonesian Archipelago in Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi. U. Bajo children play white sand in Kera Island, East Nusa Tenggara. V. Bajo women with *burak* sunscreen in Sulu Islands. W. Bajo martial arts in Sapeken Island, East Java. X. Afternoon prayer in Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi. Y. Lepa-lepa festival in Semporna, Sabah. Z. Bajo women traditional dress in Cebu. AA. Bajo dancing in Sapeken Island, East Java

BAJO TRIBE LOCAL WISDOMS

A community's wisdom and local knowledge are obtained through a long process. Its existence is the result of adaptation through a social learning process to the conditions and dynamics of its environment, both the natural environment and the social environment (Fajarini 2014). Thus, local wisdom and knowledge have been tested and always experience contextualization, in line with developments and changes. Consequently, local wisdom and knowledge are not static but constantly develop cumulatively, in line with the development of the community. Local wisdom is the idea of a local community with good values, given life, values, norms, and customs, usually symbolizing myths and rituals (Hasrawaty et al., 2017). The functions of local wisdom are as follows: first, as a marker of the identity of a community, second, as an adhesive element (cohesive aspect) across citizens, across

religions, and beliefs. Third, local wisdom gives a community color together. Fourth, changing the mindset and reciprocal relationship between individuals and groups by placing them on their common ground/ culture. Fifth, encouraging the development of togetherness, appreciation, and a joint mechanism to ward off various possibilities that reduce, even destroy, communal solidarity, which is believed to originate and grow on shared awareness, from an integrated community (Takiddin 2014).

Local wisdom of the Bajo tribe is characterized by traditions and culture of the sea in supporting Conservation Area Management related to the sea. The function of the sea as a place of life illustrates that the values, customs, or norms contained in it are an effort for the Bajo Tribe to protect an area (Prameswari et al., 2019). The Bajo tribe is known for its extraordinary marine life skills, utilizing all the natural potentials available around it to survive, carry out all activities, and fulfill the necessities of life dependent

on marine products. The life activities they do are predominantly carried out on seawater. The Bajo tribe also has traditions and culture. One form of culture in physical form is the aspect of the house as a container for the embodiment of traditions that can be seen apart from their behavior (Amri 2014). The Bajo people usually anchor on one beach when building a new community. Over time they stockpiled the beach with stones and built stilts (Tahara 2011). In the environment around the Bajo community settlements, the mangrove ecosystem, seagrass beds, and coral reefs are still well preserved. This condition is not visible in other coastal community settlements because the Bajo community has an emotional closeness to natural resources, creating actual behavior considering ecology. The Bajo community has local wisdom in the form of traditions, rules, or hereditary taboos (*pamali*) that are practiced, maintained and obeyed (La Ode Ali Basri et al. 2017).

The mirror of the harmony of the Bajo tribe appears as they maintain the welfare of nature, especially the sea, which is believed to be the source of life (Yamran 2011). The Bajo tribe takes marine products such as catching, fishing, octopus, squid using a cage-type weapon known as a polo. This trap is inserted into the seabed, and bait is installed. If the fish gets into the polo, it will be challenging to get out again. This tool is safe to use because it does not damage marine life. They also use machetes, spears, nets, arrow guns, and fishing rods (Shester and Micheli 2011). The Bajo tribe, in the tradition of disembarking a new ship, work together to push the newly made ship into the sea; this is a symbol of togetherness and expresses gratitude for the sea products they get after months of fishing. Returning home safely, they make porridge made from starch or green beans, and brown sugar is eaten together on the beach (Rustan et al., 2018). This tradition has existed since the ancestors of the Bajo tribe. The gratitude expressed through alms like that is what the Bajo people do to appreciate the seafood from the Creator.

According to the local community, overcoming the ecological crisis is not only a technical matter, but it is necessary to explore the intricacies of human spirituality, world view, awareness of nature, and ecological behavior (Hanan 2010). He said that ecologically intelligent humans position themselves as environmental controls reflected in attitudes and actual behavior when treating nature. "The universe is not only a source of exploitation but a common house that is continuously protected, cared for, arranged, not destroyed" (Sangadji 2011). The kinship and kinship system of the Bajo community is a feature that distinguishes it from other groups or tribes. Generally, their kinship is very strong so that an attitude of tolerance and mutual help is maintained. So that the impression of individuality is subtle. Simple, there is no sign of stability even though in fact they can and can realize it by living a little frugally and not being wasteful, paying attention to life patterns, maintaining and preserving what the main factors that support their lives are, and seeing the future they will walk on (Ali 2017).

The wisdom of the Bajo tribe is shown by protecting the marine environment. This was done because they realized that they needed the sea as a source of energy or life (Tjahjono 2013). Diseases commonly suffered by Bajo fishers are cramps in the limbs, barotrauma disease, and paralysis. The strategy of Bajo divers in preventing disease begins with "*paruru*" (ritual inside the house before going to sea), "*pakangbalapati*" (feeding sea guards), "*niba pinah*" (throwing peanuts into the sea to ask for protection from sea guards) (Arifin et al. 2020). There is an indirect relationship between people's health and the environment in Bajo culture. That's because *Mbo*, the sea soul considered by the community to be the guardian of the sea, always controls people's health. If people make mistakes at sea, including destroying special places, *Mbo* will cause them to get sick or even die. Several elements of the environment, especially turtles, are essential for wearing in traditional ceremonies related to health. Apart from that, elements, such as *Kima*, are necessary for traditional beliefs. For example, *kima*'s interest is to ensure women's health when giving birth.

Unfortunately, this wisdom has now begun to erode along with changing times and the influence of community culture that comes from outside the Bajo tribe with various types of fishing gear and more modern technology that has triggered competition between communities, damaged marine ecosystems, and threatened the preservation of coastal and marine natural resources (Martono 2014). The inclusion of modernization in the Bajo tribe clearly deals with cultural values lifestyle, and one side impacts the effectiveness and increase of fishers' catch (Makmur 2011). Technology transfer can certainly increase fishers' production and income. The fishing tradition of Bajo people, including in Nain (Island in Bunaken, North Sulawesi), has changed. Previously they caught fish as far as possible and settled in the target area (*palilibu*, *bapongka*, *babangi*, *lamma*). Now Bajo Nain fishers have settled in their villages. The use of the marine fleet has changed a lot, no longer for only daily needs in obtaining fish catches; there has been a lot of cultural mixing (assimilation), for example, between Bajo-Bugis-Mandar in the style of utilizing coastal and marine biological resources (Bahtiar 2012). One of the impacts is that it is now difficult to get fish, especially during the dry season; you have to leave the island a long distance to get fish. Because of the existing changes, we can categorize them into negative and positive impacts. The positive impacts arising from these social changes are the emergence of educational awareness, the creation of new jobs, increased living standards, and the modernization of the fishery system. Meanwhile, the negative impacts that arise are the reduced existence of customs, reorientation of life views, and the emergence of consumptive lifestyles (Suryanegara et al., 2015).

BELIEFS OF THE BAJO TRIBE

The belief systems adopted by the Bajo tribe are very diverse; some adhere to the teachings of Islam, Christianity

Protestants, and some belief in animist and their mixtures. Animism believes that every object on earth has a soul that must be respected; the goal is to avoid disturbance from souls and evil spirits in everyday life (Ali 2017). Examples include belief in Bojango, the sea god in the water, and the belief that the spirit of the Bajo tribe is in a crocodile (Nurhaliza and Suciati 2019). The trust of the Bajo community grows and develops through ethical values of morality that come from religion and cultural value orientation, thus causing the growth of certain rationality in the Bajo community (Wianti et al., 2012). Although there is a lot of diversity regarding beliefs in the Bajo people, tolerance remains the main thing. It should be for every individual and community group to live up to ancestral values to create a peaceful life in existing diversity, prioritize tolerance but still adhere to customs, carry out what is required, and stay away from what is not allowed (Syefriyeni and Rosie 2020).

The element of belief is very important for human life, which functions as a human perspective in solving life's problems. The Bajo tribe itself has very strong animistic beliefs; as depicted in the film "*The Mirror Never Lies*" by Kamila Andini, the Bajo people still use the services of a shaman (*Sandro*) to solve a problem (Susiati 2018). *Sandro* (shaman) in the Bajo community is a term for people who master the occult, and only a few people are believed to have it and are not inherited from all their children. *Sandro* has an important task when implementing traditional ceremonies and sometimes leading the healing process for sick people (Alimran et al. 2020).

Even though in some historical literature, it is said that most of the Bajo people embraced Islam, over time, it did not rule out for them to believe in other beliefs (Nurrohm 2020). The Bajo tribe has a strong belief that the sea is life; they believe that their ancestors were descended from the God of the sea so that the Bajo tribe cannot escape from the sea (Marhadi 2012). The belief held by the Bajo community is indeed very strong because it is a legacy that has been passed down from generation to generation (Syahrani et al. 2020). However, some Bajo community groups have been influenced by globalization practices such as media and technology such as television, *mobile phones*, and the internet (Chaidirman et al. 2020). In addition, the influence of the existence of Islamic diversity, especially for people who have performed the Hajj or Umrah pilgrimage, has led to new assumptions and awareness that local knowledge, especially beliefs regarding sea gods and rituals at sea, are contrary to the values of Islamic teachings. These conflicting Bajo rituals are starting to be abandoned (Said et al. 2020).

The Bajo tribe believes in the existence of a Sea God already and is hereditary from their ancestors. In the general belief of the Bajo Tribe, they were performing rituals to the ancestors during preparation for fishing (*nyalamak di lao*), while at sea (*nobire palibudi lao*), and after fishing (*mole palibu di lao*) is an obligation. Violation of these rituals will impact the results obtained, cause disasters at sea, and even the families suffer from the disease (Eryano et al. 2020). In addition, this ritual is also a medium for cultural socialization in the civilization of the

Bajo people. Therefore, every activity of the Bajo tribe is always carried out by rituals together and in groups. This ritual is a form of respect for the *bombonga di lao* (a sea king named *petta sidampallie* to get a lot of sustenance, calm, peace, and protection while at sea. Bajo people also believe that this ritual is a medium to unite their souls with the sea (Marhadi 2012). This tradition can also be found in Bajo fishers who live in Petoaha Village who believe that the boats they own can be likened to living things, so they believe that boats also have the same spirit as humans. Therefore, there is an expression that Bajo fishers actually maintain the boat and do not have a boat. Therefore, no wonder the Bajo people treat the boat as treating to humans. This belief was done long ago; Bajo people in the Village Petoaha usually held a ritual since the commencement of the manufacture of boats (Saleh 2018).

Religious ceremonies are an element of community life and ethnic groups globally, which describe human fascination with unseen things. Rituals are procedures in ceremonies carried out by a religious community, which are unique, sacred, and special to generate respect (Hamriani et al., 2019). Religious rituals connect humans with the supernatural they believe in (Taena 2011). Ritual is a local culture for the Bajo people, starting from the ritual of birth, entering adolescence, entering adulthood, the ritual of marriage, and the ritual of death. These rituals are carried out to turn Bajo children into useful humans and not become useless humans both in this world and hereafter (Dalia et al. 2018). The Bajo tribe has various kinds of traditions that are believed or believed; for example, the tradition *duata* is one of the traditions carried out at sea by boat or ship. In addition, there is also a tradition *Madduaiang* which is not much different from the traditional *duata*. However, the tradition *Madduaiang* in its implementation, is not held over the sea; this tradition is only carried out on the beach (Hamriani et al., 2019). In addition, the Bajo tribe also has a series of religious rituals when a relative dies, from preparation for the funeral to completion. This is a unique and distinctive feature for the Bajo community and a form of respect for left relatives (Mokhtar 2020).

The rules in carrying out the activities of these Bajo traditions show that the Bajo community truly respects the territorial waters, especially the sea where they live (Herlina et al. 2020). This cannot be separated from the significant influence of the sea in supporting the lives of the Bajo people, also known as sea people. Based on the story of the Bajo tribe's ancestors, the Bajo people believe that the sea was created by the Creator for them (Pierre 2010). Therefore, they must preserve marine waters and utilize the natural resources in them (Prabowo 2017). In addition to playing an important role as the manager of coastal resources, the social entities owned by the Bajo tribe also have important political power for the dynamics of local politics in the areas where they live (Ola et al., 2018). This is because the large population of the Bajo Tribe (for example, in the largest Bajo village in Wakatobi, namely Mola) creates a great deal of political interest in them (Some community groups Bajo also believed that all kinds of diseases that arise between them come from

spirits- the spirit of guarding these ecosystems The Bajo tribe believes that the destruction of the coastal ecosystem is a disaster for their community. This is based on the belief of the Bajo people that guardian spirits inhabit all resources on the coast and the sea. So that all forms of destruction and misuse of natural resources will bring badness to the Bajo community (Obie 2016). The older generation in the Bajo community still believes that certain coral clusters are the place for the souls of their ancestors to reside. Therefore, many parents forbid their family members to capture everything. Species of fish and another biota around the coral cluster, except if a certain ritual is carried out first by preparing dishes for the ancestors (Artanto 2017).

The existence of the Bajo tribe spread across various regions in Indonesia, even to several neighboring countries, has led to differences in beliefs held between the Bajo Tribe in one region and another. These differences can occur due to various influencing factors such as natural conditions, availability of technology and information, education levels, and the diversity of surrounding communities that live side by side. The Bajo tribe, who lives in the sea, generally strongly believes in ancestors and sea gods. The Bajo Laut people rarely interact with mainland people, who have typically embraced religion and are touched by modernization. They still hold the beliefs passed down from their ancestors, namely animism and totemism. Meanwhile, in some Bajo ethnic groups who have lived on the mainland, the belief in sea gods and their ancestral traditions is not as strong as the Sea Bajo Tribe. For example, the mainland Bajo people in Saur Saibus Village Sapeken District almost all of them embrace Islam. Even so, the use of mantras as a request to God in the activities of the Bajo community is still very strong. The difference in belief between the Bajo tribe in one area and another is actually not that big. The Bajo tribe still believes in the supernatural that guards the sea even though they have lived on land and are touched by modernization. The strongest difference is in implementing ancestral traditions and rituals to the sea god. Some Bajo community groups are no longer practiced because they violate religious teachings.

Some literature says that most Bajo community groups indicate their belief in Islam (Moldjo et al. 2019). However, they still believe in their ancestors, namely in the sea's ruler; these two things are inseparable, interconnected, and symbiotic with mutualism. No literature specifically explains what religion the Bajo tribe followed before the arrival of Islam (Rahmat and Usman 2016). Bajo people know Islam from the influence of land people around them due to the relationship between Bajo people and land people (Candra 2019). In several Bajo community groups, Protestant Christianity has also touched their lives through the teachings conveyed by priests and religious leaders, although they are still overshadowed by strong animistic beliefs (Yulia 2016). The Bajo people who live in Petoaha Village are all Muslim and have religious activities that are still very thick in filling the daily lives of residents in the area. Some of the Bajo Tribe's religious activities include routine recitation, religious holidays, and

other religious activities. However, as explained earlier, some of these religious activities are still influenced by Bajo beliefs and culture (Saleh 2018).

The Bajo tribe has also been scattered in several other coastal islands, such as Sapeken Island, East Java. Almost all the Bajo people on the island of Sapeken adhere to Islamic beliefs. Regarding religion, in the Bajo tribe that occupies this area, animist beliefs on the Bajo Sapeken tribe are less visible due to the strong influence of the Koran teachers (Rahayu 2019). In addition, the Bajo tribe who live in Kabalutan Village, Central Sulawesi, also most people embrace Islam. However, in the Bajo tribe, religious values are still influenced by several ancestral beliefs, such as the Bajo tribe's wedding customs in Kabalutan Village which generally does not conflict with the teachings of Islamic law (Juniarsi 2019). Bajo people (Orang Laut) of Johor, Malaysia, mostly embraced the Islamic faith. They can generally understand the beliefs, although only limited to basic religious knowledge (Uniwati 2011). The Bajo people maintain their beliefs amid globalization by considering new assumptions regarding their beliefs by continuing to carry out functional relationships. Namely, the relationship between horizontal social processes (relationships with fellow communities) still has a good or no impact. In several villages, the Bajo community formed an environmentally conscious group (KSL) by the beliefs of the Bajo community so that later directions were given from the head of their community institution (Utina 2012).

BAJO COMMUNITY IN ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

Bajo tribe is a tribe that lives on boats and lives in shifts according to the potential fish resources that can be caught. Like the Bajo tribe in Southeast Sulawesi, a tribe with its characteristics in managing the marine environment, the Bajo people inhabit almost all the islands and coastlines in Southeast Sulawesi (Hernila and Surdin 2016). The Bajo people, as sea nomads, define the sea as a space for a living, a place to live, and a place to live for their ancestors. The Bajo tribe highly respects the sea and appreciates it because it is their source of livelihood (Umar 2019). The Bajo people are thick with cultural values and habits in interacting with the natural marine environment in managing marine resources to sustain. In contrast, The Bajo people always involve local knowledge that comes from their beliefs and beliefs while maintaining the natural marine environment (Said et al. 2020). Like the women of the Bajo tribe who are environmentalists, they will continue and always protect marine life, which is their source of energy. The view held by the Bajo people states that the natural sea is not only intended for humans, but other creatures live from the sea, and so that everything runs harmoniously, is balanced. There is no conflict of interest; it is mutually preserving and respecting the sea environment (Marhadi 2012). Various ethnic communities in Indonesia have long used nature for multiple activities. The influence of tribes with multiple experiences, perspectives, and perceptions of nature affects and

produces multiple forms of life and the character of the community landscape (Aziz et al., 2018). The ecological intelligence possessed by the Bajo Torosiaje people can be seen in various aspects of life, such as the tradition of fishing for *mamia kadialo*, settlement management, community behavior in obtaining catches, as well as the knowledge that the community has about the natural phenomena of the sea and coast (Utina 2012; Mustamin 2020).

In many traditional communities with local wisdom practices (indigenous knowledge) that are still preserved in people's daily lives, the existence of these landscapes is very stable. It can continuously provide support for the people who live in these landscapes. The landscape that results from the community's activities and perceptions, influenced by local culture, is referred to as a cultural landscape (Kaunang et al., 2012). The culture of the Bajo tribe, which firmly believes in the existence of spirits in the sea as guardians of the sea, makes them often prepare offerings that are brought in the middle of the sea as offerings to the spirits of their ancestors who guard the sea (Nurhaliza and Suciati 2019). Maintaining marine wealth is a characteristic of the Bajo tribe based on local wisdom and culture to adapt to the ferocity of the ocean (Satriani et al., 2018).

The existence of marine natural resources and has the extraordinary marine potential can further encourage the spirit of the Bajo people with the characteristics of the Bajo tribe in protecting marine wealth and as a source of their livelihoods (Obie 2020; Syefriyeni and Rosie 2020). The coastal Bajo people who live from marine natural resources have a close relationship with the marine and coastal environment. It raises the values of environmental concern in maintaining the sea and coast (Tamu et al., 2017). Coastal areas, seas, and small islands play an important role in human life. The existence of the coastal regions, seas, and small isles has provided several supporting services for human life for more than a millennium that should be maintained (Romadhon 2014). The Bajo community, in obtaining marine product resources, is also very adaptive to the environment by conserving marine resources; one example is maintaining coral reefs as a place for fish to live. The Bajo community has a pretty good conservation awareness (Cohen and Simon 2013).

Conservation is an effort to manage changes towards preserving values and cultural heritage that are better, more harmonious, and sustainable (Rachman 2012). Meanwhile, marine conservation is an effort to prevent damage to marine ecosystems and pay attention to the benefits obtained by maintaining and preserving the components in the marine ecosystem. Marine conservation carried out by the Bajo community is very diverse to preserve the sea. Until now, the Bajo tribe still maintains a culture related to marine preservation because the sea is everything for them, so it must be preserved and preserved (Akram 2018). The Bajo tribe is one of the tribal communities that manage, maintain, and utilize marine biological resources based on cultural norms and values institutionalized and attached to the Bajo community. They are maintained through social control based on their belief system (Moldjo et al., 2019).

Examples of such applications are the prohibition of fishing in large fish (Anugrah and Fatimah 2018). According to Lamane et al. (2020), the Bajo community in maintaining the sea and coast conserves mangrove forests by preserving and utilizing mangrove forests based on indicator provisions such as mangrove trees that cannot be cut down continuously, can be used as tourist attractions, mangrove forest areas cannot be converted into settlements, must not throw garbage in the sea, participate in a mangrove tree nursery, warn if you see someone cutting mangrove trees, participate in mutual cooperation in mangrove forest rehabilitation, and in maintaining mangrove forests must involve the Bajo community.

The Bajo tribe has wisdom about the environment due to a process of adaptation to environmental changes that have occurred from generation to generation (Francois 2015). A process that lasted decades, even hundreds of years, finally formed a problem-solving mechanism. The dependence of the Bajo community on coastal and marine resources has made the community develop a wise management mechanism (Kurniasari et al., 2017). The Bajo tribe has wisdom in protecting and utilizing coastal and marine areas sustainably (Umar 2019). The Bajo people have the wisdom to protect the marine environment, namely corals, mangroves, and marine resources. The marine resource management system associated with coral reefs by the Bajo people, especially in the past, is based on the Menteng Panglima Institution, which is characterized by a solid and neat socio-economic-political life order, patterns of marine resource utilization that reflect the relationship between human and environmental conditions, conditions equitable socio-economic welfare of the population, and the preservation of environmental conditions and the balance of coral reef marine resources (Lampe 2012). The Bajo Tribe has a deep concern for conserving coral reefs as a buffer for the underwater ecosystem. They are very aware of the need to preserve the conditions that are the basis of their livelihood fulfillment (Susilowati 2017).

The Bajo community, with local wisdom in managing marine resources, has a regulation in terms of fishing, one of which is that they always choose fish that are ripe for consumption and do not want to catch fish that are still small, so that fish resources are maintained for sustainability (Suryanegara et al. 2015). In addition, there is also an example that includes the local wisdom of the Bajo community, which has become a habitual culture, including not catching fish for 12 months, where the timing of the catch can have an impact on the availability of marine life so that it remains sustainable (Wiralis et al. 2017). The Bajo people believe that when they are at sea and find sea cucumbers that are standing upright (not sloping), they should not be caught because, in the belief of the Bajo people, sea cucumbers that are in a standing condition can bring reinforcements if they are caught, and that is a characteristic of the reproductive process. It means that the Bajo community prohibits the capture of breeding sea cucumbers to preserve their survival (Heryanti 2017). With the belief in the Lord of the sea and the spirit of the ancestral guardians of the sea, the character or

personality of the Bajo tribe grows, which maintains fish sustainability as an effort to maintain the balance of the marine ecosystem (Kharisma 2019).

The life of the Bajo tribe, which is very close to the sea, makes fishers and the sea seen as a culture, a source of earning a living, or as a means of preserving the marine and coastal environment (Hamzah 2012). According to Dai (2020), there are also consequences for the Bajo people who take advantage of coastal and marine areas as tourist areas, namely increasing public awareness in maintaining and preserving the ecosystem of coastal natural resources and marine waters. According to Ikhsan (2020), based on oral heredity from ancestors, there are rules or restrictions in the form of things that cannot be done. Including not littering or wasting into the sea, such as wastewater washing rice or sea cucumbers, wood charcoal used cooking, coffee grounds, chili juice, ginger juice, orange peel, orange juice, kitchen ash, or charcoal, and cigarette butts or ash. The traditions or local wisdom that have been previously mentioned are taboo for the Bajo people, who have an excellent goal, namely to preserve the sea because they live and live in the sea (Damisi et al., 2014). In addition, in maintaining marine space as a place for ancestors and its contents as a source of life that is in harmony and harmony with the universe, the Bajo people build the architecture of Bajo tribal settlements that are primarily oriented towards the sea to maintain marine and coastal sustainability (Syam et al. 2017). The Bajo tribe has a maritime cultural ceremony, called the Sangal Tribe Bajo ceremony, a tradition to release turtles when their population decreases and release tuna to repel logs and preserve the sea and marine wealth (Final and Ponco (2012) in Aziz 2016).

The Bajo people, in maintaining the environment around their residential areas, do so by maintaining the quality and quantity of the clean water system in the Bajo village (Than et al. 2018). Also, the efforts of the Bajo community to be able to maintain and preserve the marine and coastal ecosystems of the Bajo tribe with its various socio-cultural uniqueness cannot be separated from the participation of the government in the district, which helps and provides regulation and social control to maintain the existence of the tribe. Bajo, because some of them have experienced many social shifts and changes resulting from acculturation and assimilation, especially on livelihood issues (Mukramin 2018). The Bajo tribe maintains its marine and coastal ecosystems because they permanently live side-by-side and are peaceful with nature. This can be why the Bajo people feel they have a natural environment, so they protect and preserve their ecosystem (Obie et al., 2014).

The large number of tourists who visit the Bajo Tribe can affect the Bajo Tribe's trust in environmental conservation. The development of tourism in the Bajo tribe area can change socio-cultural, economic, and ecological conditions. Lasso and Dahles (2020) revealed that the impact of tourism development in the economic sector is that local communities have begun to switch professions; who initially worked as fishermen and then turned into the tour boat business. This will threaten the sustainability of

local people's livelihoods. In addition, tour boat providers have several challenges, namely intense competition, short holiday seasons, and dependence on tour operators. These changes led to a response or response from the Bajo community. This is probably due to the lack of knowledge and understanding of domestic tourists about responsible tourism and the importance of conservation that is not good enough. The increasing number of tourists who come can also decrease the environment's carrying capacity, such as damage to coral reefs, natural disasters, and a large number of piles of garbage in several locations. And possibly due to the influence of tourists who come to transmit modernization to the Bajo Tribe, causing a change in Bajo Tribe beliefs in environmental preservation.

THE IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON THE LOCAL WISDOM OF THE BAJO TRIBE

Modernization is a process of changing traditional society to more modern society. This process of change affects various aspects of life. These aspects include the agricultural, social, economic, and ecological sectors. As time goes by, modernization will affect the lives of the wider community. An example is the existence of local wisdom in an area. Modernization can jeopardize the existence of local wisdom to remain, be reduced, and even disappear from certain communities (Sari 2020). And this is happening to the local wisdom of the Bajo Tribe.

Modernization has affected the life of the Bajo Tribe in several areas. The local wisdom of the Bajo Tribe on Sapeken Island, Sumenep, East Java, begins to fade with time. The Bajo tribe is known as the sea tribe because they utilize marine biological resources and work as fishermen daily. Technological improvements affect changes in the Bajo Tribe's fishing methods, namely the number of fleets, trips, and the area and fish catches. In addition, the orientation of the cultural values of the Bajo Tribe has shifted, which was initially integrated with nature to exploit nature. Bajo fishers under 50 years old are starting to leave the local wisdom they believe in, and only those over 50 years old are still preserving the local wisdom of residents (Fadhila 2017). This condition is not much different from the Bajo Tribe who live in Karimunjawa. Globalization affects their social life (Suliyati 2017).

In the past, the Bajo tribe generally lived as nomadic; now, most of them have settled on the mainland. One of them lives in the Wakatobi Islands. They decided in one place because the Bajo people are starting to find it challenging to meet their daily needs due to reduced natural resources, government programs, and the cultural influence of mainland people. This social shift causes both positive and negative impacts. The positive impact is increasing the standard of living of citizens, the emergence of education awareness, the creation of employment opportunities, an increase in income and standard of living, and an increase in fishing gear technology. At the same time, the negative impacts are the reorientation of the relationship between humans and nature, the waning of local beliefs and

customs, and the emergence of a consumptive lifestyle (Suryanegara et al. 2015).

Meanwhile, the Bajo tribe in Latawe Village, West Muna District, Southeast Sulawesi, has changed work patterns, social structures, and fishers' welfare. The reason is that government and private programs have begun to be mobilized. The program is counseling coastal communities, providing capital, and improving fishing facilities. Improvements in fisheries technology in boats and fishing gear have led to increased catches (Hamzah et al., 2019). In Wakatobi District, Southeast Sulawesi Province, there are two sub-ethnic Bajo Tribes, namely Mola and Mantigola. The two Bajo Tribe communities have differences in dealing with the times, especially in the rural economy. The Mola community is more affected than the Mantigola community. The Mola community shows the characteristics of local capitalism, while the Mantigola community still maintains ancestral customs, namely the traditional lifestyle (Wianti 2011).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the results obtained through literature studies, it can be concluded that the Bajo people believe that the sea is the source of their livelihoods and a place for the existence of sea gods and the location of ancestral dwelling. The Bajo tribe is one of the tribal communities that manage, maintain, and utilize marine biological resources based on cultural norms and values institutionalized and attached to the Bajo community. They are maintained through social control based on their belief system. This belief brings the Bajo people to fear breaking the *taboo* or *pamali* that has existed since their ancestors orally and from generation to generation. So, based on this belief, the Bajo people make various conservation efforts to maintain, maintain and protect the preservation of marine waters, coastal ecosystems, mangrove forests, and marine resources such as fish, seaweed, coral reefs, and others.

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