Sampan Kajang: the orang laut’s maritime cultural heritage in the East Coast of Sumatra

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Abstract. This article aims to analyze the history and existence of sampan kajang as the Orang Laut’s maritime cultural heritage in East Coast Coast of Sumatra. The results of the research showed that the sampan kajang had existed in the East Coast Coast of Sumatra since the 7th century AD. The archaeologis findings in the area of Kayu Agung Komering Hilir, South Sumatra showed similarities in the name and shape of the sampan kajang used by the Orang Laut in East Coast of Sumatra that we still can watch now. Before the 1980s, sampan kajang was home to the Orang Laut in living nomadic lives at sea. All activities of family members, like fishing, cooking, eating, sleeping, sexual activity to birth, are carried out on a sampan kajang. But now almost all of Orang Laut the East Coast of Sumatra is dwelling on the land. The integral function of the sampan kajang as their line of life has moved to the stage house in coastal. In the Lingga Archipelago, the sampan kajang is currently only used when they will go bekelam for a short time. Orang Laut Duano in Riau and Jambi, even only remember sampan kajang as a reminder of their ancestors'. Modernization further alienates and obscures the existence of sampan kajang as an endangered identity and cultural heritage of the Orang Laut in the East Coast of Sumatra.

1. Introduction
Indonesia is one of the maritime countries in the Southeast Asia which consists of a sea expanse that reaches three-quarters of the area accompanied by a cluster of thousands of islands stretching from 6° NL-11° SL and 95° EL-141° EL. The size of Indonesia's sea reaches 3.25 million km², more extensive than its land, which is only 2.01 million km². The number of islands in all regions of Indonesia reaches 17,499 islands [10]. The United Nations (UN) in 2008 ratified that the coastline of the entire Indonesian archipelago entered 95,181 km. This area places Indonesia as the fourth country after the United States, Canada, and Russia, which has the longest coastline in the world [1]. A large amount of sea owned by Indonesia has led to the high potential of natural marine resources, which of course would be empowered for the benefit of the state.

The conception of the World Maritime Axis or Global Maritime Nexus (GMN) announced by President Jokowidodo at the East Asia Summit in Myanmar in 2014 was one of the government efforts to restore Indonesia’s maritime glory in the past when Sriwijaya and Majapahit became maritime empire of Southeast Asia at the beginning of the century AD. The Indonesian maritime historian AB Lapian has actually echoed the idea of Indonesia as a world maritime axis. But unfortunately, the world naval axis proposed by Lapian at that time was not too resonant and considered strategic by the Indonesian political elites and also the world political elite. Start from the 2000s, when Japan, America, and China began to give great attention to maritime connectivity in the Asia Pacific region, which was followed by the Indonesian government. This political flow of world leaders who are patterned “maritime” will,
of course, encourage efforts to revive the glory of the sea as a political and economic foundation in the present.

The World Maritime Axis emphasizes five main pillars, namely: marine culture, naval economy, maritime connectivity, naval diplomacy, and marine security [2]. The main objective of the establishment of maritime culture as the main focus of the world's maritime axis policy is inseparable from efforts to rebuild the Indonesian maritime culture that has been formed since the 7th century AD through major kingdoms such as Sriwijaya and Majapahit. Perahu bercadik used by the Indonesian ancestors to migrate to reach the archipelago, carving ship reliefs at Borobudur Temple and ship paintings in caves is evidence that Indonesian maritime culture had been formed long before the presence of Europeans. This maritime culture is inseparable from the content of seven elements in the concept of culture, like as: religious systems, language, knowledge systems, and livelihoods. In Indonesia, this maritime culture was developed by each ethnic group according to their direction, tastes, needs, and creative power [3].

The Orang Laut/the Orang Suku Laut/the Sea Tribe or Sea People is one of the ethnic communities in Indonesia that runs a unique culture and maritime life. This uniqueness is evident in their very high dependence on the sea and its ecosystem. Before owning a house on the land, the Orang Laut lived wandering on a canoe navigating one island to another and from a water area to another in groups. Therefore the people outside of this ethnic call them Sea People/Boat Tribes/Sea Gipsy [4].

The Orang Laut was spread in several Indonesian waters, namely: 1) the East Coast of Sumatra which includes the coastal areas of Johor and Singapore, the Riau Archipelago, Riau coastal areas, Jambi Bangka-Belitung; 2) East Kalimantan Coast; 3) North Sulawesi and Gorontalo. Bajo or Bajo people are sea people who live in North Sulawesi and Gorontalo. In the Riau Archipelago, the Orang Laut have several clans namely Orang Mantang, Orang Mapor, Orang Barok, Orang Galang. In Bangka Belitung live the Sekak people and Ameng Sewang. Meanwhile, in Indragiri Hilir, Riau Province and Tanjung Jabung, East and West, Jambi Province are known as the Orang Laut Duano or Duano People [5].

Although the Orang Laut has different clans and an environment, one thing that is common among Orang Laut is that they are the largest nomadic ethnic group in Indonesia. Nomadik is the way of life of a community that relies on natural resources (from animals and plants) where they live as a medium for survival [6]. By using a boat or boat, the Orang Laut moves to various water areas in Indonesia with their respective groups/clans.

Home traditions on sampan were lived by the ancestors of the Orang Laut who were believed to migrate from Vietnam and Cambodia before the 10th century AD. The ancestral origin of the Orang Laut is thought to be a Proto-Malay, who has a physical feature in the form of a rather harsh facial expression and rather dark skin tone. They are estimated to arrive in Indonesian waters before the beginning of the century AD or around 2500-1500 BC [7; 6].

Formerly the Orang Laut in the waters of the East Coast of Sumatra lived sailing using a boathouse which they called the sampan kajang. For the Orang Laut, sampan kajang not only function as transportation but also as a home or dwelling place or that protects them from the hot sun, exposure to rain and hurricanes. Sampan kajang is a gathering place for all family members, where all life activities are carried out on sampan kajang. In the cosmology of the Orang Laut, the dinghy is a way of life before living in settling houses on the land. The beginning and end of the life of the Orang Laut are only above sampan kajang. This is what crystallizes the maritime identity which then makes the Orang Laut known as boat people/boat tribes [4; 8].

Apart from functioning as a place to settle, sampan kajang for the Orang Laut was used as units and tools for family production [9]. From the top of the sampan kajang, the Orang Laut will usually spearfish, look for shells and stop on land to get clean water and food. Whatever economic activities they live will not be separated from the presence of a sampan kajang that accompanies wherever they have to go.

In the earlier of 1980s, there was a crucial change in the life of the Orang Laut in East Coast Coast of Sumatra, which was marked by the migration of their lives from the sampan kajang to dwelling house on the land was built by the government. This change in settlement patterns directly correlates with the
shift in *sampan kajang* functions that are no longer the homes of the *Orang Laut*, but rather to mere means of transportation. It also illustrates the cosmology of their identity from boat people to land people who live in harmony with various ethnic groups. The remains of this *sampan kajang* also changed the way of life that mimicked the lifestyle of people who were on land and left their traditions while still home on a *sampan kajang*. From these problems, this paper aims to answer the question of How is the existence of *sampan kajang* as one of the maritime cultural heritage of the *Orang Laut* in the present? How does the generation of the *Orang Laut* currently view the *sampan kajang* as an integral part of the ethnicity of their ancestors?

2. Method

The research method was used in this study is the ethnographic research method. Ethnographic research methods were included in qualitative research clusters that make informants and their daily environment as research subjects. This brings the researcher to interact intensely with the object being studied through in-depth observations about the attitudes, behaviors and lifestyle of the informant or the object of research in accordance with the purpose of the study [11]. Murchison [12] asserts that ethnographic methods which have a focus in the field of culture, aim to describe, analyze, and interpret elements of a cultural group such as patterns of behavior, beliefs, and language that develop over time. Ethnographic methods that provide opportunities for the creation of a close relationship between the researcher and the object to be studied in order to produce comprehensive and detailed research data about the object under study. That is why ethnographic research is very appropriate in describing the *sampan kajang* as one of the maritime cultural heritage of the East Coast of Sumatra Sea People.

The ethnographic method was chosen in this study is realist ethnography. Realist ethnography aims to describe the situation and participants objectively based on data from the field and elaborated using a third person point of view. The characteristics of realist ethnography consist of: a) the researcher expresses his research report through third-person views based on data obtained through participant observation and their views. The researchers here only act as covering facts. b) The researcher presents objective data in the form of measurable information that is free from bias, political affiliation, and personal judgment. Researchers only focused on data about the everyday objects studied in the standard categories of cultural portrayals such as family, systems, status, social networks and so forth. c) The researcher expresses the views of the participants through their narrative quotations that are edited without changing the meaning [12].

Research on *sampan kajang* as maritime cultural heritage of the East Coast of Sumatra Sea has been carried out by researchers in *Orang Laut* settlements in Tanjung Jabung Timur and Tanjung Jabung Barat Regencies Jambi Province, Indragiri Hilir Regency Riau Province, Lingga Islands, Singkep, and Batam, Riau Islands Province, from July 2018 to July 2019. To get real data in the field, researchers followed all their life activities so that they could reveal how the existence of the *sampan kajang* in the lives of the *Orang Laut* at this time was in accordance with the findings in the field.

Data analysis of this research was carried out in conjunction with the data collection process. It is intended that the research be directed in accordance with the objectives that have been designed that are adapted to conditions in the field. Ethnographic data analysis consists of four stages namely: domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, compound analysis, and cultural theme analysis. Domain analysis is used to obtain a general picture or overall understanding of the object of research and social situations. While taxonomic analysis seeks to describe the selected domains to be more detailed to determine the internal structure through in-depth observation. Componental analysis is carried out after the results of the taxonomic analysis are carried out and obtain specific data through in-depth interviews or selected observations to deepen the data (looking for the specific characteristics of each internal structure). Meanwhile, cultural theme analysis is done by finding a common thread among domains to obtain themes such as values, premises, ethos, worldview, or cognitive orientation [13]. The final stage after data analysis is the writing of a report that is adjusted to the type of research chosen. In this stage, ethnographic researchers must be able to avoid the "personal bias" of the object under study.
3. Literature review

Some of the most actual scientific studies that discuss the Sea Tribe or Sea Person of the East Coast of Sumatra include: The Orang Suku Laut of Riau, Indonesia: the inalienable gift of territory [9]. This book explained that the social organization of the Orang Laut people in the Riau Islands since the 16th century until now experienced changes that have a direct impact on their social identity. Government policy in the transfer of settlements from sea to land which has a direct implication on changes in the lives of the Orang Laut people. This lag was further investigated by Chou from the heyday of the Johor Sultanate and the Riau-Johor Kingdom who gave the Tribal People a very strategic political position within the kingdom. After the collapse of the two kingdoms and the entry of the colonial nation, the position of the Sea Tribe People gradually became alienated and marginalized from the people who lived on land. Chou’s next article entitled The Water World of the Orang Suku Laut in Southeast Asia [14] analyzes that in historical reviews the Sea People have a very strong relationship with the sea in the form of ancestral origins and past life activities that shaped them in the present. This bond leads to their high knowledge of beneficial and also threatening marine life.

The third article was written by Maryam, et al [15] entitled Community restructuring and sociocultural interaction identity of orang laut (kuala) in the state of johor. This article analyzes how to restructure the lives of Orang Laut (Orang Kuala) in Rengit, Frozen Oil and Johor Masai City. This restructuring includes patterns of socio-cultural interaction, economic activities, and religious practices that aim to further blend the Kuala People with other communities. This effort is of course directly correlated to progress in the economic, social and cultural spheres of the life of the Kuala People in Malaysia. In this paper also mentioned that the Duano people who currently live in Riau and Jambi and in Malaysia are the Kuala People group in Malaysia.

The next article entitled Orang Suku Laut dan Orang Melayu di Kepulauan Riau: Sebuah Tarsir Deskriptif-Etnografis [6] analyzes the social changes faced by the Sea People after the landing of their settlement. This social change stems from efforts to alienate the Sea Tribe from modern life arising as a result of the labeling of the Sea Tribe as an isolated tribe that is synonymous with backwardness and primitive by the government. This greatly affects the perception of Malays (land people) about this ethnic group. Cosmological differences and the way of life between the Sea Tribe people and the Malay community often lead to conflict with each other. The Tribal Landing began in the 1980s leading to intense interaction with the East Coast Sea Tribe of Sumatra which absorbed a great deal of Malay culture into their daily lives.

The fifth article is Transformasi Hunian Vernakular Suku Duanu, Pesisir Timur Sumatera [16] which analyzes the transition of Duanu people from boats to stilt houses on land due to information, acculturation and negotiation factors of Duanu people in response to change. Gradually, the Duanu community, including the Sea Tribe in various other regions, mingled with the culture of the people on land that were different from their native culture.

Kehidupan Suku Laut di Batam: Sebuah Fenomena Kebijakan Pembangunan di Pulau Bertam Kota Batam [17] sees that the empowerment of the sea people on Bertam Island encourages the transition of living space from canoes to land. Various negative impacts arise such as damage to the environment, reduced catches at sea, the erosion of the values of the local wisdom of the Sea Tribe community which is marked by the start of the loss of the tradition of silat, jung and jogged, the emergence of the attitude of the Sea Tribe people who are too expecting government assistance.

Article titled Orang Laut, Permukiman, dan Kekerasan Infrastruktur [10] discusses the social consequences that arise from opening Orang Laut settlements on Bertam Island. Infrastructure development that aims to modernize Sea People on land has led to the emergence of conflict between Sea People in fighting over residential land and various infrastructures on Bertam Island. Conflict over the material becomes evidence of violent conflict that arises in the life of Orang Bert Island Sea. Another article describing Orang Laut settlements on the East Coast of Sumatra was written by Azhari et al with the title Perubahan Pola Pemukiman Orang Laut Suku Duano [8].

Based on the literature review above, it appears that there has not been a study describing the sampan kajang as one of the maritime cultural heritage owned by the Orang Laut people on the East Coast of
Sumatra. The existence of the kajang canoe as a maritime cultural heritage is certainly a very substantial wealth in supporting the government’s efforts to become.

4. Result and discussion

4.1. The Orang Laut of East Coast Sumatra in historical cross

Sea People or Sea Tribes are groups of people who live wandering on the sea (Sea nomad / Sea gypsy) that we can find in in Southeast Asia. The first Sea Tribe is the Moken Tribe that lives in the waters of Southern Thailand, Myanmar, and Malaysia (around the waters of the Andaman Sea). In Myanmar the Moken tribe is known as Salone and in Chao Ley (Sea People) or Chao Nam (people from the waters). The Moken tribe belongs to the Austro-Asiatic race that lives wandering in the sea with small boats across the west coast of southern Thailand, to Myanmar and the waters of the Andaman Sea. They are very good at spearing fish and deep-sea diving. But now most of the Moken Tribe has lived in the houses on stilts made by the Thai government. They no longer live wandering by boat like they used to. After the tsunami that occurred in 2004, the Thai government made landings and transfers of Moken Tribe settlements and changed the way of their life became settled on land [10].

The others of sea nomads in the Southeast Asia region are Urak Lawoi /Orak Lawoi/Lawta/Chaw Talay /Chawnam/Lawoi which lives on Phuket Island, Phi Phi, Jum, Lanta, Bulon, Lipe, Andang in the Andang Islands, Andaman of Southern Thailand. This tribe is also an Australoid race, which means having a kinship relationship with the Moken tribe. In terms of Urak Lawoi language, it uses the Malay Peninsula dialect or Malay Cho Lai, which is a family of Old Malay speech languages [6].

Indonesia is a country that has the largest of the sea people population in Southeast Asia, where the tribes spread from the waters of the western part of Indonesia to the eastern islands. In west Indonesia the sea nomads are known as the Orang Laut or the Orang Suku Laut. They inhabit the islands of the East Coast of Sumatra such as the Riau Islands, the Riau coast and also in the coastal area of Jambi. In the eastern there are Bajau or Bajo people who inhabit the island of eastern Kalimantan, North Sulawesi, Malaysia to the Philippines [6; 11].

In Riau Archipelago, the Orang Laut we can find in the Lingga Archipelago, a group of islands in the City of Batam, Pulau Tujuh, Bintan Island, Tanjung Pinang, Kariman, Lingga Islands, Singkep Island, Tanjung Batu, and islands off the coast of East Sumatra, South China Sea and in around the Malacca Strait. Some of the Orang Laut clans that are still in the Riau Islands at this time include: Orang Mantang, Orang Mapor/Mapur, Orang Barok, and Orang Galang. In Bangka Belitung province live the Orang Sekak and Orang Ameng Sewang. Meanwhile, in Indragiri Hilir, Riau Province and Tanjung Jabung, East and West, Jambi Province is known to the Duano People or the Orang Laut Duano [6; 5].

In Riau Province, the Orang Laut was found in the river estuaries of Indragiri Hilir Regency, Bengkalis Regency, Sungai Bela Village, Concong Lur, Bekawan, Kerang River, Sungai Laut, Tanjung Pasir, Kuala Enok, Laras, Pataparang, Rupat Island, Penyengat Village. In Bangka, Sea People inhabit Kuto Panji, Jebu Laut, Kudinpar, Lepar, and Ponggok areas. In Belitung, the Orang Sekak lives in Juru Seberang, Kampung Baru and Gantung. Meanwhile the Orang Duano in Jambi stays in Tanjung Solok (East Tanjung Jabung Regency) and Kampung Nelayan in the West Tanjung Jabung Regency [6; 13; 5; 8].

The names of the Orang Laut’s clans mentioned above refer to their respective regions of origin, such as Orang Mantang (originated from Pulau Mantang), Orang Tambus (coming from Kampung Tambus, Pulau Galang), Orang Mapor (resided on Mapor Island). The former lives that wandered in finally prompted them to mention their first area as the identity of all the Orang Laut on the East Coast of Sumatra. There is also the name of the Orang Laut clan that does not refer to their origins, like as: Orang Barok, Orang Galang (in Riau Archipelago), Orang Tambus, Orang Sekak and Orang Ameng Sewang (in Bangka Belitung). Orang Duano in the area Indragiri Hilir Province of Riau and Jambi which made “the identity of Duano” as the Orang Laut who had embraced Islam and fused with Malay culture on land [5; 4].
In the Riau Archipelago and Lingga Archipelago, the Orang Laut is members of the Orang Persukuan, namely people who are divided into various tribes or clans which in the past were subject to the rule of the Sultan (the Kingdom of Malacca, the Sultanate of Johor and the Sultanate of Siak). Some tribesmen live on land, in coves and river mouths or wander in the sea. The Orang Laut was classified of tribesmen who live in bays, river mouths and walk in the sea. They have an obligation to serve the sultan as a rower of the royal boat, providing a boat if needed by the ruler. That's why the Orang Laut of this sultanate period was known as Orang Kerahan or Kerahan Tribes [4].

According to Barros [14], the Orang Laut as Celat people who live more floating than living on land. Children born and raised on the sea and do not have a base on the beach. Similar to Barros, Pires (1944) defines Celat as the Malay word for sea pirates. The Orang Laut, according to Pires, was "pirates", and they was raised in the sea, and they were big rowers. Meanwhile, Loeb [15] identified the Orang Laut as Orang Banua. They are life in the southern countries of Semenjung Melayu, Riau-Lingga Archipelago, Bangka Island, and in several districts of East Sumatra. Banua people who live in their seas will be called "Sea People" and Banua People who live on their land will be called "People of the Land."

Tracing the history, the Orang Laut have emerged in the history of the East Sumatra Coast since the 5th and 6th centuries AD, in the Kan-t'o-li kingdom of ingenuity, the king managed to lure leaders from among the Orang Laut to come to their ports as marine military forces. This tactic was then continued by the Srivijaya Union which was able to make the Orang Laut as the main element of the resilience of the royal maritime forces which had succeeded in conquering Southeast Asian waters until the 13th century [14].

The Orang Laut has a huge role in the founding of the Malacca Kingdom. The Orang Laut invited Parameswara to move from Singapore to Muara, then to Bertam River which later became the center of the Malacca government. Portuguese control of Malacca in 1511 made the political center move to Johor and Riau. In this time of chaos, the Orang Laut picked up the Sultan in Bintan so they could escape the Portuguese troops. Until the end of the rule of Malacca and Johor (XIX-century Kingdom of Malacca), Riau-Lingga Kingdom, Indragiri Kingdom, and the Siak Kingdom, the Orang Laut always played an essential role in maintaining the political existence of the Sultan and his heirs [4; 5].

Some historical sources also mention the loyalty of the Orang Laut as the royal forces of the Jambi Sultanate in the 17th century. An oral source stated that there was a leader of the Orang Laut appointed by the great hero of the Orang Kaya Hitam entrusted with holding the "Si Genjai" state kris and given the right to raid along the Jambi-Palembang coast. Dutch sources written in the seventeenth century justified the privileges received by the Orang Laut, where they were appointed as captains of royal merchant ships and arranged for marriage with high-ranking women in the palace [16].

The Orang Laut was also present during the reign of the 18th century Palembang Sultanate as a Sungsang guard to secure the entry point from Sumatra east coast to the Musi River. Sea people are given freedom by the sultan to pass by in the waters around Bangka, Belitung and flat. They also become an extension of the kingdom's hand in dealing with foreign sailors in the waters of the Palembang Sultanate. In 1759, the Orang Laut Bangka took passengers who are captured when the Portuguese ship sank into the port [16].

After Indonesia's independence, the Riau Islands region and the East Coast of Sumatra are now part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The Orang Laut who live freely wandering in the waters area of the East Coast of Sumatra automatically have Indonesian citizenship even though in practice they have absolutely no National Identity Card (KTP) or Family Card (KK) like the people who live on land. The Indonesia government does not touch the Orang Laut at all, they continue to live their lives wandering on boats, and they have been forgotten.

To improve economic cooperation, at the end of 1989 the governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore entered into commercial agreements through the Growth Triangle or also known as SIJORI (Singapore-Johor-Riau) or triangle IMS (Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore). Batam Island had been chosen as the center of development for The SIJORI Growth Triangle in Indonesia. This economic policy aims
to develop economic potential in the region that connects the three countries (golden triangle) through industrial, technological, investment, and social relocation [17].

The SIJORI golden triangle has an impact on the transfer of the Orang Laut’s lifestyle from the boat to the house on the beach by the Ministry of Social Affairs (PKMT). PKMT is a national program that aims to integrate the existence of isolated tribes in various parts of Indonesia in all sectors, be it economic, social and cultural in the broad scope of Indonesian society. Bertam Island, an uninhabited island in the hinterland of Batam City which has been regularly used as a stopover for the Orang Laut since 1982 has been designated as the PMKT pilot project to land the Orang Laut in the surrounding area (m.republika.co.id). Since now, various groups and communities of the Orang Laut in the East coast of Sumatra have been landed through the PMKT program. At present it is almost certain that all sea people already have homes on land, even though there are some groups who are still living their lives wandering on the sea.

4.2. Boats in the Cycle of human civilization

The history of human civilization will not be separated from the sea and boats which are the main means of transportation in connecting regions in various parts of the world before the discovery of land and air transportation. The biosphere which is the part of the atmosphere closest to the earth and is where we live today is dominated by the sea and air. The sea is the original habitat of life for living things (humans, animals, and plants) which are very large in number. At the beginning of its life, the first group of humans on earth knew how to cross rivers and seas using wood that will be being assembled as a minimum and boats [18].

After the glacia recession period ended around 12,000 or 10,000 years ago, the surface of the earth has formed land in the form of continents, peninsulas, and straits like the landscape that we inhabit today. The sea connects the natural formation as the primary communication channel and river for the hinterland. Major world civilizations such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China flourished in riverbank areas. Greek and Roman history is also inseparable from the role of the sea, which became an economic constellation and expansion of supremacy through war and conquest at sea. The primary function of the river as a communication path appears in the classical civilization of the Nile River under the first waterfall. Above this river, the boat moves just downstream and hoists the screen upstream due to the north wind blowing. The ship became transportation linking the upper Nile to the Mediterranean and from the Nile to the Red Sea. The sea communication line between Egypt and the Red Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Southwest Asia region succeeded in bringing Egypt to appear as the world’s geopolitical center at that time [18].

The first civilization in Southeast Asia was also very closely related to the presence of the river, which became the root of the birth of culture and civilization by each human supporter. Just mention ethnic Vietnam whose civilization was born in the red river delta region which spread gradually to the south through the process of migration, colonization and assimilation. Ethnic Cham and Khmer (ethnic Cambodians) emerged along the Mekong River delta [19]. Indonesia also experienced the same phase of civilization, which could not be separated from rivers and seas as evidenced by the presence of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in the area around the river. As the sea trade route gets increasingly crowded, river begin to be introduced by the presence of royal centers on the coast, no longer on the banks of the river.

If we examine the origins of humans in Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, rivers, and seas do not only act as from one coastal waters to another or from one island to another, but also play an essential role as the main channel for the distribution of Austroasia and Austronesian peoples from northern region (South China) to areas in the Pacific Islands, Southeast Asia to the west of Madagascar Island around 4000-5000 years ago. This migration is becomes the biggest migration in history carried out by an ethnic group [19].

Perahu bercadik that was known by Indonesian people from the period of masa perundagan or metal age which took place around 500 BC that brought Indonesian ancestors to the archipelago was concrete evidence of how the boat could not be separated from the growth and development of this
nation’s civilization. The period of Perundagian has also led to the emergence of trade activities between the islands in the archipelago and also between the archipelago and the mainland of Southeast Asia which is connected by perahu bercadik. Perahu bercadik plays the most important role in this initial trade route [20]. The dinghy boat has a very simple shape, where the boat is made of wood whose center is punched like a mortar and on the part of the body of the boat is given a balance on the left and right [11].

As of this small of perahu bercadik, a bigger boat-making technique was developed with more loads such as those carved in the Borobudur temple reliefs, boat paintings on the cave walls of Muna Island, Southeast Sulawesi, Seram Island and Kei Small Island. On temple walls of Borobudur Temple display three types of archipelago boats at the beginning of the century AD, namely: dimpling boats, large, non-tiled heads, and large boats that were clad [3]. This archaeological evidence shows that before Christ, the ancestors of the Indonesian people were familiar with water transportation and its manufacturing techniques [11].

The formation of the first trade routes led to increased human dependence on boats. In the archipelago and Southeast Asia this line had begun to exist in the beginning of the century, which was marked by the arrival of ships from India in search of gold and spices that were sold on the world market at that time. The increasingly crowded silk route connecting Rome and Tingkok encouraged Chinese traders to come to the archipelago to buy various profitable trade commodities. With boats, these various commodities are transported from the interior to collectors at the port. This boat will also carry marketable goods that have been bought by traders from various nations and will be sent to the central trade areas such as the Mediterranean, West Asia, India, Gujarat, and China to Europe in the 16th century.

4.3. Sampan Kajang as the Orang Laut’s Maritime Cultural Heritage

The sea lane is the only traffic that connects various parts of the world before the introduction of different air transportation and communication technology in the present. This is explaining that the boat is a very substantial legacy of civilization, which today is a symbol of maritime culture. Although this maritime culture will also lead to the emergence of other cultural symbols in the lives of its supporting communities such as language, livelihoods, arts, and worship of the sea, boats remain the main as conquerors of the ferocity of the oceans and liaison of various continents, islands, and beaches.

Sampan Kajang was recorded as the oldest means of transportation used by the Orang Laut in the East Coast of Sumatra. This type of water transportation is estimated to have been known by the people of Sumatra since the time of the Srivijaya Union in the 7th century AD [21]. The absence of a written source regarding the sampan kajang boat is rather difficult to ascertain who and where the sampan kajang would have been made and used for the first time. From the results of interviews conducted in Orang Laut villages in Jambi Province, Riau and Riau Islands, the generation of the Orang Laut who still exist today only know sampan kajang or there are also those who call it kajang as the only inheritance from their ancestors.

Besides, the current generation of The Orang Laut in various regions on the East Coast of Sumatra believes that sampan kajang are an initial settlement pattern known to and lived by their ancestors. There is no memory or story that says that before they stayed in the boat, they had a house on the land. What is available is that they used to live on boats and then move to the homes they are currently living in. The Orang Laut knows the term stay in this boat as bekelam or bekajang. Interview with the author with several the Orang Laut found in Tanjung Solok Village, Tanjung Jabung Timur District, Jambi; Village of Tanjung Jabung Barat Village Fisherman Village Jambi; Indragiri Hilir, Lingga Islands and Batam, the Orang Laut before living on land currently live in canoes along with all family members.

Based on archaeological findings in Kayu Agung, Komering Hilir, South Sumatra, the sampan kajang has been used as a means of transportation to carry handicrafts of pottery to be sold outside the Komering Ilir area. In the area of Kayu Agung kajang made of nipah leaves, while the Orang Laut of
the Riau Archipelago make it from the leaves of *mengkuang*. According to Archaeologist Nurhadi Rangkuti, these boat owners boat people because their activities trade more on boats than on land [21].

![Image](image1.jpg)

**Figure 1. Perahu Kajang** in Kayu Agung, South Sumatra. [22]

The shape of the *perahu kajang* in Kayu Agung is almost similar to the kajang used by the *Orang Laut* of the Riau Islands, which is now having a roof that is a boat house. In addition to its rather equal shape, the naming of "kajang" for boats that have houses that are also known by the *Orang Laut* in East Coast of Sumatra currently indicates that this boat has indeed existed since the Srivijaya era which once made the *Orang Laut* as its maritime forces.

![Image](image2.jpg)

**Figure 2. Sampan Kajang** are pulling over on land. [23]

The shape and model of the ship equipped with this roof were also found in Singapore waters in the 19th and 20th centuries. This *sampan house* belongs to the Singaporean and Malaysian Sea People (they are called Orang Kalang) who named this boat with *sampan penambang/prahu tambang/gubang*. In the *sampan penambang*, one of the trained families of Singaporean Sears to sleeps, cooks, eats, and undergoes daily activities [24]. Although they have different names, the similarity of the shape of the
sampan house and the function of the sampan house is because of Singaporean and Malaysian Sea People with *sampan kajang* the *Orang Laut*. Racially, Malaysian Sea People, Singaporeans with the *Orang Laut*, Riau Archipelago, Riau, Jambi, and Bangka-Belitung come from the same descendants. The *Orang Laut* in Lingga Regency even mentioned that they had relatives to Malaysia and Singapore [28; 29].

![Sampan house](image)

**Figure 3. Sampan penambang/prahu tambang/gubang**

Used by the Sea People in Singapore and Malaysia on 20th century. [24]

Home traditions on boats make *sampan kolek* or *kajang* as a very vital property for the *Orang Laut*. *Kajang* is their dwelling place, protected from rain and sun visor. *Kajang* and *sampan kolek* are the primary equipment for fishing and all economic activities they do. From above *kajang* the *Orang Laut* will spearhead fish, head to niches, and upstream rivers and areas that produce various marine communities that they can consume and sell to several places that are willing to buy their catches. Not only social activities but biological activities and education for the *Orang Laut* children also take place on *kajang*. All family members will join and stay in the *sampan kajang*. Mainland in cosmology the *Orang Laut* who are still living their lives is just a place to stop for a while, just take clean water, food sources and various needs that they don't get at sea. There is no day they miss without sailing on *sampan kajang* [9].

If the *Orang Laut* in East Coast of Sumatra calls their *sampan house* with *kajang* or *sampan kajang*, the Bajo people name their *sampan house* with the name *lipa* or *leppa*. This *leppa* is usually six meters long and one meter wide, the roof has been made of dried sago palm leaves [25]. Besides *leppa*, the Bajo people in Torosiage also know the *soppe* which is used as a means of transportation to wander in the sea. The *soppe* is a type of boat that has been used since prehistoric times by the ancestors of the Indonesian people to migrate to the archipelago [11]. The Bajo Torosiage people will live in a *soppe* and live to move to catch fish from water area into other water area for months. One soppe usually carries ten adult Bajo loads [25].
Just like the Bajo people above the leppa, the life of the Orang Laut in the sampan kajang is effortless. All of his belongings have been brought along with all family members. When people who live on land compete in material ownership, the Sea People are however to survive with a subsistence economy. The simpler their lives, the more agile they move in the ocean to the more they can survive. Conversely, the more "luxurious" their lives, the more wealth they have, makes them more challenging to live in the sea [9].

As long as they are on top of their boat, they will usually row the boat and spear the fish. The task of spearing fish is usually doing by men and women who will paddle the sampan kajang. In this odyssey, the Orang Laut generally bring along dogs and parrots that have been placed on the back of their boat during diving. For the Orang Laut, dogs are beneficial to protect them from the threat of wild animals both during the sea and stop on land while birds shadow only pets during sailing [30].

The sampan kajang has a larger size than the ordinary canoe. The length of the ship is between 6 meters - 7.5 meters and the width is 1.7 meters, while the regular boat is only 4 meters long. The roof or kajang has been made of mengkuang leaves (in the Lingga Islands area) and nipah leaves (in the
Jambi area and Indragiri Hilir, Riau). As long as this wandering, the function of sampan kajang was as a means of transportation as well as a place to live that accommodated all members of the nuclear family. Despite its small size, the Orang Laut regulate in such a way that it has a central space that functions as the main room as well as the family bedroom, kitchen and restroom to facilitate their activities while sailing on the sea [27].

The illustration of the intact form of the sampan kajang at Orang Laut Duano, which is not much different from the sampan kajang of the Orang Laut in East Coast of Sumatra following this picture:

Figure 6. Form and sampan kajang Room of Orang Laut Duano. [27]

The figure above shows that the sampan kajang consists of two parts, namely the sampan and kajang. The sampan consists of bow, steering, and main room which also functions as a room for sleeping, kitchen, family room and dining room. All items will usually have been stored in this main room. Each sampan is generally equipped with a pair of oars tied to the right and left of the boat (rowing boat in the sea language of the Lingga Islands is called kiau). At the helm, the Orang Laut usually place dogs and parrots as friends when sailing.

Although this kajang can has been dismantled, the Orang Laut will usually still use it to protect it from the sun-shine or rain that comes suddenly when they sail on the sea. Kajang is generally make from the midrib of mengkuang leaves or nipah leaves. For the Orang Laut in Riau Islands, kajang was made from mengkuang leaves, meanwhile, the Orang Duano in Jambi and Riau make kajang from nipah leaves. Mengkuang leaves are the leaves of a kind of prickly pandan leaves which usually grows on the banks of rivers and marshes. Mengkuang leaves or nipah leaves will be woven using rattan and dried the coconut leaf midribs.

Menah, the older woman of the Orang Mantang who lives in Linau village, Lingga Archipelago is the Orang Laut who still has the expertise to make kajang from mengkuang leaves. The process of making kajang according to Menah is as follows: (1) Leaf pouring first heat it on the fire to wither. (2) After wilting, the leaf is then dried in the sun-shine to make it stronger when weaved. (3) The dried leaves had been woven with rattan and coconut leaf midribs which function as a frame or frame that becomes complete and ready to use.

Figure 7. Menah (the oldest Orang Laut woman of Linau village, Lingga Archipelago) who experts make kajang. (Source: Personal documentation)
Figure 8. Kajang which functions as a *sampan kolek* roof  
Source: Personal documentation

Figure 9. Bone leaves of the coconut tree and rattan leaf bones was used as *kajang* frames  
Source: Personal documentation

The process of installing *kajang* in the *sampan kolek* when the *Orang Laut* goes to *bekayuh* (down to the sea) or *bekelam* appears in the following picture:

1. Opened the roll of *kajang*

Figure 10. *Kajang* scrolls
2. *Kajang* body stretched

![Figure 11. Kajang is spread out on a boat](image)

3. Kajang has been opened and positioned upright.

![Figure 12. Body of kajang was enforced](image)

4. The end of the *kajang* was tied with a rope to the body of the boat.

![Figure 13. Kajang ends are tied with straps on the left and right, front and back](image)
5. *Kajang* was installed.

![Figure 14. *Kajang* has been installed](a) (b)

6. If the *kajang* is not use it can be removed and rolled to be stored in the canoe.

Some families of the *Orang Laut* in the Lingga Islands are still living their lives with *sampan kajang* to spearfish and keep *kelong* (fish cages) for several days or several weeks. The tradition of diving with this *sampan kajang* is still valid in the Riau Islands area. The *Orang Duano* in Riau and Jambi areas no longer live the culture of living on a *sampan kajang*. They have entirely settled on the land and only to catch fish sailing to the sea in a short period according to the conditions of the season and the weather at sea.

The tradition of *bekelam* that is still would being run in the *Orang Laut* in Riau Archipelago looks through the *kajang* kept in the house when the author visits the *Orang Laut*’s house. When going to go, the new boat was used. All family members will participate and their homes were being left without residents. They will bring enough food, fishing equipment, cooking stoves and other equipment needed. They will often go around looking for fish from one area to another in the Riau Islands to Malaysia and Singapore. The *Orang Laut* also made the tradition of diving as a gathering place for their brothers and sisters who lived in various regions of the Riau Islands. They will usually stop by the homes of fellow the *Orang Laut* and shop for different needs that will be brought to take along with them [28].

![Figure 15. *Kajang* was stored in the *Orang Laut*’s house in Lingga Islands](a)

*Figure 15. *Kajang* was stored in the *Orang Laut*’s house in Lingga Islands*  
Sumber: Personal documentation
4.4. Sampan Kajang now and later

The PKMT program that was rolled out by the Indonesia government through the Social Minister in the 1960s to the present who succeeded in landing almost all the Orang Laut’s communities in the East Coast of Sumatra to dwelling place that built on the coast did not wholly alienate the Orang Laut from the sampan kajang that had been identified in the past. Sampan kajang or sampan kolek without kajang remain as the main transportation used by the Orang Laut in this day. In a stationary pattern of life, the sampan kajang will be tethered by the Orang Laut on the pillars of their houses around the entrance. This is as a purpose to make it easier for them when they want to go to sea using a sampan kajang or sampan kolek. For those who owned houses on the shoreline (land) when the seawater receded they would tie their sampan in the harbor and when the tide rose, they would move their sampan from the port to the pillars of the house. As previously explained, they still keep kajang in the house (this is mainly for the Orang Laut in Lingga Islands) which could be used at any time if they have to go bekelam in the sea.

The illustrations from the house on stilts and sampan kajang in the Orang Laut Duano as a reference for the representation of the sampan kajang of the Orang Laut’s the East Coast of Sumatra after sedentary live in land-based.

![Sketch of the Orang Laut Duano’s house on the coast of the sea/lower course](image)

**Figure 16.** Sketch of the Orang Laut Duano’s house on the coast of the sea/lower course [27]

In the previous section, I mentioned that the current boat can only be a memory of the old Orang Laut Duano who settled in Tanjung Solok, East Tanjung Jabung Regency and Kampung Laut in the West Tanjung Jabung Regency, Jambi Province and Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province. Bintang (54 years old), the older generation of the Orang Laut Duano in Tanjung Solok who is still alive today and has even felt living in kajang and experiencing the harsh life in the sea when their sampan kajang are upside down at sea. Meanwhile, the next generation did not feel at all what life was like to wander around in a sampan kajang, like Saleh (80 years old), the Orang Laut Duano in Sungai Bela and Amon (Chairperson of the Orang Laut in the Lingga Regency who claimed to be Orang Barok) did not remember what life was like in a sampan kajang, because their parents had moved to house inland when he was little. Amon’s parents came out of the boat when he was eight years old and did not remember life at all in the sampan kajang [33; 35; 30].

Long research that the authors conducted from one group the Orang Laut to other groups in three provinces (Jambi, Riau and the Riau Archipelago) found that there were reluctances from the Orang Laut, especially those who had lived modern lives, embraced one of the country’s religions and mingled with people on land with various ethnic backgrounds feel they must throw away bad memories of their ancestors who in the perception of land people are backward and underdeveloped people, living wandering in canoes and having a secure attachment to occult science (animism beliefs and dynamism).
Agusman (49 years old) the Orang Laut Duano who became the Head of the Sungai Bela Village in Indragiri Hilir Regency even stated emphatically that there were no more Orang Duano living in the kajang, they were all modern and abandoned all ancestral traditions which were incompatible with the times [34 ] Labeling as a Remote Indigenous Community (KAT) carried out by the government since the New Order period is still inherent today in the Orang Laut which makes them embarrassed to look at the past of their ancestors. I also took the time to chat with the young men and women of the Orang Laut Duano, their answers were uniform in that they no longer knew the sampan kajang. Even if there is only a parent's story, it is only known by certain people. The current the sampan kajang for the Orang Laut Duano is only a memorable legacy that only lives in a small part of the Orang Duano who still cares about they ancestral culture.

The different situation I found in the Orang Laut settlement of the Lingga Archipelago, where they each kept kajang and used sampan kajang to bekelam. Until now, there are still Orang Laut in the Lingga Archipelago who is still living their lives wandering the sea for several months surrounding the waters around Lingga Archipelago, Batam, Bintan to Anambas, Singapore and Malaysia. But their numbers are very few and complicated to find. The Orang Mantang I met in the Lingga Archipelago still has a strong memory of the presence of sampan kajang in their lives. Be not alone in parents, children who are still in elementary school have also used a sampan kolek and go to bekelam for several days or a few weeks with their parents. Sukar (22 years old) and his younger sister had lived a nomadic life together with his grandmother, Menah (70 years) [32; 31].

For the Orang Laut in the East Coast of Sumatra today, there are those some prefer to live on stilts on land and those some prefer to live wandering on the sea, but this number is minimal. Sukar is one of them. After joining her grandmother and her parents living in stilt houses in Linau, Senayang Subdistrict, Lingga Regency, she prefers to live wandering in a sampan kajang compared to living on a house on the stage at this time.

Efforts to land the Orang Laut indirectly have an impact on the blurring of sampan kajang from their lives. Keep them away from the essential property in their lives and replace them with stage houses and modern lifestyles like the other people on land. If this condition is allowed to continue, their identity will be further eroded and the marine culture that has been inherited by their ancestors will completely disappear. The fate of the sampan kajang as the inheritance of the Orang Laut will not be much different from the "sampan monument" which was built as a symbol of the government's success in modernizing the Orang Laut on Bertam Island whose condition was formatted because the wood and iron bars were stripped down. Sampan Kajang will probably only live in the memories of the Orang Laut who are increasingly complacent with land life.

5. Conclusion
The boat is one of the oldest human civilizations in the world, which became an early means of transportation before the introduction of land and air transportation modes. The boat is a means of transportation used by the ancestors of the Indonesian people to the archipelago in the archipelago since 500 BC. As a nation that has a greater sea area than the mainland, maritime culture has become one of the most important cultures in Indonesia. Sea People or Sea Tribes who live on the East Coast of Sumatra are one of the communities that have a strong maritime culture style. This can be seen from the place of life, lifestyle and various cultural traditions that cannot be separated from the sea.

The Orang Laut in the East Coast of Sumatra live in four provinces, that is to say: 1) Riau Archipelago, the Orang Laut are spread in the Lingga Archipelago, a group of islands in Batam, Pulau Tujuh, Bintan Island, Tanjung Pinang, Karimun, Singkope Island, Tanjung Batu, and islands off the coast of East Sumatra, the South China Sea and around the Malacca Strait. 2) Bangka, Kuto Panji, Jebu Laut, Kudinpar, Lepar and Ponggok and Belitung in Juru Seberang, Kampung Baru and Gantung. 3) Riau, in the Indragiri Hilir area of Bengkalis Regency, Sungai Bela Village, Concong Luar, Bekawan, Kerang River, Sungai Laut, Tanjung Pasir, Kuala Enok, Laras, Pataparang, Rupat Island, Penyengat Village. 4) Jambi, Tanjung Solok Sub-District, East Tanjung Jabung Regency and Kampung Nelayan of Tanjung Jabung Barat Regency.
Sampan kajang was recorded as the oldest means of transportation used by the Orang Laut in the East Coast of Sumatra. This type of water transportation is estimated to have been known by the people of Sumatra since the time of the Srivijaya Union in the 7th century AD. For the Orang Laut, sampan kajang is a very vital property, where sampan kajang are houses where they take refuge from rain and sunshine. From above sampan kajang the Orang Laut will spearhead fish, head to niches and upstream rivers and areas that produce various marine communities that they can consume and sell to several places that are willing to buy their catches. Social activities, biological activities and education take place on sampan kajang. All family members will come and live in it.

Unfortunately, at this time the role of the sampan kajang as a place to live Orang Laut has been replaced by stilt houses built on the beach. Boats with modern engine power also lead to reduced use of sampan kajang in the Orang Laut economic activities in the East Coast region of Sumatra. In the end the kajang canoe will only be a memory and forgotten by the current generation of Orang Laut who have been immersed in land life which is considered more modern. They began to abandon their tribal identity and no longer consider the kajang sampan as essential in their lives as their ancestral heritage. The fate of the sampan kajang as one of the Sumatran East Coast Sea's cultural heritage is currently just waiting for the final seconds to be forgotten and wasted memories.

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