Changes in Bajo community settlement patterns case study of Bone Regency

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Abstract. This study aimed to: assess the social culture of Bajo community and examine Bajo community factors moving from sea to land and describe the pattern of settlement space between Bajo Tribe at the sea level and Bajo Tribe on land. This research was a descriptive study with a qualitative inductive approach. This research was conducted in February 2020 with the type of data collected were primary and secondary data. This study shows that changes in the pattern of Bajo community settlements in Kelurahan Bajoe are influenced by several aspects including the social changes in Bajo community (social interaction, orientation to livelihoods, the use of Bajo local language, and there has been a change in settlement patterns because they are driven by the desire to live on land, activities such as trade and education, and the affordability of raw materials on land, changes in settlement patterns (settlement patterns, building orientation, building shape and building use).

1. Introduction
1.1. Background
Some ethnic groups in Indonesia still apply marine cultural patterns in every aspect of their lives. One of the most well-known ethnic groups as supporters of marine culture is Bajo Tribe. Bajo tribe is often referred to as sea nomad with the meaning of "sea wanderer," having a livelihood catching fish and collecting marine products [1]. Bajo tribes move around in groups to different places according to fishing location choices. The sea is used as a source of life (pananimae ma di – Lao). Bajo cannot be separated from the sea. The sea for Bajo is a mirror of past life, present, and future hopes, so Bajo is called the sea tribe because they depend on the sea to fulfill their daily needs [2]. Bajo community settlement pattern is unique, traditional Bajo house built with the typology of houses on stilts, with the use of wood as a building material, and the installation also uses traditional techniques [3].

The process of forming Bajo tribal settlements cannot be separated from the geographical conditions and the natural environment, which is motivated by the daily activities of residents as fishermen or sailors. However, people in this region also want positive changes in their neighborhoods. The process of change is seen in several buildings that are experiencing development as well as the construction of residential buildings that began to shift towards the mainland [4].

The development of the Bajo community during the 1980-1990s was not oriented to the sea alone. They change orientation with the orientation of land people. Bajo community now have jobs as civil servants, have the education to tertiary institutions, some are traders, entrepreneurs. The rise of
the Bajo community can also be traced to the service activities that have become the trademark of the Bajo community so far. As happened to the fishermen in the Wakatobi Islands, they no longer sell their catch directly to the local market like they used to. At present, they only need to sell their catch to *papalele* (collector traders) [5].

Based on the background above, with the changing times and cultural acculturation in the form of community influence from outside, the Bajo tribe found several changes such as 1) in some buildings that are experiencing development as well as residential development that began to shift towards the land and are permanent 2) the livelihood of the Bajo tribe is not only oriented to the sea, but they shifted orientation to the orientation of the land. The research of the Bajo community settlement in the coastal area is still very interesting.

1.2. Research purposes
This study aims to (1) study some social-cultural aspects of the Bajo community and (2) determine influencing factors of the Bajo community settlement moving from sea to land and (3) describe the pattern of settlements on the sea and on land.

2. Research methods
2.1. Time and location
This research was conducted for 3 (three) months. The location of this research was Bajo Tribe Community settlement located in Kelurahan Bajoe, Tanete Riattang Timur District, Bone Regency (indicated black circle on figure 1).

![Figure 1. Kelurahan Bajoe Location Map in Tanete Riattang Timur District](image1)

2.2. Data source
Most of the data obtained are primary data obtained from in-depth interviews with informants at the research location. The supporting data in the form of secondary data from literature studies and some documents related to this research topic.
2.3. Population and sample
In this study, the population is the entire Bajo tribe in Bajoe, while the sample is the informant selected based on snowball techniques. The snowball technique is a method for identifying, selecting, and retrieving informants in a network or a continuous chain of relationships [6].

In this research, data collection was carried out based on the following, starting with initial identification, namely determining someone who is considered highly capable of explaining and answering the researcher's questions (Q person) intentionally [7]. Then, based on the relationship of direct or indirect relationships in a network, the next informant can be determined directly appointed by Q person to be interviewed based on variables related to research.

The researcher determines the Traditional Leader (Pak Deri) of the Bajo community as a Q person. This consideration is based on capacity and charisma, a thorough understanding of the life and culture of the Bajo tribe, and respected all decisions taken. Then, Traditional Leader appointed two people, namely the Chairperson of the Bajo Community Association (Mr. Kahar) and the companion of the Traditional Leader (Mr. Sebari). Then, the Chairman of the Bajo Community Association (Mr. Kahar) appointed two people, namely the Bajo Neighborhood Head (Kepala Lingkungan Bajo) and his own son (Miss. Eni). Mr. Sobar does not recommend informants, and then Mrs. Eni appointed several fishermen, namely Mr. Suyuki, Mr. Aheng, and Mr. Parjo (figure 2).

![Figure 2. Snowball sampling.](image)

2.4. Data analysis
The data analysis technique used in this research was descriptive with a qualitative inductive approach by extracting information carried out on respondents [8]. A descriptive technique is presenting a complete picture of social settings or intended for exploration and clarification of the Bajo culture by describing a number of variables relating to the problem and the unit under study between the phenomena tested, while an inductive is the process of tracing and drawing conclusions from specific phenomena to general phenomena. Thus, this study can systematically illustrate the social culture of the Bajo community, the Bajo community factor moving from sea to land, and the pattern of settlement space of the Bajo Tribe who lives at sea, and who live on land.

3. Results and discussion
3.1. Location overview
Kelurahan Bajoe is one of 8 Kelurahan in Tanete Riatang Timur District. Kelurahan Bajoe is located in the eastern part of downtown Watampone and is 7 km from the city center. Kelurahan Bajoe has an area of 5.58 km2 with the following regional boundaries [9], as:
Northern part: Kelurahan Lonrae  
Eastside: Bay of Bone  
Southside: Desa Kading  
West side: Kelurahan Cellu

The area of Kelurahan Bajoe by the environment (sub-regency) can be seen in table 1.

| Lingkungan (sub-urban regency) | Land Area (Km²) |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Appasareng                    | 1.15            |
| Rompe                         | 1.05            |
| Maccedde                      | 0.40            |
| Bajo                          | 0.58            |
| Pao                           | 1.60            |
| Tengnge                       | 0.55            |
| **Total**                     | **5.58**        |

Source: Data from Kelurahan Bajoe Office in 2019.

Kelurahan Bajoe has an area of 5.58 km² which is divided into 6 lingkungan namely Appasareng, Rompe, Maccedde, Bajo, Pao and Tengnge.

Kelurahan Bajoe has a population of 9,428 people or 2,283 households. Kelurahan Bajoe are the most populous Kelurahan in the Tanete Riaatang Timur District [9]. Of 2,283 households, 500 of whom are Bajo community. Generally, one head of the Bajo tribe consists of 7-10 people. All of 500 households in the Kelurahan Bajoe, are scattered in four lingkungan, namely Lingkungan Appasareng, Lingkungan Rompe, Lingkungan Maccedde and Lingkungan Bajo.

3.2. History Bajo community in kelurahan Bajoe

The history of the arrival of the Bajo community in the Kelurahan Bajoe, Bone Regency, was told by The Bajo Customary Community. He explained that the Bajo tribe people used to come from the Kelurahan Pattiro Bajo. In Kelurahan Pattiro Bajo, the Bajo community was not welcomed by the local community, Ethnical Bone, so they continued to live on a boat, were swept away, then moved to the Lingkungan Appasereng. Since living on a boat, Bajo community maintain their livelihoods by catching fish in the sea and selling them at the nearest market. In this Lingkungan Appasereng, Bajo community began to want to live on land to facilitate activities such as buying and selling, schooling, and obtaining more raw materials. Thus, so that the Bajo community began to build houses on stilts on the water, located not too far from the mainland. After changing the name of the Lingkungan Appasereng to Kelurahan Bajoe, in 1995-1997, the Bajo community began to realize their desire to gradually approach the land by collecting rocks from the sea, then arranging them under the pit to make the road. Around 2000, utilizing the reclamation moment carried out by the district government, Bajo community also began to slowly hoard so that the sea where they resided turned into land, although the tidal influence was still very much still there.

The reclamation activity that can be carried out by the Bajo community in Kelurahan Bajo is one indicator that shows that there is a shift in the culture of settlements from sea to land.
3.3. Bajo social culture

3.3.1. Social interactions. Bajo community customary leaders were appointed based on a joint decision of the Bajo community. In the past, the Bajo community was still closed to outsiders, but now they have accepted the presence of non-Bajo community present in their midst. This is evidenced by the existence of marriage between Bajo community and outside communities, such as the Makassar Bugis Tribe. (Chairperson of the Bajo Circle of Friends, 2020) The mixed marriage between Bajo community and outsiders (other ethnic groups) had reached around 50%. Bajo community in Kelurahan Bajoe is allowed inter-ethnic marriages in order to build an attitude of tolerance based on cultural values, as found in a previous study [10]. Bajo community adhere to patrilineal bloodlines, so that if men are Bajo community marry women outside Bajo society, then their descendants are still called Bajo community. However, if a woman is a Bajo community, then married to men outside the Bajo community, then her offspring are not called Bajo community. In this study, it was also found that other ethnic women who married Bajo men generally also understood the Bajo language. However, research does not quantify what percentage of Bajo community who cross-marry with other communities.

Bajo community upholds the principle of mutual cooperation as a social creature. Every person in his life will always need someone else. The family system is the very heart between them. For example, in the tradition of the Bajo community when making a boat together, they help each other in the process without compensation [10].

The more intensive interaction between the Bajo community and the outside community began to form a pattern of quite good cooperation with the mainland population [1]. The form of collaboration between the Bajo community and the Bugis tribe can be seen from the process of buying and selling in the market between fishermen who are from Bajo community and middlemen or buyers in the market who come from Bugis tribe community. Bajo community interaction patterns with outside communities Salamu Society. Community on Rote Island was also shown in a previous study [10], for example, in terms of cleaning up the coastal environment, cooperating in building houses, starting from installing foundations to installing putting together the roof.

3.3.2. Custom the values or rules. The Bajo community is entirely Muslim; they built mosques independently, and most Islamic values and rules were also adopted and implemented. However, the Bajo community in the Kelurahan Bajoe still holds tightly the norms or customs that are imposed from generation to generation under the supervision of adat holders. The following are some of the values and rules of the Bajo community in the Kelurahan Bajoe:

1. Bajo community must not go to sea for fishing if there are Bajo community who get married;
2. Bajo community are not allowed to go to sea for fishing on Friday;
3. Pregnant women are prohibited from wrapping a towel around their neck, if violated, it is believed that the baby will wrap around the baby at birth;
4. Pregnant women should not create or look for problems (like a reproach, tell someone's disgrace) it is believed that babies born will have problems too;
5. After the baby is born, the mother must be delivered and carried first before cleaning;
6. The Bajo community also obeys other prohibitions that are incidental in nature obtained from the dream of the Traditional Leader;

Another study shows that the Bajo Community in the Tiworo Region (West Muna Regency, Southeast Sulawesi) has knowledge of pamali (prohibitions) in the field of marine ecology. Pamali’s knowledge provides an explanation of the attitudes of the Bajo Tiworo people in viewing and interpreting the ecology of the sea, not just a place to live, but the sea is also seen as a ‘place’ that shows the existence and identity of the Bajo community. Pamali’s knowledge is: 1) Pamalitakabur at sea, 2) Pamali reprimands something strange at sea, 3) Pamali berates at sea, 4) Pamali goes to sea when someone dies, 5) Pamali goes to sea on Friday night, 6 ) Pamali eats octopus and Pamali discards lime, tamarind, chili, rice water, kitchen ash in the sea. Changes that occur in the Bajo Tiworo community have an impact currently on the pattern of social and cultural life and the shift of cultural
values, including the enlargement of the existence of Pamali knowledge [11]. These customary values and rules are mostly local, and others are universal, the prohibition of not going to sea to catch fish on Friday, and when the Bajo marriage is universal for the Bajo tribe. Some of the values and rules of the Bajo tribe that are applied to local wisdom as an effort to preserve marine sustainability, for example, the prohibition of not throwing garbage into the sea.

3.3.3. Livelihood. The livelihoods of Bajo community are mostly fisherman, Bajo women only stay at home, except in the sea cucumber season, they also participate in collecting sea cucumber. The Bajo community go to sea for fishing in 3 days of average. Their catches are sold directly to collectors who come to the fishing boats. In another way, the women sell their catches directly at the local market. The livelihood patterns practiced by the Bajo are the same throughout the region, which is catching fish in the sea, then the catch is sold through collectors who come to Bajo boats or their wives who sell to the market. The proceeds from the sale of the fish are used to buy other basic needs. In some areas that have traditional markets, Bajo community also practice a barter system with agricultural products [12][13]

Bajo community have wisdom in term of maintenance fish stock in 'own' sea area, it is not allowed to fish in the coral reef zone, considered as an important fish habitat. Moreover, Bajo community still preserve Friday and wedding days for not fishing [1], Bajo community also know the certain season when spawned fish and their eggs lay in the sea, during which no fishing activity is permitted.

Besides fisherman, Bajo community also have a kiosk for an alternative household income. The Kiosk occupies a part of space in their under house. In certain famine periods, some Bajo communities have to go out to become a construction worker. This later allows them to have a skill for building their own heir house. Their experience from construction worker become an advantaged skill for another livelihood in other regions (figure 3).

Figure 3. Percentage of Livelihoods of Bajo Communities in Bajoe Village. Source: Results of an interview with Chairman of the Bajo Community Association (02/15/2020 10:07)
3.3.4. **Language.** Bajo communities have their own local language known as the *Same* language or the language of the sea [12], where all Bajo communities spread throughout the world use this language to interact with fellow Bajo community. Bajo language is still used by speakers as a communication tool as well as a tool to maintain regional culture [13]. Bajo language is a very strong identity of the Bajo tribe; even people outside Bajo who interact with them also use the Bajo language. Likewise, some Bajo community can use local languages, such as the Bugis and Makassar languages for Bajo community living in the southern Sulawesi region and Tolaki language, or discuss Buton / Wakatobi for Bajo community living in the Southeast Sulawesi region.

3.4. **Bajo community factor moves from sea to land**

The factors causing the Bajo community to move from sea to land, Bajo community at that time starting from the desire to live on land, due to the interrelation of activities such as trade and education, in addition, they also needed raw materials on land that were more accessible (Chairman of the Bajo Circle of Friends, 2020 ). In addition, because of government efforts to urge the Bajo community not to move anymore [1].

Previous studies on the shifting Bajo tribal settlements also showed that there were several factors driving people to move from sea to land, including 1) decreasing sources of life such as decreasing environmental carrying capacity and narrowing of employment in the area of origin, 2) political pressure, religion, and ethnicity that affect the disruption of human rights in the area of origin, 3) the reasons for education and marriage and 4) the existence of natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, and disease outbreaks that threaten the area of origin [14].

The development of the Bajo community until now, many people have lived in coastal areas by establishing houses and forming settlements. In ancient times the Bajo community still survived in boat *bido* (leppa). But now, *leppa* as a place to live Bajo community are no longer allowed to live on a boat. This is to prevent casualties [15]

The Bajo community in Mantigola Village, Wakatobi Regency (Southeast Sulawesi), also experienced a move to land. Limited access to fisheries’ natural resources due to the affirmation of the zoning of national parks in 2007 pushed them to seek livelihoods on land. In addition, they have realized that education is a necessity, so they are trying to access land. The formal education of the Bajo community is so low that the Bajo community cannot expand their livelihoods other than capture fisheries activities [16]. The case of the Bajo community in Toronipa (Kendari City, Southeast Sulawesi Province) can be an interesting example of the Bajo community moving from sea to land. The Kendari City Government Program (Southeast Sulawesi), which moved the Bajo community settlements from sea to land and claimed to be able to improve their standard of living through increased access to educational facilities and facilities, and employment opportunities [17]. The same tendency towards Bajo community on Masudu Island (Bombana Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province) began to move to the mainland of Liano Village because of the willingness of the Bajo community itself, due to consideration of geographical factors, government policies and ease of entrepreneurship [15]. Likewise, the Bajo community in Wuring village, Maumere City (East Nusa Tenggara province) wants the development of settlements that are positive for the mainland environment [4]

The pattern of community movement is generally caused by the driving factors from the area of origin and the attractive factors from the destination area [14]. Based on the Bajo community studies above, it can be concluded that the Bajo community moved from sea to land caused by driving factors, including 1) the existence of government policies in terms of restrictions on accessing fishery resources for conservation purposes, and 2) the geographical conditions of the Bajo community settlements at sea which is vulnerable to changes in the marine climate that causes disasters. While the attractive factors referred to include: 1) the existence of economic activities such as markets, where Bajo community can sell their catches and at the same time to buy other needs, 2) the desire to improve education so that it is easier to get employment opportunities and 3) the existence of community desires Bajo to get wider employment opportunities, other than as fishermen and traders.
The pattern of Bajo community movement from sea to land will be more comprehensive when juxtaposed with other studies to assess the percentage of Bajo community returning to the sea because they cannot adapt to the life of terrestrial ecosystems.

3.5. The pattern of settlement spaces between Bajo tribes who are on sea level, and Bajo tribes on the land

3.5.1. The pattern of settlement. Most of the Bajo settlements in the Bajo Village are on the coast. Previously, the Bajo community resided in the sea that is not connected to the mainland, then over time, some part of it occupies a tidal area on the beach or near the coastline, connected with land using a wooden bridge. Then, the movement continued towards the mainland is increasingly visible because some Bajo community's homes are already on the mainland.

Bajo community settlement pattern had previously traveled in the sea with a soppe (nomadic) boat [1], becoming a pattern of settlements that settled and grouped along the coastline that showed the characteristics of settlements in the coastal area. The sea and Bajo community are two things that cannot be separated in Bajo culture. There are two conceptions of the sea for the Bajo community, namely: (1) The sea is a vast area of water and saltwater that has various functions. The sea for the Bajo community is absolutely necessary, in addition to being a place to live as well as a livelihood and (2) the Bajo community, is a group of sea travelers who live with their families at sea or the coast [18].

Interaction between Bajo community and outside people living on the land in all places occur more intensely, causing the adoption of cultural patterns by the Bajo community [19], including Land use in Bajo community settlements by function is divided into 2 parts (functions). First (1) Land, used as a settlement, and a place to carry out other social activities, second (2) Sea, used as a place to make a living by Bajo community.

3.5.2. Building orientation. Based on a very strong perspective and conception about the sea, the position of Bajo community's house entirely faces the sea, where the sea is their resources for livelihood, and it is believed that the fortune continues to grow so that when family members are at sea, the door will be opened. Bajo settlements always lead to the sea containing philosophical and psychological aspects, namely seawater used as a guide to determine the right time to go down to the sea [20]. In addition, the Bajo community's house faces towards the sea because it reduces the influence of the hydrodynamic forces of the tides. The strength of the tomb on the house can be reduced [21].

3.5.3. Building form. In the past, the Bajo community was very mobile, so that the preferred shape of the house was generally mobile, such as a houseboat. Over time, the Bajo community began to build wooden houses that settled in the sea that were not connected to the mainland. Until now, in the mainland, the community-built houses on stilts made of wood with a rock foundation[1]. The Bajo house building in the Bajo village is no different from the Bajo community in other places, thatched houses, wooden walls, and simple boats are parked in the yard of the house (whose yard is also seawater) into daily transportation [13] as in Toronipa fishing community Bajo tribe in Southeast Sulawesi (Figure 4) [17].
Residential housing is connected by wooden bridges. Pole houses and bridges are built using wood from waterproof plants, "gopasa" [13]. Over time, the position of the Bajo settlements moved to the mainland, but it was still affected by the tides and ebbs. This is due to the very high dependence on the sea as their main source of livelihood [22]. The influence of land and sea culture mixed, some Bajo community changed the pillars of their houses, from mangrove trees, to cement cast poles. (figure 5).

The Bajo community-building forms mostly house on stilts and stone houses (permanent building). Bajo community houses generally have 20 poles (3 barriers) and 24 poles (4 blocks). The pole is made of mangrove trees, but there are already poles made of cement. The size of Bajo houses on stilts is generally 105 m$^2$, 15 m of length (tahana), and 7 m of width (luana).

3.5.4. Building plan based on usability. The building plan consists of two, namely vertically and horizontally.

1. Vertically
   a. Bajo traditional houses in the form of a stage that consists vertically [3]:
   b. The middle part, used as a center of interaction activities of residents
   c. At the top, there is a roof that functions as a storage area for customary attributes Bajo

   Bajo house in Kelurahan Bajoe is divided into 3 parts (figure 6), namely:
   a. Pangalanggebente or under the house as a place to store vehicles, drying clothes, setting up...
shops/stalls. Unlike when Bajo community lives at sea, this pangalanggebente is only as a support for building houses. It has no other uses.

b. Kataba or the body of the house as a place to do daily activities the same as the activities of Bajo community while still living at sea

c. Adar or this roof is only as a protector. In contrast to the Bugis community on stilts who live as farmers, usually under the roof is used as a storage place for food supplies such as grain, rice, and corn.

![Vertical building plan](image)

**Figure 6.** Vertical building plan. (left) settlement at sea level, (right) settlement on the land.

2. Horizontally

Bajo traditional houses in the form of a stage that horizontally consists of a living room, bedroom, kitchen, toilet and side space that extends to the side called tamping, and a small space in front of the house called serepu or terrace serves as a place for various social interactions [3].

Horizontally the Bajo community home in the Kelurahan Bajoe has four sections (figure 7), namely:

a. Serepu or terrace. In addition to being used as a storage area for fishing equipment such as nets, it is also commonly used as a place to relax to enjoy the sea view. Serepu terrace at the house of Bajo community's traditional stakeholders is used as a drum place used for rituals.

b. The guest room is also a place for some rituals in Bajocommunity besides being used to receive guests.

c. Kama' ruma' or room. Parents' rooms are usually in the back partition, which is adjacent to the living room, while the rooms for their children are in the middle partition, which is adjacent to the living room.

d. Family room, used for relaxing with family

e. Saluta or Kitchen used as a place for cooking and eating

f. Sonro or toilet/WC.
4. Conclusion
Changes in the spatial pattern of Bajo community settlements in the Bajo District of Bone Regency clearly occur. This change affects several aspects, including 1) changes in social interaction, 2) changes in orientation towards livelihoods, 3) changes in the use of Bajo language, 3) changes in settlement patterns, 4) changes in the shape of buildings and 5) changes in the use of buildings occurred in Bajo community in Bone Regency.

Changes in settlement patterns are driven by several factors. Namely, Bajo community already have the desire to live on land, because of some activities such as trade and education are more accessible. In addition, they think that raw materials on land are more easily provided.

The positive impact of changing the pattern of settlements on Bajo community is the emergence of Bajo community awareness to send their children to school, creating new livelihoods to improve the standard of the community living. The increasingly rapid development of coastal community and adjacent bring changes to social aspects and patterns of living, Bajo community must continue to maintain the existence of their cultural customs. The local government must prepare the land for the Bajo community who are still living nomadically. In addition, the local government should also arrange an ideal settlement for the Bajo community by completing the needs of facilities and infrastructure of the Bajo community. In addition, the next writer should examine what percentage of Bajo community who return to live at sea because they are unable to adapt to land.

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