

The Role of the Mandar Diaspora in South Kalimantan in Establishing Indonesian's Maritime Network, 1970s – 2000s

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Abstract: This article explains the role of the Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan in establishing Indonesia's maritime network from the 1970s to the 2000s. This research utilizes historical research methods. The data used in this study consists of oral history sources from the actors obtained through in-depth interviews supplemented by relevant literature. This study has three research questions: What were the driving forces of the Mandar people becoming diaspora in South Kalimantan, how did the Mandar diaspora sailors build their maritime networks, and how did they respond towards the modernization of shipping? The research findings indicate that the triggering factors for the migration of the Mandar people to South Kalimantan were the compulsory labor policy in the 1930s and security disturbances in the 1950s in Sulawesi. Additionally, this migration was supported by the geohistorical factors of South Kalimantan in the history of Mandar navigation. The Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan successfully rebuilt the maritime network with Sulawesi and Java to transport copra. The maritime network of the Mandar diaspora expanded in the 1970s after the modernization of shipping and joint partnerships with Chinese, Banjar, and Bugis traders. As a result, the Mandar diaspora network expanded to include the hinterlands of Merauke (Papua). By understanding the Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan, this research makes a significant contribution to understanding the role of the Mandar people in building the maritime network and simultaneously strengthening their identity as a maritime ethnic group in Indonesia.

Abstrak: Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang peran diaspora Mandar di Kalimantan Selatan dalam membangun jaringan maritim Indonesia sejak tahun 1970an-2000an. Data yang digunakan dalam riset ini adalah sumber sejarah lisan dari pelaku yang diperoleh lewat wawancara mendalam dan ditambah bahan pustaka yang relevan. Ada tiga persoalan yang dijawab di sini yaitu: bagaimana dan mengapa orang Mandar menjadi diaspora di Kalimantan Selatan, bagaimana usaha pelaut diaspora Mandar membangun jaringan maritimnya, dan bagaimana bentuk respon mereka terhadap modernisasi pelayaran. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa faktor pemicu terjadinya migrasi orang Mandar ke Kalimantan Selatan adalah adanya kebijakan wajib kerja paksa pada 1930an dan gangguan keamanan 1950an di Sulawesi. Selain itu juga didukung oleh faktor geohistoris Kalimantan Selatan dalam sejarah pelayaran orang Mandar. Diaspora Mandar di Kalimantan Selatan berhasil membangun kembali jaringan maritim dengan Sulawesi dan Jawa dalam pengangkutan kopra. Jaringan maritim diaspora Mandar berkembang pada 1970an setelah modernisasi pelayaran dan joint partner dengan pedagang Cina, Banjar, dan Bugis. Hasilnya, jaringan diaspora Mandar bertambah luas hingga mencakup pedalaman Merauke (Papua). Dengan memahami diaspora orang Mandar di Kalimantan Selatan, penelitian ini berkontribusi penting untuk memahami peran orang Mandar dalam membangun jaringan maritim dan sekaligus mengukuhkan jati dirinya sebagai sukubangsa bahari Indonesia.



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic state in the world, with a coastline stretching 81,000 km and around 17,508 large and small islands. Positioned in the equatorial zone between 94° east longitude and 141° west longitude and between 6° north latitude and 11° south latitude, Indonesia also occupies a strategically important crossroads between the continents of Asia and Australia, as well as between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Its cluster of islands spans from west (Weh Island) to east (Merauke) over 6,400 km and extends from north (Miangas Island) to south (Rote Island) over 2,500 km (Nontji, 2002, pp. 2–4; Purwaka, 1993, pp. 4–8).

The geographical facts of Indonesia give rise to different views regarding the sea as a barrier or a connector. If the sea cannot be traversed, it forever remains a barrier between the inhabitants of one island and those of another. However, if the sea can be traversed, then it functions as a connector. Thus, the nature of the sea as a separator or connector is greatly determined by the human ability to overcome distances (Hamid, 2021, p. 25). In this context, it is important to examine the role of maritime ethnic groups in Indonesia, such as the Bajau, Mandar, Buton, Bugis, Makassar, and Madura (Alimuddin, 2005; Ammarell, 2008; Horridge, 2015; Macknight, 2017; Southon, 1994; Susilowati, 2019). They build social, economic, cultural, and political networks through maritime culture. Westerdahl, (1992, pp. 5–6) defined maritime culture as human activities at the shore and on the water related to maritime economies gained by fishing, hunting, and shipping. In addition, according to Lapien (1997, pp. 23–30) there are six maritime aspects in historical studies: navigation, shipping, trade, fishing, port, and piracy. Therefore, maritime activities and trade enable them to quickly become acquainted with external regions and other communities, thereby opening opportunities to become more adaptive to new socio-cultural changes and environments.

The maritime Mandar ethnic group inhabits the area of the Makassar Strait, precisely on the west coast of West Sulawesi (Alimuddin, 2005, pp. 4–10). This strait is connected to other larger maritime systems, namely the Java Sea and the Flores Sea in the south, as well as the Sulawesi Sea in the north, allowing them to expand their maritime networks. They have a cultural perspective on the sea, which is that "*sisara pai mata malotong anna mapute, anna sisata' sasi lopi anna to Mandar*" (later the black parts will be separated from the white ones, then the sea, boats, and the Mandar people

will be separated) (Hamid, 2020b, p. 83). This indicates that the lives of the Mandar people are closely intertwined with the sea and boats.

The maritime network of the Mandar people originated from the twin ports of Pambauwang and Majene in the Makassar Strait. The first port served as the center of the maritime network during the East monsoon season (July–September), while the second port functioned during the West monsoon season (December–March). These twin ports' role greatly influenced the Mandar network's sustainability. Historically, in the first half of the 20th century, the Mandar network covered almost the entire Indonesian waters. However, after that era, it continued to decline due to various factors, with the peak being the security disturbances in the country, particularly in Sulawesi, in the 1950s (Hamid, 2020a, 2016).

The security disturbance in South Sulawesi was triggered by the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) movement led by Abdul Qahhar Muzakkar (Gonggong, 2004). Initially, this movement was centered in South Sulawesi, but later expanded to surrounding areas including Mandar Regency (now West Sulawesi Province). This movement created polarization among the Mandar people between those in the hinterland controlled by DI/TII and those on the coast under the authority of the Indonesian National Army (TNI). In 1956–1957, DI/TII carried out terror and violent actions against people who did not support them. Faced with this situation, some residents were forced to join DI/TII in the hinterland, while others moved to the coast for protection by the TNI. Additionally, some chose to leave the Mandar region for islands in the Makassar Strait, Java Sea, and Flores Sea (Alimuddin, 2011, pp. 22–30), including to South Kalimantan.

Theoretically, two concepts are commonly used to explain population movements: diaspora and migration. In a narrow sense, Diaspora often refers to forced displacement from one's homeland, spreading out and settling in various countries. However, nowadays, communities living outside their homeland who voluntarily relocate can also be referred to as diaspora (Dufoix, 2008). Meanwhile, Safran (1991) and Tölölyan (2018) explain that the concept of diaspora continues to evolve and diaspora has been associated with other terms such as migrants, expatriates, refugees, guest workers, exiles, overseas communities, and ethnic communities. According to Ninik Widiyanti (1987), migration is the movement of people from one area or country to another. Meanwhile, R. Munir (2000) argues that

migration is the movement of people with the aim of settling from one place to another beyond political boundaries, countries, administrative boundaries, or internal boundaries within a country. In the context of this article, the use of the terms diaspora and migration often interchange and overlap.

Meanwhile, Cohen (2008) states that the reasons for migration are not only forced but also voluntary. Following Cohen's opinion Cohen (2008, pp. 34–35), one of the distinguishing characteristics between the two phenomena is the issue of security. If the movement of people occurs forcibly due to security disturbances in their country, it is called diaspora. Conversely, the movement of people that occurs voluntarily is migration. The difference in the causes of these movements affects their longing for their homeland. In this context, diasporas take longer to return to their homeland than migrants.

In the context of the history of the Makassar Strait region, two important events triggered a significant wave of migration of people, especially the Mandar ethnic group, from Sulawesi to other areas: the Makassar War (1666-1669) and the DI/TII movement (1953-1965). According to Andaya (2004), the first event resulted in a migration flow of not less than a thousand people from Sulawesi to Kalimantan, Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. A similar impact also occurred due to the second event, with thousands of people migrating from Sulawesi, including the Mandar ethnic group.

The study by Khusyairi et al. (2017) found that the Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar diaspora to Bali was triggered by factors such as local wars in South Sulawesi in the 17th century, the DI/TII movement in the 1950s-1960s, and maritime sailing and trading activities. The second factor only applies to the Bugis and Makassar diaspora, while the other two factors also apply to all maritime ethnic groups. Fikram's study (2019, 2021) indicates that the DI/TII movement led to the displacement of people from Mamuju to the east coast of Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, and South Sulawesi (Parepare and Makassar), as well as West Sulawesi (Majene and Polewali).

Lumangino conducted another study that was relevant to this research (2017). He examined the copra trading network on the west coast of Central Sulawesi from 1947 to 1967. This area was a primary source of copra production traded to the port of Tawau in East Malaysia by local sailors collaborating with Chinese merchants. The sailors involved included the Mandar people, both from Mandar itself and those who had settled there. This study, however, overlooks the copra trading net-

work to Java by Mandar sailors.

In addition, Hamid's study (2021) on the Mandar maritime network from the twin ports of Pambauwang and Majene in the 20th century found that the network declined due to security disturbances marked by the collapse of the Pambauwang port in 1957. He focused on analyzing the sustainability of the Majene network in the second half of the 20th century, which gave rise to successful entrepreneurs, including Pua Abu in Pangaliali, Majene. Maritime activities and trade in Majene resumed after the turmoil of the 1960s. However, the actors became more limited, and their business patterns shifted more towards providing boat transportation services for Chinese merchants in Mamuju, Central Sulawesi, and Java (Jakarta). What happened and the efforts of the sailors of Pambauwang after leaving Mandar have not been further investigated. Therefore, this article will also examine the Pambauwang network in South Kalimantan.

Based on the background context above, this study aims to answer the following three questions: (1) why did the Mandar people migrate to South Kalimantan? (2) how did Mandar sailors' diaspora efforts rebuild the maritime network from South Kalimantan? (3) how did the Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan respond to the modernization of navigation in the late 20th century?

This article is divided into six sections. The first section is the introduction, followed by the research methodology in the second section. The third section provides the origins of the Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan. The fourth and fifth sections discuss the Mandar diaspora rebuilding its maritime network in 1960-1980 and its response to the modernization of navigation in 1980- 2000, respectively. The sixth section of this article is the conclusion.

METHOD

This study uses the historical research method, which includes four stages of work: source collection (heuristic), source criticism, interpretation, and historical writing (historiography). In the first stage the author collects traces of the past, then in the second stage of investigating whether the traces are true or fake. The meaning and hooks between historical facts are determined in the third stage. In the last stage, the fact is synthesized into a story (Notosusanto, 1971, pp. 17-25; Sager & Rosser, 2015, pp. 3-10).

Source collection relies on oral history (Thompson, 2012) through in-depth interviews with living historical actors. The main criterion for

Table 1. List of Informants

No	Name	Age	Justification
1	Haji Abdul Jabbar	72	Mandar community leaders in Tanjung Seloka
2	Muhammad Said	75	Mandar old sailor in Kerasian Island
3	Haji Jamaruddin	77	Boat owner and captain in Kerasian Island
4	Haji Muhammad Yusuf	56	Head of Pulau Selatan District in Tanjung Seloka
5	Hefdi	70	Son of a successful Mandar businessman in Gresik in the 1960s-1990s
6	Suadi	59	Mandar community leaders in Kerasian Island, South Kalimantan
7	Ismail	46	Mandar ship entrepreneur in Kerasian Island, South Kalimantan
8	Sukarman	50	Mandar ship entrepreneur in Tanjung Lalak, South Kalimantan
9	Junaedy	58	Old sailor and Mandar community leader in Kerayaan Island, South Kalimantan
10	Saenal	52	Mandar sailor in Kerasian Island, South Kalimantan

interviewees is those who experienced events during the period of 1950-2000, whether they were in Mandar, West Sulawesi, or in Kotabaru, South Kalimantan. Ten informants were interviewed, and their roles are shown in the table 1.

The informants are generally proficient in Indonesian and very open when recounting their life experiences, making it easy for researchers to collect oral historical sources through interviews. This activity is also utilized to observe the distribution of settlements, ports, and boatyards of the Mandar diaspora in Kerasian Island, Kerayaan Island, Kerumputan Island, Tanjung Lalak, Tanjung Tengah, and Tanjung Pelayar in South Kalimantan. These islands are geographically located within the Indonesian maritime system between the regions of the Makassar Strait and the Java Sea. This position strongly supports the growth and development of maritime culture. Administratively, all of these areas fall within the jurisdiction of Kotabaru Regency, South Kalimantan Province. Culturally, the majority of the population in these areas is of Mandar ethnicity (Batubara, 2015). The data is then sorted and analyzed to answer the formulated three research questions, creating a chronological, causative, and imaginative historical narrative (Renier, 1997).

THE ORIGINS OF THE MANDAR DIASPORA IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN

Two factors cause the migration of the Mandar ethnic group to South Kalimantan: push and pull factors. The first factor is related to the conditions in their homeland that prompt the Mandar people to leave their homeland to cross the Makassar Strait, especially to the small islands in South Kalimantan. The second factor is related to the conditions in the

destination area, namely South Kalimantan. Why did they choose that area? Their experiences and memories of the area certainly influenced their decision before determining their diaspora location. All these considerations are rational efforts to ensure survival in the midst of very difficult situations in their homeland.

The first trigger factor for the wave of migration of the Mandar ethnic group to South Kalimantan in the first half of the 20th century was the impact of the colonial government's policy that required every resident to work for 30 days of mandatory work each year. However, in 1939, this policy changed slightly, where the mandatory labor days were reduced to 26 days. According to the report of Assistant Resident Mandar, W.J. Leyds (1935-1940), the residents of Mamasa were the most diligent workers compared to those of Majene and Mamuju. The work output of the Mamasa residents was twice that of the residents of the latter two areas (Leyds, 1940, pp. 199–200).

The mandatory work policy led the Mandar people to leave their homeland for the small islands in South Kalimantan. They did not want to live under colonial domination. This obligation was difficult for residents who worked as sailors and inter-island traders, requiring them to spend more time outside of Mandar. According to the 1930 population census, the Mandar population numbered 189,186 people. Of this total, 13,915 people were living outside of Mandar, scattered in various areas across Indonesia, as shown in the figure 1.

The figure 1 shows that the Mandarese diaspora is most widely distributed in South and East Kalimantan, totaling 5,846 people (42%), followed by Java and Madura with 3,293 people (24%), and

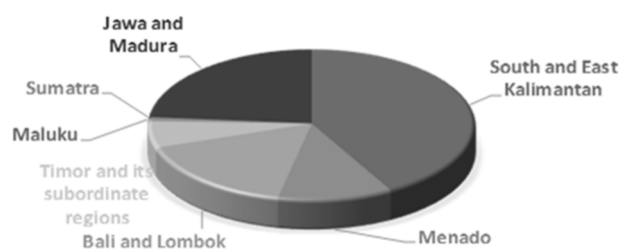


Figure 1. Distribution of Mandarese in the Dutch East Indies 1930 (Source: Processed from Volkstelling 1930)

Bali and Lombok with 2,295 people (17%). The remainder is in Manado with 1,571 people, Timor and its surrounding areas with 796 people, Maluku with 103 people, and Sumatra with 11 people. The first three mentioned regions are the areas most frequently visited by the Mandar people in maritime sailing and trade (Hamid, 2021, pp. 128–147). Therefore, when the conditions in their own area are not conducive to survival, they choose these regions as their destination for diaspora.

The second trigger was the security disturbance in Mandar in the 1950s. According to Hamid (2016, pp. 17–19), the DI/TII movement in Mandar divided the local population into two groups based on their location and affiliation with either the TNI or DI/TII. The first group consisted of the inland population, those living in the inland areas of Mandar under the influence of DI/TII. The second group consisted of the coastal population, those residing in the coastal areas protected by the TNI. These two groups interacted with each other, so what happened on the coast was easily known to the inhabitants inland, and vice versa. By the end of 1956, rumors spread that DI/TII would burn down villages on the coast if the people supported the TNI. In response to this news, several inland residents went down to the coast at night to inform their families about the plan. Subsequently, their families left the village before it was burned down in 1957. Some temporarily moved to areas under the influence of DI/TII in Mandar, while others directly left Mandar for the small islands in South Kalimantan (M. Yusuf, Personal communication, 8 November 2022; Abdul Jabbar, Personal communication, 10 November 2022).

The description above indicates that Mandar people living in areas under the control of DI/TII were slower to move to South Kalimantan compared to those in areas under the control of the TNI. On the other hand, people in TNI-controlled areas faced difficulties in obtaining daily necessities amid the government's limited capacity to meet all the needs of refugees in the city of Majene. During that time, Majene became the city most sought after

by refugees from the coast and the inland who did not want to be influenced or join DI/TII (M. Said, Personal communication, 08 November 2022).

The peak of Mandar population displacement occurred in 1956–1957, when DI/TII actively pursued a scorched-earth policy towards settlements and violence against its inhabitants. Another factor that compounded the difficulties for the people in Majene was the delay of government ships from Makassar in bringing assistance to Majene. As a result, the residents found it extremely difficult to survive in Majene. They then moved out of Majene as the most rational choice for survival (Hamid, 2021, pp. 332–333).

The massive wave of migration led to a drastic reduction in the population of Majene City. For example, in 1930, the population of Majene was 68,015 people, while in 1961, only 43,996 people remained. Therefore, over three decades, the population decreased by 35%. The highest percentage decrease in population occurred in Bonde Village, which experienced a 92% decrease, while the highest percentage increase in population occurred in Pangaliali Village at 47%, followed by Banggae at 16% (BPS, 1980, pp. 96–97; Volkstelling, 1936, p. 131).

Bonde village, located in the Pambauwang Subdistrict and serving as the center for Mandar sailors and traders, had the highest number of residents who diasporaed from Mandar due to the burning of their village in 1957. Generally, they diasporaed to small islands in South Kalimantan. Meanwhile, Pangaliali and Banggae are part of the Majene Subdistrict, the capital of Majene Regency, and also serve as the administrative and security centers in Mandar. This area became the main destination for refugees from outside Majene city, resulting in a higher population density compared to all other areas in Mandar.

The choice of place to move for the Mandar people is not solely dictated by urgent circumstances. If emergency conditions or proximity were the main considerations, they could relocate to nearby areas such as Parepare City, Makassar City, and their surroundings. The Mandar people decided to move to South Kalimantan because the region is frequently passed through or visited by Mandar sailors when sailing to Java or vice versa. The Mandar people are well aware of the conditions and potential of that area, which they can later utilize. These experiences and memories attract them to move there when their region is unsafe for survival (M. Said, Personal communication, 8 November 2022).

The considerations for such migration were further strengthened by the presence of the Mandar people in South Kalimantan before the independence era, which served as an attraction for them. The South Pulaulaut District Head, Muhammad Yusuf (Personal communication, 10 November 2022), mentioned that his grandfather, Puang Sesean, arrived on Kerasian Island in 1938. One of his children was Abdullah Kanna Sitiaming. He relocated and became Son Tjo (village head) in Tanjung Pelayar (Besluit No.2, dated June 9, 1942). In 1947, according to the decision of the Resident of South Borneo No.24/I/17 dated May 9, Sitiaming was appointed as the village head. According to Yusuf, before the arrival of the Mandar people, Tanjung Pelayar was mostly inhabited by the Banjar people. After selling their land to the Mandar people, they moved to the Lontar area (now Pulau Laut Barat District).

The large influx of migration of Mandar people to South Kalimantan due to security disturbances in Mandar in the 1950s brought about changes in business orientation and sailing conditions that were uncommon for the Mandar people. This is evident from several cases recounted by individuals such as Muhammad Said (personal communication, 8 November 2022). In 1957, when he was in fourth grade at Bababulo Elementary School, during the night when the village was set on fire by the group (referred to by the community as DI/TII), the people of Bababulo walked along the beach towards Majene City without being escorted by the TNI. The government provided all the consumption needs (rice, sugar, etc.) of the displaced people in the city. After three months of living in Majene, Said joined his father, who worked as a crew member on the Bintang Terbit *leté* boat (capacity 8 tons) owned by Haji Saenong with captain Muhammad Amin and moved to South Kalimantan. His boat departed from the Cilallang port to Kerasian Island. The journey took three days with southeast winds. In normal conditions, the boat usually carried cargo, but it only carried 15 people at that time.

Although the economic orientation of boats changed due to security disturbances, what Said experienced was still better than Jamaluddin's experience (Personal communication, 9 November 2022) who also fled in 1957. He moved from Bababulo to Passarang until a *leté* boat (capacity 18 tons) from Teluk Kemuning, Kotabaru, owned by Pua Rauf, arrived. The boat sailed for three days from Passarang to Kerasian Island. On the first day, the boat stopped at Parrasangan Sendana. The next two days, the boat arrived at Kerasian Island. The

boat did not carry any cargo, except for 60 residents from Bababulo and Luaor. After the boat arrived and disembarked its passengers at Kerasian, its seven crew members then sailed back to Teluk Kemuning, the boat's home port. The diaspora was welcomed by the village head, Pua Kulau, who was also a long-time Mandar resident there. The population of the island was still low, with almost all being Mandar people. There were no more than 10 Banjar families. The Banjar people used the Mandar language to interact with the Mandar people.

Another informant, Abdul Jabbar (Personal communication, 10 November 2022), recounted that in 1957, villages along the coastal areas of Mandar were burned by DI/TII. He and his family were forced to flee to Kota Majene. They lived under the houses of local residents. Seeing the worsening conditions, his father (Sunusi) sought solutions to sustain their family's livelihood. Using a *leté* boat, Tambah Usaha (15 tons), they left Majene for Balombong Pambauwang, which was under the influence of DI/TII. At that time, the DI/TII influence extended from Rangas to Malunda. In 1961-1962, when the TNI conducted security operations in Balombong, he moved to the Palipi area, which was then controlled by DI/TII. The TNI continued to secure the area until reaching Somba Sendana. As a result, some of its residents sailed to South Kalimantan with sailing boats, while Jabbar and his family sailed on a paqur boat to Balombong, which was already under TNI control. Their boat was used by his father to sail to Java. Then, a relative from Tanjung Saloka, Muhammad Sain, loaded wood at the port of Majene. He brought a *leté* boat, Samarinda (18 tons), owned by his father, Daeng Riaya. With that boat, they (12 people) sailed for three days from Majene to Tanjung Seloka, Pulau Laut.

REBUILDING MARITIME NETWORK, 1960-1980

The security disturbances in the 1950s were the main factor behind the significant migration of the Mandar people to South Kalimantan, compared to the forced labor policy during the Dutch East Indies era. Although the triggering factors and timing differed, the destination area for the Mandar people remained the same. In addition to socio-cultural factors, such as the presence of the Mandar people there, the main attraction of the destination area was the unity of the maritime system (Makassar Strait and Java Sea), which connected the origin area with the destination of the diaspora, making it more feasible for them to rebuild maritime net-

works from the new location.

One successful Mandar diaspora who built a maritime network from Pulau Kerasian was Jamaluddin (Personal communication, 09 November 2022), with his own boat, a type of lete called Usaha Batulicin (capacity 20 tons). This boat was used to load copra from Donggala, Tolitoli, and Pasangkayu areas, which were then transported to the Gresik port through a leasing system. The copra belonged to local residents (Mandar, Bugis, Kaili). The waiting period for cargo there was between two to three months because the boat crew had to wait until the boat was fully loaded with copra. Some copra owners sailed with the boat, while others entrusted their copra to the boat crew to be sold at the Gresik port. After the boat arrived in Java, the copra owners stayed at the expedition place that bought their copra and then returned to the boat to return to Sulawesi. They bought sugar, cloth, and other goods for their villages, stopping briefly at Kerasian before continuing to Sulawesi along with the boat and its crew for a short rest. The journey from Gresik to Kerasian took four days, and from Kerasian to Donggala took between three to four days. The route was from Kerasian northward along the east coast of Kalimantan, passing through the Balakrang Islands to Balikpapan, then turning eastward towards Donggala. This boat was used from 1965 to 1972. After unloading the cargo, the captain divided the transportation earnings among all the crew members. With these earnings, the crew members purchased goods to be further exchanged through a barter system with the copra owned by the residents in Donggala.

In 1972, Jamaluddin switched to his other boat, a type of *baqgo* called Rahmat Batulicin (capacity 50 tons), while the first boat was entrusted to another captain from Pulau Kerasian named Abdillah. Initially, the boat carried square timber logs of kapur wood (Latin: *Dryobalanops aromatica*) owned by Bugis traders from Batulicin to Pulau Sabutung, Pangkajene Islands (Pangkep). The *Kapur wood and Ipil/Merbau wood (Intsia retusa)* were then taken to the Paotere port (Ujung Pandang), owned by Haji Daeng Parani. From there, the boat returned to Kotabaru to load wheat owned by Bugis trader Haji Haluddin through a leasing system. Similarly, the boat loaded with wood owned by Daeng Parani from Batulicin to Ujung Pandang. The boat made seven round trips in a year from March to November. Jamaluddin used this boat until 1983, then entrusted it to another captain, Pua Arifin. After that, he used his own ship, Usaha Indah (250 tons), until 2000.

Another Mandar diaspora in South Sulawesi who built a Mandar network is Abdul Jabbar (Personal communication, 10 November 2022) in Tanjung Saloka, Kotabaru. In 1963, his father came from Pulau Masalembu, bringing the lete boat Tambah Usaha (15 tons), and then took him there, so he could not finish elementary school. With that boat, they sailed loading coconuts from Masalembu to Gresik. The journey took two days. This activity continued until 1968. After that, Jabbar transported copra owned by residents in Donggala, Central Sulawesi. According to him, copra owners often sailed with the boat to Gresik. While waiting for copra in Labeang Donggala, a tsunami suddenly occurred on August 15, 1968, damaging his boat. He had to return by the end of that year with a lete boat from Pulau Kerasian that came to load copra in Donggala. After the boat arrived in Kerasian in early 1969, Jabbar headed to Tanjung Saloka. There he lived with his family. From 1970 to 1972, Jabbar became the captain of the *baqgo* boat, Hasil Hutan (14 tons), owned by his uncle, Muhammad Amin, in Tanjung Saloka. This boat was used to load copra from the residents of Selayar in Tolitoli, Central Sulawesi, which was then taken to Gresik. Later, he moved again as a captain with 11 crew members on the *baqgo* boat Dua Jaya (40 tons). After getting married in 1972, Jabbar sailed again as the captain on the Suka Jaya (40 tons) *baqgo* boat owned by Muhammad Sain for five years (1972-1977). The route and business remained the same, loading copra from Tolitoli to Gresik. During this period, Chinese entrepreneurs bought copra there. They did not want to use sailboats, except boats or ships with engines. The boat then switched to loading rattan from Tolitoli to the Paotera port in Ujung Pandang City.

From 1985 to the 1990s, Jabbar sailed again as the captain on the Motor Sailing Boat (PLM) Setia Mekkah (200 tons) owned by Muhammad Sain. This boat was operated under a joint system with Chinese entrepreneurs. The boat belonged to Sain (Mandar) while its engine was provided by the Chinese. With this boat, Jabbar transported copra from Gorontalo and then took it to the Kalimas port in Surabaya. The captain and crew of the boat were paid based on the route system. They received their wages (rent) in Surabaya. From the profits of this business, he performed the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca with his wife in 1992. After that, he no longer sailed. He opened a grocery store in Kotabaru. Until now, he manages his store in Tanjung Saloka.

If the previous actors were boat owners (Jamaluddin) and boat captains (Abdul Jabbar),

then the next actor is a successful Mandar diaspora entrepreneur from Kotabaru in Gresik, namely Haji Huduri. In 1960, when boats and Mandar sailors often went to Java to transport copra, a merchant from Kotabaru named Huduri opened his business in the Kauman Bedilan Village. Three years later, after his business succeeded there, he returned to Kotabaru to fetch his wife (Mihaya) and three children (Faisal, Danafia, and Hefdi) to be taken to Gresik. Consequently, one of his sons, Hefdi (personal communication, 12 November 2022), had to continue his schooling from grade 3 at Bedilan 1 Primary School (1963-1964), then at Muhammadiyah Gresik Junior High School (1964-1967) and Bedilan 1 Senior High School (1967, not completed). According to Hefdi, copra from Donggala was usually sold by sailors and copra owners (Mandar and Kaili) to his father. His father then resold it to the Sinar Mas factory owned by the Chinese. The copra owners stayed at their home, while some stayed on the boats with the boat crew. This business grew rapidly. Huduri then established CV (later a firm) Marendeng. In 1997, Huduri returned to Mandar. He passed away there in 2000. His business was not continued by his children.

In addition, the Mandar diaspora network extends from Kalimantan to Java and Sulawesi and reaches the Papua region since 1982. For example, in that year, PLM Pelita Indah (60 tons) owned by Haji Syahrudin from Pulau Kerayaan with captain Sabri transported avtur, aircraft fuel, from the port of Gresik to Bade, Merauke, then continued to the interior of Papua. This step was followed by other boats, such as PLM Jayapura (100 tons), from Kerayaan with captain Abdul Madjid. From one of its crew members, Junaedy (Personal communication, 09 November 2022), it is known that this boat was used to transport goods from the coast of Merauke to the interior for ten years (1985-1995). The goods from Merauke were taken to the mouth of the Kimam River and then navigated the Digul River until reaching Tanah Merah. The transported goods included building materials (cement, iron, sand, roof, and tiles), clothing, kerosene, and groceries belonging to Bugis, Toraja, Makassar, Buton, Ambon traders, and the government. The building materials were generally owned by the government and used to build schools in the interior of Merauke. The traders lived in the city of Merauke.

Additionally, another boat from Kerayaan that transported rented goods from Merauke to the interior is PLM Berlian (70 tons) owned by Arsyad. The boat owner also serves as the captain. This business continues until now.

RESPONSE TO SHIPPING MODERNISATION, 1980-2000

The Mandar diaspora in South Kalimantan not only succeeded in rebuilding the maritime network damaged by security disturbances in the 1950s but also managed to respond to the modernization of boat shipping in the 1970s. This effort was supported by a new pattern of relations with Chinese merchants, who initially used Mandar boats through a leasing system, transitioning to a cooperative arrangement in building boats/ships and transporting cargo, commonly known as a "joint partnership."

The Mandar diaspora's response to the modernization of shipping was marked by the motorization of sailboats, which became a landmark in Mandar's maritime history. Initially, boats relied solely on wind power, but with motorization, they were propelled by engines. Initially, boat owners hesitated to install engines on their boats, fearing engine vibrations could damage the boat's structure. However, after observing other boats equipped with engines and seeing that they remained intact, boat owners began gradually installing engines on their boats.

The use of engines on boats led to three stages of navigation development among the Mandar diaspora. In the first decade (1970-1980), or the trial period, engines were installed on old-model sailboats known as "*lete*" with an average capacity of less than 20 tons. At this stage, the engine served only as auxiliary power for boats that primarily relied on sails as their main source of propulsion. Hence, they were referred to as Motorized Sailing Boats (MSB). Boat owners purchased the boat engines themselves and installed them while the boats were docked in Java for loading and unloading goods.

In the second decade (1980-1990), boats were propelled by both engine power and wind power. The boats commonly used were of the "*baqgo*" type with capacities ranging from over 20 tons to 100 tons. At this stage, Chinese entrepreneurs participated as providers of boat engines. This marked the birth of joint partnerships in the history of Mandar diaspora navigation. While wind power was the primary source of boat propulsion in the first decade, wind power became secondary as the main source of engine power in the second decade. From the perspective of the boat's primary propulsion source, it would be more accurate to call it a Motorized Sailing Boat (MSB). However, it is referred to as MSB in government boat registration records.

In the third decade (1990-2000s), boats solely relied on engines as their propulsion source. The

capacity of the boats ranged from over 100 tons to 500 tons, which the Mandar sailors referred to as ships, while the government referred to them as MSBs. As seen in the first two decades, the boat designs almost deviated entirely from the old boat models. However, all boats or ships were still made of wood, hence also known as wooden boats or ships. Until this final stage, Mandar boat owners continued joint ventures with Chinese merchants, alongside Bugis and Banjar merchants.

The joint partnership between Mandar sailors and Chinese merchants stemmed from their previous relationship transporting copra from Donggala to Java. As joint partnerships flourished and business progressed, the participants expanded to include Bugis and Banjar traders. To illustrate this practice, here are the experiences of three Mandar sailors and entrepreneurs in South Kalimantan: Jamaluddin, Sukarman, and Saenal.

The first actor is Jamaluddin (Personal communication, 9 November 2022) from Pulau Kerasian. In 1983, he used the MSB Usaha Indah (250 tons) for one year, then handed it over to Pua Abdullah as the captain. The boat was used to transport copra from Donggala to Java. He collaborated with a Chinese entrepreneur in Donggala, Christian, to expand his business for 17 years (1983-2000). Both parties held a cooperation agreement drawn up by a notary in Donggala. Jamaluddin provided the boat, while Christian bought and installed the engine on the boat. In boat construction, the Chinese provided capital to the Mandar to buy some boat materials. At the end of the boat construction, they calculated the value of each investment. If the value of the first party's investment was greater, the second party was considered to be in debt and had to equalize their investment value. The joint venture's results (profit and loss) would be divided equally. The boat was registered under the name of the Mandar person. If they were to end their cooperation, the boat would be offered to one party interested in owning it, provided they paid half of its value to the other party. Typically, the boat was taken by the Chinese entrepreneur. However, if both parties did not wish to own the boat, they would find a third party to buy it. The proceeds from the boat sale were divided equally between both parties according to the initial investment value at the start of the cooperation (Suadi & Ismail, Personal communication, 9 November 2022).

The second story is from Sukarman (Personal communication, 7 November 2022) in Tanjung Lalak. Initially, he worked as a crew member on his father's boat, Saharuddin, which sailed to Gresik,

Surabaya, Balikpapan, Samarinda, Tarakan, and Bali with the MSB Putra Bahari (275 tons). The boat was also built through a joint venture. Saharuddin built the boat on Pulau Kerasian. After estimating the production costs, they were divided in half. The Chinese and the other part by the Mandar bore one part. The proceeds from their efforts were divided equally. This venture lasted for 13 years (1982-1995) based on mutual trust between both parties.

In the 1990s, Sukarman engaged in a joint venture with Bugis traders in Tarakan. Initially, he built a boat in Tanjung Lalak from three types of wood: ulin wood (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*), halaban wood (*Vitex pinnata*), and meranti wood (*Shorea*). The production cost of this boat reached Rp. 600,000, and it was named PLM Merah Buana (capacity 90 tons). He became the captain when the boat was taken to Parepare, South Sulawesi, to load rice owned by Haji Haeruddin to Tarakan under a leasing system for two round trips. Then, the boat was also used to transport fertilizer from Tarakan to Katete. While there, a Bugis trader from Bone, Ason, wanted to buy the boat. However, Sukarman refused and offered to form a joint venture instead. Ason agreed to the offer. He had to pay half of the boat's production value, Rp. 300,000. However, Ason could only pay Rp. 275,000. So he still had to pay Rp. 25,000 during this joint venture. Both parties signed a cooperation agreement note at a notary office in Juata Laut Tarakan. Six years later, Ason paid for this boat valued at Rp. 325,000 to Sukarman. In addition to collaborating with Bugis entrepreneurs, Sukarman also joint ventures with Banjar, Chinese, and Madurese businessmen.

The third story is from Saenal (Personal communication, 11 November 2022) on Kerasian Island. After graduating from high school, he began sailing with PLM Bijaksana (45 tons), owned by Haji Pudae, for three years (1991-1994). His activities ranged from the Pegatan and Sebam-ban areas (Tanah Bumbu) loading mixed wood (sizes 4 x 20, 6 x 12 cm) owned by Banjar traders to be taken to Pasuruan, East Java, under a leasing system. The captain for this voyage was Mukhlis. After unloading the cargo, the lease was shared among all boat crew members. The boat then returned to Sabambang, Pegatan (East Kalimantan), Sebangau, and Katingan (Central Kalimantan). Every Ramadan, the boat returned to Kerasian because the carpenters and owners of the Banjar wood did not work during that month.

Between 1995 and 2000, Saenal sailed with PLM Harapan Indah (less than 100 tons), owned by Haji Saharuddin (Sukarman's father), on Kerasian

Island. He became the captain of the boat in 1997. This boat was used to load wood under a leasing system from Sungai Danau and Batulicin (Tanah Bumbu, East Kalimantan) owned by Banjar merchants to Gresik and Pasuruan. The wood owners did not accompany the boat on the voyage. At that time, Salahuddin did not join the Chinese. According to Saenal, if the boat's capacity is less than 100 tons, Mandar people usually do not join with the Chinese. Saenal also operated the passenger ship VOR 5 (5 tons) owned by Haji Salam in Kerumputan for two years.

For five years, Saenal served as the captain of three boats owned by Haji Saharuddin on Kerasian Island. The first one was PLM Harapanku (100 tons). This boat was used to load wood from Grogot, East Kalimantan, and then taken to Celukanbawang, Bali. It was later sold in Gresik. The second boat, PLM Ratu Negara I (150 tons), loaded wood from Katingan, Central Kalimantan, and was taken to Pasuruan in 2002-2003. Finally, PLM Ratu Negara II (400 tons) was also used to load wood from Katingan to Kalimas, Surabaya, from 2004 to 2007. This description indicates that the primary cargo of Mandar diaspora boats at that time was wood from Kalimantan to Bali and Java.

CONCLUSION

This study found that the Mandar diaspora is closely linked to maritime culture. The Mandar people are one of six maritime ethnic groups in Indonesia engaged in sailing and trade. When security disturbances occurred in their homeland due to the DI/TII movement, they sailed away from the shores of Mandar towards islands still connected to the maritime system of their homeland, namely the Makassar Strait and the Java Sea. With their maritime cultural potential, the Mandar diaspora rose from these difficult conditions by rebuilding maritime networks across the Makassar Strait and the Java Sea in transporting copra from Donggala and surrounding areas (Central Sulawesi) to ports in East Java.

The Mandar diaspora responded to maritime modernization in Indonesia in the 1970s by motorizing sailboats and joint partnerships. Motorization of boats was chosen as a solution to compete with modern ships in copra transportation. Although initially marginalized, they served as transporters of stones and gravel between the eastern coast of Kalimantan. However, after motorization, they re-established their role in transporting copra from Central Sulawesi to East Java. The Mandar diaspora built joint partnerships with Chinese traders in the

1980s to accelerate maritime business activities. The benefit was facilitating the use of larger engines for their boats and ensuring cargo from these Chinese traders. This successful experience attracted Bugis and Banjar traders to establish joint partnerships with the Mandar people in South Kalimantan in the 2000s.

All of these demonstrate the Mandar people's ability to overcome difficult conditions in their homeland and destination areas and their excellence in responding to changes in the maritime world. Ultimately, this study proves the Mandar maritime cultural perspective's close association with the sea and boats and the Mandar sailors' contribution to building Indonesia's maritime network in the 20th century.

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