

**Between tough voyages and empowering tourism: Can Muslim *Bugis* seafarers tackle the maritime-sector crises in Indonesia?**

**Abstract**

This paper explores the shift in commercial sailing by the Muslim coastal community of the ethnic Bugis—from their past focus on inter-island and international commerce to maritime tourism that is limited to the Eastern Indonesian region for domestic and foreign tourists. Using historical and phenomenological approaches, this paper explains a series of arduous crises to show the dignity and prosperity of the great maritime tradition among commercial seafarers, who, during the Islamic empire from the 15th to 17th century, experienced glory for being able to control and manage maritime commerce. Ever since the presence and success of the Europeans, especially the Dutch, in controlling Nusantara (the Indonesian archipelago), the glory of Muslim seafarers' trade voyages has dwindled and narrowed, both in terms of the number of ships, types, and tonnage of cargo, as well as their cruising range. Although the Indonesian government has not systematically and comprehensively formulated policies to restore the glory in the maritime sector so far, tourism development policies have been welcomed by the Muslim Bugis seafarers as a new opportunity to empower the family economy.

Keywords: voyage, tourism, Muslim seafarers, Bugis ethnic tradition, commercial sailing

**Introduction**

The glory of the *Pinisi* ship as a means of maritime commerce in improving the economy and social identity has shifted, towards tourism commodities. This shift represents the state's failure in developing maritime glory. According to Rochwulaningsih et.al, the failure of modern Indonesia to establish itself as the world's maritime axis is caused by three factors, namely the inability to develop advanced technology, the failure to integrate the economy as an archipelagic country, and the failure to reform traditional products (Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019). This failure was also influenced by the policies of the colonial government. Since the arrival of the Portuguese, Spanish, British and Dutch, maritime trade routes in the Indonesian territory have been monopolised by the *Cultivation System* (Gordon, 2010; Lauder & Lauder, 2016). This system rendered the Bugis, who were sailors constructing the *Pinisi* ship, powerless. The use of the *Pinisi* ship in voyages to send commodities of goods and services was replaced by a steam engine-based sailing ship (Lauder & Lauder, 2016). This ship no longer relied on the seasons to sail. The tradition of commercial sailing in the heyday of the Islamic empire was run aground by ships with advanced technology. Finally, the Bugis had to use sailboats for commercial shipments (Hughes, 1986).

Many studies have been conducted on the glorious history of the Bugis commercial sailing tradition. For example, Bambang Sulistyo revealed the success of the Bugis as maritime traders because of their ability to formulate an international trade law called *Ammanna Gappa* in the 18th century (Sulistyo, 2020).Mane and Ferse also discussed the success of the Bugis in selling *Trepang*, a type of fish that was the local commodity, as an export product with a high selling value (Máñez & Ferse, 2010). Susanto Zuhdi's study also explored the dynamics of the Bugis voyages, which created a maritime trading network connecting Australia, China, India, and several regions in Southeast Asia (Zuhdi, 2018). On the other hand, according to Ansar et al., the success of the Bugis trade was due to the many agricultural products that were traded, such as tobacco, beans, and rice—which were the most popular ones. The success of this trade had resulted in confidence, honesty, fairness, and achievements (Ansar et al., 2019). According to Andi Abidin Zainal's study, the success of the Bugis was not only in the economic sector but also in building the presence of Islamic empires in the 15th and 16th centuries in South Sulawesi. The Bugis created a modern government system that supported maritime glory (Zainal, 1983). All these studies have inspired the maritime culture in the modern era. For example, Adhuri's study explained that the tradition of commercial sailing had led to diverse cultures that can be explored as tourism centers (Adhuri, 2019).

These studies explained the success of Bugis commercial sailing. However, the reality of Bugis seafarers has changed. The Joko Widodo administration's sea toll policy has made local people mired in a subsistence economy in the modern era. This is due to the state policy which is still held hostage by the colonial system (Sulistiyono & Rochwulaningsih, 2013). For this reason, this article focuses on exploring the triumph of Bugis commercial sailing, which has experienced a shift towards tourism commodities. Of course, this shift is not ideal if the state wants to make Indonesia's maritime sector the world's maritime axis. In this paper, the author would like to ask the following questions. How is the Bugis sailing tradition in the *archipelago's maritime policy landscape*? What are the challenges of Bugis seafarers in the contemporary era? Why did the Bugis trade voyages experience a shift and implication to the sociological theory approach?

**Method**

This study uses a narrative approach with qualitative methods. This approach was employed to explain the glory of Bugis commercial sailing in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. Such an approach was chosen to involve Phinisi ship traders in developing and meaning the glory of maritime commerce. As a means of critical thinking referred to the qualitative method considered a failure to research paradigm, this study adopted an interpretative model with purposed subjective norms and informants' reality (Kim, 2019). Furthermore, researcher's build trust in the informants by making direct visits to the research place in Bulukumba.

Observations and several interviews to collect data have been carried out with five relevant stakeholders—ship merchants, crew members (ABK), harbormaster officers, village heads, and community leaders—for three months (August-October) in 2019. Specifically, the figures considered important in the study are Haji Kardi, Martamin and Salahudin. Haji Kardi is a Bulukumba ship merchant who, from his father and grandfather, was a sailor who carried out inter-island trade. Haji Kardi is still active in making Phinisi ships, although according to him, they are no longer used for the purpose of shipping his own business, but rather accept orders from entrepreneurs outside the island such as East Nusa Tenggara, Papua and even foreign countries, such as China and Europe. Martamin, a shipbuilder working on Haji Kardi's Phinisi ship, told researchers many things about his experiences in making Phinisi boats throughout his life. According to his narrative, he has made almost hundreds of Phinisi boats. Salehudin experience as a crew member (ABK) also deepens the travel narrative to conduct inter-island trade through food commodities and the like, which are getting smaller and smaller and are now turning to tourism shipping commodities in the Timor area.

In the process of collecting data, researchers mapped the issue of maritime glory starting from the search for library-based material sources. Specifically, the researcher chose the works of Reid, Hughes, Gordon, Dick, and Zainal (See references) as the main literature references to explore research data. After that, participant observations were selected to see firsthand the shift in maritime glory in the inter-island trade sector to be more specific to tourism development (Gill et al., 2008). The observation process was carried out during the research to see the behavior of the informants in depth. Then, the researcher conducted interviews with five selected informants using unstructured technique (Moris, 2006, pp. 12–15). The informants were selected based on the consideration that they are Phinisi ship merchants and are actively involved in the development of the tourism sector in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. Interviews with selected informants were conducted face-to-face and direct messages via WhatsApp (Kothari, 2004). Interviews were also conducted by the researcher in a relaxed manner so that the informants conveyed information openly at home and at the location of the sailboat construction. Researchers spent between one and two hours of the interview process. All interviews were recorded using a tape recorder after obtaining permission from the informants. Based on the data collection process, the researcher ensures that the confidentiality of the data that is considered to cause conflict is eliminated.

The researcher used a historical analysis approach with five stages (Kuntowijoyo, 2003, p. 3). The first step, the researcher mapped the topic of the study about the shift in the success of Bugis ethnic commerce towards tourism commodities. At this stage, the researcher accommodates all aspects related to the issue to be compiled and interpreted, such as empirical evidence in historical records about the glory of marine commerce referring to the Amanna Gappa agreement (Tobing, 1977). In the second step, the researcher collected data sources compiled from field notes, interviews transcription (verbatim sources), and Amnna Gappa's book of agreement. After that, the researcher verified the data and sorted it to facilitate the exploration of a more specific study. Then, the researcher interprets the available data so that it forms a narrative pattern and is explored in depth. Finally, this data analysis was carried out by writing a draft research report that made it easier for researchers to find publication sources according to the topic being studied.

In the next step, the researcher carried out the validity process with the source triangulation technique through three stages (Silverman & Patterson, 2022). First, the researcher compared the data from interviews with observations to ensure consistency between questions and answers. Second, the researcher compares the results of interviews from various informants. Third, the researcher compares the data between the interviews and the reference sources consistently. Moreover, a complete examination of the data shows the results of research findings and deepening of meaning simultaneously throughout the study.

**Result and Discussion**

***The landscape of Bugis voyages in the archipelago's maritime policy***

The *Pinisi* artifact reflects a legend of tough Bugis sailors in the archipelago. This ethnic group's toughness is recorded in the history of seafaring that covered the waters of the archipelago (Sutherland, 2001). The Bugis seafarers formed a strong sailing network that became a means of sea transportation, trade network, and connecting routes between the Malay, Javanese, Madura, and Sulawesi kingdoms (Dewan Redaksi Puspindo, 1990, p. 46; Sulistiyono & Rochwulaningsih, 2013). This ethnic group's exploration had been carried out before Europeans sailed in the territorial waters of the archipelago. History recorded that the Bugis had sailed since the Majapahit era in the 15th century, before the arrival of the Portuguese to the Malacca Strait in the 16th century (Jayasuriya, 2008, pp. 152–156). In classical history, this ethnic group is legendary for historical, ecological, and marine mythological reasons (Colless, 1975, pp. 124–161; Cortesao, 1944).

The history of the Bugis trade voyages has been recorded in the international maritime law document, *Amanna Gappa*. This document records 21 articles that regulated the provisions of the sailing system—starting from the process of building ship capacity before sailing, dividing roles, resolving disputes, and building good relations with the authorities. This document is known in Bugis language as "*ade loping talking pa'balu balue",* which means sailing and trade ethics. This document was written in 1676 through a process of dialogue between the Matoa from various places led by Amanna Gappa Matoa Wajo with the aim of maintaining order and ethics in sailing and trade (Sutherland, 2010; Zainal, 1983).

In the notes of Tome Pires, at the beginning of the 16th century, South Sulawesi sailors made commercial voyages through the sea trade network of Java, South China, and the Malacca Strait. The voyages were for trading agricultural (rice) and mining (gold) products. The Bugis-Makassarese sailors expanded their voyages beyond the waters of the archipelago. The Bugis-Makassarese sailors, since the 17th century, have controlled the waters of the eastern part of the archipelago, such as Bima, Bali, Kalimantan, Maluku, and Papua, which was part of the Tidore kingdom. These sailors built new settlements at river mouths and coastal areas. This Bugis-Makassarese settlement became a link for long-distance trade routes (Mattulada, 2015, p. 107; Segara, 2007).

The Bugis-Makassarese as conquerors of the seas has been revealed in Macknight's work. He unraveled the resilience of Bugis-Makassarese sailors who searched for sea cucumbers up to the seas of Northern Australia and established contact with Aboriginal people of the Yolngu tribe. This relationship can be proven by how the Bugis language has similarities with the local language of the Yolngu tribe. Forming relations between Makassar sailors and the Yolngu tribe began in the mid-18th century until the early 20th century (Macknight, 1976). According to the study of (Sultani et al., 2019), the arrival of Makassar sailors in Australia was an effort of transnational trade diplomacy before the arrival of Europeans in Australia. The traces of trade in the sea cucumber industry show historical and archaeological traces of Indonesia's relationship with Australia from 1601 to 1900.

This archipelago trade route formed a trading market that had strengthened the economic growth of the Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia. In addition, the commercial voyages had invited Muslim merchants from Persia, Gujarat, and China. The meeting of the merchants gave way to cultural exchanges (Lombard, 2005, pp. 11–18). This process had shifted the influence of the Srivijaya Kingdom, which lost control over international trade routes around the Malacca Strait. The Muslim Merchant Expedition also reached its heyday, so the process of Islamisation continues to move through cultural relations. According to Tjdrasasmita, the Muslim kingdoms in the waters of the archipelago had developed so rapidly that they controlled commercial sailing lanes from the port on the north coast of Java Island to Madura Island. In the east, this commercial shipping route has contributed to Islamisation in the coastal areas of South Sulawesi (Tjandrasasmita, 2009, pp. 14–23).

The process of Islamisation in South Sulawesi developed after the kings of Gowa and Tallo decided to convert to Islam. In September 1605, King Tallo, I Mallingkaang daeng Manyonri, at that time served as Mangkubumi in the kingdom of Gowa. After converting to Islam, he received the Arabic title, "Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam", meaning the first Sultan to convert to Islam. After he was the King of Gowa, I Mangnga'rangi Daeng Manrabia obtained the Arabic title, called Sultan Alauddin. In those two kingdoms of South Sulawesi, after the kings converted to Islam, their people soon embraced Islam too (Demmallino & et.al, 2012, pp. 347–348). The kings of Gowa and Tallo acknowledged the trade routes through strategic voyages. They made friendships with kings outside South Sulawesi, such as Johor, Malacca, Pahang, Blambangan, Pattani, Banjar and Ternate, Sumatra, and Borneo (Kalimantan) (Zuhdi, 2018).

***The challenges faced by the Bugis in their voyages: A perspective on contemporary issues***

Commercial sailing, which is part of the profession that coastal communities rely on for their livelihood, has been met with a crisis. Various government policies have not empowered the commercial sailing communities. Those policies actually imposed a new burden on commercial sailing merchants. For example, the sea toll and port modernisation policies only provided new benefits for large ships in many places. That way, there is less access to commercial sailing. So far, the government's policies have been limited to advocating for fishing vessels, especially by protecting local fishing vessels from and limiting foreign fishing vessels that are still in Indonesian waters. As Haji Kardi stated:

…" The strength of the Pinisi motorised sailing ship was its flexibility in anchoring in small ports that connected the inter-island trade of goods and services. The existence of the sea toll policy and the development of small ports into large ports in the region provide more opportunities for prominent entrepreneurs (conglomerates) to move with more ease in the inter-island trade of goods and services. This is where small entrepreneurs such as merchants of motorised sailing boats need to think about their access and opportunities as to not be further reduced."

The sea toll policy has removed various trading commodities of commercial sailing merchants from island to island. On the one hand, this policy can overcome the gap in the prices of products between regions. On the other hand, it actually kills the people's trading tradition by cutting off the routes that have long existed. Trading commodities that have become a tradition of commercial sailing have a tendency to be eliminated because of iron ships containing tonnage loads in major ports in the South Sulawesi region.

In addition, government policies in the forestry sector also tend to limit citisens' access in developing the sustainability of the people's shipbuilding tradition. Logging permits for *Pinisi* shipbuilding are not easy to obtain. Likewise, the availability of wood, especially ironwood and bitti wood is becoming increasingly scarce every year. In fact, the main sources of materials for the Pinisi Ship or motor sailing boats, are ironwood and bitti wood. According to Haji Kardi noted:

…." If we want to preserve our maritime treasures, then there needs to be a government policy for large-scale nurseries and cultivators of ironwood and bitti wood because these two types of wood are the primary materials for making Pinisi boats."

Government Regulation No. 7 of 2000 on Seamanship mandates a certificate of seamanship skills for each crew member. There is a level of education that must be completed through formal education or *training* for each crew member. For example, Article 3 paragraph 1 states that every crew member must have seamanship certificates. The certificates in question consist of a Certificate of Seamanship Expertise and a Certificate of Seamanship Skills. In addition, Article 6 requires seafarers to have a Certificate of Basic Seamanship Skills in the form of a Certificate of Basic Safety Skills (*Basic Safety Training).* As Salahudin explained:

…" Despite having long experience due to inherited knowledge, the government still requires the ship crew (ABK) to have seamanship certificates issued by the Center for Education and Training of Naval Science in Barombong, Makassar. Some of the training costs are entirely borne by the ship owners, while some are shared between the crew and the ship owners."

This regulation will improve as it also explains the rights and obligations of the crew. This explanation can be a reference for negotiating with the shipowners should the crew's rights as workers are neglected. However, the requirements for every crew member to obtain this certification document are not easy to fulfill. Their work as sailors has been carried out since childhood for generations. Seafaring is second nature to them as they have been carrying it out with people who are experienced at sea. Generally, these sailors gain seamanship skills by being directly involved in the field. It is highly likely that they do not follow the formal education model. Therefore, they must obtain the certification of seamanship skills by attending *basic training*, but many of the crew does not pay attention to it. Their reason is that they do not have the time and money to participate in these activities.

Sailors in Bontobahari Subdistrict who are to take *basic training* in seamanship skills must go to Makassar City. According to Salahuddin (56 years old), the certification of seamanship skills must still be obtained. If none of the crew members has a certificate, they can be arrested. This situation has made ship owners have to pay for some of their crew to take part in *basic training* on seamanship skills.

This government policy creates a burden for the seafaring communities. Policies and changes in the social situations in inter-island commercial sailing are worsening the crisis. It is not easy to find a solution for such situations. For this reason, the population of sailing vessels keeps declining. The number of boatmen to build *Pinisi* boats has also been decreasing. This is due to increasingly scarce wood, the primary material for making boats. Moreover, the sea toll policy can marginalise the people's commercial sailing routes, leading to challenges to develop sustainable sources of livelihood (Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019).

This condition has compelled people to switch professions. The existence of the *Pinisi* festival, which continues to be maintained, has brought in local and foreign tourists. This has boosted the economy of the coastal communities. On the other hand, the cultural potential of these coastal communities will be explored if it is able to present natural tourism, historical tourism, and traces of the glory of the ancestors, who were known as demanding sailors (Adhuri, 2019).

The Bugis sailing tradition still has its presence because the sea is still relied on as a source of livelihood for the Bugis people. This is indicated by the people's ships that are still operating at the Bonto Bahari Port (Suseto et al., 2019). However, Bugis seafarers are currently facing challenges from Indonesia's maritime policy. They have to face the challenge of having limited voyages, unlike in the era of the Islamic empire when they were able to explore as far as Australia. International maritime rules also limit the voyage of seafarers. They only sail from a "rat" port—which is called "rat" because the port facilities are simple and flexible for small boats to stop and dock for loading and unloading goods.

Bugis sailors carry out commercial sailing by trading rice commodities and construction materials such as cement. They bring commercial goods to the islands of Papua and East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Demand for building materials, such as cement from Papua and NTT, has increased following the development policy in the East. Commercial sailing merchants in the Bonto Bahari Bulukumba Subdistrict, South Sulawesi benefit from this situation (Agastia & Perwita, 2016). This is also indicated by the number of motorised or Phinisi boats in Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi, where 116 boats are still operating.

On the other hand, the Bulukumba Regency Government cooperates with the Central Government to make the people's sailing tradition a regional potential. The collaboration between the central and regional governments has produced impressive results. On December 7, 2017 in South Korea, UNESCO officially recognised the Bugis shipbuilding tradition as a world cultural heritage. The government commemorates this Bugis tradition as one of the world heritages in preserving maritime culture by holding the 2018 Pinisi Festival (Mellefont, 2018).

Researchers found that the Bugis seafarers experienced dynamics in the process of reviving the world's cultural heritage traditions. Ship carvers, for instance, have difficulty obtaining local materials for making Pinisi boats. The ship merchants complained that the raw materials for making Pinisi ships, such as ulin wood, ironwood, and bitti wood are getting scarcer. In the last 20 years, this condition has occurred in the Port of Bontobahari, which primarily accesses ironwood in the Morowali area of Central Sulawesi for manufacturing motorised sailing boats or *Pinisi* boats. To overcome this condition, ship owners are working on shipbuilding in other islands, such as in North Buton, Southeast Sulawesi and Morowali, Central Sulawesi because they are close to the raw materials, especially ironwood. However, interview with Martiman as he explained that:

…" As a Pinisi shipbuilding artist who has been around for decades, I am aware of the increasing scarcity of basic shipbuilding materials, especially ironwood. So far, there has been no regional cooperation to promote the replanting of this type of wood."

Amid the difficulties in obtaining raw materials for manufacturing Pinisi Ships*,* researchers still find this craft tradition alive in Tanah Beru Village. They work on the tradition of carving *Pinisi* ships because there are still many orders from local commercial sailing merchants. The story of Haji Kardi, a sailing ship or pinisi ship entrepreneur from Ara Village who has now settled in Sapolohe Village, is proof of the existence of the craft of carving *Pinisi* as part of the shipbuilding process. According to Haji Kardi, the construction of Pinisi *ships* is a community effort to preserve local culture. The *Pinisi* ships made by Haji Kardi are cruise ships ordered by local tourism businesses. For example, a Flores business owner ordered a cruise ship that was set to sail across the Labuhan Bajo and Raja Ampat in Papua. The researchers also confirmed the shipbuilding business owner, Mr. Andi Nur Fajar of Sinar Harapan Bahari. He said that ordering the *Pinisi* Ship to Haji Kardi was an effort to fulfill the demands of some people of Beijing, China. This *Pinisi* ship functions as a cruise ship sailing from Bali to Beijing, China.

The researchers noticed that the shift in sailing activities is the proper condition in the contemporary era. The sea, which was the source of glory in the colonial era, had turned into a crisis when the Dutch controlled the archipelago's trading route system (Sulistyo, 2020). In the era following Indonesia's independence, uncertain sea conditions also made people have to change directions in search of other sources of livelihood. The government saw that the sea can still be a source of livelihood for the people, and has since moved marine activities to the tourism sector. This sector can directly become a new economy (Rahmatika & Suman, 2020). The economic growth of regional tourism, which is also driven by the central government, is an opportunity to maintain the sustainability of the tradition of serving the people. This potential can drive regional assets, such as local wisdom, culinary arts, and the beauty of the beaches. Beautiful beaches such as Bira, Bonto Bahari Subdistrict, Bulukumba can attract tourists' attention. The ships at the port in Bira are still visited by tourists and facilitate the mobility of residents who take cruises to the Selayar islands. In addition to the new orientation of the cruise ship tourism business, the potential of natural and marine resources also provides a source of livelihood for local residents. The pertaining sectors include the marine, plantation, agriculture, and mining sectors (Izudin et al., 2022). The eight villages in Bonto Bahari Sub-district, namely Bira, Ara, Darubiah, Tanah Lemo, Tanah Beru, Sapolohe, Benjala, and Lembanna, are categorised as self-help villages.

***Indonesia's maritime sector crises: An implication to sociological theory***

The port as a center for community interactions and mobility was a sign of the sea's glory in the era of the Islamic empire (Sulistiyono & Rochwulaningsih, 2013). This glorious phase was marked by the process of Islamisation of coastal communities. With the policy of commercial shipping in the era of the Islamic empire, the port became a center for transactions for goods and services (Sulistiono, 2018). These commercial voyages formed a new axis for global trade that connected the archipelago's merchants in the port centers of Samudera Pasai, Melaka, Banten, Cirebon, Jepara, Tuban, Gresik, Madura, Kalimantan, Makassar, Maluku, and Timor as the territorial waters of the archipelago with Middle Eastern traders of Persia, Gujarat, and China. The arrival of Chinese, Persian, and Gujarati merchants created a new middle-class society that fuelled cultural development (Reid, 2001). The exchange of local commodities such as pepper, turmeric, cloves, ginger, salt, sandalwood, and agarwood with foreign products such as fragrances, fabrics, ceramics, copper, gold, and silver provided abundant benefits for indigenous people and immigrants (Andriati, 2012).

This trade relationship shifted into a crisis when European traders, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and British entered Southeast Asia. The Europeans brought high-tech modern equipment. This condition changed the trade and political competition up to the point where the Europeans were able to conquer the Islamic empire in the archipelago (Reid, 2004, p. 305). According to Shiraishi, the Europeans controlled trade, managed the resources of cargo ships, and led commercial ports (Shiraishi, 1997, pp. 187–207). This condition had marginalised the role of Islamic empires in the coastal areas of the archipelago. Indonesian seafarers, such as ethnic groups who had sailed to the lands of Champa and Saigon, had difficulties competing since the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511. Many local seafarers diverted to smaller ports. They felt restricted and it was challenging to compete with the Europeans. This condition created tension, conflict, and war between the indigenous rulers and the Portuguese. The social resistance carried out by the indigenous rulers forced the Portuguese to be expelled from the port of Malacca in 1641 (Sar Desai, 1969).

The Portuguese suffered a defeat because of the resistance of the natives, causing them to be pushed out of the port. However, the expulsion of the Portuguese did not make the local people better off. The arrival of the Dutch had given birth to new rulers who monopolised the trading network even more. The Dutch merchants were clever to map the natural resource potentials through the trade routes in the archipelago. The Dutch learned about the weaknesses of the local and Portuguese rulers so that they could build new economic power through state policies in the archipelago, or what was known as the Dutch East Indies government (Poelinggomang, 2016, pp. 41–59). This increasingly strong economy was due to the cunningness of the Dutch East Indies government who implemented the *Cultivation System*.

The Dutch trading system resulted from the production system of the archipelago's natural resources. With a robust trading system through the trade union Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC), the Dutch obtained full support and a trade monopoly permit from their queen. This strengthened the existence of the Dutch East Indies government, which had complete, monopolistic control over the economic system in the waters and land of the archipelago. The presence of the VOC made many Islamic empires fall. Moreover, this condition gave rise to unhealthy competition among indigenous rulers. This was exploited by the Dutch East Indies government, who changed the role of the locals from sailors to farmers. The locals no longer relied on the sea for their livelihood. The Dutch colonial government made a surplus out of their investment in the agrarian sector although the economic system was carried out by means of systematic oppression of the locals (Buelens & Frankema, 2016).

The colonial regime had forced the locals to follow the agrarian policy (*Wet Agrarian*)of the Dutch East Indies government. This policy also regulated agricultural and plantation produce to be traded between islands and between regions in Southeast Asian and European markets. All the produce was under the control of the colonial regime. This system also displaced the dominant actors of the Chinese and Middle Eastern traders. They had to follow the policies of the Dutch East Indies, who had controlled Indonesia (Breman, 1983, pp. 140–147).

In an effort to control maritime trade routes, the Dutch East Indies established *Nederlandsch Indische Stoomboot Maatschappij* (Dutch Indies Railway Company), which was abbreviated as NISM in 1842. This maritime traffic hegemony became even stronger when NISM was replaced by a new authority, namely when the Dutch East Indies established a new company on September 4, 1888, which was named *Koninklik Paketvaart Maatschappij* (Royal Packet Navigation Company), which was abbreviated as KPM. From 1888 through 1890, the KPM management was still busy with preparing facilities and arranging commercial sailing routes which connected the islands (Dick, 1985).

KPM grew and became a leading sailing company in the archipelago. This company managed commercial sailing as well as operated sailboats that moved in various routes of Makassar-Malacca-Singapore, Makassar-Ambon, and Surabaya. The company's operational range created increasingly fierce competition. As a result, all Dutch companies that were not independent—such as the sailing company *Stoormvaart Maatschappij Nederlands* (SMN), which was founded in 1870, and *Rotterdamsche* (RL), which was founded in 1873—merged and became a subsidiary of KPM (Dick, 1990). This colonial phase had dethroned the kings of the archipelago and marginalised the coastal people from the sea, which was their source of livelihood. The court nobles were disoriented to find a source of livelihood.

Meanwhile, people's sailing in various waters of the archipelago had stagnated. Marine resources only made coastal communities work as fishermen, no longer as commercial traders engaged in inter-island commercial sailing routes. The center of the port, which was a stopover for people's commercial ships, was getting quieter, and soon fishermen's boats replaced those ships.

The distinctive feature of this research from previous includes the shifting role of local players due to new motivations. Previous studies to address a challenging voyage issue are aside from the colonialism legacies, patrimonial state, and cultivation system (Asiati et al., 2018; Rochwulaningsih et al., 2019). This study showcases the shifting role from the arduous voyage to empowering tourism. When referring to involution theory, there are ways to adapt to the modern era. According to Scott as stated by Izudin (2017, pp. 55–59), such circumstances in dealing with rational peasants gain a formulation for sustainable livelihood amid state policies that are not in favor of marine merchants. In this context, the author believes that the research can be implicated as a new source for adopting a theory of sociological approach. It provides a unique perspective on developing local assets to increase productivity.

**Conclusion**

This study denotes that the glory of the archipelago's commercial shipping is not extinct amid the prosperity of the sea cannot be fully reclaimed after the arrival of Europeans to Indonesia in the 14th century. The Bugis ethnic community was able to adapt to the glory of the sea by transforming the marine sector from a commercial trading network to a tourism cruise. The Bugis ethnic community is good at making Pinisi boats and can also commercialise the results of artistically carved ships as a source of economic livelihood for fishers through the development of tourism. Moreover, the shift from the triumph of commercial shipping to tourism empowerment has become an adaptation factor for local communities to continue the marine tradition as their primary source of livelihood.

This research provides a new perspective that the Bugis community strategy comprises shifting from commercial sailing to cruise ships for tourism purposes. It is seen as generating more profit. The central government's policy in promoting tourism in Eastern Indonesia, such as in Raja Ampat, Labuan Bajo, and others, has provided opportunities for the demand for tourist cruise ships for foreign tourists. This circumstance is considered a lucrative opportunity and market for shipowners in Bulukumba.

This research provides a point of reference for reformulating the strategic direction of developing the sea area to be a tourism sector to increase the local economy. Being the primary role-playing to make a regulation, the government must regard the planning strategies that formulate the shifting role-play of the local people—from the arduous voyage to empowering tourism. Nevertheless, the author realises that this study still has limitations in its analysis and mapping of problem issues on-site place of this research. For this reason, the author recommends that further research can use a more comprehensive approach. Of course, there cannot be implemented in other's areas due to it is necessary to consider how places may differ due to their best formula of planning policy strategies for increasing the local economy based on empowering tourism sectors.