

Melabouw Mihaow: The Tradition of Flying Fish Catching Among the Kayo Pulo People in Papua Indonesia

*Usman Idris, Leonard Siregar dan Akhmad Kadir

Department of Anthropology, Cenderawasih University

Jl. Kampwolker Kampus Uncen Waena, Kelurahan Yabansai, Distrik Heram Kota Jayapura 99351, Indonesia

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Author correspondence:
Email: usmanidrish@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the socio-cultural characteristics of the Kayo Pulo community and the form of fly fish-catching traditions that are still carried out in the midst of changing times and life challenges. This research aims to preserve traditions that are under threat from modernization. This research was carried out in Tahima Soroma Village and around Humbolt Bay, Jayapura City, using a descriptive qualitative approach. The selection of informants was carried out in snowball, guided by key informants, and in-depth interviews and observations were used as data collection techniques. The data collection techniques used were in-depth interviews and observation. The data analysis techniques used are processing and preparing data, reading all data, analyzing by coding the data, applying the coding process to describe categories, and processing data in narrative-interpretive form. The results show that the tradition of flying fish catching is a little tradition in the profane realm and has a meaning regarding identity, relations, and social solidarity among fellow group members because fishing activities are subsistence in behavior and are prepared for ceremonial celebrations. Research findings on fly fish catching as a little tradition to strengthen the character and identity of the Kayo Pulo people. However, it is also a local wisdom in subsistence fisheries resource utilization patterns and supports traditional conservation patterns based on regional communities.

Keywords : local wisdom, melabouw mihaow; tradition; flying fish; kayo pulo; indigenous community; Papua

INTRODUCTION

Backgrounds

Papua, one of the eastern regions of Indonesia, has diversity in terms of natural resources and cultural wealth, and more than 250 ethnic groups own it. The city of Jayapura, which is one of the major cities in Papua, has 14 Indigenous communities that have unique cultural patterns (Dekme, 2016; Rohim, 2014; Rumansara, 2015). Among them is the Kayo Pulo community, which lives in the Tahima Soroma Village. The Kayo Pulo people are members of the Tabi tribe who occupy Humbolt Bay in Jayapura and belong to the Mamta customary territory (Wayan et al., 2020; Yuliana, 2018).

The Kayo Pulo people belong to a maritime ethnic group spread across the northern coast of Papua, such as the Tobati, Enggros, Kayo Batu, Nafri and others (Idris et al., 2021; Kadir et al., 2021). The settlements of the Kayo Pulo people are in 'Tahima-Soroma', which literally means land-sea, meaning that the land and sea areas are shelters for the Kayo Pulo people. On land, they cultivate crops by 'slash-and-burn' and hunting and raising animals

such as pigs and chickens. Then, at sea, they build shelters to live in and carry out fishing activities and other marine biota (Aronggear et al., 2020; Lekitoo, 2023). Tahima-Soroma is the name of the village where they live and come from. The Kayo Pulo people consist of four significant clans, namely Sibi, Haay, Yowe and Soro, whose traditional leadership system is led by a tribal chief or *Ondoafi* (Aronggear et al., 2020).

Thus, as a maritime people living in a coastal area, the Kayo Pulo people have developed patterns of behavior that shape the culture with a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation, such as the flying fish-catching tradition practiced by the Kayo Pulo people, which is their characteristic and identity as part of the maritime ethnic group in Jayapura City..

Although classified as a coastal community, the pressure of increasingly modern urban life with all forms of change has resulted in the erosion of the Kayo Pulo people's lifestyle, which also follows the direction of the wave of change. The implications

result in changes in the livelihood system that used to be based on marine activities but is now more concentrated in the more modern urban sector (Tuhumury et al., 2015). In addition, the presence of migrant fishing groups such as Bugis, Buton, and Makassar fishermen who control marine and coastal resource use activities with better skills, fishing gear, and fishing patterns (Hutajulu et al., 2022).

Despite all the changes that have come their way, amidst the pressures of change, the Kayo Pulo people, with their unique cultural identity, still reflect that they are a coastal community. Although fishing activities are rare, this does not mean that they do not exist. Although migrant fishermen dominate, this does not imply that the Kayo Pulo have abandoned fishing at sea. In fact, the Kayo Pulo has several traditions and cultures that are directly related to activities at sea. One of them is the tradition of fly fishing. The Kayo Pulo people have a tradition of flying fish catching that has been carried out since ancient times and has been passed down historically and passed down from generation to generation. The same is true with various maritime ethnic groups in the archipelago, such as the Bugis-Makassar tribe (Arief, 2008; Yusuf et al., 2014), the Mandar tribe (Idrus & Ridhwan, 2020; Makkarana et al., 2017), the tribes in Flores (Mahyashopa, 2007; Nurlaili, 2012) and other tribes in Papua (Simatauw et al., 2019). However, the people of the Kayo Pulo Tribe have unique traditions regarding flying fish catching.

Tradition in a society is part of the implementation at the community level that will characterize the identity and solidarity of a group related to the orientation of cultural values. Thus, it becomes a guide to behavior and shows what is considered valuable and meaningful in a very dynamic life. (Peursen, 1992). Tradition is born at a particular moment when people designate specific fragments of the heritage of the past as traditions. Traditions change when people pay special attention to individual pieces of tradition and ignore others. They persist over time and may disappear when material objects are discarded and ideas are rejected or forgotten..

Redfield claims that the concept of tradition is divided into two, namely, the great tradition and the little tradition. The idea presented by R. Redfield above illustrates that in human civilization, there must be two kinds of traditions, which are categorized as great traditions and little traditions. A great tradition is a tradition of their own that likes to think and automatically includes a relatively small number of people (the reflective few). The

little tradition comes from the majority of people who have never thought deeply about the traditions they already have (Redfield, 1955).

The Great Tradition is often a tradition that has a more profound scope and is more sacred and transcendental in nature. It is, therefore, closely linked to the values, norms and belief systems that are still held dear. This allows only a tiny part of the community, be it the local elite (read: chiefs, clan leaders) or supernatural figures and traditional leaders who understand it as a cultural heritage, to preserve, maintain and interpret the tradition. This tradition is a reflection of the core of the culture, which reflects the purity and majesty of things that are considered very important and valuable in a community (Miller, 1966; Sangren, 1984; Wax & Wax, 1966).

Meanwhile, little tradition refers more to the form of tradition that develops to carry out the daily life activities of community members who have a culture. Little tradition results in the existence of local practices that live and grow in the social context of the community. The pattern of inheritance of this tradition is more oral or oral, and it is directly practiced to be taught from one generation to the next without seeing fundamental changes. The practice of little tradition is more intuitive and spontaneous because it arises from the habits of human behavior in response to environmental conditions and to fulfill their daily needs. However, minor tradition is no less critical than significant tradition because it also plays a role in shaping and maintaining the authenticity of a community's cultural identity. It is a reflection of the behavioral patterns of living life (Miller, 1966; Sangren, 1984; Wax & Wax, 1966).

Therefore, this article focuses on two things: firstly, analyzing the socio-cultural characteristics of the Kayo Pulo people and secondly, examining the practice of the fly-fish catching tradition in the Kayo Pulo community to understand whether the tradition of fly-fish catching is a great tradition or a little tradition.

Research Method

The study uses a descriptive qualitative approach, which describes and analyses the tradition of catching flying fish among the Kayo Pulo community in Tahima Soroma Village. In this case, it can be seen how the Kayo Pulo fishers carry out the flying fishing tradition as a maritime cultural phenomenon, as it is known that qualitative research with its theoretical background has an interpretive

paradigm, which is undoubtedly different from quantitative research (Sugiyono, 2017). Qualitative research is an effort to explore subjective problems from existing reality in which researchers try to capture people's behaviour (Creswell, 2012).

This research was conducted in the village of Tahima Soroma, South Jayapura District, Jayapura, Papua Province, followed by exploring the fishing area around Humbolt Bay and the surrounding area. This research was conducted from early January through June 2022. This research uses a snowball informant search model guided by critical informants who have been determined at the beginning. The key informant chosen is the Tahima Soroma village head. For this reason, further informants who are considered to have the capacity and knowledge related to the research topic should be identified based on the instructions from the key informant, the next informant, and so on.

In-depth interviews and observation techniques were used for field data collection. In-depth interviews served to explore informants' experiences of the fly fish catching tradition, while observation was used to observe the practice of the tradition. The data analysis technique used in this study refers to Creswell by using five steps, namely: Preparing data, reading data, coding data, applying

coding for categories and decryption, description and interpretation (Creswell, 2012).

Results & Discussion Socio-cultural Characteristics of the Kayo Pulo People

The Kayo Pulo people come from Kayo Pulo Village or Kampung Tahima Village, which has been around for a long time, but it is not known when and how it was formed. The Kayo Pulo people have existed for hundreds of years in Tahima Soroma Village, Jayapura City, which is geographically a group of islands in the Humbolt Bay in Jayapura Papua (Andoko, 2021; Galis, 1955; Tambawang & Agung, 2021; Tuhumury et al., 2015). They are the Sibi Rumah Cone clan, who first inhabited this island, along with the Sibi Rahabeam clan, the Hai clan, and the Soro clan. Whereas the Youwe clan, who came from the Cycloop mountainous area, came and inhabited Kosong Island, the island where the majority of the population is Butonese (Aronggear et al., 2020; Wayan et al., 2020; Yuliana, 2018).

The Sibi clan is in the western region; the Hai clan is in the eastern; the Youwe clan consists of two brothers, sharing the territory in the middle, managing the village, and being the ruler of the sea, and the last is the Soro clan, who serves as an errand boy. They live side by side, symbolized by

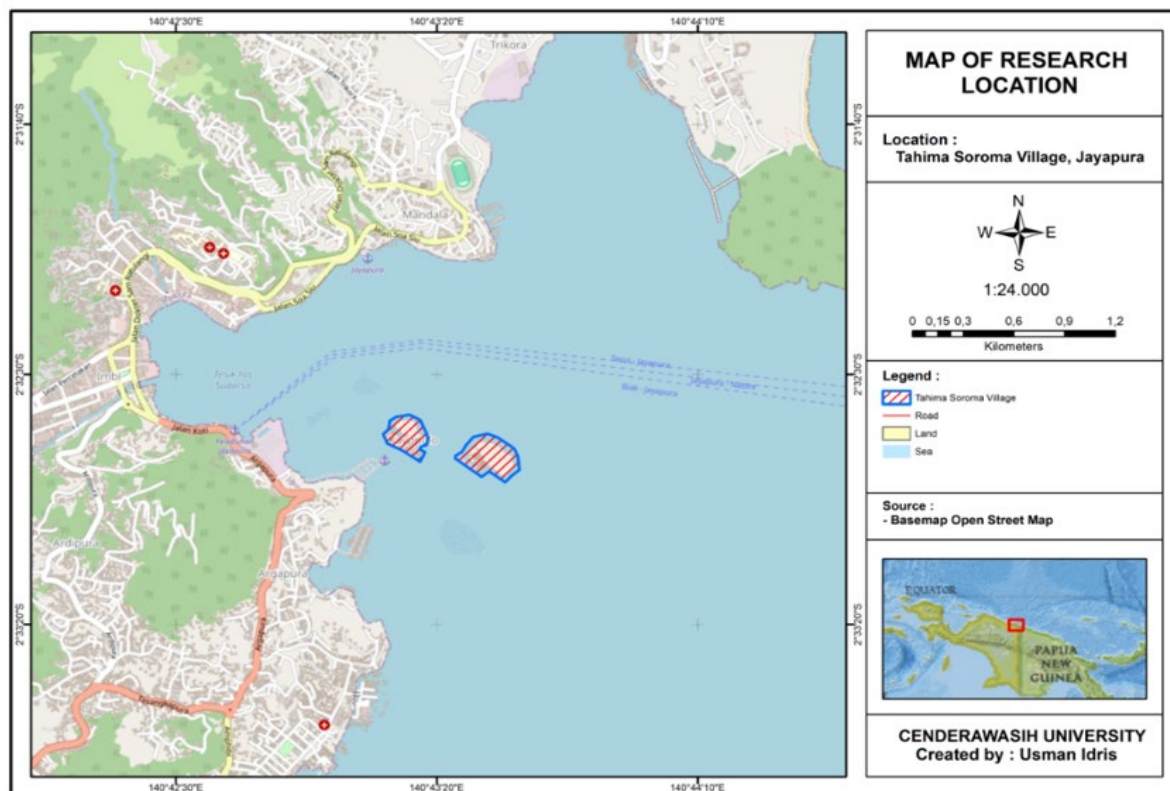


Figure 1. Map of Research Location.

living under "one *tifa* (traditional single-headed goblet drum) and one *para-para* (traditional woven bamboo for the banquet)". For example, when Sibi holds a traditional event, You will dance, and Sibi gives a banquet, and vice versa (Galis, 1955; Saru et al., 2021; Yuliana, 2018).

At the *para-para*, the Kayo Pulo people make the Youwe clan part of their extended family by living in the same village and being given the boundaries of the area shared by the Kayo Pulo people. *Ondoafi*'s position as the customary head is hereditary, not through election (Aronggear et al., 2020; Galis, 1955; Saru et al., 2021). The main task of a large *Ondoafi* is to oversee the Tahima Soroma Village (Kayo Pulo) and the Pulo Kosong (Mansoben, 1995). Each clan head is assisted by a *role she* (messenger). *Roweshe* is in charge of conveying principle matters regarding the duties of customary administration to each clan head. The Kayo Pulo people (Tahima Soroma) also adhere to a patrilineal kinship system although in its customary law system, women are also respected and have a high place (Yuliana et al., 2023).

The language of the Kayo Pulo people is categorized as an Austronesian family language that spreads on the north coast of Papua, such as Tobati-Enggros, Nafri, Skow, and Nyao languages (Frank & Idris, 2022; Jakarimilena, 1993; Rumawi, 2000). In the life of the Kayo Pulo community, it is taboo for women to provide for men because it will lower men's self-esteem. Women are prohibited from earning a living. Women can ask for help from other families if men cannot meet their household needs (Wayan et al., 2020). The Kayo Pulo people have customary rights covering land and sea called *tahima-soroma*, by which the division of tasks, shelters, and life activities also exist both on land and at sea, such as livelihood activities (hunting pigs and or animals). Other livestock are carried out on land as well as farming, while fishing is carried out at sea. The implementation of *sasi* (the regulation to temporarily close an area for catching certain species) is carried out to maintain the availability of resources in the sea. If the sea is in *sasi*, they carry out activities on land, and vice versa. When there is *sasi* on land, the activities are carried out in the sea (Yuliana et al., 2023).

The Kayo Pulau people have apollonian characteristics that are calm, harmonious, peaceful, and middle-of-the-road, as well as an inclusive nature that always seeks equality and embraces, so they are characterized as an open-minded and constructive ethnic group (Lekitoo, 2023). Demographically, the total number of Kayo Pulau people, both in Kayo

Pulau village, outside the town around Jayapura city and Jayapura city, has between 700 and 800 people (Lekitoo, 2023).

Currently, the livelihoods of the Kayo Pulo People of Tahima Soroma Village are pretty varied. The majority of the native people of Kayo Pulo village are no longer fishers because most of the natives of Kayo Pulo have worked in the formal and informal sectors in the city of Jayapura. However, fishing activity is only a side job to get protein from fish (Tuhumury et al., 2015). There was a change in the livelihood system of the Kayo Pulo people caused by the opening of Humbolt Bay into an urban area which began with the arrival of the Dutch, allied troops, and the Japanese in the colonial era until the integration period which made Jayapura city an urban area, changing the community's livelihood system including the Kayo Pulo people (Baharuddin, 2017, 2020; Roembiak, 1993). Nowadays, the people's livelihoods are primarily civil servants, private employees, and members of the military and police. Meanwhile, homemakers not only take care of the household but also open small businesses to sell food and drink (Tuhumury et al., 2015).

The Tradition of Catching Flying Fish In The Kayo Pulo People

Fishing in the sea is characteristic of coastal communities in order to fulfill their life needs. Carrying out fishing activities is a form of exploration of available resources and developing patterns of adaptation to the surrounding environment (Lampe, 2005). Therefore, in the context of carrying out life, people build fishing technology to utilize coastal resources available in the sea as a livelihood for coastal communities (Pattipeilohy, 2013).

In general, coastal communities that depend on the exploration and exploitation of marine and coastal resources for their lives are referred to as fishers (Naping, 2017). Initially, the Kayo Pulo people were traditional fishers whose pattern of utilization was subsistence to fulfil their needs. The fishing technology used is still straightforward, namely in the form of outrigger boats and spears as fishing tools, which have been going on for a long time and have been transmitted indirectly over generations. The types of fish caught are fish that inhabit the waters in the coastal area. They only catch up around their village in Humbolt Bay, which is on the north coast of the Mamta customary area. This means that the fishing area is adjusted to the availability of the fishing technology.

The Kayo Pulo people are a sub-tribe of the Tabi Tribe Family who occupy the north coast of Papua along the coast of Ormu, the Cyclops Mountains, Jayapura City, Skow, to Wutung, Papua New Guinea (Galis, 1955). The Kayo Pulo people are a coastal community that lives around Tanjung Ria in Numbay Bay, Jayapura City. The Kayo Pulo people occupy the Kayo Pulo islands, also known as the Tahima Soroma Village. The Kayo Pulo people who live on the island and in coastal areas by establishing settlements above the shallow sea level are categorized as coastal communities.

Coastal communities that live in coastal areas have characteristics that are different from those of other communities. This difference is due to the close relationship with regional economic factors, cultural background, and the availability of supporting facilities and infrastructure (Hajar et al., 2018; Satria, 2015). In general, coastal communities have a culture that is oriented toward being in harmony with nature, so technology utilizing natural resources is adaptive to coastal conditions. People in coastal areas have low education, less productivity (which is highly dependent on the season), limited business capital, lack of supporting facilities, poor market mechanisms, and difficulties in transferring technology and communication, resulting in erratic income for coastal communities (Putri et al., 2023).

Currently, with the increasingly complex aspects of life in Jayapura, the life of Kayo Pulo people also changes the current direction of development. Then, it has an impact on changes and transformation of the livelihood system that is involved in their daily life. The fishing pattern to meet daily needs is no longer fully implemented by the Kayo Pulo people in their village. This is because there are alternative "other" livelihoods that exist and are offered in urban areas on land, although not all members of the Kayo Pulo community have entirely switched to land-based economic activity. Rapid mobility growth of economic activity in various fields such as government, education, private sector, and so on opens opportunities for the emergence of new livelihoods that can be carried out with all the available possibilities and opportunities.

Currently, the people of Kayo Pulo no longer depend on fishing activities in the sea (the fishing area along the peninsula of Numbay Bay and Yos Sudarso Bay) because their livelihoods are very diverse, such as in the private sector, education, government and so on. Matters that are still connected directly with the maritime world, for example, the emergence of boat taxi service providers for crossing people's mobility from Meref (pier on

the mainland) to the islands around Numbay Bay, such as in Kayo Pulo, Kayo Kosong, and Kayo Batu. Even so, fishing is still carried out under specific conditions faced by community members personally within their families and clans or conditions related to communal matters within the community. One informant expressed the following:

In the past, fishing was the main activity for daily meals, apart from land gardening. Parents learn knowledge and skills from their sons. Now, there are still many who can actually catch fish. But they no longer go fishing, not because they are lazy, but because they work in different sectors, but the knowledge and skills to catch flying fish are still there. In the past, when we talked about the tradition of catching flying fish, it was indeed done on a large scale, at the village level, because it was usually for traditional celebrations in the village. Traditionally led by the Ondoafi as a Tribal Chief, in his speech, the Ondoafi instructs IHebu Raiji Pelauaw Mibauw, meaning Let's catch flying fish into the sea. The instruction is a call or invitation to all villagers to jointly catch fish on a large scale for the celebration. But before that, there was indeed a sasi in the sea, a prohibition on fishing, and Ondoafi opened it—this characteristic and uniqueness of the kayo pulo people to catch fish in the sea. Nowadays, if people want to catch flying fish, the term is melabouw mibauw, which means let's catch fish.

In the past, parents carried out fishing activities to support their families. Fishing was the only foundation in continuing life. Catching fish to eat (as a source of protein) and gardening on land for a source of carbohydrates. Knowledge and insight, as well as fishing skills, are transmitted from one generation to another. Some people still know and carry out fishing activities in the sea, but some have stopped because the current generation is no longer interested in fishing since the consumptive and instantaneous urban lifestyle has influenced them.

In the past, fishing activities were carried out in groups such as in the household, relative, clan, and communal scale within the ethnic sphere, directly instructed by Ondoafi as the head of the tribe. Catching fish on a large scale is only for a celebration at the community level. The expression used by Ondoafi to give instructions to all members of the community is *Hebu Ra Iji Perlauaw Mibauw*, which means "Let's catch the flying fish into the sea". This expression is a call to carry out large-scale fishing, which is deliberately carried out for

big celebrations at the community level, but before that, there is a *sasi* in the sea, a ban on fishing activities in the sea.

Ondoafi determined the opening of the *sasi*, and preparations were made to start carrying out fishing activities. These celebrations are in the form of a feast by inviting the closest ethnic group that is considered to still have ethnic kinship ties, for example, ritual celebrations or ceremonies at the community level. In addition, flying fish fishing is also carried out at every life cycle ceremony, such as the initiation of new relatives, marriage, and so on. Thus, there is something unique when the Kayo Pulo people catch fish in the sea. They focus more on catching flying fish instead of other types of fish. Why does the flying fish seem to be the primary type of fish to be seen and used as food in a celebration both at the communal and at the household level?

Flying fish are a type of small pelagic marine biota whose habitat is in coastal areas and on the high seas (Anwar et al., 2019; Syahailatua, 2006). The distribution of this flying fish species is in the waters of the Malacca Strait, Maluku waters, Nusa Tenggara, Makassar Strait, and Papua (Febyanty & Syahailatua, 2017). Flying fish themselves have a variety of biological variations whose names are *Exocoetidae*, *Hirundithys oxycephalus* and *Cheilopogon cyanopterus* (Febyanty & Syahailatua, 2017; Syahailatua, 2006). Flying fish are also known by several local names which are termed by local fishers in Indonesia, such as *Tuing-tuing* (Makassar), *Torani* (Bugis), *Tourani* (Mandar), *Antoni* (Minahasa), and *kapia* (Gorontalo) (Arief, 2008; Gani, 2020; Nadir, 2018; Risa et al., 2016; Syahailatua, 2006). Meanwhile, for the Kayo Pulo people, flying fish are referred to as *mihauw*, and catching flying fish is called *melabouw mihauw*. This term is also used in general to describe fishing activities in the sea.

Flying fish have differences when compared to other fish, especially in terms of their physiology and behaviour, which then becomes the background for many fishers in Indonesia (Fitrianti et al., 2014; Makkarana et al., 2017), including for the Kayo Pulo people to catch this type of fish. First, this fish has fins that also function as wings that can make these fish fly in the air when gliding individually and in groups, although the respiratory system still uses gills. Thus, they can only fly while holding their "breath" and then return to the water to "breathe" (Febyanty & Syahailatua, 2017). This is what makes these fish easy for fishers to identify and catch. Second, flying fish have a faster sensitivity and response to light that appears at night when fishers catch them. Apart from that, its appearance

also triggers other fish (Genisa, 1998; Salman et al., 2015; Simatauw et al., 2019). Flying fish's sensitivity to light makes fishers use lighting to catch them at night.

The Kayo Pulo people have started fishing in the sea for a long time as a result of an adaptation process in order to survive and maintain survival. The implication is that there is a dialectical process between the Kayo Pulo people and their external environment in the form of the physical realm. The method of interaction with the physical environment, which is manifested in the utilization of coastal resources, both on land and at sea, creates habits that develop into traditions and culture among the Kayo Pulo people. Its relation to flying fish catching is learned along the way, which then develops into an ethnoscience, passed on through upbringing so that adults learn how to fish and gain knowledge to carry out the activities.

Local knowledge of the habitat and habits of the flying fish has been observed, including fishing season and time of fishing. People learnt that the fish are always looking for light at night, making moonlight an excellent time to catch. The fishing season is usually carried out from the beginning of the year until the middle of the year. Then, fishing gear that is subsistent with fishing patterns according to needs should be used so that it does not overly exploit resources, which has implications for not damaging the environment.

Then, related to flying fish fishing with its mechanism, it is carried out consistently based on needs, both at the household level and at the community level, for celebrations. This is reflected in the motive behind their fishing activities, which is not to make a profit and resell the results. The people of Kayo Pulo never sell their fish. They go to sea to meet their daily needs, and their catch is eaten with the family or for celebrations. If there is an excess catch, it is usually shared among the family or the closest neighbours. Likewise, when there is a celebration, they go out together to catch fish to eat together during the festival. In terms of carrying out fishing activities, the Kayo Pulo people have their characteristics in fishing, namely catching fish only using a stabbing spear, generally known in Papua as *kolowai* or *kalawai* (Idris et al., 2021; Mulyadi, 2019; Sugianti & Satria, 2017), but in the Kayo Pulo language, it is called *s'jecwai* which is used to catch various types of shallow water fish from Numbay bay to the coastal area of Ormu.

The tools that must be prepared during fishing activities include motorised fibre boats, fuel

oil, flashlights or petromax for lighting, s'jecwai/kolowai as the stabber, cigarettes, areca nut, and betel nut. There is also a stabber that is carried (not all the time, and not all people have it) called an act, which is a unique tool for stabbing/or catching turtles. This is because turtles are often found during fishing activities. Fishing gear is prepared to start from noon. Nowadays, people use motorized speed boats/fiber boats to catch fish; previously, the outrigger boat was used. The ship that will be used for fishing activities may not be used for other things in order to optimize preparations so that no damage occurs and the availability of all equipment on the boat, including fuel and other parts.

Even though the primary type of catch is flying fish, they also catch other fish, such as *sako* fish (long snout), *bulana* fish, *julung* fish, and *balobo* fish. The catching time starts from 6 pm to 12 pm. The average catch obtained ranges from 10 to 100 tails. It really depends on the number of people who go to catch and designate the catch. This is also adjusted according to the number of personnel who go, whether on a household scale at the clan community level or based on instructions from *Ondoafi* to catch. In preparation for the celebration, the number of catches is more significant, but it is intended as banquet food at a celebration at the community level. Then, when fishing is carried out on a household scale, before fishing, the children are asked to sleep so that no one sees their parents catching fish. They will be awakened when they return to sea, and the catch has been cooked so that they can all have dinner together.

Catching the flying fish has become a tradition for the people of Kayo Pulo. The tradition is a legacy of the past that was transmitted across generations to be practiced and become part of a collective identity in a community. Catching fish in the sea is a tradition carried out by the Kayo Pulo people since ancient times. However, throughout its journey, it also experienced contextual dynamics of change with the development of the current era. One informant emphasized the following:

We have this tradition of fly fish catching, which we used to do in the months of June. Usually, there is an order from the ondoafi. So we all do it together. All the villagers go to the sea together. In the past, this was usually done in preparation for ceremonial celebrations or certain ceremonies or rituals based on our customs. It's still done now, but not as often as it used to be. Fly-fish catching used to be part of big celebrations, both sacred and non-sacred. But now there have been many changes. Jayapura is

no longer just us from kayo pulo, tobat-enggros to Sentani there. But many people have come. Life has also been much different, with many other jobs besides fishing. But we must not forget that we are Kayo Pulo people; we live on land and in the sea, in tabima soroma. So we still have activities at sea, including fishing. But we don't fish the same as those BBM Bugis, Buton, Makassar. They catch fish to sell for profit. If we are Kayo Pulo people, we never sell fish. We go to catch fish to eat, and if we have more, we share it with our relatives or neighbours; if we don't have enough, we go to buy. But we never sell. That's how we Kayopulo people are.

So nowadays, if, for example, a family is coming, the current generation also marries out, not just fellow Kayo pulo people. So if a family comes. We go to catch fish. Indeed, we have flying fish, as well as other fish, with local names called bulana, bubara, and mumar. We go out to catch fish for our herbal medicine when we have guests. If you go to a kayo pulo person's house, you must eat fish. We catch the fish, so we must be fresh fish. It signifies that we are Kayo Pulo people who are indeed coastal people who live on land and in the sea.

So when it comes to the tradition of fly fish catching, it used to be carried out for celebrations at the village level. We all participated in working together, and now it's also like that. But it is rarely done because of the changes that exist. Unless there is a traditional event, then it is done again. But other than that, what I said earlier is that people catch fish to entertain guests now. Even though the fishing gear is as simple as paki speed to buy oil. Invite two relatives to accompany you. No matter how much we get, we cook and eat together.

In the past, fly-fish-catching traditions were part of sacred traditions and rituals led by the ondoafi, traditional leaders whose role was to maintain continuity between man and nature and social harmony within the community. These ceremonies or celebrations, which involved the whole village, represented a 'great tradition' that united the community in a shared belief system and celebration.

Over time, however, social change, urbanization and the arrival of people from outside the region began to alter the existence of this tradition. Life in Kayo Pulau is no longer entirely tied to traditional activities and ceremonies, as more

and more people are involved in other occupations, indicating a fragmentation of the 'little tradition' from the 'great tradition'. Traditions that used to be performed by the whole community are now only performed at certain times, such as to entertain guests or family, showing how outside influences and modernity are eroding these local traditions. This reflects a cultural shift from communal and structured to more flexible and pragmatic.

However, the core values of 'little tradition' remain in the daily lives of the Kayo Pulau people. They still maintain a relationship with the sea as part of their identity, namely 'tahima soroma', living on land and in the sea. Although not as much as in the past and with more modern tools such as speedboats, fishing is still done, especially when entertaining guests, as a form of pride in a coastal community. This shows that although the significant traditions are changing, the essence of the 'little tradition', namely the spirit of gotong royong, kinship and harmonious relationship with nature, still survives, albeit in a more straightforward form and focused on families or small communities.

In contrast to other coastal communities, which have a tradition of taming the metaphysical nature by performing rituals as a form of gratitude and help to the supreme creator (great tradition) (Arief et al., 2021; Arifin et al., 2018; Miller, 1966; Sangren, 1984; Wax & Wax, 1966; Wenifrida, 2017), this flying fishing tradition is a little tradition. This kind of tradition has nothing to do with the metaphysical realm, which concerns issues of spirituality and sacred belief systems, but instead with the profane aspect because this tradition does not involve offerings or the sanctity of specific rituals but is more social in nature and binds the community. As Durkheim notes, the concept of the sacred refers to something holy, divine, and beyond the reach of the human mind, while the profane is the real world, the world of everyday life that is under human control (Durkheim, 2011). Thus, it serves to emphasise their existence as a Kayo Pulo community and their identity as a coastal community living on land and sea. Even though there has been a shift in the livelihood system, the activity of catching flying fish is still carried out to reinforce their identity as the Kayo Pulo people. Since fishing in the sea is not based on economic motives, the fish caught is never prepared for sale; instead, it is eaten together and shared with family and neighbors. Catching this flying fish is not just a food to gain protein, but as a symbol that reflects the identity of the Kayo Pulo people to strengthen solidarity, bond relationships, and affirm their identity.

Therefore, the activity of catching flying fish in the sea has a significant social function for the culture of the Kayo Pulo people. The existence of the fishing tradition can be seen as having a function of reinforcing their identity (not only for consumption), although many people have switched and lived on land rather than at sea. Fishing activities have become a tradition, carried out at the community level or on an irregular schedule at the communal level. For the celebration of certain traditional parties or celebrations that involve the community, the activity of catching fish is always carried out, and it becomes a banquet food dish that must be served. In addition, if there are distant guests who come to visit, members of the male relatives go fishing, especially if the guests are kin. Catching flying fish has become a tradition for the Kayo Pulo people, not just a livelihood, but more on the aspect of social function in strengthening solidarity and social ties as well as strengthening identity as Kayo Pulo people.

Despite changes in the livelihood system of the Kayo Pulau community due to urbanisation and social change, the tradition of fly fish catching has survived as a symbol of identity. As mentioned above, this tradition is not driven by economic motives like those of migrant fishermen from Bugis, Buton or Makassar who fish to sell for profit. Instead, Kayo Pulau people fish for communal consumption, sharing with family and neighbours. This activity symbolises solidarity and strengthens social ties within the community. As well as being a source of protein, the fish they catch also reflect their identity as Kayo Pulau people, living side by side with the sea and the land.

This tradition not only maintains an element of togetherness within the community but also plays an important social function, particularly in strengthening social ties and identity. Although many Kayo Pulau people now live more on land, fishing activities are still carried out, either for traditional events or to entertain guests who come from afar. This tradition is an affirmation of their identity as coastal people who have not forgotten their cultural roots, even though the social and economic environment has changed considerably.

CONCLUSION

The tradition of catching flying fish among the Kayo Pulo community is a little tradition that is more related to the pattern of social relations among group members. This activity is not just a fishing activity but reflects the identity and togetherness of the community group. This tradition has

developed as part of the social dynamics that strengthen solidarity among community members. In particular, this tradition is included in the profane realm because it does not have a direct link to religious aspects but instead has a deep meaning in building relationships between individuals in the group. The activity of fly-fish catching reflects a cohesive pattern of social interaction that creates a harmonious and mutually supportive relationship among members. In addition, fly-fish catching also functions as a subsistence activity that is an integral part of preparing for traditional celebrations at the community level. This means that the tradition is essential not only from an economic perspective but also from a socio-cultural perspective, which continues to strengthen the solidarity of the Kayo Pulo community. This tradition is a tangible manifestation of community identity that remains relevant today.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

We hereby declare that all authors listed have contributed to the creation and improvement of this paper. Usman Idris is the main contributor, who acts as the primary initiator in finding research topics and making initial designs, as well as field research. In contrast, Leonard Siregar and Akhmad Kadir act as member contributors to the process of refining the manuscript, managing field data, and analysing it.

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