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## Construction of Fishermen's Purity with Limitations: *Pabagang* Study on Balang Caddi Island, Pangkep-South Sulawesi

Fatimah HS<sup>1\*</sup>, Iin Parninsih<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Negeri Manado, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

\*Corresponding Author:

[iin.parninsih@gmail.com](mailto:iin.parninsih@gmail.com)

### Abstract:

*One of the biggest challenges for fisherman workers is to live a religious life within limitations, such as religious knowledge and worship facilities, as experienced by Pabagang on Balang Caddi Island, Pangkep-South Sulawesi. This study discusses Muslim fishermen on Balang Caddi Island by referring to the question of how is the piety construction of Pabagang Muslim fishermen on Balang Caddi Island amid its limitations. This study is field research, which means that the primary source of this study comes from field data such as interviews, observations, and documentation. At the same time, secondary sources come from articles, websites, dissertations, and others that discuss the issues being studied. These various sources are managed using the descriptive-analytical method. From this, this study concludes that the construction of Pabagang's religious life leads to social piety, which contributes to the ritual piety of the people of Balang Caddi Island. This phenomenon cannot be separated from the significance of its social role in religious life on Balang Caddi Island, which is heavily influenced by the religious model of pesantren Darul Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso. Pabagang's religious life is common in Indonesian society, where workers (whatever their occupation) are not active in ritual piety but in social piety. Therefore, any worker, who earns a lawful living, needs to be seen as equal to other people, especially to achieve a complementary society.*

**Keywords:** *Fisherman, Pabagang, Muslim, Religious Construction, Balang Caddi Island.*

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## INTRODUCTION

In South Sulawesi, fishing is an important activity in the sustainability and development of people's lives. Christian Pelras, for example, an observer of Bugis-South Sulawesi, considers that the Bugis community places fishing as one of the main parts of their lives, which has been increasingly known since entering the 18th century AD (Pelras, 2006), including head seaward in working context as a fisherman as happened on Balang Caddi Island. On this small island, people depend on fishermen for their livelihoods, especially what they call *Pabagang*, fishermen who work in *Bagang*. Information from the local government stated that more than 80 percent of the males on Balang Caddi Island work as fishermen, most of whom are *Pabagang* (Interview with Takbir, 2022). In this context, the meaning of *Bagang* here is similar to what Christian Pelras described: a place to catch fish that looks like a house on the sea (Pelras, 2006). However, *Pabagang's* version is more like a boat because it sails for 22 to 25 days a month. *Bagang* has been their more livable home for longer than their mainland home. This condition impacts various lines of their lives, including their religious life.

The impact of *Pabagang's* work on their religion or majority religiosity leads to various limitations in carrying out their religious teachings, such as prayer, fasting, and others, caused by many factors. Among these factors are people who have worked as *Pabagang* since their teens (around the age of 15) have worked as *Pabagang*. Even if some become *Pabagang* when they are adults (in their 20s), the long time at sea causes them to not have time to learn about their religious teachings. Regarding this, a *Pabagang* with the initials AM, who did not want to be named, said that many of the limitations ranged from freshwater to an understanding of Islamic teachings ( Interview with AM, 2022). However, even though they have difficulty carrying out their religious teachings at sea, they have contributed significantly to religious life on the mainland of Balang Caddi Island, starting with the construction of mosques, madrasas, and others to their participation in the success of celebrating Islamic holidays. Abdul Samid, for example, treasurer of the Darus Sa'adah mosque on Balang Caddi Island, assessed that it was thanks to *Pabagang's* assistance (alms) that the Darus Sa'adah mosque became one of the grandest mosques on the islands of Pangkep Regency, South Sulawesi (Interview with Samid, 2022).

The phenomenon above is interesting to study, especially the fact that Indonesia is an archipelagic country, which indicates that there are many small islands with religious cases, such as fishermen from Balang Caddi Island. Information from the Directorate of Coastal Utilization and Small Islands stated that there were around 16, 1771 islands registered in 2020 (<http://kkp.go.id>, 2022), where about 117 islands are in Pangkep (<http://kkji.kp3k.kkp.go.id>, 2022). This significant

number shows that the number of Indonesian people who work as fishermen is also significant, reaching around 2.17 million fishermen spread across various parts of Indonesia. (<https://nasional.kompas.com>, 2022). Based on these facts, it is unsurprising that many scholars have studied fishermen in various parts of Indonesia, such as Lina Latifah and Rifki Khoirudin. (2021), Agus Wahyu Santoso, Budhi H. Iskandar, Yopi Novita, and Mulyono S. Baskoro (2021), Made Aditya Nugraha (2020), Kurniawan (2020), Juni Susanti Barunea and Marlina Wiguna Lumban Tobing (2019), Radityo Pramoda and Tenny Apriliani (2019), etc.

The specifics of fishermen and their religious context have also attracted the attention of scholars, such as Benny Baskara (2021, 2014 dan 2020), Thiyas Tono Taufiq (2017), and Masthuriyah Sa'dan (2017). Benny Baskara examines the Islam of Bajo fishermen in Southeast Sulawesi in three. First, regarding the Lontarak Assalenna Bajo manuscript, this study concludes that the community accepted Islam through negotiation and adjustment with the Bone kingdom of South Sulawesi. Second, a joint article by Irwan Abdullah and Djoko Suryo regarding the construction and contestation of their Islamic identity, this study concludes that there is a struggle between 'Islam of the sea', against 'Islam of the land people' and 'official Islam', which in turn forms an adaptive Bajo Islamic identity. Third, this study concludes that the Bajo community accepts the da'wah of the Tablighi Jama'ah, which shapes its religious model to become orthodox because of its puritan nature. Benny Baskara's three studies show the religious model of the fishing community, in this case, the Bajo, which was formed adaptively according to the teaching model that came to him.

Thiyas Tono Taufiq wrote another study about the role of religion in shaping the environmental wisdom of fishermen workers in the Banyutowo community, Dukuh Seti-Pati. The study concludes that the environmental wisdom of fishermen is formed through social solidarity, sea alms rituals, and various other local traditions to maintain the balance of nature. Tono Taufiq's findings show a strong relationship between humans and their nature, which forms and becomes a model for their religion. The next study was carried out by Masthuriyah Sa'dan about women (wives) being heads of families in fishing communities in Madura using Muhammad Syahrur's perspective. This study concludes that Muhammad Syahrur's perspective on religious texts, in this case, QS. Al-Nisa: 34, needs to be read in conjunction with social reality, namely the Madurese fishing community, producing skills – even imperatives, for women who maintain family financial stability. This study shows that social reality influences giving new meaning to religious texts.

Up to this point, the various studies above show that work as a fisherman constructs a religious way unique to the community, which demands work

adjustment to religious teachings. From here, this study also analyzes the way of the religion of the people of Balang Caddi Island, which is constructed by the influence of their work as *Pabagang*. This study departs from the assumption that workers, including Pabagang, also practice their religious teachings according to their social context. This assumption is in line with the statement of KH. Ahmad Bahauddin Nursalim (Gus Baha) that people who work well, including fishermen (*Pabagang*), have the same position as worshipers and include the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (<https://www.nu.or.id> and <https://akurat.co>, 2022). By focusing on *Pabagang* on Balang Caddi Island, this study seeks to show that with their religious peculiarities, fishing working communities also practice their religious teachings like other religious communities, even contributing to the development and distinctiveness of the religious life of other people who do not work as fishermen.

## **METHOD**

The question to be answered in this study is how to construct the piety of Muslim fishermen in *Pabagang* on Balang Caddi Island amid their limitations. This study forms a field study in answering these questions, where primary sources are obtained directly from interviews, observations, and documentation. Sources of interview results were obtained from informants, such as *Pabagang*, local government, mosque administrators, ustadz, and community women whose husbands work as *Pabagang*. Some informants did not want their names written, so the author uses their initials to appreciate it. Meanwhile, observations and documentation were carried out on the island and in Bagang, as well as participating in *Pabagang's* work for three days. The secondary sources refer to various works of literature, such as dissertations, theses, journal articles, websites and others, as long as these sources discuss the issues being studied. In processing these sources, this study uses the analytical-descriptive method to describe and analyze these sources to find holistic conclusions on the religious life of *Pabagang* on Balang Caddi Island.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. Socio-Religious Life of Balang Caddi Island Community**

Balang Caddi Island is one of the small islands in Pangkajene Regency and the Archipelago, better known as Pangkep Regency, which is about 3 miles from the mainland of Pangkep Regency, and 4 miles from Makassar City's mainland. This island has become a separate urban village area since 2010 based on the Regional Regulation of Pangkajene and Islands Regency No. 1 of 2010 concerning the Establishment of Mattiro Bintang Village, Liukang Tupabbiring District, Pangkajene Regency and the Archipelago. (<https://peraturan.bpk.go.id>, 2022),

namely Kelurahan Mattiro Bintang, after separating from Balang Lompo Island (about 10 kilometers to the west) as part of Kelurahan Mattiro Sompe. Besides Balang Caddi Island, in the Mattiro Bintang Village, there is also Langkadea Island, an uninhabited island. The area of Balang Caddi Island is about 12,12 hectares. There is one government office, a school building consisting of PAUD, TPA, SD, Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah (MDA) DDI (SD level), and SMP, with one unit each, two posyandu, and one place of worship (mosque) named Masjid Darus Sa'adah (Dokumen Pemerintah Kelurahan Mattiro Bintang, 2020).

Leadership in Balang Caddi Island can be mapped into three components: urban village, religious, and fishermen. Regarding the *kelurahan*, the island is led by a *lurah*, whose subordinates include the Community Empowerment Institute (LPM), the secretary of the *lurah*, the head of the government section, the head of the development section, the head of the economy and community welfare section, and the head of the peace and order section, and there are four RW and ten RT. In terms of religious leadership, this island is led by a chairman and assisted by a secretary and treasurer and is accompanied by a mosque's ustadz, *imam* and assistant *imam*. For social affairs, this island is led by a Pinggawa or Punggawa, head or captain of mustard (troops) (Wahyuni, 2018). The three components of leadership control various lines of the life of Balang Caddi Island's people, including 1748 residents consisting of 853 men and 895 women, both working and not. (Document of Mattiro Bintang, 2020).

Specifically for the working community, the local government recorded that around 625 people were working as fishermen, 25 as entrepreneurs, 4 as civil servants, 8 as carpenters, and 4 as stone masons. From this information, a significant number of fishing workers are mostly occupied by *Pabagang*, with a total of about 625 people out of a total of 853 men – because only men work as *Pabagang*. This number of *Pabagang* refers to the number of Bagang, which amounts to 52 (Dokumen Pemerintah Kelurahan Mattiro Bintang, 2020), where one *Bagang* consists of 11-13 *Pabagang*. The number of people who work as *Pabagang* shows that most of the men on the island live more in the sea than on land. This indicates that most of the people of Balang Caddi Island stay longer at sea than on land. Therefore, various activities that lead many people, especially those requiring the presence of men, must adjust the schedule for *Pabagang*'s return from the sea. Thus, the presence of *Pabagang* significantly affects the pattern of life and various community activities, including religious life on the island.

The religious life of the people of Balang Caddi Island can be said to be quite good, mainly because it is supported by the existence of educational institutions and the Darul Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso da'wah network, a moderate religious-

based Islamic boarding school in South Sulawesi, which influences the religious model of this island community. In this context, as stated above, there are educational institutions on this island in the form of PAUD, TPA, SD, MDA DDI, and SMP, which can be divided into two models of formal education, namely general and religion. Regarding general education, it can be taken at PAUD, SD and SMP, while religious education can be taken at TPA and MDA DDI. Apart from this formal education, the community also usually learns informally or traditionally from people with good knowledge, such as Guru Pangngaji (religious teachers). The mention of Pangngaji (religious reading) shows that the education taken is based on religion. Furthermore, the existence of this salary teacher cannot be separated from the socio-religious context, especially in terms of traditional religious education for the people of South Sulawesi in general. (lihat Mattulada, 1976; Safwan (ed), 1981). Therefore, understanding *Pabagang's* religious life leads to understanding the context of the social and religious life of Balang Caddi Island itself.

## **B. The Religious Context of *Pabagang* Society on Balang Caddi Island**

The previous section has stated the context of life on Balang Caddi Island. From here, this section describes further the context of the life of the island's people by focusing on the religious side and its relation to the important position of *Pabagang*, which can be explained through three sides, namely religious education, the central role of mosques, to the da'wah network on the island. All three are important means for the people of Balang Caddi Island to pursue and shape their socio-religious life, which is still found today. Furthermore, the three can also be explored in a wider context on religious education, mosques, and da'wah networks. In this context, religious education on the island refers to forms of formal and non-formal education. Forms of formal religious education on the island include TPA and MDA DDI, while non-formal forms of religious education include traditional Koran recitation. In addition, the role of mosques on the island refers to the Darus Sa'adah Mosque, which is the center of activities and dependence on the religious life of the people of Balang Caddi Island. The da'wah network on the island refers to da'wah from the DDI Mangkoso Islamic Boarding School, Makassar, and Salemo Island.

The influence of the various levels of education above, especially religious education, on *Pabagang* is not actually on the learning process. Of course, the *Pabagangs* are no longer in that period, and the religious understanding and model obtained through these various levels are very basic, and this is common in any area. However, what had a big impact on *Pabagang* was that almost all of the students of the religious education institution were children from the community who worked as *Pabagang*. This condition led *Pabagang* and their wives to pay attention to their

children's religious education, ranging from materials and activities to religious understanding. In addition, another thing that is also important to be seen as a factor influencing *Pabagang's* religion is that the tradition of learning or religious education is carried out by blending in with the local community. For example, a small child learns to recite the “little Qur'an”, namely Juz 'Amma, to the “Big Al-Qur'an”, which is 30 Juz, at the house of a nearby resident who is considered capable of teaching the Koran, usually a woman. This phenomenon gives nuance and a socio-religious structure between one citizen and another, including the *Pabagang* family. Those who complete the Qur'an have a celebration by their family, known as Mappatamma, a tradition of celebrating the completion of the Qur'an typical of South Sulawesi. (see Mappangara, 2007).

On the other hand, formal religious education, namely TPA and MDA DDI, also gives nuance and socio-religious structure to *Pabagang's* life. At the TPA level, the material taught is reciting the Qur'an with the Iqra' model, a modern model for reciting the Qur'an, which is carried out in mosques and teachers' homes. The teaching of the Iqra' recitation in the mosque is carried out after the Asr prayer, followed by those (children) who are still at the Iqra' 1-4 level. After that, the next levels, 5-6, start reading the Qur'an, which is done at the teacher's house after the Isha prayer until an hour later. In the next stage, after completing the TPA level, the children are directed to enter the DDI madrasa. In madrasas, students have been taught basic religious knowledge such as fiqh, Arabic grammar, faith and morals. Their teaching and learning process continued in the mosque after the Maghrib prayer until the Isha. From here, at least, there are three interesting things from formal religious education. First, the tight teaching and learning schedule led the *Pabagang* family to pay attention to their children's education time, both at the TPA and MDA DDI levels. Second, the teaching-learning process in mosques and schools adds a distinct religious nuance to the *Pabagang* family. Third, the *Pabagang* family whose children study in TPA and MDA DDI pays attention to the religious material their children are studying.

Regarding the mosque's role in *Pabagang's* religious life, the Darus Sa'adah mosque is not only one of the grandest mosques on the islands of Pangkep Regency, but it is also a center for local community religious activities. In addition to the place of prayer, the Darus Sa'adah mosque is also a place for other religious activities such as Barzanji every Friday night, the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, Isra 'Mi'raj, Nuzulul Qur'an, and others. In fact, in this mosque, the tradition of reciting *la ilaha illallahu wallahu akbar* was born on the last night of Ramadan, which is read every time after reading the selected surah. This tradition has been going on for a long time and is still preserved today. The initiator of this tradition is the

previous *imam* of the mosque, which shows the very important role of the *imam* of the mosque for the village community (see Rabinson, 2021). According to Suyuthi, grandson of the previous *imam* of the mosque, this tradition emerged from Sufistic reflection and study with AGH. Muhammad Bilalu (Interview with Suyuthi, 2022), a leading scholar from Sabutung-Makassar (see Muhammad, 2017). Abdul Hayat, the current *imam* of the mosque, the tradition continues to this day because it is considered not contrary to religious law, as no scholars forbid it (Interview with Hayat, 2022). Concerning traders, these various religious activities follow the *Pabagang* schedule, so often, the schedule of religious activities at the mosque is not carried out according to the date.

Meanwhile, in terms of the da'wah network, the people of Balang Caddi Island refer to the da'wah from DDI Mangkoso, Makassar, and Salemo Island. The DDI Mangkoso da'wah network was formed because of its missionary agenda which continues to be carried out in remote areas, including this island. Ustadz who teach at TPA and Madrasah DDI are also representatives (preachers) of DDI Mangkoso. Their da'wah was well received by the community, so not only did they continue to preach on this island, the local community sent their children to the pesantren. Wajedi, one of the alumni of DDI, said that he had been sent to school to DDI when he was still in elementary school (Interview with Wajedi, 2022). Apart from DDI, da'wah networks are also established from Makassar. This happens because the land activities of this community are dominant in Makassar. In Makassar, AGH. Muhammad Bilalu is said to be an active cleric who preaches in the mosques of the Sabutung area and has succeeded in influencing figures such as Imams or ustadz from the island. Until now, the preaching of ustadz from Makassar is still ongoing. As for the da'wah from the island of Salemo, this happened because they were fellow islanders, so the interaction between the two continued to occur, including from a religious perspective. Salemo Island was a place of religious learning long before the emergence of modern educational models such as schools/madrasahs, as was done by AGH. Muhammad As'ad in the Bugis region (Gaffar dan Takbir, 2018).

Up to this point, the various explanations regarding the role of education, mosques and da'wah networks above provide a bright spot on the religious model of the *Pabagang* community, which the DDI dominantly influences. This can be seen from their intensive da'wah movement and (because it) was well received by the community, then he established educational institutions, both in the form of TPA and Madrasah DDI. Thus, understanding the religious model on this island leads to understanding the religious model of DDI Mangkoso. In this context, the researchers place DDI Mangkoso as one of the earliest Islamic boarding schools in South Sulawesi, which has been the leading driver of religious moderation in Eastern



Indonesia. (Burga, 2019; Muhsin, 2014; Muin, 2021). Its founder, namely AGH. Ambo Dalle, is a student of AGH. Muhammad As'ad, the founder of the As'adiyah pesantren, is also a proponent of religious moderation (Darlis, 2016; Halim, 2015; Husain, 2021). Thus, historically, the religious model on Balang Caddi Island is connected to the leading ulama in South Sulawesi and has a moderate character. Ustadz Tahir, a cleric on the island of DDI's envoy, tries to show the importance of mutual respect in the social life on Balang Caddi Island (Interview with Tahir, 2022).

### C. Description of Pabagang Religion in Limitations

This section discusses the religious model of the people of Balang Caddi Island who work as *Pabagang* for about 23-25 days at sea. The number of days refers to the bright moon. In the context of the calendar, it can be said that *Pabagang's* work follows the *qamariyah* or *hijriyah* calendar. Without ignoring the state of nature, namely, the dark sky makes the fish look for bright light, so this situation is used by *Pabagang* by engineering lamps, leaving for work based on the *hijriyah* month also indicates the presence of religious symbols. Many symbols are believed to be part of religion by *Pabagang*, both of which he wears or is stored in Bagang. Therefore, this section discusses religious activities and symbols in *Pabagang's* life while at sea. From here, this section attempts to describe *Pabagang's* religion, which, despite its limitations, has its peculiarities as a model of Muslim fishermen's religion.

Figure 1. Fishermen's activities at sea



The symbols assessed as part of the religious method are found starting from determining the departure schedule to *Pabagang's* return from work. In this context,

*Pabagang* want to pay attention to "good times" spiritually. For example, Danial Iskandar, one of the Pinggawa or *Pabagang* captains, said that around 16-17 H was a "good time" to go to sea-Bagang (Interview with Iskandar, 2022). Determining good or bad timing is a separate phenomenon among South Sulawesi's people (see Sabara, 2018). *Pabagang* did not leave on Friday or before the Friday prayer, which was done as a form of respect for the Friday prayer because in Bagang, they could no longer perform Friday prayers. In addition, *Pabagang* wore a skullcap/cap when they first left for the sea, which they used as a symbol of Islam, especially as proof that they wanted to seek Allah's sustenance (Interview with Iskandar, 2022). In Bagang, almost all Bagang keep the Qur'an, and some of them write calligraphy of Allah and Muhammad on the walls of their Bagang, all of which can be interpreted as a symbol of the smoothness and blessings of sustenance from their Lord.

Apart from being in the form of symbols, the *Pabagang* prayers performed while at sea (Bagang) also describe their religious life in limitations. In this context, as mentioned in the introduction, many *Pabagang* face obstacles that are not light for them as people who are not qualified (and not equipped) to understand the fiqh of prayer. Even though they are active in praying on land, they have difficulty being active at sea, mainly due to limited fresh water. The transition from ablution to *tayammum* is unfamiliar to *Pabagang*, so they are usually only active in praying on their first days at sea because they perform ablution in fresh water. The condition of *Pabagang* with the initials AM revealed at the outset that *Pabagang* had difficulty praying because of the lack of fresh water was also felt by many *Pabagang*, as acknowledged by AR, NSR, and others (Interview with AR dan NSR, 2022). The cleanliness of clothes and Bagang which is not guaranteed is a separate cause for their doubts whether or not their prayers are valid. In addition, natural factors (waves) also add to their limitations in praying, especially because their prayer movements in Bagang are the same as when they are in the mosque (Interview with NSR, 2022).

In addition to the limitations in performing prayers, fasting is also a religious phenomenon for *Pabagang*. In this context, compared to prayer, fasting is relatively easier for *Pabagang* because of the difference between working and fasting, namely, working nights and fasting during the day. Abdul Waris, one of the Pinggawa, said that fasting in Bagang was not too burdensome because *Pabagang* usually used it from 9 am to 4 pm for rest (read: sleep) by *Pabagang*. With this condition, the fatigue or thirst usually felt due to fasting does not happen to *Pabagang*. On the other hand, the time of fasting in *Pabagang* dominantly refers to the sun's rising and setting. Even though they already have cellular phones and clocks, they trust the sun. According to Abdul Waris, this is because even though there are provisions for

fasting and breaking time for Makassar and its region, we are more confident about the sun's rising and setting because we have witnessed it firsthand (Interview with Waris, 2022). Thus, this situation indicates that *Pabagang* follows the role of nature in determining the fasting schedule, namely from sunrise to sunset.

Apart from worship, *Pabagang's* religious model can also be seen in terms of the good relationship they have built with nature (*hablum minal alam*), especially in relation to the ocean. In this context, the good conditions of nature are decisive and support the smooth running of *Pabagang's* work, starting from the wind, rain and waves. At the same time, big fish like Sharks are also *Pabagang's* concern to not damage Bagang's condition. Rahman, one of *Pabagang*, revealed that it is important not to say bad words, mock, or show a bad attitude towards nature to maintain *Pabagang's* security because he is afraid that something undesirable will happen even though the land is very far from reach. Good relations with fish are carried out by providing small fish as food for sharks or other large fish when they suddenly appear under or around Bagang. This method is powerful enough to repel the big fish, even being tame to *Pabagang* (Interview with Rahman, 2022). This condition shows a significant dependence for *Pabagang* on the sea, which is easy to understand because the ocean, with all its contents, can be said to be the place or area they have occupied for a long time. Religious indications on this side can be seen from efforts to treat other creatures (nature) wisely.

Up to this point, the description of *Pabagang's* religion above shows that amid their limitations, *Pabagang* tries to carry out religious orders, which shows that there is a negotiation between their obligations and the context of their life at sea. In this context, this phenomenon is in line with the view that religious man is inseparable and always interacts with the Originator and with the nature he inhabits. (Nasr, 1981), which led him to create a religious model based on local wisdom (Abdullah 2008). Furthermore, a religion based on local wisdom shows that religion always comes to humans contextually, adapting its teachings to the context of the human life they visit. (Al Makin, 2016). In other words, various religious symbols and rituals that occur in *Pabagang's* life at sea are phenomena of bringing the Origin into life at sea, producing a contextual religious model as *Pabagang*, which indicates a religious construction of *Pabagang* at sea. Moreover, *Pabagang's* religious construction is more clearly understood when analyzing *Pabagang's* religious model when at sea (working in Bagang) and on land on Balang Caddi Island, which is discussed in the next section.

#### D. *Pabagang's* Religious Model: Between Ritual and Social Piety

The discussion about the religious context of the *Pabagang* people on Balang Caddi Island and in Bagang (sea), which has been described previously, illustrates a difference in religious life between when on land and at sea. These differences arise in tandem with the means of worship, where what is easy to find or do on land becomes difficult at sea. However, the land and sea conditions form a contextual religious model based on *Pabagang's* location. Discussing the two together can produce a complete and holistic view of *Pabagang's* religious model. Therefore, this section discusses these two discussions, especially in discovering *Pabagang's* piety, which in this case aims to reveal *Pabagang's* ritual and social piety. Ritual piety refers to rituals or worship, especially prayer and fasting, while social piety refers to the piety of inter-community activities, both to the people of Balang Caddi Island and others. The discussion of *Pabagang's* ritual and social piety at sea and land can be traced through three sides: material contributions, involvement in socio-religious activities, and actively implementing and maintaining local religious traditions.

Regarding material contributions, *Pabagang* can be said to be the uppermost community in the welfare of the social and religious life of the community and infrastructure on Balang Caddi Island. Even this contribution in the form of the material makes the people of Balang Caddi Island less dependent on material contributions from the local government. This is because the material (wealth/money) has been qualified to be owned by *Pabagang*, from which they donate to build and develop religious life on this island, such as mosques, schools, and others. One Bagang (11-13 *Pabagang*), about 2% (two per cent) of their income must be donated to the mosque; for example, *Pabagang's* income is around 50-70 million, then one Bagang contributes one million per income. When the mosque on the island was renovated, one Bagang donated gold (*ringgit/pesus*), resulting in a magnificent mosque building (Interview with Samid, 2022). Apart from mosques, other donations are also for the construction and development of religious education institutions, namely TPA and Madrasah DDI, especially from *Pabagang*, whose children attend these institutions. Thus, *Pabagang's* direct involvement in the development and development of religious life on the island in the form of material gives *Pabagang* its pious value in terms of its social role.

Regarding involvement in socio-religious activities, *Pabagang* is the most awaited presence, especially in the success of activities on the island. As previously stated, socio-religious activities such as Isra 'Mi'raj, Maulid Nabi, Nuzulul Qur'an, Eid al-Fitr and Adha, until the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day on August 17. Starting Ramadan, *Pabagang* had to return to the island until the first week of Ramadan. The presence of *Pabagang* is significant, especially because they

get the largest portion in these activities, both as organizers and participants (Interview with Waris, 2022). Here, although *Pabagang* is not the main actor in the running of religious activities, the number of them who are dominant and their material influence impacts the timing and form of activities. This shows that *Pabagang* have ties to certain days of their religion, which forms the character of *Pabagang's* concern for religious activities on the island. The formation of this caring character indirectly leads *Pabagang* to care about their religion through religious and social activities. Thus, *Pabagang's* involvement in routine religious activities on the island builds *Pabagang's* socio-religious awareness both on land and at sea, which leads to their participation in building religious life in terms of social energy.

Not much different from being involved in religious activities, being active in carrying out and maintaining local religious traditions also places *Pabagang* as a party that often enlivens religious life on the island with several traditions. Apart from Mawlid Nabi, Nuzulul Qur'an, Isra' Mi'raj, *Pabagang* also have religious traditions specifically carried out by them, such as Barazanji for the new Bagang, and the *takbiran* for Eid al-Fitr. These traditions refer to the distinctive religious tradition of DDI Mangkoso, which is globally similar to the religious tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama (see Fattah, 2006). Furthermore, these traditions involve various circles of the wider community, especially from religious circles such as the *imam* of the Mosque, Ustadz, mosque administrators, and others. In this context, even though *Pabagang* did not understand the arguments for the recommendations and virtues of the various religious traditions, they still carried them out. Wajedi, one of the Pinggawa, said that these traditions were a form of gratitude for the sustenance Allah SWT gave (Takbir, personal communication, February 8, 2022). This shows that within the scope of seeking sustenance at sea, there is a local religious tradition as part of a ritual to God and a good relationship with society on this island. Thus, the local religious tradition carried out by *Pabagang* forms a ritual and social religious model at the same time.

Up to this point, the various explanations above show that *Pabagang's* religious model is more focused on aspects of social piety than ritual piety. In this case, even though *Pabagang* has difficulty carrying out their religious orders, such as fasting and praying, they play a significant social role in reviving, enlivening and developing religious life on the island. This significant social role cannot be separated from the dominance of their number on the island and their relatively large income. In other words, *Pabagang* form a religious model on Balang Caddi Island through two social capitals: economic capital and quantity (quantity). Through these two social capitals, even though *Pabagang* is not the holder of religious authority, such as ustadz, imam of the mosque and mosque administrators, and is not the holder of

government authority, such as the village trap, *Pabagang* can give religious character to the island. At the same time, *Pabagang's* social piety then depended on the ritual piety of other communities on this island, which was caused by *Pabagang's* direct involvement in various religious aspects, such as the construction of worship facilities, scheduling religious activities, and the survival of local religious traditions.

The phenomenon of the *Pabagang* religious model above shows the important position of an element or component of society whose presence is significant for the religious life of other communities, even though they are not actively worshipping ritually. This indicates that the worker's piety cannot be seen only from the side of the ritual but also requires a comprehensive understanding of their life. Extending from the context of *Pabagang's* life, the context of *Pabagang's* religious life is not much different from other fishing workers. As a Muslim who works at sea, fishermen experience many limitations, making it difficult to carry out the routines of worship that can be performed on land. Like *Pabagang*, many fisherman workers are hampered in carrying out their religious rituals by many things, such as religious knowledge, religious facilities and infrastructure at sea. However, even though fishermen cannot maximize their ritual piety, they can maximize their social piety, which leads the fishermen's work to contribute to the ritual piety of the surrounding community.

In a broader context, the workers' piety needs to be seen as a religious phenomenon equivalent to obedient people in their ritual piety. This is because workers can be referred to as those who embody the community's piety to their God. In the case of the people of Balang Caddi Island, many of *Pabagang's* contributions, such as materials, labour, and others, ultimately helped other people who were no longer working to continue to perform their worship properly because they worshipped in a magnificent mosque, as was *Pabagang's* contribution. Cases like this are often found in various regions in Indonesia, where people who are actively worshipping can worship calmly due to the help of working communities who are not actively worshipping. The religious phenomenon of a community like this strengthens Gus Baha's statement, which is the assumption of this study, as revealed in the introduction, that people who work can also be called worshipping and include the Sunnah of the Apostle. The worship of the workers in the form of social piety needs to be seen as a complement to the ritual worship that is not optimal. Thus, the Islamic community can maximize their worship of God according to their respective abilities and contexts.

## CONCLUSION

From the various explanations above, it can be concluded that the construction of Pabagang's religious life leads to social piety, which contributes to the ritual piety of the people of Balang Caddi Island. This phenomenon cannot be separated from the significance of its social role in religious life on Balang Caddi Island, which is heavily influenced by the religious model of the Darul Da'wah wal Irsyad (DDI) Mangkoso Islamic boarding school. The strong context of religious life on this island gives Pabagang its religious nuance so that even though they are limited in carrying out their religious life at sea (Bagang), they actively contribute to the development of religious life on the island through social capital in the form of economic capital and quantity capital. Thus, despite its limitations at sea, Pabagang's religious life has become a religious phenomenon that deserves appreciation as an Islamic community because it displays a distinctive religious model and maintains and develops religious life in addition to other communities, namely the general public. This phenomenon of Pabagang religious life is common in Indonesian society, where workers are not active in ritual piety but in social piety. Therefore, the religion of Pabagang workers, fishermen, or other workers who earn a living properly and correctly needs to be seen as equal to other communities, especially to achieve a complementary social structure.

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