

Sea Nomads and Cultural Transformation, Case Study: Kampung Baru Suku Laut, Sungai Buluh Village, Lingga Regency, Riau Islands

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ABSTRACT

Nusantara's rich and glorious civilization, especially at its peak, provides valuable records to discover the right paradigm of Indonesia as a maritime nation. The Orang Laut, also known as the Sea Tribe or Sea Nomads, is the ancient Malay people (Proto-Malay) who inhabited Nusantara waters thousands of years ago and sailed to all corners of the world. Today, the Sea Tribe experiences cultural violence caused by structural or infrastructural violence due to the land resettlement policy, which was established by the New Order government and continues until today. The transformation of settlement to the uncertainty of identity the Orang Laut experienced is further explored by utilizing Heidegger's dwelling framework. This research was conducted through field observations and interviews with residents in Kampung Baru Suku Laut in Sungai Buluh, a Sea Tribe settlement strikingly unconventional from other settlements around Lingga Regency. The political and development policies are highlighted in this study to emphasize the urgency for strenuous efforts in development planning oriented towards the environment and human context of the inhabitants.

Keywords: *Orang Laut, maritime nation, dwelling, cultural violence, settlement*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nusantara is the term used to define an area composed of several islands connected by the oceans. This region forged a long history, thus displaying a great civilization's representation based on the philosophy of the people's soul. Mandala - a cosmological concept that has developed into a geopolitical concept - is wholly inherent in the people of the Southeast Asian archipelago [1]. O.W. Wolters [2] stated that the map of Southeast Asia evolved from a prehistoric network of small settlements to the current political map. Unlike the traditional Chinese and European views, where states are defined territorially, the Mandala political model is very well unorthodox. The government is determined by its center, where these centers consist of various tributary states without any administrative integration. This system is non-territorial, and every ruler has zero authority over uninhabited areas [3]. History narrates that Nusantara played a vital role in shaping the ancient globalization, acknowledged by the extensive spice trade's shipping. One of the well-known routes is the cinnamon trade route [4]. Spices, herbs, dyes, and goods found exclusively in the archipelago brought great riches in this era, where great kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe treated Nusantara's commodities to symbolize power, greatness, nobility and even luxury [5].

Bung Karno, the first president of Indonesia once said that Indonesia should be a nation that preserves the nobility of

its historical and cultural heritage. As one of Indonesia's founding fathers, he thoroughly recognized the nation's authentic genealogy. Cakrawati Samudera, which he once echoed, is the notion of a maritime nation comprising of a commercial and trading fleet, a military squadron, and a transportation armada whose activities magnificently harmonize the ocean's rhythm. As the timeline progressed, the development criterion initiated under President Suharto's leadership had gradually shifted the paradigm of the maritime nation. The agrarian program and the five-year development program (Repelita) were the direct implementation of the Green Revolution - a global program during the 1950-1980s era [6]. In reality, the green revolution triggered economic and social disparities in rural areas, resulting in inequalities that immensely harm society. This arduous enactment had made the nation, once bearing its maritime and agrarian spirit firmly, solely emphasizing development on land while neglecting the ocean's prospects. Nowadays, Indonesia's maritime spirit is revamped by the government through various marine programs, coining the term "Blue Revolution" - an economic revolution concentrating on the sea's potential. The Orang Laut, the ancestors of the Indonesians - known today as the Sea Tribe or Sea Nomads, are influential actors in shaping Nusantara's maritime civilization. It was the Orang Laut who had the foremost maritime knowledge and technology at that time. They were able to ship commercial commodities to various parts of the world while defending the archipelago's waters as a naval fleet for the kingdoms.



Figure 1 Location of study area. Source: the location of Orang Laut adapted from [7]

Riau Islands stands as the area with the largest population of marine tribes, and the Sungai Buluh Village is one of them. However, a government program highlighting equitable development sparks the start of cultural violence against this tribe. Sungai Buluh is one of the areas affected by this program, whereas many as 50 houses were built under the paradigm that they should no longer live on canoes in the sea, which is considered inappropriate and dangerous. During its progression, the Orang Laut were still uncertain of their new life. They perceived the land as such a frightening landscape that they initially chose to leave their homes on the mainland and return to the sea [8]. Gradually, they managed to adapt to their new environment on land, but their profound bond to the sea never fades through times.

This study delves deeper into the changes in the settlements of the Orang Laut, tracing their origins from the beginning of civilization until they were "forced" to disembark. This study utilizes Heidegger's framework of Building, Dwelling, Thinking - it focuses on humans' wandering and staying cycles [9]. This framework is deemed relevant to explain the adjustments in the settlement of the Orang Laut. Throughout the observation, this study leads to understanding and uncovering Nusantara's original definition, which plays a role in shaping the character of the people and government based on the enculturation of historical and cultural values.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1 Case Study

This study focuses on the settlement of the Orang Laut in Sungai Buluh Village, West Singkep District, Lingga Regency, Riau Islands (Figure 1). The Orang Laut were the people who were resettled by the New Order government around 1981 through the Sea Tribe Settlement program (PKSMT). Previous studies [7] provided in-depth analyses to identify a more detailed account around Orang Laut's condition in Sungai Buluh, such as the material and non-material modifications, including the social and cultural changes that affected their architectural approach towards settlements. Moreover, this study still recognizes the broad context of the Sea Tribe's cultural development around the study locus.

2.2 Methods

This study utilizes Heidegger's framework [10], where he emphasized the correlation between material and non-material aspects of dwelling. Dwelling is often interpreted as a house or a residence to live in for an extended period. In this case, the definition of dwelling does not refer to the noun for a comfortable home. Dwelling is a verb that describes human behavior towards its surroundings. The presence of humans is what makes dwelling activities eloquent. It established a physical and spiritual connection associating the inhabitants and the place [13]. Dwelling as human nature is invigorated by two distinct desires that affect each other [Diagram 1]. As a resident,

humans will eventually find a place to settle. On the other hand, humans have a sense of curiosity to explore uncharted territories. When they have decided to take up residence, humans will lose this dynamic movement. To avoid this idleness, the act of dwelling must provide a particular space for humans that has its appeal - this is achievable by determining the place's significance. This life sequence of wandering and staying invokes the process of learning, identifying, and reminiscing to humans, which then epitomizes the definition of the dwelling. The Sea Tribe's lifestyle reflects on their migratory behavior in the past that showcases how they observe their surroundings. Dwelling in Heidegger's concept is more inclined towards the habits that developed when humans take shelter in a specific place.

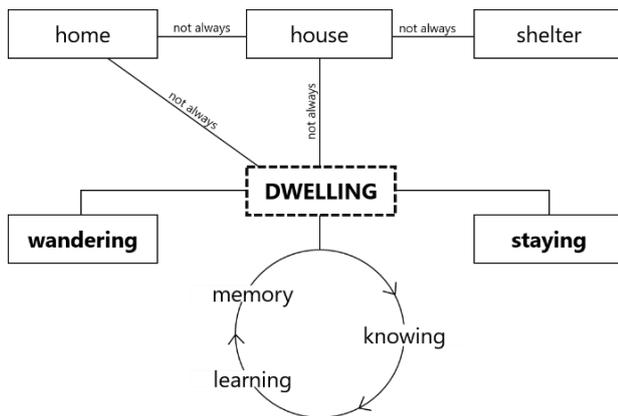


Diagram 1 Dwelling understanding framework. Source: Heidegger, 1971 | adapted from R.L.Wolford [9] and Wulandari dkk [11].

This study utilizes a qualitative descriptive research method through field observations and interviews with stakeholders and community leaders in Kampung Baru Suku Laut, Sungai Buluh Village. This study is limited to the research locus previously described. In order to obtain historical insight of the Orang Laut, literature reviews were carried out by analyzing and studying the current phenomena of the social conditions of the residents of Kampung Baru.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Wandering and Staying: Socio-Cultural Conditions

This section describes the history of the Orang Laut from wandering to staying.

3.1.1. The Wandering of Orang Laut

The Indonesians' ancestors explored the ocean and land, and the grueling journey led towards the strong persona trademarked to the highlanders and Orang Laut as the nation's identity throughout history. As time went by, some

chose to stay at sea, while others settled inland. The Orang Laut, consisting of various tribes, spread across the archipelago. There are the Bugis Tribe, Wajo Tribe, and various subtribes in eastern Indonesia, while the western region consists of the Laut Tribe, Mantang Tribe, and other subtribes that were once an extension of Srivijaya's power, the largest maritime kingdom at that time. The Sea Tribe is often identified as pirates by the colonizers since they guarded Nusantara waters and acted as harbor patrols to keep an eye on foreign traders at that time. History records revealed that there are at least three prominent sea tribes: the Moken Tribe in the Mergui Islands of Burma waters, the Orang Laut in the Riau-Lingga Islands, and the Bajau Tribe in most parts of eastern Indonesian waters. Researchers estimated that all of these tribes share a common ancestor [12]. R.J. Wilkinson stated that the Sea Tribe is the remnant of the Proto-Malay people from the Malacca Strait around 2500 BC-1500 AD. Eventually, the arrival of the Deutro-Malays subdued them around 200 BC. The former became the Talang Mamak Tribe, and those who fled to the sea formed the Sea Tribe [13].

Philosophically, these marine tribes project a strong customary value and life wisdom. For instance, Siri' is the Buginese people's life philosophy that explicates the importance of kinship and voyaging [14]. Voyaging paves the way for humans to live a purposeful life. Besides, Siri' itself embodies the connotation of human ambition that yearns to live independently and take control of his/her life wherever he/she is traveling. Another sea tribe in Riau Islands shares the view of a life devoted to the sea, although the amount of nomadic people living in the sea continues to decrease sharply. They stay in the sea all the time and disembark only for essential purposes. Orang Laut does all their activities in the sea since all the tribal customs are associated with the sea. This made Indonesians' ancestors able to travel to Madagascar and other parts of earth.

The Riau Islands has been the area with the largest sea tribe populations that remains to this day. The sea tribes are often called the Orang Laut, scattered across the Malacca Strait, Singapore, the Riau Islands, and Bangka Belitung [15]. Several Orang Laut figures residing in Penuba Island said that their forefathers arrived from Johor Lama on the Malacca Peninsula, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim. The Johor rulers drove their migration as they imposed high taxes at that time, forcing them to flee to the southern region of Riau Islands, such as Penuba, Mantang, and Kundur. This resettling caused the Sea Tribe to be divided into several *puak* or subtribes, including the Mantang, Tambus, Baruk, Posek, and Sekanak Tribe. They subsequently settled as one community under the rule of Sultan Riau-Lingga. According to the elders on Mepar Island, the Riau Islands was still inhabited by the Orang Laut, who lived on the islands before the Sultanate era. They considered the Lingga Island sacred, as it is one of the islands that has the region's highest mountain. These Orang Laut later became the spearhead of the Riau-Johor Kingdom's prosperity that merged into the Riau-Lingga Sultanate.

After Malacca's conquest by the Portuguese transpiring the domination of Portuguese-Dutch colonialism, the Sultan's family was exiled to Singapore in 1913. It ended of the

Riau-Lingga Sultanate abruptly. The unexpected loss of a leader let the Orang Laut astray as they were still scattered across the river's Riau Islands' waters. Moreover, the land or villages they originally resided in were already inhabited by Malay immigrants or settlers during their time guarding the seas. As a result, the Sea People had no space to live in and decided to roam the oceans to this day [16].

The oceans and the coastline have been a living space for Orang Laut for centuries. In fact, since birth, they have lived in the sea to recognize nature's language and understand marine science, such as the ability to read wind direction, tides, or spots for fishing. Furthermore, the sun, moon, and stars navigate them across the seas and vast oceans. Their primary food source is seafood, such as clams, fishes, crabs, and animals hunted ashore. Their hauls are frequently sold to the Chinese, and they often receive seasonal orders. Currently, several groups of Orang Laut have been resettled - either voluntarily or forcibly by the government. They live in the housing or self-built settlements along the coast. However, they still return to seafaring with their whole family on a fishing trip. This trip can last one night or even months. This phenomenon suggests that their reliance on the sea has not diminished and is still prevailing.

3.1.2. *Stay or Leave: The Resettlement Program*

Equitable development and poverty reduction are programs launched since the early 1990s. Under the initiation of Repelita V, the Integrated Area Development Program (PPWT) was launched, encompassing rural areas and urban slums. Additionally, PPWT implemented various programs, including the development of archipelagic areas and the improvement of isolated communities' socio-culture. Afterward, this program transpired into the Social Welfare Program for Disadvantaged Communities (PKSMT) that ran in various regions in Indonesia, especially in the Riau Islands.

Sungai Buluh Village is one of the affected areas, as the government set this site as the new settlement for the Orang Laut. A total of 50 housing units for 50 families were built under the paradigm that they shall no longer live in the treacherous waters. However, the Orang Laut is still unsure about this new life. Until 1996, the housing was impoverished as it was not adequately maintained. Since it was established, it has never undergone renovations, except at their own expense with all their hindrances. Ironically, after being resettled, the government no longer lend a hand in solving these problems.

The notion that land is regarded as a terrifying atmosphere to the tribe inclines them to live on beaches that offer direct contact with the sea, whether it is a sandy shore, a swamp, or any beach comprised of mangrove ecosystems. Kampung Baru Suku Laut in Sungai Buluh is a village built on swampland, adjacent to the mangrove ecosystem that made the surrounding waters relatively calmer. Initially, when the Orang Laut began to inhabit these settlements, they experienced a cultural shock that led to uneasiness and discomfort. This sickness is later revealed as an emotional pain as they feel conflicted about having to endure changes

in lifestyle from sea to land. Since then, it is not uncommon to discover several Orang Laut that had moved in, only to return to the sea afterward, abandoning their houses and leaving them to ruins. This occurrence happened at the village in the early stages of the resettlement. As time passed, some people eventually began to adjust to life on land. Prawirosusanto [17] deemed this program as infrastructural violence due to the government ignoring their roots and culture as the Sea Tribe who value the sea as their homeland. The situation raised a question of the literal meaning of Tanah Air as our homeland - Indonesia is not only composed of *tanah* (land) as *air* (water) also serves a place for some citizens to live. Maritime conceptions planned by the government turn out to be very biased and generalized with land, even though the conception should be acquired within the Sea Tribe's viewpoint.

According to Yulia [17], the key factors that prompted the Sea Tribe to start settling inland were the influence of technology, changes in lifestyle, globalization, religious values, and education. Shifting beliefs, economic changes, and power relations that occur play a part in unforeseen adjustments and alterations, igniting conflicts that inflicted new stigmas of the Sea Tribe. One respondent even said that they are borderline cultured like the Malays. The internalization of religious values, especially Islamization and Christianization of the Sea Tribe, has extensively reshaped their culture and civilization. The majority of the population in Kampung Baru is Muslim, and it paved the way for the integration of Islamic values in the community, such as the presence of mosques and the tradition of *kenduri* rituals, which are the Malays' traditions. The animism-dynamism practices of the Sea Tribe have begun to be abandoned. Some of their authentic cultures have already been acculturated with the Malay customs and Islamic values. On the other hand, they still believe in the presence of spirits, but faithfully practice their religion.

Chou [15] observed that some of the Orang Laut assume that they do not feel better living in a house that stands on the land. The Malays insist that they intend to persuade the Orang Laut to enjoy a progressive lifestyle. On the contrary, the Orang Laut views this matter very differently. They consider the houses filthy since it stands on the same ground of their graves. They surmise that the graves' soil will seep into the ground under the house when it rains. Hence, they started to rebuild their houses on the sea. This rearrangement was initially undetected until the majority of the houses were rebuilt that the Malays populating the surrounding islands chastised their failure to adapt to living inland and return to their previous lifestyle.

This structural violence continues to become cultural violence, which results in the Orang Laut being marginalized. Johan Galtung [18] declared that "*cultural violence mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence-exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science, and formal science (logic, mathematics) - that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.*" Structural violence is a process that systematically legitimizes violence top-down, which in this case, concentrates on PKSMT policies. This cultural violence can be permanently damaging that it

can alter the existence of a tribe, a cultural order, or even an entire civilization. Cultural violence that occurs against the Orang Laut not only disrupts the aspects of primary needs such as housing but also renounces their values, customs, and cultures, which happened following the Islamization and Christianization of the Orang Laut. Local wisdom itself becomes invalid as it collides with the dominant culture in the country. In reality, development based on cultural roots is very feasible in modern times, proven by hundreds of years of global trade that relies on exchanging and spreading local cultures [19]. It seems so complicated to understand development policies from a cultural root perspective that these days, culture seems to be muddled with the word *asset*, which regrettably refers to economic and materialistic values.

3.2. Dwelling: Sea, Beach, and Land-Dwelling Transformation

This section explains the meaning of dwelling, which focuses on architectural transformation to the culture of dwelling.

3.2.1. Architectural Transformation

Nowadays, Sea tribes are facing significant cultural changes. The sea was their sole living space, the only place to carry out activities at the beginning of civilization. In their voyages, they not only ate and drank on board, but they also engaged in sexual activity and gave birth in canoes. The canoes that housed them are called the Sampan Kajang [Figure 2]. Sampan Kajang is a small boat measuring 3x1 meters with a shingle roof made of coconut or pandan leaves at the height of approximately 75cm [8].



Figure 2 The Wandering of Orang Laut on Sampan Kajang. Source: Historia.id

On the Sampan Kajang, there is no partition nor walls that divide the spaces. The kitchen was placed at the stern with metal plates as the firewood base. The stoves were made with recycled cans with punched holes on the sides to insert firewood - the fire was produced through friction by rubbing stone or wood. The construction of the Sampan Kajang features two layers of floors that can be adopted as storage,

and the bow is used as a jumping platform for spear hunting. The amidship serves as a place to lay mats while resting. Typically, a family with three to five children inhabits one Sampan Kajang. In order to maximize space, they usually sleep in a curved position. This lifestyle affects their posture that they have an average height of not more than 1.4 meters [20]. The Sea Tribe community gather in groups. One group consists of 10 canoes with one leader. Children under the age of 10 still live with their families until they are old enough to own a canoe granted by their fathers. After that, they start a new phase of life – fishing, cooking, and getting married, all on their own. However, this norm does not apply to the girl. Instead, they will remain with their parents until a young man proposes. This pattern summarizes the continuing life cycle of Orang Laut.

As time progressed, the Sea Tribe, originally a nomad, began to develop a settlement pattern by building a house called Sapau. The Sapau is a stilt house made of Mengkuang leaves and covered with Rumbia leaves. The house measures about 4.3 x 2.5 m, keeping a simple spatial pattern. There is only one large living room where they do all kinds of activities, while some houses are already accommodated with bedrooms. Despite this, they still use Kajang to go to the sea, catch fishes, and sometimes stay long. Sapau is built with materials they get from the coastal forests. Their skills in carpentry have been passed down for generations. They used logs 13-15 cm in diameter as the main structure. The walls and roof of Sapau are composed using the same material as Kajang or Rumbia. At that time, Sapau was used as a temporary home, a place to settle when the weather at sea was rough. Sapau can be anchored on the edges of the island, but sometimes they can be spotted in the middle of the sea. Usually, they build Sapau near a prime fishing spot. The Sea Tribe's seafaring honed their knowledge and skills. When it comes to building canoes, Kajang, and Sapau, they already have the proper knowledge of structure and construction. Their excellence is demonstrated in choosing high-quality waterproof wood for several specific purposes, such as seraya wood for planks, resak wood for stakes, and perepat wood for the boat's ivory. Their hand skills are applicable in making tools based on simple techniques, such as spears for specific hunts, cigars, bracelets, and various other handicrafts made from sea and forest products.

In general, the settlements of the Orang Laut in Lingga Regency, which are spread over 30 locations, are villages adjacent to the sea packed with typical stilt houses that were raised on pillars as high as 2.5 meters. The inseparable bond to the sea can be observed from the houses' orientation that entirely faces the water [Figure 3a, b]. The front of the house is an open terrace connected to the stairs where the Kajang is secured. The house's interior is only a vacant space with a single partition that separates the bedroom. Meanwhile, the back houses a kitchen, canoe workshop, or a diesel engine storage that supplies lighting during nightfall. These dynamics of the Sea Tribe's settling brought up an evaluation of the PKSMT program – in order to resolve the culture shock, the government focuses on the procurement so that they can build their own house with the materials provided, making fair use of their carpentry skills.



Figure 3 (a,b,c,d) Well preserved Orang Laut’s identity in Lipan Island. (e,f,g,h) The shift of dwelling patterns into modern in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh. (i) Some houses built in Sapau architecture - the Orang Laut in the Kampung Baru chooses to dwell next to the sea.

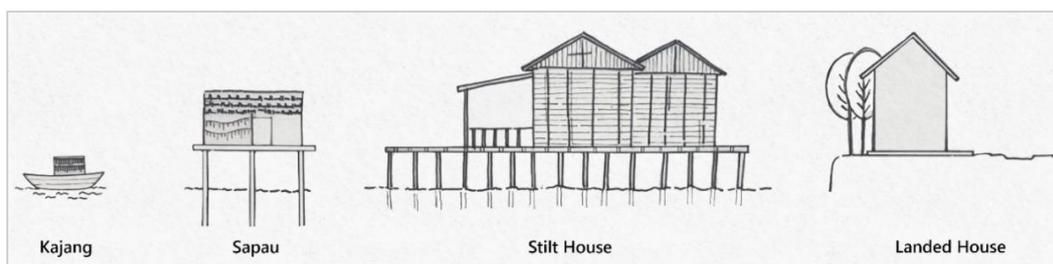


Figure 4 Dwelling transformation of Orang Laut in Kampung Baru, Sungai Buluh

Contrary to other Sea Tribe settlements, Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh is a brand new settlement established by the government using a modern approach [Figures 3e, f, g, h]. At first, these "appropriate" houses caused a culture shock for the Orang Laut. Although this village was built close to the sea, the houses face the main road instead of the waters. It took them years to adapt so that they can live in this modernized civilization. Therefore, some of them either decided to remain nomadic or build houses next to the sea fabricated like the Sapau or stilt houses [Figure 3i]. The image of the Sea Tribe village in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh showcases a character that is strikingly different from other Sea Tribe settlements in other areas — the houses' orientation and design display their inclination towards modernization. The village is designated to portray the exact spatial typology of urban settlement patterns. It is almost impossible to feel the atmosphere of Kampung Baru as the Orang Laut village without asking the residents. This place exhibits a typical Malay fishing village equipped with a long pier made of concrete. Although some houses still stand on stilts, other buildings such as mosques, community centers, and several buildings constructed by the government have adapted the urban housing typology. The outdoor space also characterizes the Malay village in general with a large yard. The communal spaces, such as a meeting hall, a mosque, and a volleyball court, are rarely used by the residents. Several public baths are used for washing and bathing activities, while a school with three classes inside is in ramshackle because they prefer to go to school outside the village.

Figure 4 shows a summary of the architectural transformations of the Orang Laut from the early days of civilization. Today, the identity of the Orang Laut in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh seems to have been weakened by modernization. The remaining ambiance that shows their bond to the sea is displayed through their skills and daily activities as fishermen. The pier is still in use, crowded with two different types of canoes built respectively to adapt to seasonal tides during fishing.

3.2.2. Dwelling Culture Transformation

According Erick Champion [21] that cited Norberg-Schulz about dwelling as "existensial foothold". This clear though, is that dwelling is more than shelter [22], allowing one to orient and "identify with an environment, or, in short, when he [or she] experiences the environment as meaningful." Dwelling also synonymous with place, but there can be meaningful spaces where one does not dwell, or does dwell purely mean the attitude when one finds a place meaningful? Can we not find places meaningful for others but not orient to and identify with them ourselves?

Essentially, the Sea Tribe's dwelling depicts the same characters as other sorts of dwelling, but they have to endure changes physically and spatially. They experience two phases of dwelling: at sea and on land. In the ocean, they use the Sampan Kajang to travel, which then becomes their necessity – transforming it from a shelter to a house. This house becomes a private settlement during life at sea. In

Lingga Regency, the Orang Laut is divided into separate groups. One group lives a nomadic life, and the other lives a semi-nomadic one. The nomads on Sampan Kajang have a magnificent understanding of climate change and how to adapt to seasonal changes [7].

In the next phase, there was a leap of civilization when some Orang Laut began to settle down and create new communities. They build houses collectively, adopting a new settlement culture, while still holding their inclination towards the sea. At this stage, they regard houses as a settlement for family matters, while the Sampan Kajang is still used to allow mobility for travel or marriage purposes. By then, the dwelling that occurs has reached the collective dwelling mode that later becomes the private dwelling.

Public settlements actualized by the government through the PKSMT program imposed a new order in the social life to the Sea Tribe. The mode of public dwelling that was accomplished without extensive studies and efforts critical to the needs of the community catalyzed a culture shock. Based on the interviews conducted with the residents, those who live in Kampung Baru Suku Laut prefer to be considered ordinary Malays. However, the stigma still surrounds the majority of Malays towards the Sea Tribe in Kampung Baru that they are considered a backward society. This clash of identity in question resulted in a rift between the Orang Laut who resided in Kampung Baru, and those who still live in Sampan Kajang. They decided to drift apart, establishing a new identity as the localized Sea Tribe different from the latter, who still seafared in Riau Islands. Today, the houses in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh are no longer under the PKSMT aid. The settlements erected at that time were already damaged as they neglected them for an extended period when they chose to return to the sea. They rebuilt the settlements by themselves without any assistance and support, but they have stood in the last 20 years. On the other hand, the public facilities are built under programs ran by the Riau Islands provincial government.

This scenery is unlike any other Sea Tribe villages across Lingga Regency, where they keep direct contact with the sea. Despite being exposed to modern cultures, they still maintain their authentic lifestyle and resembles the indigenous Sea Tribe. Up to this time, these Orang Laut utilize the Sampan Kajang, build Sapau, and roam the seas for weeks to months. The Kajang Foundation even stated that there lives a 120-year-old elder who is still actively fishing in the waters around Batam Island. They have family ties between one clan and another, including the Orang Laut in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh. Each clan has a leader who commands the community and keeps the traditions alive. They are also closely related to the Dato Kaya family as the tribal chief in the Riau Lingga Sultanate. Dato Kaya was the figure who deployed them to guard the waters of Lingga as the navy force of the Sultanate during the period of guerrilla warfare at sea.

Table 1 describes the dwelling patterns in the Sea Tribe since they first emerged to this day. In the Natural mode stage, the Orang Laut resided in Sampan Kajang during voyages, and they temporarily lived in Sapau throughout monsoons. The Orang Laut then developed their groups into

clans, where they have started to recognize the notion of settling even though they were still voyaging. This event took place at the Collective mode stage when the Orang Laut decided on a meeting or returning point during their journey and began to build temporary settlements. At these stages, their definition of home was gradually forming even though it does not translate to permanent settlement – the Sampan Kajang and Sapau were still considered home. The implementation of the PKSMT Program started a new chapter of the Sea Tribe's cultural transformation. The Public mode has forced the Sea Tribe into determining whether they want to be grounded or continue their migratory pattern as it used to be. This dwelling process occurs in the form of learning, identifying, and reminiscing, which eventually forms the settlement culture of the Sea Tribe today.

Table 1 Dwelling modes and its geography experienced by the Sea Tribe [23]

	Sea	Beach	Land
Natural	Sampan Kajang	Sapau	-
Collective (Temporary Settlements)	Sampan Kajang	Sapau, Sea Tribe settlements built independently	-
Public (Government)	-	Sea Tribe settlements at the shores	PKSMT-built villages
Private	Sampan Kajang	Sapau, current Sea Tribe settlements at the shores	Current PKSMT-built Sungai Buluh Village

In the Sungai Buluh Village case, this community was pressured to stay in the settlements provided by the government, which led them to coercively adapt to this new lifestyle until they experienced uncertainty and culture shock in the process. Nowadays, the PKSMT settlements were altered from a Public mode to a Private mode, since they have stayed longer and been accustomed to the way of life on land. The Sea Tribe in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh already considers their current home as a home, even though the image of Orang Laut is still inclined towards them socially outside their village. This phenomenon is further confirmed since most of them build their own houses with or without government aid so that their sense of ownership of the house is getting stronger.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Examining Heidegger's framework in describing the correlation of space and humans, this study observes the true definition of dwelling from the Sea Tribe's perspective, from voyaging to settling. Heidegger [24] stated, "The relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, thought essentially." This statement confirms that a home does not always imply to a fixed place, because while voyaging, the Orang Laut considers their Sampan

Kajang and the sea as their home. Dwelling in their context is genuinely a manifestation of the relationship between humans and space.

The evolution of settlement from a nomadic lifestyle to temporary housing, and currently owning a waterfront house, perfectly depicts how much they have transformed. Throughout the changes, they stick through their roots as the Orang Laut - a maritime nation whose life at sea matches the rhythm of the waves on the ocean. This tribe continues to maintain its environmental identity, synergize with nature, and acclimatize towards the sea. However, in the PKSMT-built Kampung Baru Suku Laut in Sungai Buluh, the settlement was established similar to any urban villages found in Indonesia. The cultural transformation and civilization of the Sea Tribe revealed above illustrates how humans merge into a group that adapts through times, modifying their culture, and persevering to grow and develop according to their own choices.

The settlement culture transformation analyzed in this study aims to find the connection linking architectural forms and geographic location in the resettling of the Sea Tribe. This transformation arose due to political infrastructure and cultural violence as a result of previous government programs and the lasting neglect of the Orang Laut. This violence caused a culture shock and self-uncertainty instigated to the Orang Laut, especially in Kampung Baru Sungai Buluh. They are currently more comfortable to be considered as Malays rather than Orang Laut, because of the terrible stigma imposed by society. They would have preserved their own culture and pride as the Orang Laut, had they not been overlooked and undervalued.

Based on this study, it can be concluded that Indonesian culture, in general, and Malay aristocratic culture, in particular, are rarely divulged and acknowledged. Therefore, adequate planning that considers the context of dwelling for the Orang Laut and takes substantial care of their cultural roots is in dire need. In this case, architecture is not only conformed to its configuration and composition, but rather a context of the broader social environment that permeates with the user. This matter exemplifies the value of design that can meet basic human needs, sustain an identity, and most importantly, still synergizes with nature.

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