

## Social Changes and Strategies for Bugis Ethnic Cultural Retention in Karimunjawa

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### Abstract

This study proofing on the existence of Bugis community who lived in Karimunjawa for a long time. As ethnic migrants, Bugis ethnic community have a strong spiritual value, which is accumulated in their wandering philosophy. The philosophy of *palettui alemu riolo tejjokamu* is believed to bethe driver of their high work ethic and adaptation to the environment. In Karimunjawa, Bugis lives in several places such as in Parang village and the biggest settlement of Bugis ethnic community in Kemujan village. Bugis culture and tradition also color their lives such as tradition related to birth, the rite of transition from childhood to adolescence, marriage, death, and other tradition associated with the commemoration of religious holidays. After a long time interacting with the local community and communities of various ethnicities, they experience social changes related to changes in livelihoods, structures, and forms of the settlement, ideology, education, and so on. In line with the development of the tourism sector in Karimunjawa, Bugis people began to exploit their culture and tradition for the tourism sector such as Bugis houses built on shores for tourist lodging. The problem is that will the influx of tourists affect and erode Bugis culture in Karimunjawa? This article is intended to provide a better understanding of social change and the strategy of preserving Bugis ethnic culture in Karimunjawa. Data collection was performed by observation and field study as well as in-depth interviews. Informant selection was performed randomly to obtain homogeneous and purposive samples in order to find the appropriate informant according to the topic of research and snowball sampling to find an informant who knows the research problems based on the recommendation of other parties.

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### Introduction

Karimunjawa Islands or often called as Karimunjawa has some uniqueness. In addition to its beautiful nature, which consists of a stretch of sea and land, Karimunjawa also has a social uniqueness, namely diverse ethnicities, such as Javanese, Bugis, Madurese, Bajo, Buton, and Mandar ethnicities who live in harmony. Javanese is the largest ethnicity, followed by Bugis and Madurese.

Karimunjawa consists of four villages, namely Karimunjawa, Kemujan, Parang, and Nyamuk (BAPPEDA Kabupaten Jepara, 2018). In Kemujan village, most of the Bugis ethnic community lives in Batu Lawang Hamlet, Legon Gede Hamlet, and Tlogo Hamlet. Only a few Bugis ethnic community lives in Parang Island.

As an ethnic community that comes from outside of Karimunjawa with a quite large number, Bugis ethnicity is unique. They still maintain the culture and tradition of their place of origin. Their typical Bugis houses were built in Kemujan village. In addition, Bugis tradition is retained, such as marriage, birth, art, and so on.

Bugis people are known as people who have a high work ethic and are hard workers overseas. Oftentimes, we see Bugis traders who have succeeded overseas. As ethnic migrants, Bugis people always hold the philosophy that has been taught by their parents and ancestors (Suliyati et al. 2017). One of these philosophies that is still held firmly in Bugis community that life is *palettui alemu*

*riolo tejjokamu*. This philosophy means that if you want to migrate, you have to know the place you want to go to, the social conditions, and the culture of the local community. Migrants must have confidence that they can live together in the local environment (Hamid 2005, 115).

Based on the historical sources, it is known that the migration of Bugis outside of South Sulawesi and towards various regions in the archipelago occurred in the XV century. It was because internal conflicts in the kingdoms of South Sulawesi which caused the insecurity of the Bugis people, also because of the drive to fight for a better life (Kesuma 2004, 136). Bugis people are actually farmers. This is in accordance with the natural situations of the South Sulawesi region with its fertile land which is suitable as an agricultural area. The development of the Bugis community from farmers towards the maritime community took place around the 18th century (Pelras 2006, 45). The method used in this study is descriptive qualitative method with a historical and sociological approach (Marvati 2004). Because the study is to uncover social problems written in detail (Creswell 2008). This research is descriptive in nature to help the writer to factually describe the relationships between the instruments studied.

This descriptive qualitative method is intended to provide a better understanding of social change and the strategy of preserving Bugis ethnic culture in Kemojan Village, Karimunjawa. Historical approaches are used to collect, select, and critically examine historical sources, so as to produce historical facts. Historical facts are then analyzed in a systematic description through cultural approaches.

The analysis was carried out through qualitative analysis methods which included three activities, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 1992: 16-19). Data reduction is done by selecting data in accordance with the study material and conformity with the conceptual framework in this study. Data that has been arranged chronologically in a causal relationship is described and presented in narrative form (Louis Gottschalk, 2008). Withdrawal of conclusions and verification is done by correcting and re-examining the suitability of the data obtained through interviews and literature studies with other data sources. Verification is carried out by comparing these studies with other similar studies

The sources of data in this study were obtained from books, articles and research results that had been carried out using historical descriptive analysis, namely an attempt to describe the process of formation and development of the Bugis house of Kemojan karimunjawa. In addition data is obtained through interviews (interviews), field data in the form of notes, photos, personal documents (Danim 2002, 51).

## **Overview of Bugis Ethnic Community in Karimunjawa**

Bugis ethnic group settled in several places in Karimunjawa, namely in Batu Lawang, Telogo, and Parang Island hamlets. Batu Lawang Hamlet is the largest Bugis settlement. The physical features and characteristics of Bugis settlement are very strong. The stilt houses were built according to the Bugis house model and architecture. The difference is only in the height of the house. Bugis stilt house in general has a height of 1.5 - 2.5 meters above ground level, while Bugis stilt house in Batu Lawang is only 1 - 1.5 meters high from the ground. The difference in height of the house is caused by the scarcity of wood in Karimunjawa as a building material for houses.

In general, Bugis community in Karimunjawa can live harmoniously with other ethnic community like Javanese, Buton, Mandar and Madura. Bugis community still adheres to the philosophy of life taught by their ancestors, which means "where the earth is stepped on, therein the heaven is upheld". Because this philosophy is applied by the majority of Bugis community, then the environmental adaptation is effortless for them.

According to Ma'asy (2015), the adaptive ability of the Bugis is based on three things, namely knowledge, awareness and ability. The knowledge of the Bugis about the intricacies of the area that will be visited is very important for provision so that they can adjust and place themselves in a community that is different in their habits and culture. They good self-awareness, so they can get

along and put themselves in harmony with the local people. The abilities possessed by the Bugis have succeeded in increasing their welfare and life.

The adaptation of Bugis community to the new environment harmoniously is also based on other characteristics taught by the parents, namely: (1) *Sipakatau*, means viewing other people as human beings with all their strengths and weaknesses. This teaching considers that it is inappropriate to treat other people inappropriately, because as a fellow human being, nobody wants to be treated like that; (2) *Sipakalebi*, means appreciating the strengths of others, for example by praising and pleasing other people; (3) *Sipakainge*, means being open minded to provide constructive input or criticism towards other people or towards him/herself.

Although the Bugis community always maintain harmony with the local community in the new place, they will fight if the people in the new environment degrade them. Things that trigger disharmony between the communities are usually problems related to *siri*. For Bugis community, *siri* is their soul, their self-esteem, and dignity that must be upheld. If their dignity is underestimated, then they will defend and want to sacrifice their lives to uphold the *siri* (Abdullah 1985, 37).

To understand the true meaning of *siri*, we can see it from the consequences that concretely appear in the form of: (1) Intention or a strong urge to eliminate the party that creates a sense of offense or demeaning self-esteem, by expelling, killing or alienating him/her; (2) Enthusiasm to fight for fate and self-esteem through hard work, so that *siri* is not inherent in someone. *Siri* must be interpreted as a concept of tradition which contains an obligation to uphold self-esteem, so that *siri* contains customary sanctions.

In moral teachings that have been passed down from time to time which are recorded in *paseng* literature, there are phrases related to *siri*, among others: (1) *Siri' emion rionrowang ri-limo*, means "only for siri, we live in the world". In this phrase, *siri* shows the social identity and dignity of the Bugis community. For the Bugis, dignity and honor have important meanings in their lives; (2) *Mate ri siri'na*, means "dead in siri". The deeper meaning of this phrase is that dying to uphold dignity is a very honorable act; (3) *Mate siri* (death of siri'), which means that people who have lost their dignity/self-esteem are like a useless carcass. To restore *siri*, the Bugis do not hesitate to do *jallo'* (rampancy). In doing *jallo'*, the Bugis are willing to kill or be killed. This act of enforcing siri is called *napaentengi siri'na*, whose meaning is to uphold self-esteem. If a Bugis man dies in *jallo'*, then he is called a dignified masculine man (Mattulada in Koentjaraningrat 2002, 280).

In addition to the *siri'* concept, there is the concept of *pesse/pacce*, which is lower than the *siri'*. The meaning of *pesse/pacce* is a deep feeling of pain or sadness due to *mate siri'* and the person concerned cannot re-establish his dignity as a human being. In order to understand the meaning of *passe* in depth, see the following phrase: "*he sempugikku rekkua de'na siri'na, engka messa pessena*" (as fellow Bugis, if siri' is no longer attached to, there is still hope that *passe* remains attached). This phrase is a form of solidarity and deep empathy for the suffering of fellow Bugis wherever they are.

The Bugis have a strong bond to the overseas area they just visited. This background is caused by the Bugis view of the overseas region, namely a place providing comfort and peace of life and the ease of earning a living is considered to be the second birthplace. There are several Bugis philosophies related to bond between migrants and overseas lands, namely: (1) *Kegasi sanree lopi-e kotisu to taro sengereng*, means emphasizing that Bugis migrants must not be arrogant and feel great, so they behave badly overseas. Bugis migrants must be able to adapt to their new environment and build harmonious relationship with local communities, so that they can be accepted well; (2) Bugis migrants must implement the water philosophy in their overseas activities. Water philosophy means that water is a very flexible object, the shape of which adjusts its container. Water placed in a glass will become the glass, placed in a teapot will become the teapot, and so on. The essence of this water philosophy is that Bugis migrants must be able to adapt to society and the environment in the new place. If water is managed well, it will give benefits and be useful for people's life, like Bugis migrants who will benefit and can work together well if they are accepted well by the local community. Conversely, if water is not managed properly, it will cause disaster and damage. This

can be compared to Bugis migrants if they are not well accepted, so they can fight to uphold *siri na pace* (dignity).

Bugis migrant tradition before leaving their hometown always carry soil from the hometown to be united with the soil in the new place. The unification of land from these two different places means that Bugis migrants can be comfortable and feel like home and can be integrated with the environment in the new place. On the overseas, Bugis community invest their wealth in the form of land, houses, and equipment to make a living such as boats or motorized vehicles. Bugis community rarely invest their wealth in their hometown. Even if there are some of Bugis community who send their wealth to their hometown, it is just like donation to the construction of mosques, building houses for their parents/family.

Most of the Bugis community who lives in Karimunjawa, both in Batu Lawang and Parang Island, are married to Javanese women. According to some of the informants, they chose to marry Javanese women because the conditions for the wedding were simple and Javanese women are modest and not materialistic. This is different from the traditional Bugis ethnic wedding which conditions are very burdensome for men, such as dowry and wedding expenses which are very expensive and must be borne by the groom.

In Bugis community, marriage is an arena to show one's social status and social identity. The higher the social status and education of the bride, the higher the *panai* (dowry). By marrying Javanese women, these migrants from Bugis have strong bond with overseas lands. There is a difference between the Bugis community who live in Batu Lawang Hamlet and those who live in Parang Island. Even though the Bugis community in Batu Lawang feel that they are part of the Batu Lawang community, they still carry out the tradition from their place of origin. This is different from the Bugis community in Parang Island, most of whom no longer recognize their original tradition. Even children who are born from mixed Bugis-Javanese marriage on Parang Island have become Javanese, because the customs, tradition, and daily language are Javanese. There are only a few families who still carry out Bugis customs and tradition, such as Amirudin. When Amirudin's wife was pregnant, he carried out the Bugis tradition, which provided four combs of plantain. Two combs were stored in the house and two others were carried out to sea. All family members were prohibited from eating these plantains, both plantains that were kept at home and those that were brought to the sea. The plantain should only be eaten by other people who are not family members. In addition, Amirudin also told the family in Bugis to find a shaman who would carry out ceremonies relating to the birth of the baby. This was performed because Amirudin's wife is a Javanese woman who does not understand the traditional Bugis rules relating to birth. If this traditional ceremony was not carried out, it was feared that disasters would befall the baby or family. Previously, Amirudin intended not to hold a ceremony to welcome this baby. However, when he went to the sea, there was a spirit who was believed to be the "ruler of the sea" that came to remind them that this ceremony should be held soon (Amirudin 2012).

In contrast to Amirudin, Abas at the age of 4 (four) followed his parents sailed to Karimunjawa and settled in the Batu Lawang hamlet. Abas only received education up to grade 4 of elementary school due to the lack of money and he preferred fishing. Abas married twice with Javanese women from Parang Island. After marriage, Abas lived in Parang island. In his daily life, Abas no longer knew Bugis language and Bugis customs or tradition. Abas followed Javanese traditions carried out by his wife. According to Abas, the Bugis and Javanese traditions are just as good because the aim is to seek the salvation of the world and the hereafter (Abas 2012).

There were no communication or psychological barriers experienced by mixed Javanese-Bugis families. The characteristics of Bugis male which are firm, strong in the principle, and strives to fight for life are balanced with the polite, graceful, and modest characteristics of Javanese woman. These reasons create the harmonious life of the Javanese-Bugis families in community relations.

The language used in the daily communication of Bugis people in Batu Lawang in the midst of family and community is Bugis language, Javanese, and Indonesian. Bugis language is used to communicate in the family and fellow Bugis community. *Jawa ngoko* (Less polite Javanese) is used to communicate with people in the local environment because the majority of which are Javanese.

They use Indonesian to communicate with general people or people of various ethnicities. Thus, the Bugis community as a migrant community that has been living for a long time in the overseas still masters the Bugis language well. Even in a mixed family of Bugis-Javanese in Batu Lawang hamlet, the wives of Bugis men are fluent in Bugis language. Although the Bugis language still survives in the Bugis community in Batu Lawang hamlet, the mastery and the use of original Bugis writings (*Lontara*) begins to diminish. It is only oldster who masters the *Lontara*. Most of the Bugis community who lives in Parang Island does not master the Bugis language. In their daily live, they use *Jawa ngoko* (less polite Javanese) and Indonesian.

### **Social Changes of Bugis Ethnic Community in Karimunjawa**

At the beginning of their arrival in Batu Lawang, Bugis people built their house in Bugis house design. They built house in Bugis house design to show their identity and to eliminate homesickness for their hometown. Bugis community initially built Bugis house like the original Bugis house, but after the government issued regulation of prohibition to use wood from Karimunjawa and the difficulty of bringing in timber from Kalimantan, then the Bugis community began to build a simpler bugis house and have made supporting pole shorter.

At present, there are only a few Bugis stilt houses in the Batu Lawang because Bugis community built their houses in Javanese house design. Even though there is a Bugis stilt house, the purpose is not for a place to live, but for tourism and economic purposes, to be rented to tourists who come to the area.

Bugis community who originally came to Batu Lawang were fishermen and traders. After they arrived in, the land was still vast and fertile at that time. Then, many of these Bugis people began to utilize the land for agriculture. They began to plant rice, cashew, fruits, and so on. Thus, besides being fishermen, many Bugis people work as farmers and traders. In fact, there are many Bugis people working in the tourism sector. Currently, there are many Bugis people who build Guest Houses with the Bugis stilt house design on shores.

The tourism sector is making changes in improving the economy of the Batu Lawang community in general and Bugis community in particular. The tourism sector demands Bugis people to gain knowledge about tourism management, culture, tourism, English, culinary, and so on.

After a while, Bugis people living in Batu Lawang began to interact intensively with other residents from various ethnicities. During their initial arrival, they only interacted with fellow Bugis people. The interaction among Bugis people was freer and more spontaneous. Over time, Bugis people in Batu Lawang have contacted and interacted with other ethnic communities. In this interaction, the parties who interact must be open-minded and have high tolerance in order to create harmonious interactions.

Social interaction between Bugis people and other ethnic communities is very harmonious. It means that they can cooperate and understand each other. Cooperation between them and other ethnic communities is usually performed in traditional ceremonies of each tribe. In addition, the cooperation is also performed in religious events, in social activities such as building house, and wedding events of each citizen from various ethnic communities.

### **Changes in the Cultural Values**

After Bugis people have stayed for a long time and interacted with other ethnic communities in Batu Lawang, there are changes in the cultural values. Changes in cultural values includes on two fields.

First, is wedding ceremony. The Bugis community in Batu Lawang organizes marriage no longer based on Bugis tradition as a whole. If the marriage is between Bugis woman and man, then marriage is carried out according on Bugis customs, although not as a whole. The wedding stages are no longer followed in details. The Bugis community considers that they have become part of the

Karimunjawa community, so they are not too strict in following the Bugis marriage customs. If marriage occurs between Javanese woman and Bugis man, then the customs used are Javanese customs and marriage covenant carried out according to the religion embraced. The wedding dress worn are also not traditional Bugis clothes. Currently, the brides wear European-style clothing, namely the bride wear a long skirt and the groom wears a suit. The style of Bugis culture that appears at the wedding is the existence of some traditional Bugis foods.

Second, in the teaching Bugis language to the children. At the beginning of Bugis people's arrival in Batu Lawang, Bugis children have used Bugis language from the beginning to communicate with their families and fellow Bugis people. After they live in Batu Lawang for a while, they also interact with people from other ethnic communities, such as Javanese, Madurese, Bajo, and so on. Because other ethnic communities living in the Batu Lawang communicate using their respective regional languages, Bugis people also gradually understand and can implement the regional languages of other ethnic communities. Moreover, when marriage occurs between Bugis and Javanese people, Madurese and so on, the Bugis language will merge with each other languages and understood by each ethnic group in Batu Lawang. Indonesian language education has also been given since childhood. Bugis language and other languages (Javanese and Madurese language) are taught to children when they are at school age. It aims that the children can communicate with their environment using Indonesian and they can also communicate in Bugis language in the family and Bugis communities. Although many Bugis marry other ethnicities, they still use Bugis language in communicating with their family. In the community, the language used to communicate is Indonesian as the main language also Bugis, Javanese and Madurese. Each ethnic group understands each other's languages.

### **Strategy of Cultural Retention of Bugis Culture in Karimunjawa**

To maintain the original culture, Bugis people have cultural retention strategies which remains to do. According to van Peursen (2000) cultural strategy is a strategy for humans to alternate problems in their lives. Cultural strategy is also a continuous learning process. In that process, creativity and intensity are important factors because they involve various ethical considerations for shifts that occur in culture (Simon 2008, 41-42).

Culture retention is closely related to the role of society as an object in terms of cultural implementation. The retention of Bugis culture is inseparable from the role of Bugis community in the Batu Lawang. Bugis houses in Batu Lawang are also become a strategy of cultural retention which in good condition and well maintained. In addition, Bugis people try to introduce Bugis culture through tourism activities by building cottages or Homestay in Bugis house design

However, the function of cultural retention includes several aspects: (1) Culture retention can lead to language attitude independence. One of the culture existence factors is the language factor. Instead, language is part of the elements of culture itself. Thus, language also functions as a path and tool for civilizing the community as well as a tool for developing the culture as well. Therefore, with culture retention, the community can understand how to establish independence in language attitude because language is part of culture; (2) Culture retention can strengthen the relationship among general public. Regional culture or local culture is an important part in forming community identity. Culture can only be realized if there are humans in it. With this culture, people can communicate with each other to retain culture so that the culture does not extinct. In this point, gathering takes place among the general public because of the culture that is retained together; (3) Culture retention can shape individual character. Through culture, the characteristics of someone or individual can be shaped because culture can change one's mindset by explicit and implicit artistic values as well as rational and non-rational; (4) Cultural retention is able to create a characteristic that distinguishes one culture from others. Cultures in each region generally have their own characteristics; (5) Cultural retention can preserve local culture and become a characteristic of the area. If this culture is lost, of course this area has no special feature. Cultural retention can preserve local culture or culture in a particular area; (6) Local culture retention can shape social system in the

society as social creatures. This social system is in the form of social interaction, community relations with other communities, and relationships based on customs and behavior. The social system is concrete that can be observed and documented. Therefore, culture can create a life order and social system in the community.

Based on those aspects of cultural retention above, the Bugis community attempts to perform a culture retention. Some Bugis people marriage customs go through several stages and present different types of Bugis food. Meanwhile, the Bugis language still be used to communicate with fellow Bugis people and people outside of Bugis ethnic community.

In addition, some of Bugis people can still read *Lontara* and legend stories. Their philosophy from the ancestors inherited to date including some phrases. The phrase that basically contains: "If you want to reap within a year, plant vegetables. If you want to reap within 10 years, plant fruits. However, if you want to enjoy hundred years result, plant humans." Another phrase philosophy related to "*siri*", which means self-esteem. Self-esteem or integrity is the most valuable thing for Bugis people. For the Bugis community, *siri* is their soul, their self-esteem, and their dignity that must be upheld. If their dignity is underestimated, then they will fight and want to sacrifice their lives to uphold *siri* (Abdullah 1985, 37).

Still Bugis Karimunjawa have some other philosophical phrases such as (1) A *pesse/pacce* concept which means a deep feeling of pain or sadness due to *mate siri*' and the person concerned cannot re-establish his dignity as a human being. To understand the meaning of *passe* in depth, see the phrase "*ia sempugikku rekkua de'na siri'na, engka messa pessena*" (if *siri*' is no longer attached to, there is still hope that *passe* remains attached). This phrase is a form of solidarity and deep empathy for the suffering of fellow Bugis wherever they are; (2) *Reso tamanginggi naletei pammase puang*, means that Bugis people will always work hard, diligently, and never give up. Anything can be achieved only with hard work; (3) *Tea tamakua idipanajaji*, means success depends on yourself. If you want to change your destiny, only you who can change it; (4) *Sipakainga, sipakatau, sipakalebbi*, means attitudes or ways to achieve success. Success will not be able to be achieved without help and interaction with others. *Sipakainga* is the attitude of mutual reminder, giving each other advice and guiding to the right path if someone has problems or difficulties in life. *Sipakatau* is an attitude of mutual respect and respect for fellow human beings. *Sipakalebbi* means mutual respect for the strengths of others; (5) *Malilu sipakainge, mali siparappe, rebba sipatokkong*, means we have to help each other to achieve success and must not strike down each other; (6) *Taro ada Taro gau*, means a trustworthy attitude. *Taro ada taro* has meaning that whatever our position and status, we must always be consistent of our words and actions. Trust is one of the keys to one's success.

## Conclusion

By looking at the daily life and activities of Bugis people in Karimunjawa as well as those who live in Batu Lawang Hamlet, it can be concluded that there are several categories that cause the existence of the Bugis community in Karimunjawa. First, because they want to change their lives for the better in the overseas land. Second, because they followed their parents to overseas land. Third, because they were born in the Overseas land. The first and second groups are those who always want to retain their native tradition and culture. The third group, the group which never visit their ancestral land in Bugis region tends to erode their understanding of their native culture and tradition.

In addition, there are differences between the Bugis people who live in Batu Lawang Hamlet and the Bugis people in Parang Island. Bugis community in Batu Lawang hamlet can preserve their native culture and tradition because they live in a large number of Bugis community. This is different from the Bugis community in Parang Island which is not too large in numbers and they live in a community which majority is Javanese. Consequently, Bugis culture and tradition are marginalized in the environment.

Social interaction in the sector of livelihood in the form of *punggawa-sawi* relationship by the younger generation of Bugis is currently not understood as a relationship created from tradition.

The younger generation of Bugis in term of livelihood as fishermen or occupation prefer a rational works that is solely a form of employment without being based on psychological and family relations. Social interaction in the community is pursued always in harmony with the awareness that each ethnic group has distinctive characteristics and characters which must be respected by each ethnic group who lives in Karimunjawa.

The philosophies related to inter-ethnic relationship and life together with other ethnicities which are taught by Bugis ethnic ancestors have played a role in creating harmony among ethnicities in Karimunjawa. The philosophies of mutual respect for fellow human beings are always taught by elders to the young generation of Bugis, so that inter-ethnic conflicts never occur in Karimunjawa.

The essence of pluralism is evident in the daily lives of people in Karimunjawa. Various ethnic groups living in Karimunjawa proportionally give mutual appreciation and recognition to activities, social values, social structures or community organizations as well as a diverse system of ideas. The Karimunjawa community from the beginning has accepted the plurality of people in their environment because pluralism contains humanity values that aim to create a harmonious and prosperous life.

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## List of Informants

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