

Cultural Materialism: Superstructure in the Bugis-Makassar Tribe

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Abstract:

This study aimed to analyze how much changes that have occurred in the agricultural sector due to the industrial sector can result in superstructure cultural changes. The population of this study was 14 farmers in Daya Village, Biringkanaya Sub District, Makassar City. The population was determined by referring to a purposive technique. Data collection was carried out, using the method of observation, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion (FGD). The results of the study found a change in knowledge as a result of job shifts. In addition, it was also found that changes in the economic conditions of the community had an impact on public knowledge which was no longer limited to matters related to agricultural activities, such as before industrial development. There are many things that can be done by community members today, especially housewives, where they are now able to do other work outside the home apart from taking care of children and taking care of the household using modern equipment, different from the equipment in usual agricultural activities. From a religious perspective, the entry of industry had also changed the nature of religion and devotion to God Almighty. This was evidenced by the religious rituals that are no longer stronger due to the entry of other cultures. Based on the research findings, the tradition side was also found to have shifted. The community was no longer dependent on rice fields, even their children were no longer introduced to the farming system. The traditional changes made by the people of Daya Village are related to their livelihoods which previously depended on agriculture, now they have shifted to various kinds of work (industry). This shows that there has been a change in tradition as a form of culture that is superstructure characterized by changes in livelihoods as a form of infrastructure culture.

Key Word: Cultural Change, Knowledge Systems, Traditions, Farmers, Industry.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of industrialization program policies in a region, particularly in South Sulawesi, has shown positive impacts, although there have been some negative impacts. Industrialization raises complex problems when it is associated with the ultimate goal of changes aimed at making new formations for people in industrial areas to become industrial societies. This problem is like what happened in the life of the peasant community in Daya Village which makes land a place to get a life, as well as a place for the inheritance and transfer of socio-cultural values to their children.

The Bugis-Makassar community is one of the tribes in Indonesia who inhabit the Province of South Sulawesi (Afandi, 2019; Cahyadi, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012). The Makassar Bugis tribe who lives in this sub-district has lived and stayed in rice fields from generation to generation and has a very strong dependence on rice fields. In this case, the rice fields do not only act as a place to live, but also as a place to fulfill their daily needs. Since the land is used as a source of life (assoro buttocks), this makes the farming community in the Daya village integrated into the rice fields. On the other hand, if there are peasant communities who continue to live and settle in industrial areas and orient their life towards industry, this is considered to be contrary to the customs and culture that have been inherited by their ancestors. Furthermore, this requires the community to make adjustments in order to survive. Thus, cultural changes faced by the farming community as a form of adaptation cannot be avoided as a result of environmental changes. Environmental changes only affect the cultural elements that are most closely related to the activities of human life, namely the economic system (Steward, 1955).

Regarding to the problems that have been described, then the question arises about whether the presence of industrialization in an area that has been going on for more than a decade can cause social change, especially in aspects: changes in livelihoods, technology and equipment, which changes in these areas will influence people's behavior as a form of effort to adapt themselves in response to changes that occur in industrial estates. This is important to review, because thinking in terms of industrialization is closely related to

various aspects of people's life. This is not only for the sake of measurable economic growth with an increase in GRDP, but more in relation to human life, society and the environment in which the industry is located.

Another problem arises along with the changes occur is related to the question of how the community's adaptation strategy in responding to these changes in order to survive in the new physical and social environment. Theoretically, humans are living things that essentially have flexibility, which causes them to easily adapt to their environment. Humans are a type of living thing that can sustain their existence as long as they are able to adapt to their environment.

The presence of industry in an area that has indicated a change in the environment often causes the loss of the identity of the people in the area. One of them is a group of people who are farmers. In this case, as a farmer who previously had a traditional lifestyle, then he changed to a more modern lifestyle. This has had a positive impact on the development of a society, considering that farming communities in industrial areas have basically been integrated with the industrial environment. Thus, it can be said that the culture of the peasant community, which was previously accustomed to traditional tools, has changed towards a more modern culture. The assumption is that humans with cultural backgrounds are able to manage and adapt to the environment even when the environment changes

There has been a lot of research on industrial presence conducted. However, research is still rarely carried out that focuses on the problem of cultural change in society caused by changes in land use and land use patterns that previously relied on the agricultural sector as the main livelihood then shifted to the industrial sector. The presence of the industrial sector has formed a differentiated society for new livelihoods in the industrial sector which in turn has an impact on existing employment and employment opportunities.

The occurrence of a change in the residential environment demands a comprehensive cultural change which is expected by the community to then be able to survive well in this new environment. This phenomenon is very interesting to research through a scientific approach. The main question that becomes the focus of the aim of this research is the extent to which changes from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector can lead to changes in culture that are superstructure.

II. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This research was conducted based on qualitative methods. The population in this study consisted of 14 farmers in the Daya Village, Biringkanaya Sub District, Makassar City. The population was determined by using a purposive technique. The data collection methods used in the study was observation, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion (FGD). The data obtained in the subsequent research were analyzed, reduced, and presented before finally drawing conclusions.

III. Result And Discussion

Viewed from the superstructure point of view, culture is things that involve a patterned way of life, in which people think, create and carry out ideas or ideas, make judgments and feel all the events that occur in their environment. Following the superstructure concept in materialism theory by Marvin Harris, the superstructure is known as a cultural model that is related to social institutions which include law, religion, politics, science, values, feelings, traditions and others. Cultural materialism (Marvin) with the sociocultural evolution model he puts forward has similarities, including a superstructure model which according to him includes general ideology, religion, science, tradition, art, and literature (Sanderson, 1993).

Many things that have an impact on the environmental conditions of the local community need to be explained through scientific explanations. Therefore, there are three of the superstructure components, each of which will be described, includes knowledge systems, religion and belief systems, and traditions.

Knowledge System

Humans carry out activities from their simple ideas as the results from thought that originated from very simple human knowledge. This then develops naturally following a culture that is constantly changing. Everything is done with the aim of finding a lifestyle and maintaining life for the community. Humans use tools such as production tools, household utensils, food and drink to find patterns of life and sustain life. In the end, when they can adjust to the development of culture and science, then humans will arrive at the use of all modern tools. This is the same with the knowledge system adopted by humans which is collective in nature which comes from concepts where these concepts then become the basis for community groups to see, control and assess themselves how to be the best in managing and utilizing the resources that exist within them and the environment.

If we look at the history of the life of the Bugis-Makassar people until now, their life has entered a modern era, including their self-control which is still heavily influenced by conventional thoughts. This means that everything from social activities is always decided through deliberation, where the parents are considered to have a big share as the determinant. An example is in the farming activities, which even today, the farmers of

this tribe still use the old methods, from the land clearing process to post-harvest activities. These methods include various activities related to local customs and culture. Likewise with sailing activities that have become a habit of the Makassar Bugis people to migrate in search of life. Hereditary habits like this are still often done today. Migration is carried out with a specific purpose, such as to change one's destiny for the better and for a certain purpose (Pelras, 2006).

In addition, the myth that the Bugis tribe is destined to be rich by God Almighty is also one of the other factors that many people from this tribe have migrated (Mustari, 2016). Even so, conventional activities like those for the rest of the community are no longer so popular. Those who think this indicates that they are starting to follow developments that are happening in this country. The boundaries of development or changes are no longer as strict as they used to be, where changes and new cultures can easily enter the existing cultural space even though the process is not too smooth to be able to completely change the culture itself. This is often seen as a development of knowledge. Knowledge obtained from hereditary experiences, learning outcomes from other people or from the formation of the surrounding environment, all boil down to one goal, namely how to master nature or the human work environment. Public knowledge about farming or fishing / sailing continues to develop following the existing technology and science development. This makes such developments occur rapidly, coupled with very strong competition and market desire. Fishing activities are a habit of the Bugis-Makassar community (Daniel et al., 2018; Mustari, 2016).

Experience and basic knowledge gained from both ancestors and lessons due to environmental influences also give birth to new thoughts such as the development of new ideas. For farmers, new knowledge that has emerged is about how to determine the planting time according to the arrival of the dry season using the seasonal calendar. Therefore, planting time is usually determined by mutual agreement. In agricultural activities, some farmers are adept at using assistance from farming tools or production facilities in order to increase their income from farming. Meanwhile, in fishing activities, one of the new knowledge gained is that of travelers (sailing) who can determine when is the right time for sailing and when should delay it, namely by seeing natural phenomena. In fact, due to frequent travel, the knowledge of sailors can increase, for example, knowledge related to how to become a boat builder, even though this kind of work is a hereditary job of a certain tribe or ethnicity in South Sulawesi in general.

Religion and Belief

Religion is a universal characteristic of human social life. This means that all societies have certain ways of thinking and behavior patterns that qualify to be called religion. Religion developed following the history of world civilization where humans lived and communicated with nature. Guidelines for human life are controlled by the way of life that follows the changes and development of civilization. Changes and developments in civilization subsequently influenced the development of understanding of religion and belief. Communities or people who still have relatively low knowledge and technology, sometimes have a relatively low understanding of religion and belief in God Almighty. In addition, some people with a low level of understanding of religion and belief often manifest religion in social actions or behavior so that religion is then linked to human experience individually or as a group.

Such individual or group behavior is closely related to cultural development. This implies that changes in a person will always occur, along with changes in the culture in which the community lives. Cultural changes that go hand in hand with the development of civilization automatically cause the understanding and purpose of religion for each member of society to be different. This is closely related to the notion of religion as belief and behavior formation where humans use religion as a means of self-control in managing and controlling nature. In the midst of modern civilization and culture, religion is a guide for every human being and is used as a controlling pillar capable of overcoming and stemming cultural development that sometimes deviates from the goal of adhering to religion itself. Certain communities still associate religion with various social activities that are ritual in nature, even though they are not interpreted as *siriq* (as if God is tangible), namely that ritual events are necessary considering that they have become something that is commonly carried out as a hereditary culture. In a transitional community life, such as in the Daya area, they have a very dominant (mostly Muslim) religious life. They are religious followers who adhere to religious law and manifest it in social behavior. It is very evident in their daily behavior that people in these areas simply understand religion as true but moderate religions. Even though it is simple, the understanding of religion for most of the Daya people is something sacred where they interpret it as a vehicle that regulates vertical relationships (humans and God) and horizontal relationships (humans and others).

It is no longer possible for someone to be able to control the rapid development of the current aspects of science and technology if they only rely on simple religious knowledge. As it is known that the influences of modern culture have penetrated the joints of the life of the common people, mostly in rural areas. In terms of adherence to religious teachings, for the people of Daya this is not sanctioned. However, it is clear that something has changed in the life of the Daya community, especially in matters of a ritual nature that were once

very strong and rooted, are now starting to fade. Apart from this, the religious community in the Daya village in their daily life still places religious values as something that cannot be compromised against modern cultural values. In this case they still appreciate local cultural values that can still be maintained.

Tradition

Everyone in life generally experiences three important events, namely birth, marriage and death (Koentjaraningrat, 1993). Based on a cultural perspective, the circle of life is an important event in the journey of human life which must be grateful every time its presence. The implementation of cultural values as a form of gratitude is manifested in various traditions or ceremonies that are full of philosophical values as a form of gratitude to the creator. The manifestation of gratitude which is one of these cultural systems is a tradition that has been carried out from generation to generation. The size of the implementation of these cultural values depends on the situation and abilities of each. The community thinks that if the custom or ceremony is not carried out or abandoned, then they will get disaster or curse from their ancestors.

The life of the people of Makassar, especially in the Daya village community, still maintains the ethnic Makassar bugis tradition, although this currently tends to shift. This cultural shift does not mean that culture is lost, but only limited to modification caused by the swift influences of external cultures, such as the influence of the influx of Islam, which is mostly adopted by the Makassar people and the swift cultural influences from other ethnic communities who come and then settle into population. This is what makes ancestral habits sometimes feel inappropriate. It cannot be denied that these two factors were the causative factors that shifted the traditions of the ancestors. The most striking thing about the shifting of traditions is the progress of the level of education. The advancement of the level of education has influenced the people's mindset so that irrational matters, such as tradition, are always understood as something ancient and need to undergo changes.

This change is a form of adjustment to things that can support the survival of a society. This is in line with (Garna, 1993), which states that the traditions that exist in society are a social order that is tangible as a form of social rules that guide the behavior and actions or attitudes of members of a society, which is essentially nothing but to develop their lives. It can be said that tradition is a socio-cultural heritage that the supporting communities always want to maintain as an important identity in their lives. Tradition is a custom or habit that often becomes a conflict in society. In fact, traditional activities are often considered to hinder development efforts that lead to change and progress in a society. However, the existence of a tradition must be recognized as having its own potential in supporting the birth of a culture which is basically embedded in people's habits.

Broadly speaking, although the customs and cultural systems of the Bugis-Makassar people, especially residents of Daya village, have undergone environmental changes, there are still some traditions that are preserved, such as customs and birth ceremonies. The presence of a child for a married couple in a household is something that is eagerly awaited. Because the signs of the birth of a child become days of waiting for husband and wife and their extended family, there is a ceremony with traditional procedures as a form of gratitude for the presence of a human child. The child who has started his life since he was still in the womb. The first ceremony is carried out since the womb has entered seven months, which is called the *mampitumpleng* ceremony or *tujubulanan* (seven months) event. The essence of this custom ceremony is to hope that the baby in the womb and the mother will receive blessings and safety. The equipment for this *mampitumpleng* ceremony consists of seven sarongs, which will later be used to wrap the mother's belly which is then tied with seven colored threads and a prayer from the witch doctor is read. In addition, there are also several kinds of rice and side dishes. After the entire series of ceremonies is over, the expectant mother who is pregnant is paraded to the front of the door. The thread and sheath in this stage are then removed. The meaning of this ceremony is that later the labor process will run smoothly.

After the womb enters nine months, it means that the time for the birth of the child that has been waiting for will arrive soon. In ancient times, the birth procession was assisted by a witch doctor. However, most child birth processes are now assisted by a midwife or doctor. The custom to prohibit babies from leaving the house before they are forty days old is still being obeyed. Placenta (*campugi*) of babies after birth in the custom of the Bugis-Makassar people are taken and washed and then put in a pot made of clay and washed into the sea, or planted in front of a house that is given a candle for three days. The placenta that is discarded at sea illustrates the hope that one day this child will look for life by crossing the sea, while the placenta planted on the ground means that the child who is born will not leave his family and hometown. There are some ethnic Bugis Makassar who in the procession bury (placenta), they complement it with tamarind, brown sugar, salt, turmeric, pencil, paper, rice, needles, money where the most important meaning of this traditional ceremony is for children to be able to carry on his life well and not experience shortages because the child concerned has been provided since birth.

The customs that accompany the birth of the next child are the naming ceremony, the hair-shaving ceremony and the ground stamping ceremony. The hair shaving ceremony is the ceremony of shaving the hair (*gemme ammulasijajing*). In this process, the hair that the child carries from the womb will then be cut. At the

time of this haircut (*gemme ammulasijajing*), a ceremony is held accompanied by a *barasanji* reading. The process is carried out accompanied by the reading of *barasanji* which is read by the elders (religious leaders) assisted by the parents of the baby, namely the mother holding the baby to be shaved and the father carrying a tray containing a young coconut in which there are flowers and small scissors. Furthermore, guests will take turns rubbing the baby's head with the coconut water, while cutting the baby's hair as a condition. This event lasts for three hours and the implementation time is after the child is one week old.

Next is the *inyak tanah* or (stamping the ground) ceremony which is held after the child turns 40 (forty days). The Bugis ethnic group calls it the "*mappujja tanah*" ceremony, while the Makassar people call it *anggonjo butta*. These two terms have the same meaning. For families who are able to hold *inyak tanah* ceremony, usually the ceremony is coupled with the *aqiqah*, where every child born as a sign of gratitude to God must be sacrificed by a goat. In *aqiqah*, the goat that is sacrificed is one for the girl and two goats for the boy. The goat meat was then brought to the orphanage for the orphanage.

After the child has entered the age of 8-10 years (both boys and girls), the ceremony held is the circumcision ceremony. In the past, circumcising children was practiced by traditional healers, but now circumcision is carried out by doctors or health professionals. There are many kinds of circumcision ceremonies, especially regarding celebrations meant as gratitude. The ceremony is usually enlivened by *dangdut* music, or traditional music such as "*ganrang bulo*" accompanied by a martial arts demonstration. While the customs and ceremonies to welcome down to the rice fields (sowing rice seeds) are held every night where the community holds a "*mappadendang*" ceremony by hitting a *kelesung* to summon the spirit of the rice goddess led by the traditional leader with various kinds of traditional cakes made of rice. This ceremony is held in the middle of rice fields and called as "*Mappasili*".

Now the traditional ceremonies described above have undergone changes following the construction of the KIMA industry. The habits that are carried out experience a shift where the implementation process is not like it used to be. The results of the study found that the people of Makassar, especially the people of Daya Village, experienced changes after their living environment had also changed. In this condition, the community no longer depends on the rice fields, even their children are no longer introduced to the farming system. Changes in tradition that occurred in the Daya village community, which previously made their living and depended on agriculture, are now changing to various kinds of jobs (industry). This shows that there has been a change in tradition as a form of culture that is superstructure as a result of changes in livelihoods where this is a form of infrastructure culture. Therefore, it can be concluded that these changes are in line with the theory of "cultural materialism" put forward by Marvin Harris. He stated that when one element in life changes, the other elements will change with it.

The description put forward in this discussion is a form of change in tradition that has been carried out from generation to generation which they must accept as a form of adaptation to environmental changes. Therefore, there is a strong link between cultures which are used as tools in the pattern of social life actions. The reciprocal relationship between culture and nature can be seen from the life of the people of Daya village. When they work as farmers, the habits in the form of traditions are all carried out in a form related to the habits of life as farmers. After the KIMA industry was established, the habits as farmers began to change to things that were more related to work in the industrial sector or to other jobs. All of this is done as a form of adaptability in facing changes in the environment. Although in current developments not all traditions or customs can be simply eliminated, but with this change it has been shown that the existence of local wisdom values as a form of ethnic identity is still a cultural understanding for its adherents. Therefore, the important thing to pay attention to is not how to eliminate all these traditions or customs, but on the contrary, namely knowing which aspects should be preserved and which aspects might be eliminated. This considers that the traditions or customs in terms of technology use will always be adapted to environmental conditions (Adimihardja, 1999).

The description put forward can be found in the Daya community. The Daya community at this time has experienced changes in their traditions or habits as farmers as a result of industrial development which requires these communities to adapt to their new environment.

Customs and wedding ceremonies. The customs and wedding ceremonies of the Bugis ethnic Makassar have a rich variety of styles, depending on the abilities of both parties, namely the groom and the bride. Although the trinkets in the traditional ceremonies are different, the cultural system in general is no different. For example, before entering the marriage period, the prospective groom and bride must first perform a fiancé procession, and before the saving period the "*mammanu-manu*" custom is held. During the "*mammanu-manu*", the man came to the woman's house carrying lime and betel leaf and asked if the woman accepted her proposal where the procession was witnessed by the extended family of both parties. The conversation between the two parties was continued with an event asking about the ability of the man and so on. After the two families found an agreement, the discussion continued regarding the delivery money that had to be submitted by the men and continued with the procession of handing over the dowry (*mappaenre doi balanca*). The wedding party is usually held after one or two months since the dowry is given. The delivery of the money in between is an

engagement procession as a bond between a man and a woman (*passio*), which indicates that the two will tie the knot. If during this process the man breaks his promise to marry for some reason, then the amount of money delivered or dowry and other items that have been given will belong to the woman. On the contrary, if the woman denies, then she is obliged to return the money delivered along with other gifts from the male side. When such a marriage cancellation occurs, conflict between the two parties will often arise because the man feels humiliated.

IV. CONCLUSION

The occurrence of job shifts and changes in the economic conditions of the community resulted in the widening of people's knowledge, where their knowledge was no longer limited to matters related to agricultural activities such as before the existence of industry. There are many things that can be done by members of the community today, especially housewives who usually do housework, organize household and take care of children, they can now easily do other work outside the home and use modern equipment that is different from internal equipment of agricultural activity. From a religious perspective, the entry of industry was found to have not changed the nature of religion and devotion to God Almighty. This is indicated by the religious rituals performed by the ancient ancestors, which are not as strong as before. This is as a result of a shift due to the entry of other cultures. Shifts or changes are also found in terms of tradition. The community is no longer dependent on rice fields, even their children are no longer introduced to the farming system. The traditional changes made by the people of Daya village, which previously had livelihoods that depended on agriculture, are now changing to various kinds of jobs (industry). This shows that there has been a change in tradition as a form of superstructure culture that has occurred after changes in livelihoods as a form of infrastructure culture.

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