

Inequitable Community Reciprocity in the Kalomba Tradition in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze and describe the unequal social reciprocity in the kalomba tradition, the implications and sustainability of the kalomba tradition. This research was conducted in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Tanah Towa Village was chosen because the kalomba tradition is still strongly maintained and implemented as a traditional obligation and this tradition is specifically found in Kajang District. This research uses a qualitative approach with an ethnographic strategy. Data collection techniques through interviews, observation and documentation as well as the use of field notes (field log). Data sources, in the form of person, place and paper. The person group consists of: (i) elements of village government, (ii) administrators of village community institutions; and (iii) community elements who are directly involved in the Kalomba traditional procession, including community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and residents who live outside the village, but still have kinship relations with the residents of Tanah Towa Village. Place group through observation by looking closely at the traditional Kalomba procession and specifically observing the Massolo tradition. Paper group by tracing documents, such as Kalomba party permits, records of the number of invitations, records of attendees, records of costs for holding the Kalomba, records of the number of passolo. Data analysis was carried out through the Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) Software Program, to assist during the data processing and analysis phases as well as writing research reports. The research results show that unequal exchange occurs because there is competition to give passolo more than what has been received before, especially passolo from close family because they want to get praise and increase their social status in society. Passolo which exceeds tens of millions of rupiah has psychological, social, economic and cultural implications. However, the Kalomba tradition remains sustainable because it is a traditional obligation, social solidarity and mutual help within the village community.

Keywords: Kalomba Reciprocity, Society, Tradition.

Indonesia has a multidimensional natural state, consisting of marine areas, coastal areas, lowlands, middlelands and highlands. This multidimensional natural state is occupied by a number of residents in a multiethnic and

multicultural community, so that a pluralistic society is formed. The pluralism of Indonesian society is characterized by several factors, including religion and belief, various ethnic groups and local (regional) cultures (Hakim,

2019; Nasikun, 2012; Sutarno et al., 2023; Hartoyo, et al., 2020). Indonesia is an archipelagic country in which various ethnic groups live. Each ethnic group consists of a number of people who are united by emotional ties, and view themselves as a separate species (Nasikun, 2012; Smith, 1982; Gans, 1979).

During its development, when the New Order came to power, local culture experienced stagnation because the government implemented uniformity in the administration of village government. This uniformity is not only in the organizational structure, but also in the name of the village itself and its government officials (Maschab, 2013; Huda, 2015; Antlov, 2003). The government is of the opinion that uniformity is very necessary to facilitate guidance and smooth implementation of development administration (Maschab, 2013; Ilmuse, et. al, 2015). With this uniformity, in general all local institutions and local culture in various regions are given less space to develop because the state is co-opting, so that the existence of local institutions and local culture that should be protected is in reality marginalized in society (Nain, 2020).

In reality, through co-optation, local institutions and local culture are isolated from the lives of individuals or groups because they do not conform to the culture of society or the dominant culture and are considered as peripheral in society. For example, the local institutions *tudang sipulung* and *mattiro launruma* as local culture of village communities in South Sulawesi, their existence is not recognized because they are not established by the government. Local institutions and local culture that are considered legitimate are institutions that are formed uniformly from the center, so that there is room for the growth of local culture that has long been rooted in society, such as living without wanting to die or experiencing cultural involution. Village institutions that differ from the standard bureaucratic form determined by the state lose their validity. The channel that was supposed to

be the carrier of village voices to the state turned into a channel for orders from the state to village residents (Mas'ood, 1994; Socialismanto, 2001; Rahardjo, 1999).

Traditional institutions that can maintain local culture and community traditions are in a vulnerable position, because their functions are taken over by the government and replaced by other institutions. In the relationship between government and society, the government often shifts the roles and functions of existing and clearly functional traditional institutions, then replaces them with new structures that are placed from above. Likewise, many functions that were traditionally the responsibility of the village were later taken over by the government (Moeljarto, 1987; Socialismanto 2001). This phenomenon is relevant to Merton's (1968) theory that the presence of institutions is not always functional; instead dysfunction often occurs. Traditional institutions have become dysfunctional because they have been replaced by village community institutions formed by supra-village governments.

In the era of regional autonomy, if we discuss local culture, it tends to be oriented towards economic aspects, the development of which is to increase original regional income through cultural tourism packages. The implication is that culture is integrated with tourism, so that local culture in village communities is preserved for tourism purposes, especially with the government's intensive policies through the development of tourist villages. Through village tourism, each village is challenged to display its local culture in the form of traditions and customs that have been carried out for generations, but have not yet appeared on the surface as the local culture of the village community. However, local culture not only has an economic aspect but in a particular community it has a social aspect, which can strengthen the social ties of society. Local culture can take the form of mutual cooperation which has been proven to be able to maintain harmony without being resistant to technology and

innovation (Usman, 2015; Koentjaraningrat, 1993; Rahardjo, 1999, Suryohadiprojo, 2016; Nain, 2021).

Sociologically, the existence of the various traditions mentioned above should be interpreted as a community identity, not just an economic meaning because they contain the values of mutual cooperation, social solidarity and the value of harmony which can unite the community in a balanced life so that it is far from social conflict. Community traditions become an arena for creating harmonious and harmonious community life. Harmony has always been an important priority in cultural indigenous communities, so that all community traditions and culture become models for increasing the values of harmony (Uhi, 2016). Indonesia's diverse society always maintains harmony in relations between the government and society and between society and other communities (Soekarba, 2018; Suryatni & Widana, 2023). By applying the values of harmony through various traditions, customs, social, cultural or religious rituals, every conflict can be managed so as to reduce and prevent new conflicts from occurring (Uhi, 2016).

In community life in Bulukumba Regency there are two ethnicities, namely the Bugis and Makassar ethnicities. The Bugis ethnic group occupies the districts of Gantarang, Ujung Bulu, Ujung Loe, Rilau Ale and Bulukumpa. Meanwhile, the Makassar ethnic group, which uses the Konjo dialect of Makassar (konjo language), is found in Kindang, Bontobahari, Bontotiro, Herlang and Kajang subdistricts. In the Bugis and Konjo communities there are similar traditions and customs, such as in terms of marriage ceremonies, pregnancy, saving newborn children, circumcision, entering a new house and death ceremonies. A tradition that is different and not found in other sub-districts in Bulukumba Regency is the kalomba tradition, which is only found in the Kajang community. The kalomba tradition is a characteristic that has become a traditional tradition and cultural identity and is the local wisdom of the Kajang

community in Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi (Nursyam, 2018). Kalomba is a tradition of the Kajang people which is held through traditional processions with parties. Carried out by every family or parent who has a male or female aged four to five years. The aim is to release parents' responsibilities to their children, to avoid hereditary diseases, such as skin diseases and bad luck.

Based on the division of customary areas, the Kajang community is divided into 2 areas, namely Kajang Dalam (Ilalang Embaya) and Kajang Luar (Ipantarang Embaya). The term Ilalang means inside and Ipantarang means outside and Emba means territory of power. In the regional context, Ilalang Embaya can be understood as an area under Ammatoa's control. On the other hand, Ipantarang Embaya means an area outside Ammatoa's control (Hafid, 2013; Dewi et.al, 2022). The Kajang Dalam people are residents of the community who reside and live in the Ammatoa Traditional Area, which is in Tanah Towa Village, with their characteristic black daily clothing. According to the Kajang people, the color black means equality, the unity of all things, and simplicity. The color black also gives a sign of strength and rank in the eyes of the owner of the universe. The similarity contained in this color also addresses environmental conditions, especially the preservation of forests as a source of life (Elfira et al, 2023). The Ammatoa traditional area still strongly adheres to its traditional principles. As a manifestation, the original principles held by indigenous peoples are to ward off the influence of modernization while maintaining a simple way of life (kamase-masea) and traditional lifestyle (Elfira et al, 2023; Usop, 1975; Akib, 2008; Dewi et al, 2022; Kambo, 2021).

Kajang Dalam in Tanah Towa Village consists of 7 hamlets, namely: Sabbu, Pangi, Bungkina, Kuncio, Lurayya, Balangbina and Benteng Hamlet (Tanah Towa Village Profile, 2022). Meanwhile, Kajang Luar are residents who live in several villages, such as in Tanah

Towa 2 Dusun Village, namely: Balagana Hamlet and Jannaya Hamlet, Batunilamung Village, Pattiroang Village, Malleleng Village, Bonto Biraeng Village, Bontobaji Village, Sangkala Village and other villages in Kajang District. The Kalomba tradition in several villages in the Kajang community is still maintained and carried out according to customary rules, even though the people's lives are starting to open up to outside cultures. In Tanah Towa Village, the kalomba tradition has become integrated and become part of the people's lives. Therefore, every family (husband and wife) who have sons and daughters has it ingrained in their souls to carry out the kalomba tradition, when their children are old enough.

Among other traditions, the kalomba tradition has a central position in Kajang Luar society. Through the traditional procession of the Kalomba tradition, it has become a cult, part of the community as a tradition (Nursyam, 2018). Tradition is a form of action that is done repeatedly in the same way because the person likes the action (Dilulrohmah et.al, 2021). The Kalomba tradition is carried out repeatedly by the people of Kajang Luar, because it is part of an effort to maintain the tradition which is a legacy from their ancestors. To strengthen their identity, every descendant of the Kajang Luar community must carry out the kalomba or kalomba tradition, even if they marry into another community. In kalomba means a male or female from a family who undergoes the traditional kalomba procession. If they are not in Kalomba then they are not fully considered part of them traditionally and are ostracized or the subject of gossip among their community (Nursyam, 2018). Because the Kalomba tradition has become a cult, it is a traditional obligation to be carried out by every family that has males and females. The Kalomba tradition is aimed at children aged four to five years.

According to the traditional procession stages, the kalomba tradition starts with the ma'jenne ritual procession, burning incense and candles, reading prayers, shaking off the incense

smoke, tompong procession, children's bacing procession, paddingi-dingi stage, massolo (giving money to children), and the event ends installing kampalo by eating with family and relatives (Muslimin et al, 2021). Each traditional procession has its own in-depth meaning, but this study cannot be done in its entirety. Based on all the stages of implementing the kalomba tradition carried out by the people of Tanah Towa Village, one of the interesting stages that is the focus of the study is the massolo stage. Massolo is an activity carried out by giving money or goods to families holding Kalomba or to children who are at Kalomba.

For families who carry out traditional Kalomba traditions, they are willing to receive passolo (money or goods) and at some point the passolo becomes an obligation to be returned. The process of giving, receiving and returning passolo in the kalomba tradition includes the principle of exchange (reciprocity). In village community life, reciprocity is not something new, in fact it has been going on for quite a long time and has become a community tradition or habit. This is in accordance with Mac Iver & Page (1967) that habits are behavior that is recognized and accepted by society. Conceptually, the principle of reciprocity in the form of exchanging gifts is a universal tradition, across nations, across ethnicities, across regions and also across classes (Mauss, 1967). Mauss further explained that reciprocity is the exchange of gifts as a dynamic social process that involves all members of society, as a comprehensive system. These dynamic processes are realized through the nature of mutual giving which requires the recipient to exceed the return of the gift, which reflects the competition for position and honor of the parties concerned so that mutual exchange is endless from time to time and from generation to generation. (Mauss, 1967). Regarding reciprocity, Mauss emphasized that basically there is no free gift, because all forms of giving are always accompanied by something in return or reward. Thus, what exists is not just a gift by one person to another, but an exchange

of gifts carried out by two people or groups who give and compensate each other.

According to Gouldner (1960) who describes the rules of reciprocity as, (i) transactions, (ii) trust, and (iii) moral norms. Transaction means an exchange that is mutually dependent on each other. Reciprocal exchange due to interdependence limits risk and favors cooperation and excludes real bargaining (Molm, 1994). Apart from that, Malinowski (1961) shows that all forms of transactions are in a continuous line of relationship in which one pole is a pure gift, without demands for reward and at the other pole it is a gift that must be reciprocated.

A similar opinion regarding reciprocity was expressed by Scott (1976) that the principle of reciprocity is based on a simple idea, namely that people should help those who have helped them or at least not harm them. More specifically, this principle means that a gift or service received creates for the recipient a reciprocal obligation to reciprocate the gift or service with at least comparable value in the future. According to Durkheim, the idea of equivalent exchange is a general moral principle found in all cultures. Malinowski and Mauss found that reciprocity served as the basis for the structure of friendship and alliance in traditional societies (Scott, 1976).

From the various concepts of reciprocity that have been stated above, it can be said that reciprocity is an exchange of gifts that involves all members of society, both rich and poor, where this exchange is endless from time to time and from generation to generation throughout the tradition. It is still maintained by the cultural owners. In other words, reciprocity means that a gift or service received creates for the recipient a reciprocal obligation to reciprocate the gift or service with at least comparable value in the future. Reciprocity is a reciprocal exchange where a gift received in the form of money and goods becomes an obligation in the future to return the gift, the time frame of which cannot be determined.

Furthermore, Mauss's (1967) study showed the existence of three dimensions of reciprocity, including; (i) obligation to give, (ii) obligation to accept, and (iii) obligation to repay. Gift giving is done voluntarily without coercion, but in reality all gifts will be repaid within the framework of obligations that must be fulfilled by the perpetrators. The form usually used is the giving of gifts that are generously presented, but the behavior that accompanies the gift is official with pretense and social deception, while the transaction itself is based on obligation and the self-economic interests of the perpetrators. In village communities, the tradition of exchanging goods is a form of mutual help, with the aim of helping to lighten the burden on community members who are experiencing life difficulties. The behavior of helping fellow citizens is a form of generosity. In terms of generosity, Mauss (1967) shows that there is a principle of pseudo-generosity that underlies and encourages the realization of acts of mutual exchange of gifts that are comprehensive and apply continuously on a regular basis. In essence, generosity is an expression of honor that is required to be recognized by another party, through the mutual exchange of gifts.

Referring to the explanation above, in the first dimension the obligation to give is carried out voluntarily/generously, but behind this there is pretense and social deception in giving because there is an obligation to pay back which is directed towards the self-economic interests of the party receiving the repayment. It is said to be pseudo-generosity in exchanging gifts, because it is not based on a sincere attitude, but only to gain social status through respect from people in the community. Giving a gift (money or goods) can be more than what one has ever received, because one wants to show generosity so that one's social status increases in society. In the second dimension, the obligation to receive gifts is something that cannot be avoided because it is a tradition and a habit of society, which is reflected in everyday life. Refusing to accept gifts indicates a rejection of mutual connection

and friendship (Mauss, 1967). Furthermore, Mauss (1967) explained that someone who refuses a gift, apart from being interpreted as an insult to the giver, can also be interpreted as the recipient's inability to receive honor from the giver. Apart from that, it also shows that in society there is no solidarity to help each other. Meanwhile, social solidarity is an important element in society. In the third dimension, the obligation to repay is a necessity, which is closely related to moral principles. The obligation to repay favors is the most important moral principle for maintaining social ties between members of society. If this moral principle is ignored, it can have implications for the existence of moral sanctions in society, so that social relations experience harmony in society. Feelings of the same destiny and responsibility in the community cannot be maintained, because there are members of the community who cannot fulfill their obligation to repay the gifts they have received.

Apart from that, Scott (1976) also put forward two dimensions of reciprocity, namely: (i) commensurate exchange and (ii) disproportionate exchange. Equivalent reciprocity occurs when the parties carrying out an exchange have more or less the same position, so that exchanges between them tend to be balanced and stable. On the other hand, exchanges are not commensurate if they have unequal positions in terms of social stratification in society. Differences in power and unequal control over the scarce resources of a community allow one party to have a strong position and thus be able to exert coercion in unequal exchanges. If this unequal exchange takes place in a community, then there is a violation of the ideas held by the wider community about appropriate values (Scott, 1976). Based on Scott's opinion outlined above, the dimensions of commensurate and unequal reciprocity in society are largely determined by the position based on social stratification of the parties carrying out the exchange.

Comparable reciprocity is still often found in Indonesian society. The splice tradition in Javanese society, *julo-julo* in Minangkabau society, or the social gathering tradition in various communities in the archipelago are examples of comparable reciprocity. Giving gifts on birthdays, for example, can be seen as comparable reciprocity if the participants give each other gifts and record them during the activity (Damsar & Indrayani, 2016). So comparable reciprocity can be identified by the fact that individuals deliberately and openly calculate what they give to others and openly state the nature of the return that will be obtained. Each interacting party expects benefits, but there is a clear expectation of mutual benefit, and exploitation is rare (Sanderson, 2003).

Even though in various regions in Indonesia there is still equal reciprocity found in society, in reality, in the Kalomba tradition in the Kajang community, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi, unequal or unbalanced reciprocity applies. Based on the reciprocity in the kalomba traditional tradition that has been going on so far, this study focuses on: (1) why community reciprocity is not commensurate in the kalomba tradition in the community of Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, and (2) what are the implications and sustainability of the kalomba tradition for the people of Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency. The aim of this study is to analyze the unequal community reciprocity in the kalomba tradition and describe the implications and sustainability of the kalomba tradition in the community of Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency.

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with an ethnographic strategy. Ethnography is often associated with a culturalist approach and places more emphasis on real experiences. The ethnographic strategy was used because from the start ethnography had quite unique problems,

namely studying the ethnicity and culture of the community even though this culture was not something static (Sadewo, 2015). Ethnography as a culture is used to understand human behavior and the meaning behind that behavior (Spradley, 1997). Ethnography concentrates on the details of local life and at the same time links them to wider social processes (Barker, 2000). Using a qualitative approach, researchers will explore in depth community reciprocity in the kalomba tradition, the implications and sustainability of the kalomba tradition in Tanah Towa Village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency. Data collection techniques are through interviews, observation and documentation as well as the use of field notes (field logs). Data sources, in the form of person, place and paper (Arikunto, 2014). This group of people was selected using purposive sampling, consisting of: (i) elements of village government, namely the village head and his apparatus as well as the Village Consultative Body (ii) administrators of village community institutions; and (iii) elements of society who are directly involved in the traditional kalomba procession, such as the nuclear family, grandmothers, uragi, shamans, close family, and guests/invitees. Those interviewed included community leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, educators, youth, poor and rich residents as well as residents who live outside the village, but still have kinship relations with the residents of Tanah Towa Village. In carrying out the interview, an interview guide was used and at the same time the interview was taking place, the researcher also recorded information using a recording device in the form of a cellphone. Place group through observations at the research location, by closely observing the traditional Kalomba procession and specifically observing the Massolo tradition carefully. Paper group by tracing documents, such as Kalomba party permits, family cards, records of the number of invitations, attendance records, records of costs for holding the Kalomba, records of the number of passolo (money or goods) and so on. Other

documents, such as regulations related to community culture and traditions, research results published in journals, including literature books as references in this research. Data analysis uses the Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) Software Program, consisting of exploring data, coding data, attaching code labels. combining codes into themes, and themes as headings in the findings section of the qualitative report (Creswell, 2016).

Results and Discussion

Ongoing Reciprocity in the Kalomba Tradition

In this reciprocal exchange, there is the giving, receiving and obligation to return passolo as described below:

Obligation to Give Passolo

To examine the emergence of the power of giving in the reciprocity of the Kalomba tradition, because it is based on individual bonds in which there are traditional obligations, solidarity and mutual help. Everyone feels that there is a shared obligation so that any means must be taken (extremely, for example taking out debt or credit in order to fulfill social obligations and maintain bonds of togetherness) so that bonds do not fade or are marginalized from the community (Eko et al., 2014). In the Kalomba tradition, apart from traditional obligations that have been maintained from generation to generation, it also functions to maintain community solidarity so that social cohesion is strengthened in the village community. Strengthening social cohesion is marked by the presence of community members, family and relatives attending the Kalomba party by giving money or rice, known as passolo.

In connection with the obligation to give passolo, it can be explained that some of them give because they have previously done kalomba (repaying someone else's gift) and there are also those who give because they have never done kalomba before. In general, in Tanah Towa Village there are far more people who give

passolo because they reciprocate other people's gifts than those who give passolo because they have never done kalomba. This shows that the exchange of giving passolo to each other is not something new in village communities. The passolo exchange is maintained and observed as a form of helping fellow villagers, in order to reduce the burden of costs incurred in implementing the kalomba tradition.

That the obligation to give as a force in reciprocal exchange does not arise by itself, but begins with inviting family, relatives, neighbors and village residents to come to attend the Kalomba procession. The number of verbal and written invitations distributed by a family hosting a Kalomba party becomes the main force in the exchange. It is said to be the main force because the invitation determines how many people come to give passolo in accordance with the hope that those invited will actually be present at the time of the Kalomba. The giving of passolo is sometimes fantastic or spectacular beyond reasonable limits because the money is quite large, amounting to tens of millions of rupiah, including those who come bringing hundreds of liters of rice. Passolo is a form of reciprocity that cements social relations in village communities. Village communities who live in poor conditions, the principle of reciprocity becomes the glue in society (Syukur, 2020). The main aim of the massolo tradition is to help fellow relatives or family in the form of mutual help and creating social solidarity in the kalomba tradition.

At a glance, the party giving the passolo and the party receiving the passolo are mutually beneficial in the short term or in the short term. Providing benefits to both parties is called social insurance (Muryanti, 2018). According to an outsider's view, exchange in the kalomba tradition can be said to be social insurance, because the person giving the passolo invests their money in the party receiving the passolo from the family carrying out the kalomba. Meanwhile, the passolo recipient can overcome the burden of costs incurred by having the

passolo received, especially with the increasing number of passolos in the Kalomba who come from the closest family, both husband's and wife's relatives. By examining the views of outsiders, it appears that there is a mutually beneficial relationship between the party giving the passolo and the party receiving the passolo, although its sustainability is limited.

Usually the highest passolo is easy to find because those who do it are the closest family members who are trying to reach the highest passolo. Known as passolo in kalomba which is done by the closest family of the family holding the traditional kalomba party. Thus, it can be said that passolo in Kalomba is an arena of competition for the closest family to increase their social prestige among the family and village community. This is in accordance with what was stated by Blau in Poloma (1984) that exchanges easily become competitive relationships where each person must demonstrate the rewards they give with the intention of pressuring others and in an effort to obtain better rewards. Close families who succeed in the competition because they achieve the highest number of passolos receive praise in their community and are considered as materially successful families. With this praise, it was found that the closest family forced themselves to achieve the highest passolo amount, even though they owed money to other people through loan sharks or moneylenders.

Obligation to Accept Passolo

By having invitations circulated within the community, it shows that a family is ready to hold a Kalomba party. Through this invitation, the party carrying out the Kalomba can predict which people will attend and give passolo which may be in the form of money or rice. For families who carry out Kalomba, they are definitely willing to accept passolo from the guests who come and have no desire to refuse it. It was stated by Mauss (1967) that someone who refuses a gift, apart from being interpreted as an insult to the giver, can also be interpreted as the recipient's inability to receive honor from the

giver. Apart from that, it also shows that in society there is no solidarity to help each other. Meanwhile, social solidarity is an important element in society. In every traditional Kalomba party there is a custom of giving passolo. Because it is customary, there is not a single guest who comes who does not give passolo. Passolo can be in the form of money and goods (rice), but in general these days more passolo is in the form of cash. Field findings showed that there were unnatural passolos because they gave passolos ranging from IDR 25,000,000 to IDR 30,000,000,- which came from the closest family. When compared with general passolo, the value of passolo in Kalomba is much greater even though the number of people is relatively small.

In connection with the obligation to receive passolo, this can occur because the party giving the passolo has a mutual trust that one day the passolo given can be returned. That one of the most important factors in social interaction is communication between people in order to foster mutual trust. There is mutual trust (Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995). Judging from the exchange relations, an attitude of mutual trust has been built between the village residents so that those who give and those who receive passolo understand each other and things run smoothly. Furthermore, it can be seen that the families who exchange passolo have known each other for a long time so there is no longer any doubt in the exchange transaction even though the time is not yet known.

In the development of society, whatever form of passolo is accepted is properly administered through recording in a large album book. In the book, the names of those present are recorded as stated in the invitation, the addresses concerned, the type and number of passolo given. The aim is so that the party who receives the passolo does not forget it easily, because the passolo will be returned in the future but the time is unknown. Thus, the number of those present, the type and number of passolo must be recorded in an orderly manner, because if any of those present hold a

Kalomba then it is their obligation to return the passolo they have received. The album book is usually called a book which is a document that can be opened at any time if you receive an invitation to attend a Kalomba party.

Obligation to Return Passolo

Exchange in traditional society can be maintained if there is an obligation to give, receive and an obligation to return goods or services that have been received (Mauss, 1967). In relation to the kalomba tradition, especially the obligation to return passolo seems to be well maintained because it is based on the moral obligations of each individual. Basically, the obligation to return valuable passolo is a necessity as a manifestation of moral obligations in traditional society. This moral obligation cannot be separated from the cultural foundation in Bugis-Makassar social institutions which still strongly adhere to the values of honesty and responsibility (Mukhlis, 1986; Usop, 1978). In terms of the obligation to return passolo, honesty and individual responsibility are required, if you don't want to be judged as dishonest and irresponsible. Field findings in Tanah Towa Village show that the values of honesty and responsibility are still strongly held by the community. Thus, in the Kalomba tradition, the party giving the passolo never feels doubtful and burdened, that the passolo they have given cannot be returned. In reality, the values of honesty and responsibility are the basis for strengthening exchanges in the Kalomba tradition.

Another thing that strengthens the obligation to return passolo is because the value of siri is embedded in the village community. In the context of ongoing social interaction, ideally it should be guarded by cultural values, namely siri. Siri is a concept that includes the ideas of self-esteem and shame, as well as the origin of self-esteem (Ahmadin, 2008). In connection with siri culture, in Tanah Towa Village there seems to be a sense of shame if at a kalomba party you receive a passolo but at some point it is not returned. Therefore, so that a family does not feel

embarrassed and their pride in their community is disturbed, they try to return the passolo to the family who once gave it to them when holding a kalomba party.

In terms of the obligation to return passolo, it is interesting to pay attention to the amount of passolo that will be returned. In Tanah Towa Village, quite a lot of residents keep the size of the passolo they return a secret. Exchange transactions are only known to the party holding the kalomba and the party invited to attend the kalomba event. Ideally, the value of the passolo that will be returned must be the same value as what was received. It seems that it is not regulated in writing or unwritten but really depends on the awareness of each individual. Because there are no governing norms, unequal or unbalanced exchanges occur. According to Scott (1976), an exchange is balanced or commensurate if the value of money or goods is the same (decent), while an exchange is unbalanced or not commensurate if the value of money or goods is not the same (not deserving).

Referring to Scott's opinion, in reality in Tanah Towa Village there are more unequal or disproportionate exchanges found in the form of money or rice. Several housewives revealed that when carrying out kalomba they receive a passolo of at least Rp. 100,000,- which is a passolo of general invitation. However, when returning the passolo the value increases to Rp. 300,000,- The same thing happens to the passolo in Kalomba, which previously received a passolo of Rp. 10,000,000,- However, when returning the passolo it reaches Rp. 25,000,000,- with a distance not too long time between receiving and returning the passolo.

Receipt of passolo that exceeds the return value is considered an unbalanced or non-equivalent exchange. A housewife further stated that in passolo returns it is better to exceed than to decrease. The value of "exceeding" has been promoted from generation to generation so that it has become a tradition of returning passolo. Excessive return of passolo is known in society as passolo appakai. With the development of

passolo appakai, it increasingly strengthens the occurrence of unequal or disproportionate exchanges. In the event that the exchange of passolo in the form of rice is the same as passolo in the form of money, that is, there is an unequal exchange. Through economic calculations, it appears that the beneficiary in an unequal exchange is the party who receives the return of the passolo, because its value is higher than the passolo that was previously given. Apart from that, this unbalanced exchange can increase the burden due to the increase in the value of the passolo when it is returned.

The obligation to return passolo is an initial indication that it can cause a burden on families, especially those classified as poor families, in order to maintain social order in village communities. For families who are socially and economically capable, returning passolo does not become a psychological burden (no anxiety) or a social burden (no feeling of shame) and an economic burden (not being able to afford it) because it can be overcome and fulfilled by the family concerned. For families who are unable to manage the passolo money they have received, the money to be returned is done through debts to neighbors, relatives or family and the most tragic thing is to ask for help from money lenders (loan sharks) in the village or outside the village.

Returning passolo feels even more burdensome if the Kalomba party is held at almost the same time in one month from different families. Remembering that the obligation to return or pay back is something that must be fulfilled. Because the Kalomba tradition is a traditional obligation that must be obeyed, all burdens incurred cannot be avoided. This must be fulfilled because it is related to social sanctions in society, the simplest form of which is ostracism. If someone experiences a burden in returning passolo, it does not appear to be real (manifest) but more latent. Thus, it is an interesting problem to research so that phenomena that are a burden on society can be revealed in this research. In the view of outsiders, receiving something is much easier than carrying

out the obligation to return it, because if it cannot be returned it will be a burden for someone.

Implications of the Kalomba Tradition

This research revealed several implications of the Kalomba tradition, including: psychological, social, economic and cultural implications, with the explanation: First, these psychological implications are inherent in the individual, not at the group or community level, which is characterized by the feeling of restlessness experienced by the individual as the heir and owner of the Kalomba tradition. In reality, there are 2 (two) types of psychological implications that arise, including: (i) personal anxiety because they have not yet carried out the Kalomba, and (ii) personal anxiety due to not being able to return the passolo. This anxiety is felt by many lower class families in village communities. The family's anxiety is getting stronger because they are haunted by the myth that children who don't compete will experience a life of bad luck and previous hereditary diseases. This myth encourages a family to carry out Kalomba for their children. This is relevant to Leach's (1967) and Cohen's (1974) explanation of the influence of myths in prescribing actions. A family's feelings will become calmer if they carry out the kalomba tradition; Second, social implications will emerge through social interactions with other people, both individuals, groups and communities in village communities. Social implications are characterized by feelings of shame if you have not implemented the kalomba tradition, which has an impact on the development of issues in the form of public gossip, and will end if the kalomba tradition is immediately implemented. Another social implication is the emergence of competition in giving passolo, namely passolo in kalomba which is carried out by the closest family of the husband and wife who are holding the kalomba party. With the passolo in the Kalomba being separate from the general invitation passolo, it forces the closest family to compete with other close relatives to give an unnatural passolo in

order to win the competition within the family. The emergence of competition between them because they both want to achieve social status in society; Third, the economic implications are very easy to understand because they are closely related to how much money is needed to carry out this tradition. To predict the costs required really depends on the strength of the invitations circulated. The more invitations are distributed to family, friends and friends who live in the village or outside the village, the greater the costs involved, especially the cost of consumption for guests attending the Kalomba party. The most visible costs are the purchase of materials and equipment for the traditional kalomba procession, buffalo, horse or cow to be slaughtered at the kalomba party, including food for consumption by guests/invitees who will attend the kalomba party; and Fourth, cultural implications appear when the community as the owner of the culture is trapped in their traditional life. According to Weber in Johnson (1994) that people build themselves an iron cage where at some point they realize that they can no longer get out of it. In the context of the kalomba tradition, community members who are trapped in the kalomba tradition cannot leave the tradition, unless they obey and comply with the rules and norms in the tradition. People do not have the freedom to reject the Kalomba tradition because the narratives produced are always related to the legacy of their ancestors. Another thing that strengthens the community trapped in the Kalomba tradition is related to community recognition. In the village community, a person or family is not recognized as a Kajang person if they do not carry out the kalomba tradition. This statement of community recognition is disseminated from generation to generation so that it becomes institutionalized in society. People gain knowledge from previous generations regarding the benefits of the Kalomba tradition. It is relevant that community support positively moderates knowledge-seeking efforts on perceived social benefits. (An Tsai & Ching Kang, 2019). The social benefits of the

Kalomba tradition are institutionalized in society, so that in the cultural aspect it can survive and be maintained by the village community. Cultural dynamics theory shows that cultural diversity contributes to the fear of cultural loss (Bunce, 2021). In the Kajang community, the emergence of cultural diversity is not a concern that the culture will disappear, as in the culture in the Kalomba tradition, so this theory is less relevant..

Sustainability of the Kalomba Tradition.

The study focuses on the Kalomba tradition as a local culture in society, because the strength of habits and compliance in maintaining this tradition can be seen from 3 (three) forms, namely: First, traditional obligations. Traditions that are still adhered to by the community must be obeyed and fulfilled because they are a traditional obligation on the one hand, but on the other hand they can become a burden on the community because their implementation requires quite a lot of money in the form of traditional parties. In the village realm, custom is a genuine social institution that is able to go beyond and bridging religious, kinship, ethnic and sectarian barriers (Eko, et, al, 2014). According to Chambers (1986), customary obligations are very burdensome for the poor, including the obligation to pay dowries, proposal fees, wedding and death costs. The costs of traditional ceremonies and other social obligations cannot be denied as the cause of someone getting into debt. The obligations that burden them do not become less and less, on the contrary. Traditional obligations are closely related to obedience. Explained by Fromm (2010), the attitude of obedience is rooted in the power of fear within humans, disobedience is a sin and obedience is a virtue. Thus, obedience in carrying out traditional obligations is a virtue even though in reality it requires economic sacrifices whose value is quite fantastic. However, because of customary obligations, economic aspects are often neglected for the sake of preserving the traditions adhered to by society, especially traditional societies. Faced with an

ever-changing situation, views that ignore and undermine custom are irrelevant. Now the spirit of localization is a global manifesto that is equivalent to modernization and globalization. The local is not an arena for the onslaught of globalization, but rather a presenter of uniqueness and a force for influencing the global arena. Customs are no longer understood as old, old-fashioned habits, but are understood as values, local wisdom, and new initiatives of local entities that are adaptive to change (Eko, et. al, 2017); Second, social solidarity. To reduce the burden on people who hold traditional traditions in the form of parties, family, relatives, neighbors, friends and colleagues provide assistance in the form of money or goods as a form of social solidarity within the village community. The form of providing assistance is based on the collective awareness of fellow village community members. Durkheim used the term mechanical solidarity, which is based on a collective consciousness which refers to the totality of shared beliefs and sentiments that exist among members of society (Johnson, 1994). According to Sorokin, et al in Rahardjo (1999) the similarities that form mechanical solidarity include: (1) kinship and blood relations; (2) marriage; (3) similarity in religion or belief; (4) similarities in local language and customs; (5) there is shared responsibility; and (6) help each other. The existence of several similarities in mechanical solidarity in villages makes it easier for collective awareness to grow. High collective awareness is supported by a high level of community homogeneity, such as in rural communities. At first glance, this provision of aid is accepted as a form of creating social harmonization, but behind that there is a moral obligation to return it in an unknown time, and thirdly, please help. In a village community, it has become a habit for people to help each other in the form of mutual assistance or mutual cooperation. For villages where traditional traditions are still strong, the phenomenon of mutual cooperation for traditional interests is still clearly visible (Rahardjo, 1999). Mutual

cooperation is mutual assistance activities and a system of exchanging labor between farmers in agricultural production, mutual assistance activities between neighbors or between relatives in village communities (Koentjaraningrat, 1993; Rahardjo, 1999; Murdiyanto, 2008; Nain, 2021). Helping activities as a form of mutual cooperation in society have different forms in each region. In the life of rural communities in the Bugis region, the massolo tradition is an embodiment of an attitude of mutual help in order to maintain social harmony. The massolo tradition in society is similar to the tradition of contributing to Javanese society (Syukur, 2020). An attitude of mutual help was established in the village community, which then gave rise to an attitude of exchanging gifts, some of which were returned and some which were not returned. Gifts that are not returned are considered alms that have transcendental meaning in humans' relationship with God.

Conclusion

The Kalomba tradition is a traditional obligation so that every family that has a male or female aged four to five years is obliged to carry out this tradition. Based on the stages of carrying out the traditional Kalomba procession, there is the Massolo tradition. The massolo tradition is giving passolo in the form of money or goods (rice) to families holding a kalomba party.

Giving passolo is quite interesting because there is a difference between the general passolo which comes from guests/invitees and the passolo in kalomba from the closest family of the husband or wife who is carrying out the kalomba. The transaction of giving passolo to the family carrying out the Kalomba will one day be returned so that there is an exchange (reciprocity) in society. In a passolo exchange, there is an exchange that is not equivalent or balanced because the value of the passolo received is lower than when it is returned, resulting in an excess (passolo appakai). Passolo that exceeds its value is quite fantastic, especially passolo in Kalomba up to tens of millions of rupiah. The emergence of superior passolo is due to competition within close families to achieve the highest passolo in order to achieve praise and increased social status in village society. Excessive passolo can have psychological (feeling restless), social (embarrassment), and economic (unable to afford) implications in returning the passolo. Cultural implications can be seen from people who are trapped in their traditions, making it difficult to leave and accept these traditions to be implemented. Even though there are various implications that occur in the Kalomba tradition, it does not reduce enthusiasm for postponing it, it can even be sustainable because it is a traditional obligation, social solidarity and mutual help in village communities.

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