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PRESERVING LOCAL WISDOM: CULTURAL STRATEGIES OF
BUGINESE-PAGATAN ETHNIC GROUP LIVING IN A
MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the cultural strategy of the Buginese people of Pagatan (one of ethnic group in Indonesia) in preserving their local wisdom living in a multicultural society. This research was conducted using qualitative descriptive method through three methods of data collection i.e. in-depth interview, observation and literature involving community leaders and ordinary people as informants. The historical-interpretative method was used to analyze the Data. The findings from this study indicate that the people of Buginese-Pagatan use two strategies to preserve their Buginese identity in a pluralistic society i.e. the strategy of interaction patterns and the use of ethnic symbols. In the strategy of interaction patterns, they implement adaptive and inclusive interaction patterns. This strategy is represented by the mastery and the use of regional languages in addition to the Buginese language, cross-ethnic marriages, and participation in social activities. While in the strategy of using ethnic symbols, they form a distinct identity from the one existing in Sulawesi. This strategy is represented by the use of ethnic symbols such as wearing Bodo clothes, bone cap in the rituals of marriage and moving in new houses, preserving the ancient model of Buginese house for settlement, and forming a new cultural identity called

Maccera Tasi. This research has identified local values preserved and held by its people as cultural strategies in building a harmonious society. We believe that the cultural strategies are useful not only to form a united, dignified and civilized local community of Indonesia, but also to serve as a model for other cultures to preserve their local wisdom.

1. Introduction

In this modern era, local wisdom is facing two challenges i.e. the challenge of the state and of the globalization (Arafah, B., Thayyib, M., Kaharuddin, & Sahib, H. 2020). The local wisdom is endangered by the state due to the state's pretension to create a nationally-characterized cultural identity in a multicultural society. The term 'national culture' implies the possibility (Arafah, B., Jamulia. J., & Kaharuddin. 2020). In the New Order era, the government was heavily promoting the use of national identity which had unwittingly marginalized the local identity e.g. the recommended use of Indonesian as the national language had resulted in a lack of use of regional languages (Andi, K., & Arafah, B. 2017). If it continuously lasts, many local languages may be forgotten by their speakers. In addition, the educational model, characterized by national identity also took part in eclipsing the other forms of the local wisdom such as traditions and rituals of the local community. Almost all educational institutions established by the government put more emphasis on the subjects strengthening the national spirit without being supported by substantive concepts of the local wisdom such as local cultural and cross-cultural educations which give an opportunity to get to know the local cultural traditions and the traditions of other cultures (Arafah, A. N. B., & Setiyawati, D. 2020).

The facts indicate that local wisdom and the state have a reciprocal correlation in which the state may not lethal or subordinate the local wisdom in the name of national culture since it will be at risk on two things i.e. *The first*, we will lose the values of the local wisdom which can result in losing our local identity. *The second*, we will lose a life orientation (Arafah, B., & Kaharuddin, 2019). On the other hand, the local wisdom should not bring about ethnocentrism because our country (Indonesia) is made up of a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious society. Ethnocentrism will only give rise to sentiments toward ethnic, religious and other primordial groups that leads to both a horizontal conflict and a threat that could destroy the unity of our nation (Arafah, B. & Hasyim, M. 2019, Kaharuddin., & Hasyim, M. 2020).

In addition to the threat from the state, globalization has also become a threat to the local wisdom. The blurring of geographical boundaries and the intensity of cross-cultural interactions have given rise to the formation of new social groups e.g. virtual world communities (Bahar, A. K., & Latif, I. 2019). The Communities born of technological innovations, such as facebook, tweeter, line, and path, are also becoming a threat to the groups of people in society who had formerly existed with all their local wisdoms and values (Arafah, K., Arafah, A. N. B., & Arafah,=-098765B. 2020). The existence of the local wisdom and values in today's society is questionable, whether the educated and tech-savvy young generations still adhere to the values of their

local wisdom or they have removed these values and replaced them with the values of new cultures brought by today's globalization (Purwaningsih, Y. R., Arafah, B., Abbas, H., & Arafah, A. N. B. 2020).

Despite the existence of the local wisdom continues to be threatened due to the state policy and globalization, a community called 'Bugis-Pagatan' can still exist to face both threats. The community of Bugis-Pagatan is the descendants of Buginese ethnic group from Wajo regency in South Sulawesi who migrated to Kalimantan (Borneo) in the eighteenth century. Something interesting about this community is the capability of its people to maintain their identity as Buginese while living in a multi-cultural society. Research on the Buginese-Pagatan was aimed at finding out the cultural strategy of the ethnic group. Cultural strategy here refers to the efforts of preserving local identity and interaction patterns that a certain ethnic group uses to coexist with other ethnic groups in a region as a manifestation of the resilience in facing threats from the state policy and globalization (Kaharuddin, A., & Latif, I. 2017, Floriani, R., Arafah, B., & Arafah, A. N. B. 2020). The contribution of this study is very important to build a united Indonesia. The united Indonesia can only be actualized, if the multi-ethnic, the multi-languages and the multi-religions communities understand and accept the diversity among them. Mutual understanding and mutual acceptance can not arise by force or threat of the state apparatus because such a harmony is artificial and can explode into conflict anytime. Besides, the ability to understand and to accept diversity among us ought to be found out by understanding the noble values contained in the local wisdom of each region.

2. Literature Review

Humans generally have a tendency to migrate by moving from one place to another and passing through borders of a region or country to settle in a particular area (Arafah, B. 2003). They migrate to other regions due to various reasons such as economic reasons (want to find a better life), safety reasons (to save themselves from natural disasters), and for security reasons (want to get rid of security threats such as war and conflicts). We take Buginese ethnic group as an example to explain this phenomenon. History records that the Buginese people have a huge tendency to migrate to other areas which is known as *sompe'*. Buginese people migrate to other areas by bringing their culture and making the process of cross-cultural interaction more intense in their new residences. In addition, cross-cultural interactions also occur using televisions, Internet, cell phones and a host of other technological devices. As a result, a concept of new community is formed due to the community interactions in social media which is here called as a virtual community.

Here, the community is not viewed as a part of a broader culture (Irwan, 2006). One drawback of such a view is not seeing the culture as a dynamic and adaptive phenomenon. That's why, Otavio Velho (2000) warns that the discipline of anthropology will be at risk of lagging behind if it only relies on the practice of ethnography because an ethnographic study departs from the assumption that a culture is closed and static, while community and its culture are open, adaptive, and changeable.

Culture should have investigated by using cultural studies because such an investigation not only elaborates culture in a narrower sense such as art and traditions, but also covers all aspects of everyday human life. Similarly with the local culture, local culture can not simply be understood as a characteristic of a society that is limited by the geographical space, but it should be understood as a characteristic of a society that is influenced by interactions and social changes. The existence of the local culture of a society should gain recognition as a culture because the recognition of each local culture will characterize modern culture i.e. identity in diversity. According to Parekh (2000), the spirit of culture in the modern situation should be in the framework of identity in difference that is all cultures require recognitions. In this regard, this research views that the existence of Bugis Pagatan ethnic group is a separate cultural entity which is different from and at once similar to the culture of Buginese people in South Sulawesi (identity and difference).

Theories of culture recognize that today's culture is formed by a series of complex interactions. The market has become the dominant force shaping new values in a society. According to Appadurai (1994), the market became the principal cause of the blurring of the local boundaries of traditional cultures. Over that, technology has really changed the structure of society and formed new spaces. In our society, the phenomenon also occurs. However, another phenomenon also occurs, in which a local culture does not fall off, but applies a strategy to adapt to any changes. In this regard, Irwan Abdullah (2006: 169) writes as follows:

This trend is visible also from adaptations made by a community to various outside influences. In this case, the localization process (kind of attempt at weakening global cultural domination) can occur, which indicates the ability of the local culture in taking advantage of the many new values from outside.

The ability of such adaptations is called a cultural strategy. The cultural strategy is regarded as an outlet for a local culture to survive with its adaptability. Adaptation to different cultures will enrich the values held by the local culture and will still maintain what the values of virtuous owned by the local culture.

2.1. Cultural Strategy

Cultural strategy is a community's effort in order not to lose identity in intensive cross-cultural interactions (Arafah, H. B., & Bahar, A. K. 2015). State policies and globalization allow the birth of new groups in a community with all characters attached to them. Nonetheless, the local culture can creatively continue to exist by adapting to global values. A change of culture is a necessity, but the change does not mean to eliminate the pre existing values within the local wisdom. According to Kaplan (2002), every system has a matter of balance between the cultural accomplishments of adaptation to its physical environment on one side and to its sociocultural environment on the other side. The view of such a relational culture gives a space to the

individuals in a system of culture to be open to change, but at the same time they remain connected with their community.

Today, the theories of contemporary culture have a tendency to dissolve the boundaries of a culture becomes a more globalized culture. As a result, the weakening of the traditional bond is taking place. Similarly, Goldsmith (1998) mentions the formation of 'global mind', a system of thinking globally which is not choked on certain cultural boundaries. In response to the phenomenon, Irwan Abdullah (2006) argues that the process of globalization, as a source of new objective reality, achieves different responses from different people. One of them is the tendency of the people to adapt to the various influences of globalization. This effort demonstrates the internal ability of local culture to take advantages of a variety of new values from outside including globalization. This cultural adaptability is then called as a cultural strategy.

2.2. Narrative Identity and Culture

The history of a society and culture become an integral part of the overall development of society and culture. According to the narrative theory proposed by Paul Ricoeur (1981) in viewing a society, history is an important forming factor which has a narrative character. Like grooves in a fictional story, culture exists in a certain historicity. Through documents, archives, oral traditions, literature, people build so-called "common reference" system. This common reference system allows interlinked individuals into fellow feeling or in group. Furthermore, Ricoeur also believes "we belong to history before telling stories or writing histories" (1931: 294). Anyone has a history that contains the concept of the origin. Historicity is then described using language in the forms of written folktales and histories which then build collective memory and imagination. From there locality begins.

2.3. Language and Identity

According to Kramsch (1998: 65), it is widely believed that there is nature connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group's identity. By their accent their vocabulary, their discourse pattern, speakers identify themselves and identified as members of this or that speech and discourse community. The theory of culture indicates the existance of natural relationships between language and identity in which one builds or constructs his/her identity through language. Therefore, it is said that language and identity have at least two relationships.

1. Language records people's collective memory from the past. That example can be found in the texts, documents, histories, literatures, traditions, orals, etc. It is through the language, the collective memory is created.
2. Language in everyday use becomes a marker of insider / outsider. Someone who uses a particular regional language shows the same identity (in group). Similarly, the use of a certain language widely indicates a politic of language with its dominant nature.

Language is an instrument to construct identity. Identity is about how a person sees himself as well as how others see him. In the context of 'Bugis Pagatan' ethnic group, its people seem only to see themselves as a Buginese community

living in Borneo, just like the other ethnic groups living there such as Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Javanese. Thomas et al (2009) say "it would be difficult, to conceive of identity as a purely individual matter. Your perception of yourself as an individual can be in relation to others. "

In the pre-study, it was found that the people of Bugis Pagatan ethnic group inhabited Kalimantan, especially in the area of Tanah Bumbu. Actually, they were from various regions in South Sulawesi, for example Wajo, Soppeng, Barru and Bone region. They not only preserve the traditions of their ancestors from the regions of Buginese, but they are also able to adapt to the indigenous people of Kalimantan. In everyday life, they have a variety of professions such as farmers, fishermen and traders even they occupy important positions in government. They still practice the Buginese language in their everyday lives. The earlier observations indicate that the people of Bugis Pagatan ethnic group use a different dialect from the Buginese language in South Sulawesi and is regarded as a result of their interaction with different ethnicities there. Therefore, this study sought to determine patterns of interaction that they use so that a harmonious life among them could be a lesson for the state in managing the pluralistic lives of Indonesian society.

3. Research Method

3.1. Research Design

This research is a qualitative-interpretive study. It does not emphasize on the number of respondents, but more concerned with the depth of information obtained from informants. Besides, it also focuses on the involvement of the researchers to seek and construct forms and meanings based on information and data obtained from the informants.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

The data of this study were collected by using three methods: in-depth interviews, observations and literatures. The in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain information about the origin of the Bugis Pagatan community, their oral stories, how they describe themselves, as well as information about how other communities (Banjarese, Dayaknese, Javanese, Balinese) view the community of Bugis pagatan today. Observations were used to collect data about how they use the language in their daily lives, the inheritance model of regional languages to their younger generations, as well as how the events of customs and rituals performed in the community of Bugis pagatan such as marriage, mappenre tasi tradition, etc. In addition, the library method was used to find information about the history of the Bugis community Pagatan and how they interact with other ethnic groups.

3.3. Research Informants

Informants in this study were divided into two parts, namely community leaders and ordinary people. Community leaders included village chiefs in the regions of Pagatan, traditional leaders, religious leaders and humanists. While ordinary people includes several people from different professional backgrounds (fishermen, traders, employees, government employees). This

study was not so questioned the number of informants, but more focused on the extent of the depth of information could be obtained from informants because it was characteristically a qualitative research. In addition, the data were also obtained through direct observation of people's daily life, directly involved in rituals and traditions which happened to be held when this research was taking place. The combined information from interviews and direct observations into a data subsequently became the foundation of analysis.

3.4. Data Analysis Method

Method of data analysis used in this study was the historical-interpretative. Historical means to analyze the development of Bugis pagatan community based on the period and the changes that occur in the community and to describe why it happens. Interpretive means that this study used interpretations when analyzing the community's folklores, and oral traditions to find local wisdoms hidden in them.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedures

The procedures of data analysis in this study began by transcribing all the interviews, and then found the key information needed from the interviews, such information was then uplinked to cross check with the data provided by informants. Furthermore, the data were matched and connected with the direct observation data. After all, the researchers sought to find a pattern and then drew conclusions as to be searched is the pattern of interaction that is how Bugis pagatan ethnic group interacts with fellow immigrants and how they interact with people outside their ethnic. So, the analysis of data obtained was formulated by using the two categories.

4. Discussions

4.1. The Early Phases of the Arrival of Buginese Migrants

The history of Tanah Bumbu (2013) says that the formation of Pagatan was preceded by the presence of the Buginese people from Wajo which was followed by the presence of Buginese people from other regions of South Sulawesi gradually. Quoting a Dutch scholar, Eisen Berger (1750) mentioned that at the beginning of the 1729, Puanna Dekke, a merchant of Wajo presided over the opening of lands, agriculture development and marine products catching. Feeling comfortable in Pagatan, the Buginese merchants came to see Sultan Kuning as the king of Banjarese at the time. They intended to apply for a permit to inhabit Pagatan permanently. The request was then approved with some provisions that Puanna Dekke was able to pay for clearing the jungle as settlements and further the area would be inherited to their descendants in the future without any interference from any parties.

After gaining permission from the Sultan of Banjar, Puanna Dekke assisted by his brother who came from Potianak, Pua Janggo, his grandfather Pua La Pagala and his other followers began cutting down trees in the forests to be a settlement. The settlement was then called Pagatang derived from Bajarese language 'Memagat' meaning 'Searching for rattans'. According to A. Faisal batennie (...) when the settlement of Pagatan was opened, the area had actually

been inhabited by several indigenous people of Banjar ethnic group, one of them was an muslim dominie Sheikh Abu Talhah bin Sheikh Mufti H.M. As'ad. After the opening, Puanna Dekke with his brother picked up their grandchildren La Pangewa in Kampiri region, Wajo. La pangewa was the descendant of Wajo king who was nominated as the future king of Wajo kingdom.

According to A. Satria Jaya (the twelfth descendants of the first king of Pagatan La Pangewa), the first generation of Buginese immigrants came to Pagatan and inhabited coastal areas, suburban streams and mountainous areas. Therefore they generally work as farmers and fishermen. At one point, the intensity of the pirates' disturbances increased. The Pirates plundered traders from various regions who sailed to Pagatan and Banjarmasin to trade. Puanna Dekke sent his grandson, La pangewa to report the issue to Panembahan, Sultan Banjar. Then the Sultan asked La Pangewa to lead troops and to crush the pirates. Due to the success of his mission crushing the pirates, La Pangewa was officially crowned as the first King of Pagatan by the Sultan of Banjar with an appellation as Kapitan Pulo Sea. The Sultan then reaffirmed his commitment to the area of Pagatan Kingdom by saying that:

"Today, I reiterate to you Kapiten that I already hand over Pagatan to your grandfather, it is yours now. So, have pagatan and inherit it to your descendants, no one bothers and sues them live in the Land of Pagatan" (www.kskkusanhilir.com)

This event is then believed by the people of Pagatan as a forerunner to the establishment of the Kingdom of Pagatan which traces can still be found today in the district of Tanah Bumbu, Kusan Hilir district in South Kalimantan province.

4.2 The nomads and Pappagatang in the twentieth century

The lontara script of Bone mentions that in the XIX century, the kingdom of Bone experienced riots due to the war against the Dutch which was known as *Rumpa'na Bone*. The people of Bone kingdom at the time were really suffering. Many of them died in the war. While those who survived had to live in trouble because their lands, residences and places of business had largely been destroyed and controlled by the Dutch. This situation lasted until the death of Arumpone I Benni Saleha Sultana Rabiya'uddin mangkubuminya and replaced by La Mappangara (his prime minister) was known to be a moderate to the Dutch. Apparently, the difficult situation in Bone region had motivated many people of Bone migrated to other places. The people of Buginese-Pagatan who mostly claim themselves as the Buginese of Bone are possibly the descendants of the nomads (passompe) who seek a better life when the incident of rumpa'na Bone occurred.

Thus, it can be concluded that the Buginese of Wajo migrated to Pagatan in the eighteenth century, while the Buginese of Bone migrated and arrived in Pagatan around the nineteenth century. They all consider themselves as the nomads (passompe) of Buginese and are very proud of claiming themselves as the Buginese people, even though they have never been to

Buginese regions in South Sulawesi for a visit. They are categorized as '*passompe malleke dapureng*' which means 'the nomads who had moved the kitchen'. This term is used to describe a type of migration, where migrants make a new area that they occupy as their own hometown. They no longer have a reason to return and settle in their ancestral homeland. South Sulawesi for them is just a history, while Pagatan is their land of hope for a better life. All their belongings had been invested in Pagatan, and it is a marker that they indeed have bonded very strongly with the migration areas of their ancestors.

The type of migration '*malleke dapureng*' is different from temporary migrants from Sulawesi who went to Pagatan by the twentieth century. This type of migration is known as 'Assawakung', that is the fishermen of Sulawesi went to fish in distant places and stayed long enough there, until at a certain time they returned to their homeland. Fishermen of this type design their boats like houses and used as residences during the journey. Such nomads make Pagatan as their destination as well. According to Nazaruddin (1989), a seasonal migration to Pagatan was started in 1941 by some *patorani* fishermen (fly fish catchers) of Galesong, Takalar.

The beginning of the seasonal migration to Pagatan was initiated by the news spread that the ocean around Borneo Island contained many fish, and the news was also heard by the fishermen of Makassar at the time. The news was spread by fishermen from Pancana-Barru. They stated that their boats were often swept away to the territory of Borneo ocean, in which they numerously found fish. Because of the news, a retainer of Bonto, (owners of capital) from Makassar named Tuppu, asked a 'pagae' fisherman named Muda (this fisherman used 'gae', the easy-moveable fishing equipment) from the village of Pajjukukang, in Maros region to sail to Pagatan at a cost of Ponggawa Tuppu. However, their first trip was not so good because their boat was intercepted by the storm (Makassarese people call the storm as 'kala-kala'), but they managed to arrive in Pagatan. In addition, their arrival was not welcomed by the fishermen of Buginese-Pagatan because they felt threatened by fishing equipments used by the fishermen of Makassar who used 'Gae', while the fishermen of Buginese-Pagatan just used the 'Belle' wick was not moveable.

The objections of the fishermen of Buginese-Pagatan caused the fisherman of Makassar did not engage in fishing operations in quite a long time. But they finally negotiated and reached an agreement that Makassar fishermen were allowed to catch fish in the area of Pagatan, but it should be far out on the sea and were not allowed to operate around the 'belle'. After Muda returned from the first fishing expedition to Pagatan, opportunities for other fishermen to go to the sea of Pagatan were also opened. The fishermen who went to fish in Pagatan were eventually known as Pappagatang. This term is widely used among fishing communities in South Sulawesi in 1970s as more and more people from South Sulawesi went to Pagatan. The transition of fishermen's technology from relying on wind to using machines for sailing had made migration much easier at the time. Nowadays, almost all ethnic groups in South Sulawesi can be found in the region of Pagatan, especially after the

development of Kota Baru and Batu Licin regions as new economic centers in southern Kalimantan province.

4.3. The Overview of Region and Daily Life

In the structure of local government, Pagatan is a name of a village in the district of Kusan Hilir, Tanah Bumbu, South Kalimantan. The people of Bugis Pagatan not only settled in the Pagatan village, but also settled in villages located on the coast such as Wiritasi, Gusunge, Jukueja and Pejala village. Thus, the term 'Pagatan' behind the term 'Bugis' not only refers to the village area Pagatan today but also specifically refers to areas in the old Pagatan Kingdom i.e. areas along the coast. They later called themselves as the Bugis-Pagatan and distinguish themselves from other Buginese people who migrated to some regions around Pagatan, like in Kota Baru, Batu Licin and other regions located in the vicinity.

Nowadays, many descendants of Bugis-pagatan get married across ethnicity, but the Buginese culture is still very noticeable, especially since the Buginese language is still used as an everyday language. Even during a visit to the home of a resident, I heard they were listening to Buginese songs. Another case in the village of Pagatan, generally people use Indonesian language and a few speak Buginese, even though they actually belong to Bugis-Pagatan ethnic group. This happens because the society's interaction has been very pluralistic. In fact, according to residents (Statistics do not include the area of ethnicity), the current population is not only made up of Buginese and Banjarese ethnic group, but also the ethnic of Javanese whose number is increasing day by day.

In general, Pagatan people's livelihood is fishing, either as fishermen who have their own fishing boats or the fishermen who work on a skipper. In addition to fishing, some people work as fishmongers and some work as dealers in the market of Pagatan. Approximately 90% of the fishmongers are Buginese people. If the fishmongers are not Buginese, they must be the relatives of Buginese due to marriage.

4.4. Language and Social Identity

In general, almost all people of Bugis-Pagatan are fluent in Buginese language. However, many school boys and girls can understand the language passively but can not use it. Everyday, we would be very easy to find fellow citizens talk to each other in Buginese in Pagatan. Even, we feel like in South Sulawesi when we are in Pagatan. In their interactions, people of Bugis-Pagatan generally use Buginese language, if they had known each other as fellow Buginese. If in the middle of a conversation, a Banjarese takes a part in their conversation, then the Buginese people will do code switching into the language of Banjarese. One important thing noted here that almost all Buginese speakers are also fluent in the language of Banjarese. That's why, they feel very flexible for code switching when communication with other people.

The phenomenon of such a code switching indicates the ability of social adaptation of Buginese people against indigenous populations. According Gumperz (1982)

“Communicative phenomena play in the exercise of power and control in the production and reproduction of social identity..we

customarily take gender, ethnicity, and class as given parameters and boundaries within which we create our own social identity ..”

Referring to Gumperz’s opinion, we understand that the mastery and the use of Banjarese language by the people of Buginese are known as a communication strategy which can also be categorized as a cultural strategy. Using the language of Banjarese when communicating to the people of Banjarese is aimed at creating a more intimate communication and dispelling the impression of a difference. The level of fluency in Banjarese language of the Bugis-pagatan people is already equal to native speakers of Banjarese. This fact has made these two ethnic groups can coexist harmoniously and be able to accept each other without any particular feelings of sentiment. This is evidenced by interviews conducted on a couple of Banjarese figures in Pagatan (H. Abdullah Haka and Hj. Marfuah). According to them, no complaint at all against the Buginese people. Even, they already regard the people of Buginese in Pagatan as part of their community. Many people of Banjarese deliberately marry their children with the people of Buginese who live in Pagatan. As for the Banjarese people, the impression is not given to any other ethnic groups in Pagatan.

The proximity between Banjarese language and Indonesian languages is strongly influenced by Malay language putting Banjarese language as the most frequent language to be used when meeting with someone new. This phenomenon shows that Buginese people do not build their Buginese identity Bugisnya Bugis strictly and consistently, but they play dual identities. Once, they show their identity by using Buginese language, but another time they build an identity by using their fluent Banjarese language. The other times, they show an Islamic identity by wearing arabian style of clothes. Here, we encounter something called contingent-liquid identity, the changing identity on the basis of needs and context. Such a perspective is commonly believed by many experts, for example Goebel (2010). He said; “My point departure is one that sees identity and fluid something and constantly emerges within a chain of communicative events involving discourse of sameness and difference”

In this context, the identity of Bugis-Pagatan is not the most important in the sense that one can be seen not only as a Buginese, but also as a person who owns a variety of other identities.

The phenomenon is becoming more complex, when young people of the Buginese Pagatan who have ever lived in Java are analyzed, for example a young man called Didin 26 years old who was a respondent of this study. In our conversation, the writer didn’t even realize that he is a Buginese. He used the dialect of Jakartanese, for example: *ketika kite sampe di sono* (when we get there), *Gue ngga tau* (I don’t know). When one of his friends suddenly interrupted our conversation by using the language of Banjarese, Didin immediately did code switching into Banjarese language.

It shows that by using different languages, Buginese people can build different social identities. The use of Jakartanese dialect is a communication strategy to build social identity as a 'modern', 'not a clownish', and 'educated' young man. So, when conversing with a stranger (the researcher), he wanted to give a good impression as a modern person (constructing a social identity). However, when doing the code switching into the language of Banjarese, he shifted his social identity as a 'young man of Pagatan', 'a natives', and so on. In the conversation with the writer, Didien finally said that he is actually a Buginese, and to prove it, Didien immediately spoke in Buginese language although it was somewhat haltingly.

4.5. The interaction between the Bugis and Arab (Islam) culture

According to the search results of Farhat Tifani (2008), Arabians who settled in the region of Borneo are the ones from Hadramaut, Yemen. Their arrival was approximately by XVII century led by a man named Awad called as Bahasyim or the 'first' (oldest) to set foot in Kalimantan. They took route from India, Aceh Batavia to Banjarmasin and spread to the surrounding regions. Despite their arrival occurred in the early period of the spread of Islam, but a large number of the archipelago residents converted to Islam occurred long after the initial arrival to Indonesia.

In addition to the arrival of the Arabians to Kalimantan (Borneo) and the surrounding regions, several Muslim clerics were also from Kalimantan and recognized as the descendants of Arabian and Banjarese. They went to Arab to study Islamic teachings and returned to Kalimantan to teach the religious teachings of Islam intensively. According Fathurraji Asmuni (2012), three men were widely known as Kalimantan's Muslim clerics and had studied Islam in Mecca and returned to Kalimantan to teach the religion i.e. Sheikh Abdul Hamid, known as Datu Abuluhung, Sheikh Muhammad Al Banjari Arsyad known as Datu Kelampayan and Sheikh Muhammad Nafis. Especially Sheikh Muhammad Al Banjari and Sheikh Abdul Hamid, both gave a very strong influence on the understanding to Islamization throughout most of South Kalimantan.

Sheikh Muhammad Al Banjari gave a strong influence on the understanding of religious law, while Sheikh Abdul Hamid gave effect on the teachings of Sufism. Pagatan community also strongly believe and respect the presence of descendants of the prophet Muhammad in Martapura where one is considered a descendant of the prophet are also believed to be guardians of God is K.H Zaini Abdul Gani commonly called Master Ijat (*Tuan guru Ijat*). In almost all homes of Pagatan people, the picture of Master Ijat must be found to be attached on the walls. One of Arab traditions still keeps alive is the tradition of reading the history of the prophet's birthday called *Ba'habsian*.

Contiguity between Islamic tradition along with all the obligations that must be executed by its followers and the legacy of ancient Buginese beliefs has spawned a cultural practice that is different from the life of Buginese people in Sulawesi or elsewhere. Some groups of people could accept the presence of both in the sense of the fusion between Buginese culture and the

traditions of Islam ideology. The groups who received it were those whose Islamic belief was strongly influenced by Sufism. While some groups against the fusion between religion and culture. Such groups considered rituals e.g. *mapanretasi* (feeding the sea before going to sail) as an idolatrous practice because in the ritual process, master of ceremonies, also known as *Sanro*, presents offerings of chicken that floated out to the sea.

In the reconstruction, it was shown that the two patterns of religious perspectives are actually a manifestation of the influence of two influential sheikhs in Kalimantan i.e. Sheikh Abdul Hamid and Sheikh Muhammad. The groups opposed to the ritual were said to inherit the ideas and beliefs of Sheikh Muhammad who focused on teaching to the Shariah and the formal laws of Islam. While the groups supported the fusion between the rituals and religions were said to inherit Sheikh Abdul Hamid's thought whose teaching was focused on Sufism. By the local community, those who opposed the execution of rituals are called the group of Muhammadiyah.

There are differences of opinion on the matter, but in daily life they can live side by side. Although in the early years of independence, a serious tension had emerged between Muhammadiyah and the more traditional Islamic group, but now They are able to establish mutual understanding and work together to develop the community. Even in some mosques built by the Nahdlatul ulama followers, some Muhammadiyah followers are also involved as the mosque officials.

4.6. Cultural Strategy and Interaction Patterns of Bugis-Pagatan People

The term 'cultural strategy' is defined as how the people of Bugis-Pagatan treat the culture of their ancestors in the cross-ethnic society. Whether they totally abandon their local culture (acculturation), or they abandon some and preserve some parts of their local culture (adaptation), or they are exclusively closed to the culture of people from outside their ethnic group (exclusive), or they find other forms of culture as a result of the mixture of their local culture and foreign cultures (hybridity).

The findings from this study show that the people of Bugis-Pagatan has the adaptive cultural strategy in which they on one side preserve their Buginese identity, but on the other side, they are also able to adapt with other cultures beyond their ethnic group. It is shown for example by the use of Buginese language when they talk with relatives or family members in a family or when talking with their fellow Buginese in a meeting by chance at the market. Besides, the use of their ethnic group symbols such as wearing clothes *bodo* (traditional clothing of Buginese women), bone cap (traditional cap of Buginese men) in the rituals of marriage and moving in new houses, as well as preserving the ancient model of Buginese house for their settlement. Nonetheless, the people of Bugis-Pagatan are also open to outside cultures. It can be seen from the use of Banjarese language when they talk to Banjarese people. Even, most people of Bugis-Pagatan master Banjarese language. In addition, the Buginese people do cross-ethnic marriage as well and are very active in social activities involving cross-ethnic communities (the Banjarese people acknowledge that it is one greatness of Bugis-Pagatan people which

make them different from other ethnic groups in Kalimantan such as Madura people who tend to be exclusive).

Beyond that, there is something interesting that is the efforts of Bugis-Pagatan people to establish a different identity from the one existing in South Sulawesi. It can be seen in their annual ritual called '*maccera tasi*'. Such a ritual is almost never found in Bugis people of South Sulawesi. Even, the ritual is usually done by other ethnic groups such as Javanese. Why was this done in Pagatan? The analysis results indicate that, The Bugis-pagatan people not only realize that they have a historical attachment to their ancestors of the Buginese in South Sulawesi, but also realize that they are different from their ancestors. So, they live in Buginese culture through the stories they gained hereditary, then they construct a new Buginese identity in Pagatan by bringing about a new tradition according to the context where they live. Because they are mostly fishermen, then made a tradition close to the sea. It is academically known as 'reinventing tradition' that is a tradition which is made up for their own interests. Culturally, the existence of '*maccera tasi*' tradition indicates that the people of Bugis-Pagatan succeed in forming a cultural identity and a strong social cohesion. All people of Bugis-Pagatan feel obliged to engage in that tradition and use it as a moment of pride for them. The moment of meeting in the tradition has reinforced their social ties.

5. Conclusions

In a more globalized society, ethnic communities are required to be adaptive to change, but at the same time should be creative in maintaining their cultural and local identity. Buginese community of Pagatan managed to find a way to maintain their local identity creatively through the birth of a new tradition called '*maccera tasi*'. They are also adaptive and open to cultures that came from outside of their ethnic group positively so that they are able to live in a multicultural society. This research has practically found the values of local wisdom which are still preserved and applied by the ethnic group of Bugis Pagatan as a cultural strategy in shaping a harmonious society. Hence, the government is required to promote the values as a value system not only to form a united, dignified and civilized Indonesian society, but also to formulate educational curriculums and to determine the direction of the state policies. In addition, the results of this study might also be used as a model which can be adopted by other ethnic groups in preserving their local cultures. Lastly, this study is able to expand the horizons of having a state that nationalism of Indonesia does not mean to eliminate and to ignore the local wisdoms because the state and regions with their local wisdoms are two inseparable components needed to form a better national life.

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