



The dialectic of globalization and social transformation of *Silariang* in Makassar, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Globalization contribute to the socio-cultural construction and transformation of society. This study aims to analyze the construction and social transformation of *silariang* among Makassar people in South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The research uses a case study approach. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation studies. The results of the study show that *siri'* (means dignity or shame or both at the same time) as the core value of Makassar people has a prominent relationship with *silariang* cases. Further, the globalization has changed the the world of view of the local community, particularly the younger generations, making them started to open minded. This change has lead them into a socio-cultural transformation. If in the past Makassar people extremely uphold the *siri'* value exemplified by *silariang*, nowadays, people are more open to the alternative option called *nikah siri* or unregistered marriage. It also shows that the *siri'* concept is fluid.

1. Introduction

In discussing globalization (some scholars also used the term transnationalism or international migration), only few years ago scholars have examined the intertwine between globalisation, religion, and identity, particularly ethnicity, nationalism, and values in communities (Al Isra, 2022; Van Dijk and Botros, 2009; Winland 1994). Globalization is defined as a process of change from a more traditional condition to a new postmodernist condition or a condition where interdependence and interrelationships become more dominant (Soegojoko, 2005). It is a process of exchanging world views, products, ideas and other aspects of culture (Al Rodhan and Stoudmann, 2006). The advancement of transportation and telecommunication

infrastructure, including television and the Internet, become main factors in globalization which are increasingly driving the interdependence of economic and cultural activities (Stever, 1972).

The impact of globalization can be seen in five dimensions, namely economic, social, political, cultural and urban spatial aspects. The integration and disintegration that occurs in the socio-cultural life of the urban community is due to the influence of the globalization process at the macro level (Ibrahim, 2007). The emergence of new business centers, amusements, and other what so-called "activity centers" (sport centers, mall, foodcourts, etc) indicates an influence on changes in people's social life, both on macro changes such as changes in values, norms, social systems and social structures as well as micro changes such as interaction and behavior.

Globalization as a process of human integration that crosses the boundaries of the nation-state (Pieterse, 1994). In this perspective, globalization is considered as a medium that allows intercultural relations. Intercultural relations often result in cultural mixing. In this context, each culture contributes and colors each other to form a mixed culture (Larasati, 2018). The mixed culture has consequences for the loosening of the socio-cultural system and social structure which then results in the weakening of established values and norms, leading into creating the new social values and norms (Halim et al., 2018). Therefore, to some extent, Giddens refers to globalization as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 2004). It means that globalization spreads across the globe. It has potential transformative effects within nations, and the aspects will transform, suit, and relate to each other (Marginson, 2006).

The globalization also has helped Chinese culture better known to the outside world (Zhu & Chhachhar, 2017). It is also similar to the Philippines through vertical social mobility of workers who are motivated to excel in order to increase their social status (Quijano, 1987). The case in Malaysia revealed that after the 1970s development progress was achieved after the government carried out a socio-cultural transformation including an open mind, attitude, and cultural values (Azis, 2005). The cases of globalization in the three countries indicate that globalization has led to a socio-cultural transformation that is fundamentally related to the transformation of local community values and norms.

In Indonesia, the socio-cultural transformation due to globalization covers the entire socio-cultural system of ethnic communities. One of the socio-cultural aspects is the Makassar people marriage system. In a number of communities, the implementation of marriage is mostly decided by the family, including in choosing a partner. Parents often assume that they are the ones who know the right mate for their child (Triandis, 1985). The process of choosing a partner can be grouped into two types, namely: (1) the selection of a partner made by parents, (2) the selection made by the couple themselves. For the first type, problems often arise because parents force their will so that their children marry the choice of their parents. For the second, problems can arise if it turns out that the partner does not meet the standards of the parents, for example the difference in religion, or the socioeconomic status between the two partners. This

situation then has the potential to cause children to take alternative marriage methods (Mappiare, 1983).

Alternative marriage itself is defined as a type of marriage that is outside the category of ideal marriage mentioned above, this type of marriage is only an option for those who want to marry outside the type of marriage that is considered ideal. Alternative marriages include elopement, bride theft, or marriage by abduction (Bates et al., 1974). For example, the Koya tribe in southern India recognizes two alternative forms of marriage elopement thieving marriage or *dongatanam pelli* (Brukman, 1974). McLaren (2001) explains the alternative marriage process in various parts of China as an old and ancient culture preceded by kidnapping. Kleinbach et al., (2005) studies about the kidnapping of a woman for marriage (*ala kachuu*) in a Kyrgyz village describes the kidnapping of women who are about to marry. Rice (2014) also studies about *ukuthwala* in rural South Africa regarding the abduction marriage as a negotiation about gender, rights, and generational authority among the Xhosa which tells the utradition as the process of giving a girl for a marriage. In the Sasak people of West Nusa Tenggara, they believe in kidnapping and elopement as a form of respect for the dignity of the woman's family, and also strengthens family kinship (Aliyah & Ariyah, 2018). The three studies describe the values and norms of marriage using an ethnographic approach, while this study analyzes the values and norms of marriage in the perspective of socio-cultural transformation.

In the context of this research, *siri'* becomes a prominent concept. *Siri'* is a system of cultural value. It is an abstract concept and to some extent, it is hard to define. Some scholars argue that *siri'* is a core value among the Bugis-Makassar people. *Siri'* has to do with human dignity, containing self-respect and honor (Mattulada, 1980:50 & 109; Idrus, 2005:40; Davies, 2007:36, see also Idrus, 2016). *Siri'* can be categorized into *ripakasiri'* (*nipakasiri'*) and *masiri'*. *Ripakasiri'* occurs when someone is insulted. Then, the family must uphold the *siri'* to restore the honor that has been considered as "taken away", otherwise they will be called "*mate siri'*" or lose the dignity as the human being. In this context, an act to defend honor for the sake of upholding *siri'* in the eyes of society. For Makassar people, there is no purpose or reason for life that is more important than protecting their *siri'* and if they are offended (*ripakasiri'*) (humiliated) they prefer to die by fighting to restore their *siri'* (Abidin, 1999:201). While *masiri'* is a view of life that intends to get, maintain, or improve an achievement that is carried out in earnest with all efforts for the sake of *siri'* itself (Hamsah, 2018). Although there is no strict definition of *siri'*, scholars claim that the *siri'* concept does not have rigid definition, making it a fluid concept. However, one thing for sure is that *silariang* always correlates with *siri'*.

Several scholars have researched the transformation on values among Makassar people, particularly *siri'* and *silariang*. Abidin (1983; 1999) studies the perception of Bugis-Makassar people regarding the changing in the contemporary world (particularly in the context of laws and nationhood). Hamsah (2018) argues that since the *siri'* is fluid in concept, it is indeed, fluid in practice. It can transform based on the current social condition. Long before that, Mattulada (1980) also gives the similar argument. Hasni,

Dhahri, and Haris (2018) believes that globalization has brought rapid changes in cultural values among Makassar people, including the degradation of *siri'* value.

To understand and analyze changes in the socio-cultural system of the Makassar people, the guidelines that will be met are to use a conceptual framework of spatial change. Basically the social transformation of the local ethnic Makassar people is a change at the micro level which is strongly influenced by spatial changes caused by the power of capitalism to exploit the socio-cultural space of the Makassar people. Therefore, the focus of this research is to answer the following research questions: (1) How did the Makassar people construct Silariang as a culture? (2) What is the form of the *silariang* transformation as a consequence of the change in the value system in the Makassar people?

2. Method

This paper uses qualitative research with the case study approach (Bungin, 2015; Creswell, 2013; Moleong, 2005) in the Makassar people in Gowa Regency, South Sulawesi. We used in-depth interviews, observation, and literature studies in conducting the research. It is important to use more than one data collection techniques to understand the weakness and the strengths of each technique (Creswell, 2013; Spradley 2006). We also used purposive sampling technique to determine the participants in this research. Last but not least, we analyzed the data using a three-step technique namely data reduction, categorization, and drawing conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1999). All the participants in this research are pseudonym.

3. Result and discussion

• Construction of Silariang Culture in Makassar people

Makassar people has a variety of cultures that live in their ethnic community as well as the characteristics of this ethnic group. The culture referred to in this study is elopement or the people of South Sulawesi call it '*Silariang*'. *Silariang* with its various forms is the result of the social construction of the Makassar people themselves with the following description.

Case of *Abbaji Nitarima*

Abbaji Nitarima in the Makassar language means 'received make up' or make up again. Those who make up are those who elope with the bride's family. In the case of *abbaji nitarima*, the perpetrator is Abdul as the husband and Sarah as the wife. The two dated when they were still high school students and when they graduated from high school they decided to get married. However, both of them did not get the blessing of their respective parents due to their young age and not having a job. Finally, they decided to elope. Furthermore, the two of them married in another area, namely in Maros Regency. They marry through the local village priest and are witnessed by the relatives of the groom and the bride. Their marriage is official and registered by the state because it fulfills all administrative requirements. However, their marriage is a cultural violation and therefore gets a cultural sanction in the form of expulsion from their hamlet. Both of them chose to elope because they knew that their relationship did not get the blessing of

their parents and family and even the local community. For Abdul and Sarah, their relationship must be taken seriously. Abdul says:

“...At that time there was a great motivation for me to prove to Sarah's family that I loved their child. So far, they have been blocking me for various reasons to stay away from Sarah. In fact, they forbade Sarah to leave the house except to go to school. In addition, Sarah also understands me so he is willing to choose me over his family...”

Supporting the story of Abdul above, Sarah also says the following:

“...I see the person is quite good while getting to know him. However, because we were still in school, my parents restricted communicating with him. Abdul had also been to my house but was advised not to see me again. After that we only met at school and during that time I felt uneasy at home. Finally, when there was an invitation for Abdul to run...yes...I just wanted to...”

After carefully considering various aspects, Abdul and Sarah finally planned to run away (*anynyala'*) after school and meet in the canteen outside the school yard. Whoever finishes studying first has to wait for those who have not arrived yet. At that time Abdul was the first to wait for Sarah. The two of them only brought a change of clothes. After meeting, the two immediately went to the village house in Moncongloe Maros. Abdul tells:

“...After careful planning, I and Sarah rode on my friend's motorbike and went straight to Mr. Imam's house in Moncongloe Maros to report our condition. From the story I know from my parents, we have to go to another village to get married and be married off by the village priest if the parents don't agree...”

Since the two of them started a family, eight years later Abdul and Sarah had the opportunity to return to their hamlet in Pattallasang Gowa. Their families are also open to accepting them and their grandchildren. Abdul tells:

“...Since we got married, as children, we always had the desire to return to the village one day and hope that the family will continue to open up. In its development, the existence of android mobile phones and the opening of the connecting road between Gowa and Maros made family information in the village connected”

Entering the ninth year of their marriage and already having a child, hopes of meeting their family began to open. Their families in Pattallasang Gowa are willing to accept them back in the village and receive social recognition. This has to go through a local cultural procession, namely remarrying according to local customs such as delivering wedding money, having a qabul consent, holding a party, and inviting guests to attend the wedding. After going through this process, the elopement couple is legally clean and free from social sanctions such as being the subject of gossip or outcasted from the village.

Case of *Abbaji' Tannitarima*.

Abbaji' Tannitarima is the opposite of *abbaji' nitarima*. *Abbaji' tannitarima* means the desire of the elopement couple to return to their family is rejected by the woman's parents. The case of *abbaji' tannitarima* was experienced by an elopement couple, namely Andi as a

husband and Nurul as a wife. Both of them eloped because Nurul's parents rejected Andi's proposal. Andi must have a job as a condition to marry Nurul while Andi has not got a job. Andi tells:

“...Nurul's family includes respectable people in their village and they don't want any of their family members to be unemployed. At that time I was still trying to find a job and I was determined to apply for Nurul and he agreed. Even he was willing to oppose his parents for me to invite Silariang...”

Before the two of them got married in another area, the village priest who was going to marry them asked the consent of Nurul's parents to be their child's marriage guardian, but Nurul's parents still refused and did not recognize their marriage and considered it a disgrace to their family. Nurul told me that his parents were very strict about family self-respect and honor so that what I did was considered tarnishing the family's honor and that's why they rejected me until now. I tried various ways, including persuading my sister to talk to my parents, but they did not judge. In fact, parents rejected me as their child. For almost five months their approach was still rejected. An imam from Paccellekang Village, Abdullah, who bridged their *abbaji* told:

“...Several times I came to meet and persuade Nurul's parents but they insisted on refusing them to return to the family... it was too easy for them to go back, said Nurul's parents. He doesn't even care anymore and doesn't recognize him as a child. His father did not mention this before he died. So, there will never be *abbaji* because they are no longer our family he said...”.

The interview above implies that elopement for the Nurul family is a disgrace and shames the dignity of the family, especially their parents. To restore this dignity, Nurul's parents no longer recognize him as part of the family.

The Case of *Annyala' Kalotoro'*.

Annyala' kalotoro' is a term that applies to a woman who cheats on someone else's husband until she becomes pregnant but she is married to another man to save the woman's status with her child. The *annyala' kalotoro'* case occurred in Nora, a woman who lived with her older sister and her older sister's family in Makassar. Her sister's husband (Nora's brother-in-law) works in Makassar. Nora's parents still live in the village as farmers.

In their daily interactions at home, feelings of mutual love between Nora and his brother-in-law, Rahmat, emerge until they have adulteries. The relationship lasted several months and after that, Nora became pregnant. Nora's parents accused her of slandering Rahmat. For Nora's parents, Rahmat is an honest person and does not betray his wife and family. Because it was considered a lie, they kicked out Nora who was heavily pregnant.

Nora, then, left Makassar to Moncongloe, a village in Maros. She met with the head of the village, Kaharuddin, with the help of his friend. Nora told the story and Kaharuddin is willing to solve the problem by finding a man who wants to marry Nora. Shortly after, Nora officially married Tahir and a few months later they had their first child.

After marrying Tahir, Nora tried to *abbaji'* with her family but the family did not want to accept her at all, even until the child of Nora from his brother-in-law had died. A few years later, Nora gave birth to three children from Tahir and she still tried to *abbaji'*, but she was always rejected by her even until her parents died. Nora's efforts to *abbaji'* will never be accepted by the family as long as her brother-in-law is still alive. Nora said:

“...I tried my best to *abbaji'* to my family in various ways but was still refused. Their reasons were not only considered to have disgraced the honor of the family, but also because my brother-in-law was still alive and maybe even dead, my *abbaji'* was still rejected. I just don't want to tell the truth because they can't believe it, unless there are witnesses...”

The story told by Nora implies that self-respect and honor or *siri'* in Nora's family is nonnegotiable. It is far more important to maintain family self-esteem than others, even if you have to sacrifice your own family members. *Siri'* itself has several meanings. It can be defined as 'shame', in another occasion it can be 'a sense of honour', while in different situations, it can be both

The *Nitumateang* Case

Elopement with the case of *nitumateang* or the perpetrator is considered 'dead' occurs in a wife who has a relationship with someone else's husband or cheats on her and leaves her legal husband and children. Determination of cases like this is a Makassar customary rule. This *silariang nitumateang* case occurred in Pattallassang subdistrict. This case occurred due to consensual or cheating because what happened was that the perpetrators were people who already had families, both those who already had husbands and who already had wives and children. The families of both parties have confirmed that there will be no *abbaji'* process because it is very embarrassing (*siri'*) the family. This is the meaning of *nitumateang*, when someone is considered 'dead' by their family. In this case, there will never be *abbaji'*.

Starting from Malik's confession that the one who took his wife away was his own friend, who often came to his house for two years. Suddenly, his friend took his wife away. The incident started one day when Malik came home after working in the fields, Malik did not find his wife until late at night. Not even his wife's bag of clothes was there. He also visited his relatives and no one knew about it. No one in the village knows of his whereabouts.

Based on these conditions, the villagers suspected that Husni did *silariang* with her male friend, Faris. Then the Malik's family reported to the village officials along with other residents. One of Malik's neighbors told the incident at that time, as follows:

“...people here have long suspected Faris has a relationship with Husni because he often comes when Malik is not at home. Even though at first the residents thought it was normal, but over time it became more and more strange, so people began to suspect them...”

Malik was furious and promised not to take his wife back for any reason and even considered her dead (*tumateang*). Until now, the family of Malik's wife has no relationship with Malik anymore. This case will never be resolved by *abbaji'* forever, as

long as Malik as husband does not give *rellal*' (blessing) to Husni, especially since they have not been divorced until now although they already have three daughters. He tells:

“...in fact I am very embarrassed and my self-esteem (*siri'*) as a husband is humiliated. At that time, my intention was to kill the two in case I met them. But it seemed that they were hiding somewhere far away. At that time, I had considered her dead (*tumateang*) to my wife and even my family was determined to kill her if she was caught...”

With regard to the *abbaji'* process, in this case, it is completely useless. The reason is that if someone who is *silariang* but considered *nitumateang* is accepted to do *abbaji'*, then this will be an example for other residents to do the same. This *silariang* perpetrator must be thrown away from the village and even have to cross the ocean. Also, there is no one dares to be a mediator for this case because they will be killed by the husband or family and the perpetrator will be punished by the mob.

The above description makes it clear that even today, not a single *nitumateang* case has been mediated because it concerns the core value of Makassar people called *siri'*, translated as life and self-esteem (Mattulada, 1980:109; Mattulada, 1980:50; Idrus, 2005:40; Davies, 2007:36, see also Idrus, 2016). Perhaps, *abbaji'* could be accepted by the husband (Malik) but if his extended family refused then the person concerned could not do anything but had to follow the will of his extended family. It is even very likely that those who become mediators will be subject to customary sanctions by their extended family in the form of death. This is quite dangerous since even as a mediator, people may face death since if the family strongly perceive the case as the *nitumateang*, there is no compromise as it is impossible to bring the people back to life.

The *Tumasiri'* Case

Tumasiri' in Makassar language means a person who is humiliated. In the *silariang* case, the person who was humiliated was the family of the bride whose son did *silariang* with the bridegroom. This *silariang* also happened because the woman's parents rejected the man's family by insulting and demeaning the man's family and causing offense to him so that the man kidnapped the bride and asked her to marry in another area. Such is a man named Karim who falls in love with a woman named Desi. Their families lived in different hamlet areas but are adjacent to each others. The Desi family and the Karim family are quite respectable in their hamlets. The beauty of Desi made Karim to propose her immediately and asked Desi to convey Karim's intentions to Desi's parents. Desi parents also asked Karim's parents to come to propose on the day they had mutually agreed through informal talks.

The appointed day has also arrived. The marriage proposal lasted one day starting from 09.00 am to 15.00 pm. The length of time used was caused by Karim's family waiting for the approval of Desi's parents. However, Desi's parents had not given an answer to Karim's parents. They just sat down while crossing his legs (in Bugis-Makassar people, it is considered arrogant or having no custom). They finally said "what do you want to come here?" to Karim's family.

Desi's parents said to Karim's family that it is better for them to just look for another woman. Karim's family did not want to leave the woman's house. At the first place, they

even expected to be accepted by Desi's family. They did not want to hear a rejection. Karim felt that he had been acquainted with Desi for a long time and had agreed to marry.

The male Family did not give up hope and tried to come again to Desi's house. However, there was a message from the female family side "not to try to come again because the story would end badly." Based on the message, Karim thought that their relationship did not receive the approval from the family so he planned to take Desi away. In the evening, with desperate feelings, Karim kidnapped Desi and took her to run (*silariang*) to the house of an imam in Mandinging Village. The imam of Mandinging Village conveyed to the imam of Paccellekang Village that there are residents who are *silariang* and intend to ask for *rellla'* (approval from the female family). Through the help of the two imams as mediators, they ask the woman's family for a meeting to be held but it was still not responded to by the Desi parents. Also, Karim's uncle went to Desi's parents to approve their son's marriage. However, Desi's parents killed him instead. After the murder, the Desi's parents asked the village chief for protection. The atmosphere of the village was chaotic due to the incident. Karim and Desi intended to never do *abbaji'* and went further into Maros county to lose track.

The chart below illustrates that all problems in elopement in the Makassar people have always been related to the substance of Makassar culture called *siri'* which means self-esteem, honor, shame, or dignity of humanity (Mattulada, 1980:109; Mattulada, 1980:50; Idrus, 2005:40; Davies, 2007:36, see also Graham, 2004). If a female family member elopes, she is considered an insult to the family's self-esteem or honor. To restore the self-esteem (*Siri'*) of the family, the perpetrator of elopement gets customary sanctions as described in the cases below.

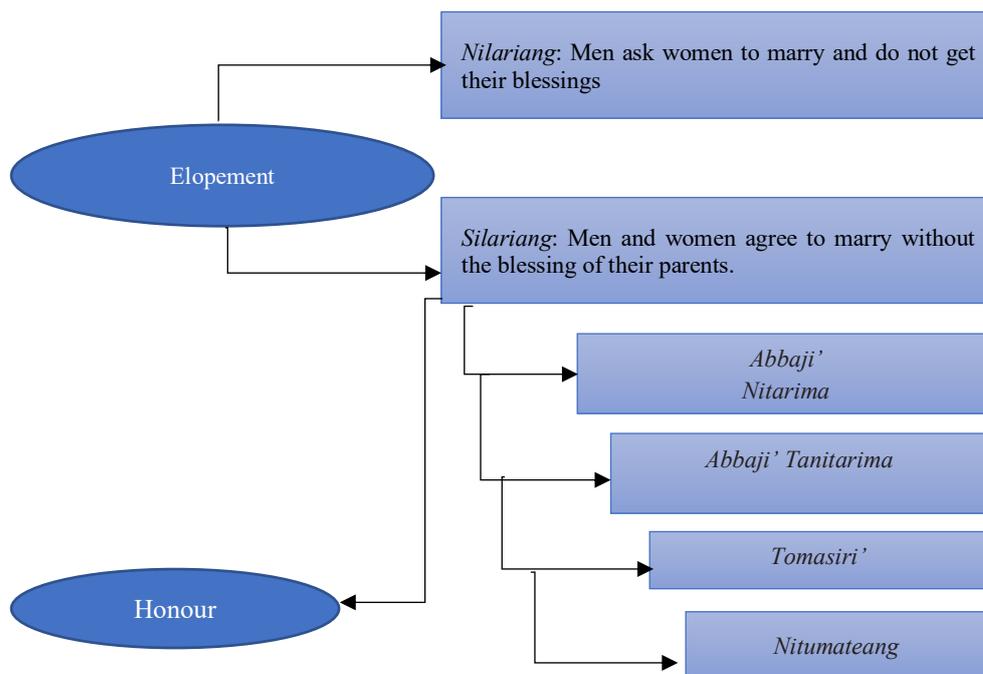


Figure 1. Forms of *Silariang*

- **Socio-Cultural Transformation of *Silariang* in Makassar people**

Silariang culture in Makassar still existed but its form changed with a different name to '*nikah siri*'. The words are almost identical (*siri*' and *sirih*) but they have different meanings and roots. *Siri*' is from Bugis-Makassar language while *siri* is from Indonesian language and its original meaning is unknown, but it always get along with the word *nikah* (marriage). This is unraveled in the cases of *siri* marriage as follows.

The Case of *Nikah Siri* 1

Roy is a peddler, trading between regions using pick-up cars. He lives with his wife on the border of Makassar-Gowa. Every week, he visits the countryside on traditional market days within Gowa, Takalar, and Jeneponto regencies. He stays for at most three days in each area until the sale ran out. During his time in the area, he always stays at the house of his acquaintance. The high frequency him in the area for selling was consequential to the low intensity of being with his family. He, then, decided to propose a widow named Layla in Jeneponto, an area where he lives a few days. Roy revealed that this was a work demand that required attention from the couple while the wife was far away in Makassar. He said:

“...in that village, my customers were many and they bought a lot of my things. However, they do not pay immediately but rather take on credit. So, I waited a few days to receive their payment and then I was able to return to Makassar. Finally, I decided it was better to marry the residents here so that someone would take care of this business...”

Roy's marriage to his second wife was confidential and Roy's first wife in Gowa was unaware of the marriage. Even Layla family did not announce the marriage nor did they invited neighbors. The wedding was attended only by Roy's friend and Layla's parents. Roy narrates:

“...during the arrangement of the marriage process with the second wife, there is no information that I have hidden in the second wife's family. They knew I had a family and had children when I proposed Layla to her parents. I tell you all the reasons I did it. Finally, Layla and his family were willing to accept me...”

Roy's second marriage was finally uncovered and his first wife found out after five years of the marriage. Although Roy tried to do justice to his two wives, Roy did blunders. For example, Roy forgot to go home and stayed with his second wife for up to 30 days. His wife also sensed an oddity on Roy's behavior. After all was exposed, Roy finally divorced his first wife in Makassar. Roy says:

“...up to five years back and forth Makassar-Jeneponto, finally, my first wife found out that I had married again after looking for the truth of the information. Although I tried to explain why I did it, her instincts as a woman who did not want me to married again still wanted us to divorce and we separated. My family in Limbung regretted the incident too, but could also understand my condition. They still accept Layla as family members...”

Layla also reveals her reasons for accepting Roy's proposal because she believes Roy can be responsible even if she is only a second wife. Layla narrates:

“...I also didn't accept the proposal right away because I didn't easily trust men at the time. Moreover, my first husband was often rude so I had to carefully choose a partner again. After almost two months of observing his daily life, I convinced myself to accept him and asked him to come to my parents to apply. At that time he also asked me to run his business smoothly if he was in Makassar or together with his first wife ...”

Looking at all the data above, it is clearly implied that *nikah siri* occurs through an official process like a regular marriage. It is just that this kind of marriage without the knowledge of the first wife only attended by close relatives and did not invite the public.

The Case of *Nikah Siri* 2

The story is about Halijah, 37-year-old widow in Taipakkodong, Gowa. Her first husband died several years before she married again with Syamsuddin from Toli-Toli, Central Sulawesi. Syamsuddin is an employee of a national company and he has a family in Toli-Toli. He received a job from his leader to take care of business development in Makassar. While in Makassar, Syamsuddin often stayed in his own rented house because he did not bring his wife who had worked in Toli-Toli.

Syamsuddin became acquainted with Halijah when he first met her in a supermarket. The introduction became more intense which caused them to meet frequently and go hang out together. Feeling comfortable, they proceeded to a more serious relationship even though Halijah knew that Syamsuddin already had a family.

In their relationship, the two behaved normally and continued to work as usual. Although Syamsuddin had known Halijah's family, Syamsuddin had not provided any certainty to officially marry Halijah. About 1.5 years in their relationship, Syamsuddin eventually married Halijah as his second wife through the marriage process although the guests were only those who closest to them. The marriage process had become a tough conversation in Halijah's family because for them, it was irregular. Syamsuddin tells:

“...it took time to explain to Halijah's family that the marriage process was only a formality to legalize our relationship. Later, I will hold a normal marriage after there is clarity on the working status of the company. Moreover, the family in Toli-Toli does not know this, and I want everyone to be able to take good care of the situation without sacrificing anyone...”

In the same regard, Halijah also reveals:

“...although I have a family experience, but the family still wants a lively wedding party. Especially in the village, people are happy when there is a wedding party...”

For Halijah, the wedding party is important. In this regard, there is also a plan to open a business in Makassar and in the future if the business develops, someone can already manage it. Moreover, Syamsuddin has work experience and has its own income so that the Halijah can rely on it.

After the wedding, Syamsuddin no longer lived in a rented room but at his in-laws' house with his wife. For Halijah, it is not a problem to stay hitchhiking at the in-laws' house temporarily while trying to raise money to own their house. Although it is related to self-esteem as a husband and daughter-in-law, but he can still accept all people's perceptions temporarily.

Regarding his relationship with the first wife, Syamsuddin states that his wife already knew he had a second wife. His wife does not mind as long as Syamsuddin continues to fulfill his obligations to provide needs for their children.

The Case of *Nikah Siri* 3

Kahar is a man from Wajo, working as a teacher in Makassar. He lives in one of the housing estates in the border area of Gowa - Maros - Makassar. He has had two daughters from his first wife. During the five years of family, their life was happy. In addition to working as a teacher, Kahar also likes to do various kinds of businesses that

generate fast income such as gold investments and mutual funds. He even likes to go around with his friends, both men and women, to develop his business.

One day, he met a woman called Naya from Gowa who is one of Kahar's business partners. Naya is a financial management student who is quite skilled at running a business so Kahar relies on her as a co-worker. They always went everywhere for business meetings. Their commitment to doing business has an impact on their increasingly intense relationship. He also accompanied Naya more often than his own wife. Even Kahar often did not go home because he was with Naya. Their increasingly frequent togetherness causes them to like each other to foster a sense of love for each other. Kahar's wife, who is a housewife, had not noticed the affair.

After two years of running his business together, Kahar finally decided to marry Naya as her second wife. The reason for marriage was based on his consideration of keeping their honor from committing adultery. Kahar relates that he did so in order to avoid adultery because he always went alone. They eventually did the *nikah siri* and were attended by guests.

Although Kahar told his wife regarding his marriage and did not want to divorce, but his wife still forced him to divorce because she did not want *dimadu* (a case when the husband marrying another woman). Eventually, Kahar and his first wife divorced and Kahar left his first wife's house and lived in his second wife's house. In this regard, Kahar tells:

“...basically I didn't want a divorce but my wife forced to divorce. She has a hard disposition so she often dominates when speaking. She also prefers to be at home taking care of children. She is very different from Naya who can accompany me in business. She is good at communicating with customers, and most importantly can build and maintain relationships with business partners. So, I'm safe and trust her...”

After living together with Naya for about 15 years, Kahar also ended up divorcing Naya because they did not have a child. Kahar states that for Naya, it was important to have children but there was a problem in her womb. The two also agreed to separate.

This case reveals the existence of another woman as the cause of the divorce. Although they were married (*siri*), but the marriage occurred because it was preceded by the preconditioning of Kahar's relationship with Naya in the business. Kahar considered Naya to be a suitable and skilled business partner to marry. It is because in this era, it is important for people to have skills and ability to manage businesses and build networks. Therefore it is important to have competent and skilled colleagues although in this case, the relationship continues.

Siri Value Transformation'

Siri' is a core value in the culture of the Makassar people. *Siri'* has to do with human dignity, containing self-respect and honor (Mattulada, 1980:109; Mattulada, 1980:50; Idrus, 2005:40; Davies, 2007:36, see also Idrus, 2016). A person who commits such a cultural violation as *silariang* (elopement) is categorized as a person who is despicable, loses self-esteem, loses shame and honor. Even his extended family also felt the *siri'*.

Before the 1990s, the socio-cultural norms of the Makassar people were strictly enforced. However, after the 1990s, development in all aspects indirectly had a consequence of a shift in their socio-cultural norms (Abidin, 1983 & 1999; Hamsah, 2018; Mattulada, 1980; Hasni, Dhahri, and Haris 2018). The construction of housing in the border areas of the two regions contributed to the emergence of business areas in response to the increasing number of populations inhabiting the region. On the other hand, there is an increase in

the intensity and frequency of mobility of citizens between suburban areas and city areas due to the opening of connecting highways. As recounted by Tahir, the head of a village, as follows:

“...it used to be that the village was quiet and dark, there were no lights on the road. Residents rarely go out at night when there is no need because there are often robberies. But, time goes on, and a lot of housing developments over rice fields, new roads and many. We even can take a motorbike deep into the city. In essence, many changes occur and open the mind and add to our experience...”

Related to the nature of the Makassar people, they are known to have a tough nature and firmly hold commitment and are consistent with their words. This is seen in the *silariang* in which a man will do anything to marry a woman even if his proposal is rejected by the woman's parents. Although this act risks his life, but he still holds his promise to marry his future partner. This is as told by the imam of Paccellekang as follows:

“...in the past, for men, elopement was a form of his commitment to women as well as his pride as a man. However, elopement is precisely a disgrace to the female family and thus elopement is a violation of custom. Because it is a violation, it must be sanctioned by custom as well. Only males who have the guts dare to elope ...”

Tahir added that since a long time ago, he often heard the term *silariang* as a characteristic of the Makassar people. After moving to *Paccellekang*, he only found out that in the area he moved, many of the residents were perpetrators of the *silariang*. He recounts the following:

“...from the story of the imam village, I learned that there are some residents here who are perpetrators of *silariang*. Most of them have been received through *abbaji' nitarima*, and some are still *abbaji' tannitarima* so they do not return to their villages in Takalar region. They have forgotten their life history as an ugly past...”

Several participants claims that in the past 30 years, the *silariang* incident has almost never been heard from again. Information about *silariang* can be known through the events of *abbaji nitarima*, *abbaji' tannitarima*, *anynyala' kalotoro'*, *nitumateang*, and *tumasiri'*. This is as told by Abdullah:

“...in this village there was never a single case of *abbaji'* and such. It seems, this *silariang* will be gone and no one will want *silariang* anymore. It used to be a *silariang* because there was not enough money to apply so it was rejected and insulted, especially ordinary people who proposed to a distinguished girl... Nowadays, the average person has a lot of money because there is a lot to work on. In addition, many women can also be selected and there are not many requests as long as they can get married. Women also now have their income so that they can help their future husbands if their parents ask for a lot of money...”

Regarding this phenomenon, Abdul, who has done *abbaji' nitarima* expressed his experience as follows:

“...compared to the past with the present there are so many differences. In the past, we maintained associations with women and were not easy to date. If there are women we like and respond, then it is luck. It should also not be discovered by the woman's parents until we directly propose to her. Nowadays, there are many girls and it is easy to go out. They can also be found anywhere...”

Social shifts also occur in the values and norms of society (Hamsah, 2018). There is a decrease in social norms in society, especially young people today compared to before. This is as told by a participant:

“...In the past, when young people dating, it was in secret. If you wanted to meet later, there would be a wedding party or a harvest party. You could also meet at school if they were middle or high school students. It was impossible to go with a girlfriend in a public because it was a joke. The courtship was concealed because the daughter was guarded from the boys. Around the 1950s, our parents were indeed forbidden to have contact with women because it could be a disgrace to parents ... For today's young people, they have lost norms and values. Unconsciously, they commit cultural violations: going out and walking together, even to the point of getting pregnant without marrying. They've lost their self-esteem and shame (*Siri'*). What's worse is that today's parents seem to have lost control of their children in associating and educating them with cultural values...”

Continuing the description above, Andi suggests that there is a difference in the understanding of young people. He said:

“...in the past, we dated a girl because we were serious about marrying her. The religious term is now '*taaruf*'. In this *taaruf*, we do not often meet, let alone walk together because there is no ethic of walking together with girls who are not wives or relatives. If it's a young person now, their courtship is no longer moral because they go everywhere, sleep together and impregnate their boyfriend to the point of irresponsibility of marrying her. There are also those who abort their womb in embarrassment. Oddly enough, the deed was not punished. Parents whose daughters become pregnant out of wedlock also do not lose face and self-esteem as parents used to maintain their self-esteem...”

Regarding *silariang*, Rahmat, a community leader in Pabbundukang village states that *silariang* style used to undergo a change in shape but the substance remained *silariang* only the name was different to be more refined and more modern. He reveals:

“... nowadays there is a modern version of *silariang* although the form is different called '*nikah siri'*'. This is stealthy in nature and is only known to three people, namely the bride and groom. The reason for the occurrence of *nikah siri* is to add a wife without the knowledge of the first wife, and marry a cheating partner because of pregnancy or save a woman who is pregnant. This *nikah siri* also does not violate social norms, does not eliminate self-esteem and honor, and does not get social punishment...”

Based on the various interviews above, it can be explained that the change in elopement culture occurred from *silariang* to '*nikah siri'*'. The cultural value of *siri'* remains related to honor, but the context has changed due to a shift in the form in which the value of *siri'* is attached. For example, in the act of *silariang*, there is the value of *siri'* so that the perpetrator is categorized as harassing self-esteem and must be sanctioned. Whereas in marriage, *siri'* is not considered a violation of self-esteem, but rather can be a pride for a man to be able to have another wife without the knowledge of the first wife.

Discussion

Silariang with all the cases that occurred in Makassar most often occurred before the 1990s. The socio-cultural conditions of Makassar people with all its value systems and norms are still dominant in playing a role as a reference for the community in carrying out their daily social processes.

In the view of the Makassar people, the process or method of elopement is considered contrary to religious and customary norms and can degrade the dignity of parents and families. It violates religious norms because it is forbidden for a Muslim to get along with the opposite sex in a quiet place, especially if in one room. It violates customary norms

because in customary marriages, it is well known that the implementation of sexual intercourse must begin with marriage. The elopement means that the relationship does not obtain the blessing of parents so it is considered a family disgrace. Thus, it is clear that if the child does something that violates religious and customary norms, it will automatically be able to degrade the dignity of parents and families in the eyes of the community.

The strength of *siri'* among the Makassar people is clearly seen if their dignity is violated by others, then the person who is violated can do anything to avenge or return their family's big name within the community. Similarly, in the case of elopement which is one of the acts of *siri'* violation, those who feel aggrieved for the deed will retaliate viciously. The aggrieved or disgraced party will take action in the form of: (1) it is very likely that if they met a man who carried away their daughter, the man will be killed, (2) if they did not meet the wanted man, it is likely that the woman's family will move out of the village, (3) the male family will continue to be careful of attacks by the woman's family (Tika, 2005).

However, in this changing era, it turns out that parents' hatred and resentment towards their children and husbands do not always persist, especially if the daughter has given grandchildren. Thus the female family in particular, has more or less opened their heart to accept them in the midst of their family and eliminate mutual enmity with the male side of the family. However, to improve the relationship again and the legalization of the marriage, there is a way called customary settlement (*abbaji'*). This is, somehow, is affected by the openness of the people towards new ideas, changing the old minds of all of the cases of *silariang* are unforgivable. To some extent, it is also because of the globalization that has helped this social transformation.

After 1990, the era of digital information has touched the deepest corners of villages. The information technologies such as mobile phones open minds the rural communities. Also, the regional development program through the expansion of the city area gives impact to suburban communities in the region to undergo socio-cultural transformation. The construction of settlements, highways, and a number of other physical infrastructure facilities have given rise to various new economic activities of suburban communities. All of these are the impact of globalization as Al Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006) explain.

As discussed by several scholars, particularly those researching the relationship between *siri'* and the impact of globalization (see Abidin, 1983 & 1999; Hamsah, 2018; Mattulada, 1980; Hasni, Dhahri, and Haris 2018), the phenomenon, at some points, shift the values and attitudes of people. The development of science and technology make people easier to do their activities. The emergence of industries, market, and global communities in their grasps means that the globalization is inevitable. However, the rapid development of the industry makes the supply of goods uncontrollable. People are easily attracted to consuming, not only goods, but information and news. The younger generation of Makassar people has started to think rationally and slow but sure, shifting paradigm has occurred. For instance, even though it is extremely rare for finding *silariang* cases today, the essence of *silariang*, namely "marrying without the blessing of parents/family members" can be found in the different forms: *nikah siri* and sex before marriage (with or without the consents). The transformation, indeed, has been occurred.

4. Conclusion

Socio-cultural changes in Makassar has been occurred in two models, namely cultural transformation of elopement or *silariang* to *nikah siri* (unregistered marriage). Please do not confuse the concepts, it is almost identical (*siri'* and *sirih*) but it has completely different meaning and different roots of words. *Siri'* is from Bugis-Makassar language means dignity or shame, while *siri* is from Indonesian language and its original meaning is unknown, but it always get along with the word *nikah* (marriage). Substantially, *silariang* is same as *nikah siri*, a marriage without the blessing of the families. The difference is that *silariang* has consequences for customary law sanctions while *nikah siri* does not have customary sanctions. *Silariang* causes disgrace to women's families while *nikah siri* does not cause disgrace. *Nikah siri* occur more likely based on economic interests.

The socio-cultural transformation that occurs is a consequence of globalization through development, such as the construction of facilities and infrastructure as well as industrialization. Development programs such as regional expansion in the form of connecting roads between regions, construction of settlements and shops lead to human mobilization and high intensity of social interaction that leads to urbanization. This, then, also change the paradigm or the world of view of the local community. They have started to open minded. This condition also has made the community to adapt to the new physical and socio-cultural environment. Thus, this sudden change leads into a socio-cultural transformation. If in the past Makassar people extremely uphold the *siri'* value exemplified by *silariang cases*, nowadays, people, particularly the younger generations are more open to the alternative option called *nikah siri* or unregistered marriage. Thus, it also explains how fluid the *siri'* concept itself.

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