

MUSLIM CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG TOLAKINESE COMUNITY IN KENDARI

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Abstract: This article analyses the changing attitude and cultural identity of Tolakinese Muslim Community in Kendari. It focuses on four cultural values: 1) *kobanu* (shy); 2) *merou* (courtesy); *samaturu* (solidarity); 4) *taa ebe tunai tui* (introspection). The findings shows that people in the rural area are generally maintaining their culture while people in urban area have a contrast attitude as cultural values have been degraded in practices. This degradation eventually resulted in the changing attitudes of Tolakinese society. In general, even though there is a small group of people who still understand and or practice the tradition, there is a trend of degradation in the cultural values. There are factors behind this trend, among them are: education, living in the city and mixed marriage. Realizing the potential extinction and the importance of the tradition, several efforts are taken by traditional leaders aiming at preserving the culture of Tolaki. Among the efforts are socialization and contextualization of the tradition in line with the development and the values of Islam.

Keywords: Muslim cultural identity, attitude change, Tolakinese community, Kendari.

Introduction

Indonesia has its own natural diversity in various aspects of life especially in culture. Culture is something that cannot be separated from Indonesia as it comprises so many divergent people, culture and civilization. As a mean of unity, cultures sometimes open the chance for amalgamating with moral and ethic, and as a mean of a rule, culture commonly controls social behavior.

In 2010, the *Biro Pusat Statistik* (BPS, Central Statistics Bureau) stipulates that the group ethnics in Indonesia is amounted to 1,128

tribes. This shows that the cultural diversity in Indonesia is vary in terms of territorial areas.¹

In the city of Kendari there are several ethnic groups, one of which is ethnic Tolaki. This is an original ethnic tribe lives in mainland Southeast Sulawesi besides Muna tribe in Muna island and Buton tribe in Buton island. The Tolakinese has their own cultural values that could be their best guidance for living in society. Those cultures are: 1) *kobanu* (shy), 2) *merou* (courtesy), 3) *samaturu* (solidarity), 4) and 4) *Taa Ebe Cash Tui* (introspection). Interestingly, those cultures are however relevant with the teaching of Islam. So it definitely marks question on the origins of the cultures, whether it is turn around since the culture meets Islam, or it is originally coming from the heritage of society.

In his study, Sabrina Sihombing has stated that according to the total of 1209 questionnaires distributed in four major cities in Indonesia: Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang and Surabaya, showed that the social principle like mutual help (*gotong royong*), democracy, harmony, religious fanaticism and individualism is the values that lives inside of the mind of Indonesian society today. On the other side, the study shows the recent change of cultural values of Indonesian behaviors as well. In this case, the research is conducted ethnographically to identify cultural values of Tolakinese Muslim community on which their identity has been shaped by the ongoing change.²

Culture and Identity of Tolakinese Muslim Society

The origin of Tolakinese Muslim society is a matter of difficult to ensure of the history. The chronicle could only be found on the unwritten tradition that orally transmitted from one to another. It is said that the ethnic has connection with the establishment of several kingdoms in Southeast Sulawesi named as royal kingdom Konawe, Haluoleo. According to the story, those people are said to be the origins of Tolaki tribal society up to now. Previously the people of Tolaki were nomadic, they move from one place to another, with the aim of finding new places to open the new field up and expecting new live from hunting. They believe that their ancestors came from

¹ <http://www.kemendagri.go.id/12/14>, accessed on 17/05/2014.

² Sabrina O. Sihombing, "Identifying Changing in Indonesian Values and its Impact to Indonesian Consumer Behavior," *The Internet journal of Language, Culture and Society*, Issue 36: pp. 101-109.

mainland China, from Yunnan region who migrated to this part. The oral tradition of Tolakinese firmly said that the first inhabitants of mainland Southeast Sulawesi is *Toono Peiku* (*ndoka*), the one who lives in caves and they eat husk. And generally, they called themselves as Tolahianga which means people from the sky, means from China. Therefore, the word *Hiu* in Chinese tradition means heaven, could be relevant with what the Tolakinese said about *Heo* (*Oheo*) which means stranded in or going to the heaven.^{3,4}

In Kendari, there are two great kingdoms namely the Kingdom of Konawe and Mekongga. And Islam has gradually entered to this territory, precisely during the reign of Mokole Reich Tebawo in Konawe Kingdom and the reign of Bokeo Temporambe in Mekongga kingdom. At the first time, the people lived in the seashores seems to have recognized Islam as their religion, although they are still having difficult to leave their habits like eating pork. The contrast living shows that the people lived in the mainland or the mountains, they are reluctant to recognize Islam as their religion. It may happen because the teaching of Islam brought by the traders are not so penetrates to their local areas, but it is only touching some people lived in the seashore. Besides, some traditions of Tolakinese are also not so relevant with the teaching of Islam that put much on the One God. As believed by the society, there someone who controls over the nature called “Sangia” (gods). This is one of the difficulties of Muslim proselytizer to negotiate with. And the local belief of Konawe seems to be unchangeable. In this case, the fusion of cultures should be made as it was happened in the archipelago that local culture certainly cannot be eliminated altogether, because local culture contains wisdom that sometimes be a mean for social cohesion.

Some basic elements of Tolakinese cultures are as follows:

***Kohanu* (culture of being shy)**

In the local culture of Tolakinese there was a normative term of *kohanu* which means shy. This term has some commonalities with the recognizing term of *osamu*. The *kohanu* definitely denotes the sense or feeling of shame, and it can be equated with the term *Siri*’ in terms of

³ Rustam E. Tamburaka et al., *Sejarah Sulawesi Tenggara dan 40 Tahun Sultra Membangun* (Kendari: Unhalu Press, 2010).

⁴ Abdurrauf Tarimana. *Kebudayaan Tolaki* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1989).

the people of Bugis Makassar. Philosophically, this term implies some interpretation denoted by Tolakinese people as follows: 1) *Mbuoki kobanu pinealiako idaoa* which means there is no shame sold in the market; 2) *Mbee mbee ano taanio sehanuno soono, mea soondoono menggenataka kolile* means that someone who has no sense of shy, his/her value could be same with animals; 3) *Tatoo siano mgaino kobanundo* means that the high quality of one person is determined by the higher quality of his/her sense of having shy.⁵

In a broader sense, *kobanu* means being ashamed of the disgrace done a person or impinged to the family. But some people denote the sense of having shame in terms of being and integrating with those of the higher status people. As noted by Hafid in his writing, “*Kalosara sebagai instrumen utama dalam kehidupan sosial budaya Tolaki di Sulawesi Tenggara*”, *kobanu* is a mean for social defense system with emphasize on the moral behavior, for instance there are people who are lazy to work, then the they could apply the culture of *kobanu* in order to be more diligent in their work, so that he/she can forget the reason of laziness and find themselves as hardworking and diligent. This culture indirectly encourages people to always maximize their power and mind to advance themselves and other members within the tribes.

Wider definitions of shame is linked to *the wide scope of shame* book, that defines shame as a feeling of defense and reaction forms of instinctual tendencies, which is not simply feel guilt about the act but the self. This means that shame is an after effect of an act that cause a feeling of embarrassment.⁶

It has been noted that the culture of *kobanu* or feeling shy is also can be found on the society of Bugis in South Sulawesi. The people are also quite familiar with the term *siri*’ which means also feeling shy. And the difference is on the effect impacted to the doers. If someone does *siri*’ or behaving something that cause embarrassment to themselves, the perpetrators and their families, the doer was no longer accepted as a member of the family, he/she is disposed of and is not considered anymore by the family till the end of his/her life. Different from that, in *kobanu* tradition, if someone from the Tolaki community do things that are contrary to the customs of Tolakinese, he/she will be

⁵ HM. Laica Marzuki, *Siri’ Bagian Kesadaran Hukum Rakyat Bugis-Makassar; Sebuah Telaah Filsafat Hukum* (Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin Press, 1995).

⁶ Melvin R. Lansky and Andrew P. Morrison (eds), *The Widening Scope of Shame* (New York and London: Psychology Press, 2014).

punished by paying or sacrificing a bull as a sign of guilt and shame that he did. Another thing of *kobanu* always taken place if a family carrying out applying to a woman and her application was rejected or not accepted by the family of the woman, it is also categorized as *Kohanu*.⁷

Culture of *kobanu* or shy is also found among the Bugis society in South Sulawesi and is popular with the term *siri*, it is also means by shy. The difference between two traditions is that the sanction for those who have done terribly embarrassing things. If someone does something which is *siri* or behaving that cause embarrassment to themselves and or their families, the individual will be no longer accepted as a member of the family or marginalized from them and is no longer considered a member of a family until the end of life. Meanwhile, the sanction for the same case within the tradition of *kobanu* is different. If someone from the community of Tolaki does things that are contrary to the customs of Tolaki then he or she will be punished by sacrificing a bull as a sign of guilt for the actions. This is based from interview to one of the Tolaki community. Another respondent explained and shared one example that if a proposal for marriage to a woman is rejected then it belongs to the category *kobanu*, especially if the failure is related to the failure to fulfill the woman's request.⁸

***Merou* (the culture of being polite)**

Politeness defined as etiquette in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary in the journal of Politeness Strategies in Arabic Culture with Reference to Eulogy, that refers to "the formal rules of correct or polite behaviour in society or among members of a particular profession." Politeness engaged into a social interactions of community which has it's own standards that is substituted by the norms, values and cultural heritage in aims to consider others.⁹

One of the traditional leaders of Tolaki argued that *merou* ethically means having a polite and courteous attitudes in the association and

⁷ Marzuki, *Siri' Bagian Kesadaran*.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Mohammad Abdul-Qadir Ajaaj, "Politeness Strategies in Arabic Culture with Reference to Eulogy," *EFL JOURNAL: Journal of EFL, Linguistics, and Literature*, 1, 2 (2016).

interaction with others in social life. It can be interpreted in hypothetical terms *masambo* or *sebaa-baambo* which means arrogance. *Merou* is a culture that encourages people to always prioritize politeness and manner and respect to others in the association. This is consistent with the following philosophy of the Tolaki: First, *inae merou, nggoieto anodadio toono merou ibanuno* it's means that "whoever is being polite to others, then everyone else would surely be polite to him". Second, *inae ke sara nggoie pinesara, mano inae lia sara nggoie pinekasara* means: "those who abide by the customary law then he must be protected and defended by the law. In contrast, anyone who does not obey the customary law he will be penalized or sanctioned". Third, *kona inae wawe ie nggo modupa oambo* means: "whoever is virtuous in attitude is going to get goods in life".

Sara Mills suggests that culture are not homogeneous and that within each culture there are different views on what defines as polite and impolite behavior. Conflict over the politeness in a culture should be seen not only a particular act but as a whole in a culture to defines politeness holistically.¹⁰

***Samaturu* (solidarity)**

Samaturu means "unite". The term also implies solidarity. *Samaturu* is applied to all Tolaki people anywhere and here it can play role as unifying. *Samaturu* is used to involve and engage people from all levels of society to collaborate in a big work within the Tolaki community. This tradition is very beneficial in the past but unfortunately is starting to decline among the younger generation.

Solidarity defined as a central dimension of social order and social conflict that has been left aside by the modern theories nowadays. Modernization has declined binding and tieing as a social contributions.¹¹

***Taa Ehe Tinua Tui* (Introspection)**

The meaning of this term is introspective to avoid of acts that give reason to others to humiliate himself in any situation of life. It means

¹⁰ Dániel Z. Kádár, and Sara Mills (eds), *Politeness in East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹¹ Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Morality as a Cultural System: On solidarity Civil and Uncivil," in Vincent Jeffries (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): pp. 303-310.

that a person should have a resistance towards being underestimated and despised by others. This value is a stronghold for Tolaki society so that they are taken into account or respected by other people. Thus, they keep attitudes and maintain relationships and interactions with others with respect and do not undermine others while at the same time do not let others undermine them. According to them, respect to others is a representation or form of cultural values as well as Islamic values they have hold dearly all their life. These are the overall cultural values that have been elaborated and have become the identity for Muslims in Kendari.

Identity of the Muslim community in Kendari Tolaki can be seen in the following aspects: *First* aspect is religion. The majority of people at Tolaki embraced Islam with Shafi'i as the dominant school of law. However, in south Konawe precisely in the district of Wolasi, the majority of people are Christians and there are also families with diverse religions within it. This pattern, two or more religions within one household, has been there for quite a long time. People are harmonious even with diverse religions within their families. The same phenomenon is also found in Konawe Lambuya district. Interfaith harmony is well managed and maintained. There is also a freedom within the family, for the members of the family—children particularly—to be able to choose whatever religion they think is the best, whether it is the father's religion or the mother's.

Second aspect is education. In recent era, the community of Tolaki have given promising signals show that the parents start to give more attention to education of their children. Unfortunately, they are constrained by the cost of education. There is high number of graduates of secondary schools who cannot continue on their education to the university. Another found phenomenon is that even those who can go to university, usually do not and cannot continue to the higher level, that is the magister let alone doctoral program. After graduated from undergraduate program, they directly go to seek a job. Hence, it can be said that the educational identity For Tolaki people is not high.

Third aspect is work. Most of the Tolaki community are farmers, both in paddy field or garden. Being farmers is their daily activity which they also consider as the fate from God. Hence, they do not feel any need to work harder (*ngoyo*) as they believe everything has been decided by God.

Meanwhile, people at the urban area have a more varied jobs range from being civil servants, military , police officers , to politicians and entrepreneurs working in private sector. The women, especially the senior ones called *ibu-ibu ina ina* are mostly work in the market selling groceries such as vegetable and dried fish. It is quite rare to find them selling fresh fish or open stalls as these are dominated by the people from outside Tolaki mostly from Bugis and Makssar.

Forth aspect is local language. Admittedly, less Tolaki people who live in the urban or cities use Tolaki language lately. In contrast, people at the rural areas use Tolaki language as the primary language. As a matter of fact, there are still some people who can communicate using only Tolaki language as they cannot speak using Indonesian.

Culturally, most of the Tolaki society still preserve tradition related to religious rituals including the beginning of staying in the new house, opening a new farming field, starting a new business or work, celebrating and welcoming a new family member, and even the rituals related to death of family member. All of these occasions are mostly believed to be marked by the tradition of reciting *Yāsīn* (one of *Sūra* in Qurʾān) and or *Barzanji*.

Cultural and Attitude Change of Tolakinese Muslim Community

Have culture and tradition among the Tolaki society faded away or still preserved intact? This question is the focus of the paper. Data shows that there is a degradation among the people living in the city as they no longer preserve the tradition. However, the case is different with people at the country side or moreover at the villages like Korumba. There are several factors behind this, among them is the fact that the population at the countryside and or villages are still dominated by the Tolaki community. Another factor is the leadership. It is quite common to find that if the leader is originated from the Tolaki community, then the culture and tradition of Tolaki will stay strongly. Other villages like Alolama and Poowatu are also add to the theory. To even make it more evident, the Lepo-lepo village which is led by a non-Tolaki turns out to be less in maintaining the culture and tradition. Geographically, this village is also nearer to the city but there is no tradition accompany any occasion.

Thus, it can be argued that, in general, they are able to maintain their culture and tradition especially the *kalosara*. Even though there is an incline of the way people living at urban areas maintain an practice

the tradition, people in rural areas still preserve and hold dear the tradition moreover in a village or sub-district led by a Tolaki leader. The degradation in the maintenance of tradition and culture among the people especially the youth in rural areas actually also indicate the degradation in the religiosity. This is also a mark on how prone their identity as Muslim community is.

Cultural change happens in every edge of this world, according Lenzerini, humanity in a cultural value has progressively tending towards uniformity. In cultural terms, uniformity means not only loss of cultural heritage but also has a different new standardized in the way of life. It has to do with a value of a tradition that not being fully understanding and applied by the society.¹²

The identity of Muslim society of Tolaki in Kendari that is changing can be seen from four attitudes: 1) Statics, 2) moderate, 3) religious, 4) conservative. The following will explain each of them.

Static Attitude

People within the category having statics attitude are those who perceive the values of culture as norms to be followed particularly by the Tolaki community. These values are believed as norms that are not subject for question or discussion. These values are taken for granted. Furthermore, the failure or negligence to hold to these tradition is considered as betrayal. They are considered as traitors to the ancestors and hence will be punished in one way or another in life. This group perceive the culture and maintain it as things that cannot change from past to now and later.¹³

Some characteristics of people within this group are as follows:

Characteristics of the position, such as: *First*, very low education as they are rarely participated in the high level of formal education. *Second*, living in inland area far from the development of the city. *Third*, very limited interaction as they only spend their days working in the field or forests and interact with relatives at homes. It can be said that their life is still very original living the exact lifestyle passed on to them from their parents and the previous ancestors. This has influenced the communication patters as they only want to communicate with their

¹² Federico Lenzerini, "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples," *European Journal of International Law*, 22, 1 (2011): pp. 101-120.

¹³ Gerd Bohner and Nina Dickel, "Attitudes and Attitude Change," *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol. 62, (January 2011): pp. 391-417.

relatives from the area and use only local language. They tend to be quite closed to the people from outside and limit interaction with any foreigner.

Basically, the grouping of these communities is based on the fact that they never change in the attitude, mindset and behavior and this is evident in their everyday life. Furthermore, they never tried to be more advanced and have any willing to improve their life in any aspect. They believe that their life and condition today is the fate from God and hence there is no willingness to change or even worse to accept changes. They assume their lifestyle, eating and working in accordance with what is found in nature is the way it is supposed to be. This attitude and mindset actually has historical root as the Dutch instill this mindset among the natives and hence the doctrines remain even though they have gone. History shows that the Dutch were already in this area long before the propagator of Islam. Admittedly, in its development to spread the instilled doctrines, they use the teachings of Islam specifically is the ideology of fatalism commonly known as the school of *Jabbariyyah*.

Moderate Attitude

Tolaki people who are within this group interpret the values of culture as diverse and dynamics. They believe that culture and tradition indeed should be preserved but also are open for possibilities to adapt with the changing times and modernity. Things, for them, are not taken for granted as they believe that people should critically screen, filter and study the benefits and the goods from their cultural values. They neither reject the tradition and culture nor accept it blindly. In their view, culture has to be maintained and practiced when they are compatible with the reality and does not hinder the development. Meanwhile, culture and tradition that hinders development should be rejected. In addition, they also believe that culture and tradition should always be in accordance with Islamic teaching and therefore any culture which contravenes religious values must not be preserved.

The characteristics of society within this category is that they have a quite high education and hence have wider knowledge and extensive horizon. They life mostly in urban areas or the developed areas. They are working in various fields, both government and private sectors and already have changing patterns and lifestyles compared to Tolaki people from earlier generation. They are open for change and always

eager to achieve the development and progress. Their interaction is more open and this means being able to communicate with anyone regardless what their ethnic, class, or status. They do not limit themselves in terms of interaction and use the language that can be understood by other people or other ethnic. They still use Tolaki language but also are open to use others languages to respect the others. They are open, friendly, respect the opinions of others and willing to accept feedback and criticism of people. Characteristics of the society of this category is that they have quite advanced education.

Religious Attitude

Religious attitude is an obedient or submissive behavior in carrying out the religion a person adheres. It also means being able to tolerate the practice of religion of others and promote interfaith harmony. Meanwhile, other defines religious attitude as the way a person perceps and understand his or her religion and how that person practices the religion in daily life. Religious is defined as obedient and practicing the religious norms diligently but also is tolerant and open-minded.¹⁴

Communities from the Tolaki ethnic perceive cultural values more as the aspects of religion. This means that cultural values must be in accordance with those contained in the Koran and Hadith. Hence, cultural values which are not in accordance with religious knowledge or norms must be abandoned. This rule is important form them in order to avoid *shirk*. The advanced level of their knowledge on religion is also apparent in their daily life. They are knowledgeable in both general knowledge and religion knowledge.

The characteristics of this community is their point of view that cultural values must be in accordance with the values of religion. Their daily life is guided mostly with religious activities. They are willing to accept change with condition that those have to be in line with their understanding of religion. Symbols of religion are always visible in their daily life more than at the other's life. Their interaction is open to anybody and this means that they could socialize, interact and communicate with anyone. They use simple language in a good

¹⁴ E. L. Earnshaw, "Religious Orientation and Meaning in Life: An Exploratory Study," in <http://www.webclearinghouse.net/volume/3/EARNSHAW-ReligiousO.php> accessed on May 17, 2014.

manner as well as is easy to understand. They avoid being fake or full of pretenses and look friendly and warm.

Conservative Attitude

The category of conservative at the Tolaki community is characterized with lack of knowledge regarding their own culture. They do not understand let alone practice the values of their culture. They have general knowledge but unfortunately do not want to know about the culture. The lack of the understanding is due to several factors including place of residence, education and others. They live in the cities and this living environment affects the level of understanding of cultural values. They have tendency to only know the urban cultures they understand and practice in the daily life. Second factor is education within the family. Education in the family will determine the understanding of cultural values as these values need to be reintroduced to the next generation. If parents did not teach or convey information about the origin of culture then it is no surprise that they do not comprehend let alone practice the values of their own culture. Third factor is because of mixed marriage between different cultures or ethnics. This model of marriage undeniably has influence in diminishing cultural values. It is evident that the children from marriage between the communities of Tolaki with people with different cultures from different ethnics tend to lack understanding on the cultural values of Tolaki. Ironically, the children are more proud to identify themselves as Bugis when one parent is Bugis. So this group tends to follow the culture of others than their own cultural values.

Among their Characteristics are as follows: they mostly live in cities and do not know the value of their own culture. The social patterns in their lives is urban social patterns. They socialize with people with a variety of cultural backgrounds, ethnicity and education level. Ironically, they will feel proud and feel as having exceeded the others when they can show to others that they are familiar with other cultures that are more famous and advanced. If they stay in a big city then they are proud to follow other peoples' cultures that is popular in that city. They usually are called as kids from large cities. The style of their communication is that they tend to use slang and do not seem to be able to appreciate norms. They also seem to fail in knowing how to respect the elderly. They are reluctant to associate with those who have a life below their standard; do not like to go back to the hometown or

village; do not want to interact with people from the villages as they see them lower than them.

Analyzed from the cultural values of Tolaki understood by the public, in-depth interview conducted by researchers can show the percentage of the understanding and application of the four values that still includes *kalosara*. The data will be described below

Table 1. People's Understanding on the Tolaki Culture and Tradition

Values in Tolakinese culture	Ununderstand (%)	Understand (%)	Understand and applied (%)
<i>Kobanu</i> (shy)	33,3	16,6	50
<i>Merou</i> (courtesy)	40	26,6	33,3
<i>Samaturu</i> (solidarity)	46,6	36,6	16,6
<i>Taa ebe tunai tui</i> (introspection)	66,6	23,3	10

Based on these results, it is clear that respondents who do not understand the meaning of what constitutes value *kobanu* (shy) is in a high position while those who understands it but does not apply them are at a low level. The rest is those who understood the culture and still apply it in everyday life and here the composition is very high. With regards to the value of *merou* (courtesy), data shows that respondents who do not understand is very high, and hence the number of those who understand is low. People who understand and apply it tends to be high. With regards to the Culture *samaturu* (solidarity), respondents who do not understand are at a very high level and those who are familiar with it tends to be quite high followed by the third category that is those who understand and apply it which is low in composition. In regards to *ebe tunai tui* (introspection), data shows that respondents who ignore it is very high and that later respondents who only comprehend or understand is at a low level. Understandably, respondents who knew and still applying the culture and tradition is very low. All the findings explained show that there has been a shift in cultural values among the Muslim community of Tolaki and this has impact on attitude change. From the data derived from 30 persons, it is also clear from the data that the level of knowledge regarding the culture particularly *kalosara* is very low. This is quite ironic since the

kalosara has been a custom and tradition for a long time and actually is very appreciated by the people at Tolaki.

The findings presented above is in line with the interviews earlier. It also appears that from the four attitudes of the Tolaki community, there is a difference in the way they conceptualize the meaning of the culture with regards to its form as unifier. Among those characters is the acceptance towards the culture and tradition with no objection and question to anything be it the value of the culture, the reason of the obligation for them to follow and practice the tradition, the affects and benefits or harms to the self and family. All cultures and traditions are accepted as the heritage from their gods and ancestors and hence have to be taken for granted.

Preserving Muslim Cultural Identity and Attitude Change

Elements of cultural values such as *kobanu* (shy), *merou* (courtesy), *samaturu* (solidarity), and others in the community Tolaki can be interpreted as strengths possessed by each individual if they are employed to support them to grow and develop in a positive way. Here, each element of the culture can be the potential for them in their present life to the later future. In contrast, if those elements are interpreted and used negatively then it will indeed affect negatively to people's life. To give example, *kobanu*/shy is only meant as a shame to do things that contravene the customary law or moral values. Yet, when interpreted recklessly, people will use this as justification for them not working hard or being creative.

Culture of *kobanu* or shy is also found among the Bugis society in South Sulawesi and is popular with the term *siri*, it is also means by shy. They better appreciate the cultural meaning of the word *siri*. As stated by H.D. Mangemba, "we need to distinguish the literal meaning of *siri* from it's cultural understanding". The cultural understanding is more prominently used and understood in their daily lives and therefore when one mentions the word *siri* then actually it is the essence or the cultural value is meant. These views provide reinforcement to concept that talking about shame means that it is in relation to the self. Shame is also always correlated with self-esteem or self-respect.¹⁵

¹⁵ Marzuki, *Siri' Bagian Kesadaran*.

In line with the values of *kobanu*, Islam actually also teach about the value of shy. There are texts from Qur'an and Hadith explain the importance of shy and give it credit as a good character. *Rasūlullah* SAW said as follows: 'If you have no shy then do everything what you want to do'. (HR. Al-Bukhari) Another prophetic tradition said that "Shy was part of faith". (HR. Bukhari). So, shy is precious value for a community and can become a positive potential for the development of Tolaki culture as this is not only taking form as a custom or tradition but also is taking form as part of Islam.

The similar concept also goes with other elements of cultural values of the Tolaki community. One of them is *merou* and this means humble. This cultural value actually should be interpreted as being humble not being inferior. All of these cultural values are actually playing important roles as religious support for people at Tolaki ethnicity to face life with all the complex problems.

The combination between faith, practice, and public piety confirms that the culture still exist at the Tolaki community despite its tendency that it's existence is only in the elderly and rural communities. Here, every individual of the Tolaki society can grow and develop positively. Contradictively, when those values of Tolaki cultures are interpreted negatively and used to justify some bad behaviors such as laziness and so forth then this valuable tradition will hinder the development of people at the Tolaki ethnics.

This research also shows that the cultural values in Tolaki society contains Islamic values and this value is an alternative to formulate local knowledge based on local culture as well as to shape internalization of realities within them. Therefore, some worry that if the friction of these values with modernity is to be continued in a negative trend and is resulted in shift in cultural values or degradation in tradition maintenance, it will inevitably lead to the degradation of the preservation on Islamic values as well. They worry that these Tolaki culture, which also means the values of Islam, will be replaced by new values that are far from Islamic values and this will also consequently bring the changing attitude.

Several figures of Tolaki try to explain the shift of the values that have been embraced by the people Tolaki so far. However, they give firstly the explanation on the four systems that have been the values of the Tolaki culture. First, the cultural value system (unity, mutual cooperation, belong each other, peace, and so forth.). Second, the

system of norms (social role of each person within society; attitudes and behaviors in the interaction among them; manners and behavior in the lives of individuals, families and families, communities and state). Third, the legal system (sanction for the violator of Islamic teachings). Fourth, the system of specific rules (special events or ceremonies of birth, marriage and death related rituals)

One of the prominent figures within the Tolaki community explained that elements of cultural value system, the unity and integration, is still retained and maintained up to this day. Yet, it has started to show degradation and this is evidenced by illustration on the wedding occasions. Stated by the figure as follows: “if there are people/families are married or passed away, people of Tolaki still give aid/contributions/donations, but it is only in forms of money/envelope while in the past they will come themselves to help, this is in addition to the donation”.¹⁶

With regards to the elements of norm systems, data obtained through in-depth interviews to the people of Tolaki including the younger and well educated generation results in the explanation that the ethics, norms of civilized manners in the association or interaction is no longer maintained. One of the interviewee states as follows: “for example, through the presence of parents/elder, they already ignore to greet them as prescribed in the norm like greet them *ije*, *inggimijo*, *tabe* and the like, in fact, they will go pass by them and trodden them. In the past, children were afraid of their father; if the father is sleeping and mother advised the boy to step on the floor slowly to respect the sleeping father, they will do it. Now, they would play around the TV if possible”.¹⁷

Some other examples that strengthen the argument above is also shared by the interviewee as follows; “it is prohibited in the past for a child to drink from the glass of the father; now that norm has disappeared”.¹⁸

With regards to the elements of the legal system, it is clear that the Tolaki people began to disobey the customary law in marriages, the customary law in inheritance and so forth. Meanwhile, in the past the Tolaki people are very obedient to all the laws related to marriage and

¹⁶ Interview with Muslimin Suud.

¹⁷ Interview with Haslita and Ahmadi.

¹⁸ Interview with Muslimin Su'ud.

inheritance. The only element of culture that is still respected and preserved up to now is *kalosara*. Nevertheless, among the younger generation there is already more than 70% of them who no longer know the meaning of *kalosara*.

From the analysis on the explanation of respondents, it is quite clear that there is indeed a gradual degradation in the maintenance of tradition and culture among Tolaki community. The culture potentially will extinct. This is especially evident in their practice and understanding to the meanings, values and symbols contained in the *kalosara*. This issue has to be addressed. Therefore, several efforts made by the Tolaki community led mainly by the traditional leaders. Efforts of the community in maintaining cultural values include: First; seeks by all means justified by the rule of law and the legislation in force all the ways possible and necessary to be taken so that all positive cultural values that do not conflict with Pancasila and development can be maintained, developed and preserved. Second; attempting at realization of removing all cultural values that are contrary to Pancasila and principles to the humanity or to the teachings of Islam. One example is drinking *pongasi* which is actually an intoxicating drink. Third; maintaining, defending and implementing all the cultural value system that are neutral (which is neither clearly beneficial nor proved to be harmful. One example is diving (*metiu*) in order to reach a decision in cases of civil disputes and the like. This tradition also functions as entertainment for tourists. Fourth, clearly, there are efforts of traditional leaders of Tolaki to protect and preserve the endangered cultural value so that they are not replaced with foreign cultures.

Among these efforts are: 1) Effort to maintain it trough writings, studies and trainings; 2) efforts to develop it and this means that all cultural value system shaped in local wisdom need to be continuously improved and fostered in a sustainable programs; 3) preserving it through courses and trainings by traditional leaders and *Puntabu Talea/Pabitara* at all levels of institutional custom. For example, Tolaki custom institutions used to be called (LAT) is now converted into the Tolaki customary royal institution.

Conclusion

Identity of the Muslim community in Tolaki at Kendari consists of two parts: especially in rural areas where religiosity as well as education

tend to be low. However, in regards to cultural values on other aspects such as openness, tolerance, solidarity, mutual cooperation, courtesy, it can be said they are rooted strongly within the community. The trend in urban people shows the contradictory trend. Among them, cultural values began to extinct including local language, cooperation, *kobanu* or shy and *samaturu* or solidarity. All these changes in values resulted in changes of attitudes and acts.

Many aspects which led to the change of attitude within the Tolaki society include the emerging acculturation which means a mix between local culture and cultural influx from the outside through several channels. These channels are marriages, education, workplace and the development of knowledge and science. The changes of attitudes will occur in a mixed marriage between people from Tolaki and people from other ethnics. Similarly, Tolaki Muslim community who have experienced the educational process have demonstrated the changes in their mindset and attitudes. The Third one is the workplace. There is a process of people influence one another. Trough the interaction and relationships, people have adopted the cultural values of other individuals nearby. The Fourth factor is the development of science and technology that also cannot be ignored as the cause of the change in attitude within the Tolaki Muslim community at Kendari.[]

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