
LOKKO'TRADITION IN ISLAMIC LAW PERSPECTIVE AND ITS IMPACT ON PATAMPANUA SOCIETY IN POLEWALI MANDAR REGENCY

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Abstrak: Humans have been predetermined as social beings for the reason that in meeting their needs they have to interact with others. Accordingly, humans tend to live in groups and society. These groups then agreed to set up rules to deal with the attitudes and behaviors in their environments. These rules later on developed into principles, guidelines, and way of life of a society to be kept hold of by each individual in the community. The worldview of a community greatly influence the behavior of individuals living in that community environment, hence an individual intending to get along and survive in a particular group of people should be able to comprehend and get familiar with the custom, worldview, and norms applied in the pertinent society.

Keywords: Lokko, Islamic Law, Society

Introduction

The majority of Mandar society, especially those living in the area of Polewali Mandar, still firmly stick to the principle (culture) of *Lokko* in addition to some other live principles apply. Existing *Lokko* culture that has long been preserved by people of Mandar serves as a worldview that needs to be maintained and to be synchronized with the teachings of Islamic *sharia*, as the society's understanding and belief about the meaning and purpose of *Lokko'* nowadays begins to grind down due to the fast life edvancements and foreing thoughts or cultures.

Lokko wisdom is implemented by Mandar people to defend honor from subjects intending to insult or humiliate the dignity of their individuals, families, and relatives.

Among common expressions uttered within Mandar tribe relating to this point is “*Mua' andiang lokko'mu olo'-olo'mu tu'u*” (when you have no dignity, you are just like animals).¹ This expression illustrates that *Lokko'* is always in line as an inseparable unity with the status of humanity.

Research Objectives

Objectives to be achieved in this study comprise:

- a. Introducing the concept of *Lokko'* culture that is appropriate with Islamic *shari'a* and the implementation of the concept in the society.
- b. Explicating the implication of *Lokko'* culture on the society of Patampanua in Polewali Mandar and the extent of their actual understanding of the *Lokko'* culture as well as the application of the worldview in the daily life of the society.

Research Benefits

The advantages of the research are classified as follows:

- a. Theoretical benefits

This study is conducted to contribute to comprehension

¹Darmawan Mas'ud, *Puang dan Daeng: kajian Sistem Nilai Budaya Orang Balania Mandar*, Dissertation, Post Graduate Program of Hasanuddin University, 1988. p. 89

of knowledge in general and of *Lokko'* culture in particular.

b. Practical benefits

Upon the completion of this paper, it is expected to serve as a fruitful conceptual contribution of local wisdom to the improvement of community development in Patampanua Polman regency. Accordingly, life principles well-matched the teachings of Islam can be actualized in everyday life.

Methods and Techniques

Bordering on other social science research, this exploration preserves analysis method commonly implemented in social science studies applying qualitative and descriptive analysis through an inductive procedure, that is, conducting investigation through a progression starting from an observation on specific aspects to end up in drawing general conclusions.² Theoretically, the analysis overview puts emphasis on efforts to uncover a problem and situation as they are in order to disclosure facts and to analyze data.³ To complete this description, some approaches to be followed will be presented below.

²Sudarto, *Metodologi Penelitian* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), p. 57.

³Noeng Muhajir, *Metode penelitian Kualitataif* (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 2006), p. 49.

Normative approach is in principle a basic approach derived from the teachings of Islam.⁴ The author uses this approach because it deals with the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet as a concept of life and as a key clue to understanding the local wisdom that has long collaborated with (Islamic) socio-religious life in Polewali Mandar. In addition, the socio-cultural approach is also applied to express the situation of the society, the culture, and to convey characteristics especially concerning the theme brought up in the current research.

Data Sources

This study utilizes two kinds of data resource, namely:

a. Primary data

As common in the field research, the primary data means the main data obtained directly from the informant, in this regard the Head of district Matakali, Head of Patampanua village, together with four other village heads and some youth figures.

The process is carried out through interviews with a number of figures who are considered in competence to explain the factual conditions that occur in the field, especially in terms of the implementations of *Lokko'* culture as well as its implications.

b. Secondary Data

Secondary data are sources that do not directly provide the facts to the data collector, for instance, those obtained through

⁴Abdul Mujib, *Ilmu Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media, 2006), p. 47.

documentation or through people who are not directly involved in the scope of the subject to be examined.⁵ Written data is required in this research as a theoretical basis to support field data.

Historical Overview of *Arayang Mandar*

We often hear that Mandar kingdoms covers *Pitu Uluinna Salu* and *Pitu Ba'bana Binanga* (Seven Kingdoms in the Upper River and Seven Kingdoms in the Estuary). These kingdoms are distributed as follows.

Pitu Ba'bana Binanga (PBB) comprise:

1. Kingdom of Balanipa;
2. Kingdom of Binuang;
3. Kingdom of Sendana;
4. Kingdom of Banggae;
5. Kingdom of Pamboang;
6. Kingdom of Mamuju;
7. Kingdom of Tappalang. ⁶

Pitu Uluinna Salu (PUS) includes:

1. The Kingdom of Tabulahan;
2. The Kingdom of Aralle;
3. The Kingdom of Mambi;
4. The kingdom Bambang;
5. The Kingdom of Rantebulahan;
6. The kingdom Matangnga;

⁵ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2008), p. 193.

⁶<http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

7. The kingdom Tabang. ⁷

Each of the above kingdoms bears different royal title for its king in running the government, for example:

1. The King of Balanipa and the King of Sendana are entitled Arayang,
2. The King of Banggae and the King of Pamboang are entitled Mara'dia,
3. The King of Tappalang and the King of Mamuju are entitled Mara'dika,
4. The King of Binuang is entitled Arung,
5. King of Rantebulahan, King of Matangnga, King of tabang and King of Bambang were entitled Indo Lembang,
7. King Aralle was entitled Indo Kadaneneq,
8. King Tabulahan title Indo Litaq⁸

In fact, the region of Mandar does not only comprise the kingdoms of *Pitu Ulunna Salu* and *Pitu Babana Binanga*, as there are still kingdom areas that do not belong to any of the two great unions (areas of neutral territory). These kingdoms are named Tiparittiqna Uhai and are also often called Karua Babana Minanga (KBM), these include areas such as:

1. The Kingdom of Alu;
2. The Kingdom of Tuqbi;
3. The Kingdom of Taraqmanu; and there are several other. ⁹

⁷<http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

⁸<http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

All the kingdoms in Mandar have mutual respect in terms of their respective regional territory and they are in custom of helping each other as if they actually belong to a single area or more or less like a unitary state. Hence some historians of Mandar propose that the kingdoms in Mandar do not take the form of such kingdoms that reign and rule in their respective area. Rather, Mandar kingdoms work together and support each other with mutual respect.¹⁰

Judging from these facts, it can be said that the regions of Mandar is quite significant in the discourse of civilization development, especially on the land of Sulawesi or even of the eastern part of Indonesia. Each region has a diverse accent in spite of the application of some similar idioms, but the roots of the language within one kingdom quite vary, especially if we look in the context of the two major divisions mentioned above, *Pitu Ba'bana Binanga* and *Pitu Ulunna Salu*. This situation consequently invalidates the proposition stating that Mandar is not more than a name of one tribe, as it has been demonstrated that Mandar is the name of a huge conformity of two major coalitions of the local kingdoms, they are, that of the coastal regions and that of the Mountainous regions.¹¹

⁹ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

¹⁰ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

¹¹ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

Geographically Mandar also lies on a very strategic area and sociologically it has many cultural particularities and various local wisdom worthy of further exploration in an academic term for public benefits. One which being the author's concern at this point of time is about *Lokko'* culture in the region Mandar, especially in its relation to modern culture as well as Islamic law.

A closer look at the subject shows that the most dominant effects coloring the perspective of people upholding the ideology of *Lokko'* in the abovementioned area can be broken down as follows:

1. To increase the level of discipline. Discipline is dignity, value, and self-respect. It is a reflection of the decency of *siri'* (self respect). Setting up discipline either upon others or oneself and his family, in accordance with the functions and roles that must be carried out, is equal to maintaining dignity, value, and self-respect. This at the same time means that the person has shown himself as having *siri'*, which is basically a measure of value and dignity and of balance between rights and obligations as well as between responsibility and compliance. A man who should be in charge and authorized to straighten crooked but fail or do not dare to do so is considered to have let his *siri'* fade away. Likewise, if someone allows his personal rights to be violated to crash the boundaries of legal and ethical limits, the person is considered to have let his *siri'* diminish.
2. It was *siri'* that drove the courage and fortitude of the leaders of *Appeg Banua Kaiyang* as citizen representatives to confidently

oppose the decision of Daeng Mallariq. *Siri* also caused Appeq Banua Kaiyang discharged Daeng Riosok, and *siri'* also caused all kings of Mandar supporting Pammarica to refuse the request of the Netherlands Governor. This is precisely what encouraged Puang Cadia to confidently and without any hesitation give up I Kauseng, his own son, for an execution of a death penalty. When the royal functionaries did not dare to implement the rules out of fear of the king, or because they are protecting their own family, then they are not figures of high dignity and morality. This also imply that their self respect has faded, and that their *siri'* has undergone a sort of erosion. Thus they are no longer worthy of occupying such functions, as such high positions are only meant for those of high dignity and morality.

Mandar cultural wisdom with regard to particulars of discipline mentioned above is an indication of the magnitude of cultural potential undiscovered in various regions. Such culture comprise capability to offer some role propositions, both in taking part in solving current development problems and in formulating policies in the vision of future perception to establish national discipline.¹²

This discipline culture can bring to light its manifestation functions in the form of obedience and adherence to rules and regulations, and of capability to realize people's trust into legal and law enforcement, as discipline has become signposts to guide the

¹² <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

nation. It can bring about psychological impact on every member of the community in the form of cultivating a sense of sin (religious discipline), shame (social discipline), restlessness and uneasiness for assuming that the beginning of discipline is closely related to self-respect, dignity and values (affective discipline).¹³

Mandar cultural wisdom signaled that ideal method to achieving such an implementation is the method of socialization through symbolic learning process. This is in line with the opinion of Hallowel Loving in his explication: "Transmission of Culture in reality should not be viewed as capability obtained through a conditioning process, as often found in ethnographic description, but rather as parts of a symbolic learning process."¹⁴

The process of establishment of discipline in real life in Mandar region seems to be constructed through the following steps:

1. Strengthening the pattern of role functions in the form of management of power institutions' formation through an effective, balanced, harmonious and interacting manners. Its manifestation is the establishment of respected judicial and authoritative executive power institutions as well as of supervisory agencies capable of controlling the course of power implementation.
2. Creating a healthy climate to provide an atmosphere of trust

¹³ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

¹⁴ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

and social awareness of the existence of legal certainty.

3. Strengthening confidence about the law.
4. Introducing role models, which is absolutely necessary in this era of globalization.
5. A system of ethical values and norms can make basic foundation for the establishment of a discipline culture. In fact, *siri'* is potential to function as a taproot for the establishment of discipline, as seen in Mandar culture in general.¹⁵

As widely known, in Mandar Cultural Congress in 1991, among the topics discussed was the role of creativity in the development of culture. Such process will happen interactively and continuously wherein creativity plays an important role. The creative power has been present and affects the personality of each nation, that is, the *Lokko'* cultural system itself can be described from a psychoanalysis viewpoint as follows:

1. The culture of *siri'* brings about conscious encouragement to the birth of reactions to certain negative powers. So, to put certain conditions on a person's soul (mind-set), the culture of *siri'* serves as a stimulation to act positively and carefully.
2. The culture of *siri'* as a part of the overall system of a global culture in the mechanism of reward and punishment, in addition to its function as a "shield," has by itself a logical consequence (punishment) upon conducts that bring about

¹⁵ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on July 2nd 2014

concern to the harmony of the society.

3. The *sirr*' culture can serve as basic capital to enter a learning process, especially in efforts of enhancing personality.¹⁶

The culture has been growing in such a way up to now and becomes a witness to every inch of the course of history in the region of Mandar to outreach smaller areas including the village of Patampanua in district Matakali of Polewali Mandar regency as the author's place of domicile and study object at the same time.

***Lokko'* Culture in an Islamic *Sharia* perspective.**

Islam is a universal religion that covers a variety of issues, comprising those of law, economics, human relations, as well as human relationship with the Creator. Briefly put, any problems occurring on the surface of earth can be answered by Islam.

Thus the religion of Islam should be able to respond to cultures that develop in the middle of the community as a result of people's attitudes toward the environment. The logic for this is the fact that culture flourishing in the middle of the community is as a result of an agreement and it becomes a binding force for the lives of the people who believe in that culture.

The agreement made by people and then develops into rules and guidelines for life can be termed as *Qanun*. Technically *Qanun* is defined as laws produced by human with materials aiming

¹⁶ <http://banuamandar.blogspot.com/search/label/Pendidikan>. Retrieved on tanggal 2 July 2014

at observing human being in terms of their rights.¹⁷ That is, all the results of legislation or agreement are made only to regulate human rights, which should not be disturbed or occupied by others. So the task of the *Qanun* is to establish the rules according to what is known or done by humans in the form of activities of *muamalah* and traditions. It does not look at whether the activities of *muamalah* and the traditions damage or harm people of other generations.

The society of Matakali district in Polewali Mandar, more specifically those living in Patampanua village, still preserve the *Lokko'* culture in accordance with their personal understanding of the concept of the culture. Carrying out studies to investigate how Islam views the *Lokko'* culture is therefore necessary. Furthermore, the author is trying to accomplish to provide the Islamic view on the culture as follows.

a. *Siri'* means Feelings of Shame

When the term *siri'* is translated as a feeling of shame or guilty upon conducting blameworthy acts or as efforts to maintain one's attitude in order not to lead to lowering dignity, then it is accurately corresponding to the teachings of Islam, as the Prophet Muhammad once said:

الحياء الاياتي الابخير (متفق عليه)

¹⁷Yusuf Al-Qardhawi, *Al-Madkhal fi Dirasat asy-Syari'ah Al-Islamiyah*, trans. Drs. .Muhammad Zakki and Drs. Yasir Tajid, *Membumikan Syariat Islam* (Surabaya : Dunia Ilmu Offset, 1996), p. 108.

Translation:

Sense of self respect produces nothing but kindness. (Agreed Upon).

What is intended by the Hadith is that one's feeling of shame, upon conduct of blameworthy acts, should be maintained as it will result in goodness, both for himself and for those around him, and that such feeling would bring about cautiousness in carrying out verbal expressions as well as in behaving. This is in accordance with the words of the Prophet Muhammad, which reads:

اذالم تستع فاصنع ماشئت (رواه البخاري)

Translation:

If you do not have a sense of shame, do as you wish. (Related by Bukhari)

The Hadith is a proverb to someone that if the acts he pleased with his own lusts, which is prohibited by religious or other moral turpitude, then that person has no sense of shame and is considered to be weak in faith.

Viewed in terms of Islamic law, feeling of shame or self respect (*siri'*) is regarded as part of faith, which is in line with the words of the Prophet that reads:

الحياء شعبة من الايمان (متفق عليه)

Translation:

Feeling of shame (self respect) is among the branches of faith. (Agreed Upon).

It can be seen from the Hadith that when the sense of *siri'*

is directed into positive objects, then people who adhere to such philosophy are considered to be strengthening the religion of God and to be in attempt to strengthen the faith and devotion to God Almighty. Example: someone who considers abusive treatment upon his religion (Islam) as *siri'* and is willing to die to defend his religion, such attitude will strengthen his faith in God. Besides, defending one's personal as well as family honor is among what Allah The Most High commands.

According to Sabiq Sayid, feeling of embarrassment or shyness is among the elements of strong motivation for someone to behave well and to avoid bad and evil deeds.¹⁸ That is, when one no longer preserves some feeling of shame, he will not hesitate to make any moral disobedience and sin.

b. *Siri'* which means motivation to Strive and Work

In addition, when *siri'* is interpreted as encouragement to strive and to work in order to obtain a better life, then it is in line with the words of Allah in QS. Ar-Rad 11:

لَهُ مَعْقَبَتٌ مِّنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ يَحْفَظُونَهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَإِذَا أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِقَوْمٍ سُوءًا فَلَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ وَمَا لَهُمْ مِّنْ دُونِهِ مِنْ وَالٍ ﴿١١﴾

Translation:

Indeed, Allah will not change the state of a people, until they

¹⁸Sayid Sabiq, *Islamuna*, trans. Zainuddin, *Islam dipandang dari segi Rohani-Moral-Sosial* (Jakarta : PT. Rineka Cipta, 1994), p.345

change the existing situation in themselves.¹⁹

The verse implies that if someone wants to obtain a better life, then he should work and strive with his own power.

Its relation to the culture of *siri'* is when one considers his failure of gaining good living as a kind of *siri'* and this makes a driving factor for striving to improve his living, then the cultural of *siri'* is in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

When viewed in terms of Islamic law, a person who wants to obtain a better life in the hope that life can support him to getting closer to Allah and to increase piety to Allah, then it will strengthen his faith, because according to Ustad Rustam:

No matter how hard any human being strive, without the help and blessing of God that person would not be able to gain happiness in his life.²⁰

c. *Siri'* is interpreted as impulse for destroying others

If *siri'* is interpreted as an urge to destroy others, suitable respond to such outlook is first of all to find out the motivation behind such sense of *siri'*. Among the common motivation identified are as follows:

1. Being humiliated or dishonored either personally or in the name of family or relatives. In Islam, it is recommended to forgive each other. Hence when someone is insulting another,

¹⁹ Ministry of Religious Affairs., *Al-Quraan dan Terjemahannya* (Jakarta : Proyek Pengadaan Kitab Suci Al-Qur'an, 2002), p..477

²⁰Ustad Rustam (Imam Matakali). Interview on 22 August at his residence in Patampanua.

both should take the path of peace or mutual forgiveness. At this point, murder is no longer an option for the settlement of cases of embarrassment within the community of district Matakali, although sometimes people are still fighting. An instance can be seen in a case in the sub-village Rea Jaya a few years ago, wherein a fight between police officers and military members occurred merely because one military member felt unappreciated when a police officer asked him to disclose the letters of his motor vehicle in a formal procedure. Actually, the fight should have not happened if both parties were able to control themselves.

2. Being humiliated or demeaned in terms of religion. In Islam, if a person has insulted and crushed the honor of Islam, then it is lawful to fight such person. From the perspective of Islamic law, someone who implements such sense of *siri'* has strengthened the faith in Allah SWT. *Siri'* also comprises the character of *Saja'ah*, which means being courageous for believing to be on the right side. As for the case of humiliation, harassment, or prohibition to conduct worship, there has never been any record of occurrence in the society of District Patampanua of Polewali Mandar.

To know the community feedback with regards to the implementation of *siri'* at the present time to see whether it has been in accordance with the Islamic law, the authors asked a number of informants, and this can be seen in the following descriptions.

Implications of *Lokko'* Culture in the Region of Patampanua in Districts Matakali of Polewali Mandar Regency.

Upon discovering the local alphabetical symbols (*Lontarak*), the society of Matakali district of Patampanua comprehend the sense and meaning of *siri'* differently from that of Mandar people in ancient times. This is mainly due to the fast development of the later era that brings about enormous changes in all areas owing to the advancement of transportation, communication, and technology. Consequently, inter-community cultural assimilation becomes unavoidable, and this results in a shift in orientation in perceiving the local cultural values.

In addition, attitudes and actions that should apply as a consequence of either implementation or violations of the traditional customs has started losing attention and no longer been carried out, as they often not in agreement with the laws regulated and implemented by the State and the Indonesian people in general and by religious communities in particular.

The changes that occur within the society encourage us to conduct research and study upon the phenomena in order to gain knowledge and proper understanding of people's real lives, especially in Patampanua village in Polewali Mandar.

This situation motivated the author to conduct a study to determine the views and understanding of *Lokko'* culture and the implications arising in the social life of the community in Patampanua. The study was focused in four sub-villages in Patampanua areas, namely, Rea Jaya, Bulubawang, Sappoang and

Lanja.

Broadly put, the term *Lokko'* and *siri'* are likewise the synonym of the term shame. In the cultural context of Mandar, however, the two terms have some aspects of distinction, especially in terms of level scale. Shame or embarrassment and shyness (*siri'* and *passirian*) are two different subjects. This is visible in the explanation of a Mandar cultural observer living in Patampanua (Syahril Hamdani) wherein he divides the term *siri'* into three categories as follows:

1. *Siri'* "*kalloqayá*". One is befallen by this kind of shame by committing illegal sexual relationship within the community. *Siri'* in this category should not be exaggerated and is considered fair as it happens due to the intended actions of wrongdoing.
2. *Siri'* "*posa'*". One is exposed to problems due to one's own negligence. Just like a cat that is capable of stealing fish only when the cupboard is left open.
3. *Siri'* "*talopang'*". In this level one gets a shame because his rights are crushed whereas all potential chances (the gap to humiliation) has been anticipated but the pressure from outside is more powerful so that it can be penetrated. This is the type of *siri'* that reaches the category of *Lokko'*. This is highly potential of bringing about clash, as it is very destructive upon the system applies. In this situation

someone's pride has been crushed severely.²¹

The above description shows that the level of *Lokko'* is above that of *siri'*. This corresponding to Hamdani Syahril's statement that in the context of Mandar-ness, *Lokko'* is more "serious" than *siri'*.²²

In line with this point, through a separate interview conducted in the District governmental office of Matakali with Muh. Mas'ud (District Head), he testified:

Lokko' is still widely acceptable in the community of Matakali, especially with respect to "fatal" cases. Only new comers who are not familiar with the term *Lokko'*. Its influence is also relatively extensive within the region of Matakali although, in addition to the Mandar, there are many other ethnicities residing in this area.²³

Furthermore Mas'ud asserted that "*Lokko'* involves a lot of people, *mua malokko'i tau cakko-cakkomitaitingngo* (when one has been afflicted by *Lokko'*, he is ready to be closed in a coffin).²⁴ Such description once again confirms that talking about *Lokko'* requires a deeper and more total comprehension compared to talking about *siri'*.

²¹Syahril Hamdani (Mandar culture observer), interview on 23 Septembre at his residence.

²²Syahril Hamdani (Mandar culture observer), interview on 23 Septembre at his residence

²³Mas'ud (Head of District Matakali), interview on 26 Agust 2014 at District Matakali Office.

²⁴Mas'ud (camat Matakali), interview on 26 Agust 2014 at District Matakali Office. The word *cakko'-cakko'* means coffin cover made of weaven sliced bamboo tree in curve shape to be put on a new grave.

In line with the abovementioned description of the district Head of Matakali, the village Head of Patampanua testified that:

The term *siri'* is used when the incident is of ordinary or small embarrassments that do not involve a lot of people either as committers or objects. But when it is massive and structured to affect many people, it is called *Lokko'* (big shame).²⁵

The above statement reemphasizes that the existence of *Lokko'* is more powerful than that of *siri'* in terms of both the committers and the effects of such actions.

Conclusions

Referring to the loads of information presented above, it is obvious that the society of Matakali district, especially the residents of the four sub-illages within the area of Patampanua, are still well aware of *Lokko'* culture. For more details, the research findings from this study can be explained as follows:

1. *Lokko'* culture does not conceptually contradict the Islamic law, even within Mandar tradition applicable to the division of two great kingdoms that mutually support each other.
2. The implications of *Lokko'* culture in Patampanua village of district Matakali in Polewali Mandar are still observable. Interviews with some authoritative informants have clearly pictured that *Lokko'* still applies and is well preserved within the region. Although there are misperceptions about *Lokko'* from some elements of the public members, it can be clearly

²⁵Abdul Azis (Head of Patampanua village) interview on 26 August 2014 at his office.

seen that the positive impacts are much more pronounced than the negative impacts. All depends on the paradigm applied in assessing the acts the results of certain deed within a society.

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