

## GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN BUGINESE WEDDING: UANG PANAİK AND ROMANTIC LOVE AS A HYBRID CULTURE

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### **Abstract:**

*This research aims to examine how Uang Panaik, the required amount of money to finance a wedding ritual/party, is negotiated against gender construction through romantic love and hybrid culture. This research focuses on Uang Panaik tradition that is practiced by Buginese as one of the requirements of a marriage. The main subjects of this research are two couples who experienced a love relationship before their marriage with love expression within the boundary of Islamic rules and their relatives. The data collection was done in two ways, the first was through interviews and the second was examining textual sources relevant to the topic. The data were then compared in order to see the similarity or difference between the written traditional practice of Buginese wedding ritual and the experience of the subjects. The data were analyzed by using qualitative methods with romantic love theory by Eva Illouz and hybridity theory by Homi K Bhabha. By using the theory of romantic love and hybridity, this research observes the relation between the tradition of Uang Panaik and romantic love as a hybrid culture. This research argues that the practice of Uang Panaik in Buginese wedding ritual has been reconstructed differently from the traditional ways as the practice of Uang Panaik tradition is challenged by the involvement of romantic love relationships that happened before marriage (courtship, pacaran). Thus the process of negotiating Uang Panaik against gender construction happened in a hybrid culture together with romantic love bounded by religious ethics.*

**Keywords:** *Uang panaik, Romantic love, Hybrid culture, Gender, Buginese wedding*

### **Abstrak:**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana Uang Panaik, jumlah uang yang dibutuhkan untuk membiayai ritual/pesta pernikahan, dinegosiasikan melawan konstruksi gender melalui cinta romantis dan budaya hibrida. Penelitian ini berfokus pada tradisi Uang Panaik yang dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat Bugis sebagai salah satu syarat pernikahan. Subjek utama penelitian ini adalah dua pasangan yang mengalami hubungan cinta sebelum menikah dengan ekspresi cinta dalam batas syariat Islam dan kerabatnya. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan dua cara, yang pertama melalui wawancara dan yang kedua adalah dengan menelaah sumber-sumber tekstual yang relevan dengan topik. Data tersebut kemudian dibandingkan untuk melihat persamaan atau perbedaan antara praktik

adat tertulis dalam ritual pernikahan Bugis dengan pengalaman subjek. Data dianalisis dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan teori cinta romantis oleh Eva Illouz dan teori hibriditas oleh Homi K Bhabha. Dengan menggunakan teori cinta romantis dan hibriditas, penelitian ini mengamati hubungan antara tradisi uang panaik dan cinta romantis sebagai budaya hibrida. Penelitian ini berpendapat bahwa praktik uang panaik dalam ritual pernikahan Bugis telah direkonstruksi secara berbeda dari cara tradisional karena praktik tradisi uang panaik ditantang oleh keterlibatan hubungan cinta romantis yang terjadi sebelum pernikahan (pacaran, pacaran). Demikianlah proses negosiasi Uang Panaik melawan konstruksi gender terjadi dalam budaya hibrida bersama dengan cinta romantis yang dibatasi oleh etika agama.

**Kata Kunci:** *Uang panaik, Cinta romantis, Budaya hibrida, Gender, Pernikahan Bugis*

## PENDAHULUAN

Buginese as one of the ethnic groups living in South Sulawesi applied their cultures in everyday life. They practiced their constructed culture in various rituals, and one of them is the wedding ritual. Wedding ritual as the practical context of the application of Uang Panaik cannot be separated from gender construction by which gender position has been affirmed by the agents of the structure. The relation between men and women is found in every aspect of life. The most essential part might be their relationship in marriage. This is examined with the study of gender relation where it aims to see how types of gender relations are defined by different roles, functions, and responsibilities that are socially constructed, while sex is defined by the difference of biological function of reproduction system (Sasongko, 2007).

Buginese wedding ritual is an indirect agreement among the people that everybody should follow and this much or less affects gender construction. However, the perception of gender as well as the role of gender changes according to the development of many aspects such as economy, social, and cultural, therefore it becomes dynamic. As the actors who would live in the marriage life, brides and grooms might possess personal wills that may be different from the parents' and the tradition's ordinance. The possibility of the brides and grooms act accordingly to their own will, thus, leads to the urgency of developing knowledge about the relation of culture and tradition of holding a wedding with love relationship as a factor in deciding a marriage.

In Buginese culture, the bride and the groom both have socio-cultural status which is realized in the process of their marriage, especially for Uang Panaik. Uang Panaik basically comes from the term 'panai' in Makassar language, which is also referred to as 'paenre' in Buginese, which has the literal meaning 'ascend' or 'ascending'. In its relation to the marriage context, 'panai' or 'paenre' is widely

known as 'uang Panai'/uang Panaik' (Indonesian term 'uang' means money), therefore 'Uang Panaik' means 'ascending money' (Mahmuddin & BM, 2019). Uang Panaik or Doi Menre could simply be understood as amount of money that is given by the groom's side to the bride's side, in this case it is hold by the bride's parent, to be used to finance the marriage (Kesuma & Nurlaela, 2015; Usman, 2022).

However, it is inevitable that there are conditions that might push them to be unable to follow the structure in their culture for instance the inability to fulfill the requested amount of Uang Panaik or the permission to get married is not given by the bride or groom's parent, et cetera. As Sesse dan Rafsanjani (2011) mentioned that the inability to fulfil the requested amount of Uang Panaik could lead to the decision whether a marriage would still be continued or not (Sesse & Rafsanjani, 2011). Moreover, if the marriage is annulled because of Uang Panaik is not agreed, it could bring a 'negative' impact such as elopement, and this might also become the reason of people to negotiate the tradition so that the drawbacks of the marriage annulment can be avoided. Thus, in the process of negotiation, the couples who have the same wish would do an action that may challenge the gender construction. In addition, the agency of the children as the groom or the bride may oppose their parents who act as the agent of the tradition.

On the other hand, Buginese marriage nowadays is exposed by the existence of romantic love relationship among the youth. Besides, the narratives about romance that is advertised through offering product and experience by the market should be considered as one of the factors that may influence one's action. This makes it important to see the position of romantic love in the negotiation of Uang Panaik as Buginese tradition. As a result of that, children as the prospective bride and groom who are in a love relationship negotiate gender construction in the tradition by adapting their experience of romance to the culture. In relation to negotiation, external factors, in this case is romantic love, becomes the trigger to act out the couple's agency although it may contradict with the expectation regarding their positions as children. By doing so, both the bride and the groom try to practice their tradition with permissive action in which they accept the espousal of romantic love in a space called hybrid culture. Even so, the involvement of romantic love in negotiating gender construction is limited by the religious boundary. Thus both tradition and modern romantic love are played in between.

There have been some writings also about Uang Panaik yet the focus is various. Latief (2009) in his writing described Uang Panaik or known also as Dui Menre' in relation to the Buginese marriage system in general and why Dui Menre' tradition still existed. He wrote about the pre-marriage tradition, the marriage procession, and the after-marriage tradition. His writing also sees Dui Menre' from cultural and religious perspectives, and how the tradition may result in conflict. The result shows that Dui Menre' becomes the symbol of Buginese lifestyle and character and to show their social status. Even though this tradition may not be in

line with Islamic values, its existence is still supported by the possibility to negotiate the Dui Menre'. In another writing about Uang Panaik, Halil (2019) wrote about Buginese women in the movie about Uang Panaik. The movie title is 'Uang Panaik Maha(r)l' and is analyzed using critical discourse analysis by Sara Mills. She tried to see the position of women in the movie from cultural context by analyzing the dialogue and how the character is depicted. In that movie, Halil described that the woman (main character) tries to release herself from negative stereotypes where she tries to speak up and do something bravely but at the end still cannot do much about the tradition (Uang Panaik). The focus of these two writings about Uang Panaik is about the Buginese marriage system in general and the position of women in the tradition, meanwhile this research is examining Uang Panaik from different perspective which focuses on its relation to modern love and hybrid culture. This is to see Uang Panaik in practical life from the people's point of view who experienced it so that the role of gender and the position as well as how they respond to it can be explored. This research is also prominent to see how Buginese practice the tradition within the area which has influence from romantic love.

Therefore, to enrich the similar studies, this research aims to examine how youth practice the tradition of Uang Panaik in Buginese wedding culture through romantic love prior to marriage. The love relationship before marriage may hold important role in determining how the youth practice their tradition in which they may come up with negotiation. In addition, as it is analyzed by using qualitative method, this research tries to show the essential process of negotiation between tradition and romantic love and would see how it is practiced as a hybrid culture.

### **TINJAUAN PUSTAKA**

Illouz (1997) discusses the relation between capitalism and romantic love. In a broader sense she focuses on the intersection of romantic emotion with culture, economy and capitalist behavior. She argued that capitalism, which is empowered by consumption and mass media, is characterized by mind-set that exchange relationship between the act of purchasing and selling have pervaded society in general, which two parties come in the bases of self-interest and reciprocal benefit in economy; while romantic love unifies two people by realizing spontaneity and empathy in erotic relationship, thus it stands above the commodity exchange (Illouz, 1997). By this, romantic love had been understood in the same term as exchanging economy in the capitalist way, as the romantic couple work together as a team that adopts value and reason for modern economic relationship. As love is related to emotion which sometimes be expressed in the form of physical activity or specifically sexual practice, Illouz shows how romantic emotion and expression are labeled differently according to one's culture, for example, sexual arousal is considered as love at first sight, or lust, or 'hormonal disorder (Illouz, 1997). As romantic love is perceived to be threatening the safeguarded institution which is

marriage, Illouz disproved it that in popular literature it instead brings economic security thus it affirms the sentiment over the social and economic interest (Illouz, 1997).

Bhabha (1994) talked about his concept about hybridity, in which he opines that two elements (for instance language and culture) can never fully mix although they interact. At first Bhabha gives the explanation which may be considered like the background of his third space theory, where he identified that there is a problem in the interaction between cultures. He described:

“Through the concept of cultural difference I want to draw attention to the common ground and lost territory of contemporary critical debates. For they all recognize that the problem of cultural interaction emerges only at the signficatory boundaries of cultures, where meanings and values are (mis)-read or signs are misappropriated. Culture only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations” (Bhabha, 1994).

Bhaba then explained that the focus of cultural difference is the ambivalence of the authority of culture such as the effort to dominate on behalf of cultural supremacy and it is at the issue of enunciation. The process of the issue introduces a split between traditional culturalist request for tradition and the necessity of negation of new cultural request and meaning (Bhabha, 1994). As a result, he introduces the indeterminate space of the subject of the enunciation, which he called as the third space. By ‘third space’ he means that culture is not something fixed as the symbol and sign of it could be interpreted differently (Bhabha, 1994).

## **METODE PENELITIAN**

The research used a qualitative method and was conducted in Bone Regency, South Sulawesi whose main subjects included men and women who practiced Uang Panaik tradition in Buginese wedding rituals. Specifically, this research collected data from two couples who got married in 2019 and have been involved in romantic love. The data collection combined two strategies by using the existing data and collecting new data. The use of existing data is for obtaining information from textual sources such as books or documents. Meanwhile collecting new data was done by interviews with the informants. The interviews were done with the informants who themselves practiced Uang Panaik. There are 11 informants in total that were interviewed which was consisted of two brides, two grooms, three mothers, 3 fathers, and one brother. After collecting the data, it is analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques. Then, the data is confirmed by the informants’ information and explanation.

## **HASIL DAN DISKUSI**

The two couples in this research are Riska and Mail, and Kiki and Imran, who got married in 2019 after having love relationship around a year and two years respectively.

### ***Bugis, Siri', and Marriage***

According to Pelras, both men and women in Buginese have their own domain which they usually focus on doing their activity in that area, for Buginese people do not differentiate between gender. As the kinship system in Buginese is determined by the side from father and mother, both genders have equal roles in society although it is different. The different roles that the men and women have is based on the partnership where they take care of each other. Thus Buginese do not consider one gender to be dominant over the other (Pelras, 1994).

In Bugis, men are expected to act aggressively with their achievement and intelligence especially when they are as bachelors. The aggressiveness is expected that man behave formally even within the household except with wives, mothers, and younger daughters. In contrast, women have informal relations with one another as they cooperate and spend time together cooking and doing laundry together with grandmothers, mothers, daughters, and so on. However, once women are outside the household, they should exchange the informality to circumspect caution (Millar, 1983). Mahmud (2015) stated that a man should be aggressive while a woman should be calm, passive and not aggressive, she explained about the supposed behavior of man and woman: "The aggressiveness and the formality of a man's behavior are associated with his performance and social location. By contrast, a woman's passive behavior is associated with her honor. To complement the behavior expected of men, women are supposed to be obedient and timid, not only to show her honor" (Mahmud, 2015).

Meanwhile, honor in Bugis is referred as Siri' as Susan Millar in her writing (1983) mentioned Siri' as the term in Buginese which means 'honor/shame'. A person shares Siri' with the family they are close in relation by birth, such as brothers, sisters, parents, wife and husband, children and so on. Millar gives an example, that, when a young unmarried man and woman have a contact and it is discovered, the woman's family will feel Siri' (Millar, 1983). Pelras in his book also stated that Siri' plays a prominent role especially in marriage, if a person's proposal is rejected, he will feel Siri' and the result is elopement (*silariang*). As for the woman's family, the elopement is even a worse offense that the male family of hers would feel justified to kill the doer (Pelras, 1994). Beside that, a word or an action that is considered improper in general may also lead to the same action as above mentioned. According to him, Siri' is not only an individual and spontaneous feeling but a group feeling solidarity. Defending the Siri' of the family, especially of women,

is the duty of the men, and of the leaders to defend their members and vice versa (Pelras, 1994).

In relation to marriage, most Buginese practice their wedding ritual with traditional structure. Pelras in his writing stated that in Buginese, 'to marry' means *siala* or 'to take each other', men and women are partners even if they are from different ranks, as it is a reciprocal act. Marriage does not only involve two persons but two families, and it is the best option to choose in making non-kin into not-other-people. The ideal marriage should be within one's kindred such as parallel cousins or cross cousins but the most important is that people who got married are whose descent are differ in degree although they are from the same ancestor (Pelras, 1994).

According to Pelras, a marriage is accompanied by presenting dowry from the man to the bride. The dowry consists of *Sompa* (homage) which is the sum of money determined by the woman's rank and *Dui' Menre* (ascending money) which is the contribution for wedding party expenses from the groom. Also, besides dowry, men should give *Lise' kawing* (wedding substance), and Islamic *Mahr* (Pelras, 1994). He also said that Buginese public wedding is the way the Bugis demonstrate their place in society to the public, the decoration like the garments and ornaments show their identity and rank, the guests see their connections and influence, and the *Dui' Menre* display their wealth (Pelras, 1994). The way people try to show the social status as well as their wealth also indicate that *Uang Panaik* is likely influenced by consumerism behaviour and this is supported by Suriyani et al., (2021) in her writing that the amount of *Uang Panaik* or *Doi Menre/Doi Balanca* is affected by the high expectation of people in holding a majestic party (Suriyani et al., 2021). As the position of *Uang Panaik* is prominent to show a family social status, one could even 'manipulate' the amount where the bride's family would add some nominal to the *Uang Panaik* from the groom's family and claim that the amount given is higher (Riski et al., 2017). In some other cases, one could also spend much more than the given *Uang Panaik* for the wedding party by having debt or selling assets (Herlina, 2020).

Pelras further explains the process into marriage in detail that if the young man has no promise of marriage, people from his side start discussing about prospective bride. The first stage is completed by older women (from men's side) who visit the woman's family informally to find information about the woman. The first contact is asking indirectly and with allusive terms in order to save the face of both sides if it is rebuffed. The detail of Pelras' explanation is as follows:

"If the girl's parents are open to further conversation, a day is fixed for the first formal move, 'to come in embassy' (*ma'duta*). At this meeting the genealogy, rank, kinship and assets of each of the prospective spouses are further scrutinized, while negotiations are opened on the *Sompa* as

well as on the amount of money to be paid by the bridegroom's party in contribution to the wedding expenses and on the gifts to be made to the bride and her family. When agreement on these points is reached, a day is fixed for its solemn ratification. The betrothal gifts to the future bride are brought to this ceremony, sometimes in procession. They include a ring, and also a number of presents of symbolic significance. The bridegroom is represented by a delegation of relatives or honoured friends of his parents' generation, but his mother and father, and the bridegroom himself, are not present. A spokesman for the bridegroom's party makes a speech recalling the points of the agreement; he is answered by a spokesman for the bride's party, and the date for the wedding itself is definitively set. Then the gifts are passed round to be examined, first by the men, then by the women, after which they are taken to the future bride's room. Wedding ceremonies take place in two stages: first the wedding proper (*ma'pabotting*), which is organized at the bride's house and which the groom's father and mother do not attend; then, later - sometimes several days later - the *ma'parola* ('having' the bride 'follow' to the house of her parents-in-law), which the bride's father and mother do not attend" (Pelras, 1994).

The explanation above about the process of Buginese marriage, however, is not practiced rigidly as written. Nowadays, cultural practices are close with external factors, one of them is modernity as this writing talks about. There are some parts, especially those which are considered fundamental, that are practiced to this day, yet there might be parts that are skipped or adjusted. As for the beginning of a marriage, a relationship that is initiated by personal will and preference may replace the practice of matchmaking by the family.

### ***Love Relationship (Pacaran): The Beginning of the Marriage***

When the traditional Bugis marriage in the past preferred to marry within their kin or at least their cousins, both couples decided to marry *to-laing* (other people). The decision that the couples took is considered as doing a free-choice marriage. Mail and Riska are neighbors who at first rarely have contact but by the time they finally know each other. Meanwhile Kiki and Imran were complete strangers before they met in a friend's wedding party. They introduced themselves, giving each other contact numbers. These couples did not limit themselves from contact with a person outside their family, especially women who are said to be the symbol of family *Siri'* (family honor). Compared to the old application of *Siri'* (honor) where the family of the woman would be angry even if their female kin had contact with a stranger, the concept of *Siri'* in this meeting has become flexible



since the male kin do not react strictly to this fact. Family becomes more accepting of the fact that we live in a modern world where contact is inevitable, especially with the development of technology.

After the first meeting and having contact, both couples eventually have feelings for each other and decide to be in a romantic relationship that is very modern. Their relationship makes them often spend time together by going out to watch movies, dine out, and have conversations by cellphone. Both couples were in a love relationship for around a year (Riska and Mail) and 2,5 years (Kiki and Imran) before their marriages. During that time, they would visit each other's house in order to meet their family only to have a small chit chat so their family know their partner. Both couples show how different the beginning of a marriage is in the past and in this era. Nowadays, the youth are free to express their feelings, they are not judged by their family for being in an outside-marriage relation whereas in Bugis, family usually would be the first one who gets angry if it is related to Siri'.

The discussion about Uang Panaik started right when the couples decided to move to a more serious relationship. After a month of their love relation, Mail confessed his intention to marry Riska and asked her to be his prospective future wife. Riska, who has the same feeling, directly accepted the request at that moment.

*Diajakka dulu pergi makan, disitu mi bicara bilang begini dek, saya mau menikah, kebetulan umurku sudah begini dan siapma menikah, sisa cari calon...trus kuterima (Riska, Interview 2021)*

He asked me to dine out, that time he said I want to get married, my age is like this and I am ready, I just need to find a prospective wife...then I accepted (him) (Riska, 2021)

Not long after that, Mail alone met Riska's father directly to tell that he wants to marry Riska and asked for his permission. Yet Mail asked Riska's father to give him some time save money for the Uang Panaik.

*Jadi saya bilang, "Om ini saya rencana, saya ada rencana untuk mau menikah sama Riska, tapi bukan sekarang", karena saya harus nabung dulu kan mba? dan Alhamdulillah bapaknya juga responnya bagus, kayak gitu, saya mulai menabung sampai satu tahun baru nikah sama Riska (Mail, Interview 2021)*

So I said, "Sir, I have a plan, I am going to marry Riska, but not

now”, because I need to save money first, right? And All praise to God, her father gave a good response, like that, I started to save money until a year before I marry Riska (Mail, 2021)

Mail promised that he would marry Riska a year after that meeting. Riska’s father gave a good response and since that time Mail and Riska sometimes go out but also have a discussion about the progress of money that Mail was saving. While Mail and Riska decided to be in a serious relation shortly after their meeting, Kiki and Imran were more relax and not in a rush to discuss about the continuation of their relation. Yet after two years, Kiki finally asked Imran about the time when they would get married. In this matter, Kiki took the initiation by asking Imran firstly about their relation. Even though a Buginese woman is expected to act passive and not aggressive, Kiki needed the clarity of the time they would get married so Kiki acted actively and initiative in the meaning that she was the one who asked about the marriage as she has been in a long-time relationship.

After both couples decided to move to serious relation (marriage), the procession into marriage was started, although it took longer time. However both couples in this case perform the procession ‘more informal’ than the usual informal proposal (*madduta*). As informal proposal is done by doing those three steps, the couples skipped them, instead they had discussion to talk about the things that should be discussed in those three steps. The topic such as lineage, kinship, job, and property which usually discussed by family representatives were indirectly done by the couples themselves as they had more than enough time to get to know each other. As a marriage is not only between bride and groom, both parents from both sides also need to know about the prospective partner of their child, yet they get better understanding from their own child, although the information might be subjective.

Besides discussing about their personal background, the couples also discussed about *Uang Panaik*. Eventhough the discussion about *Uang Panaik* was done by the couples, their parents indirectly took part in it because they need to discuss about the amount of *Uang Panaik* which, however, their parent were still in control to take the final decision. At first, Riska’s father told Riska that he required 70 million for Riska’s *Uang Panaik*, then Riska told Mail about the amount as she is the connector between them. However, Mail has a condition that made him could not fulfill the requested amount. In one side, he wanted to perform the tradition but in another side he was not able to fulfill it. Therefore, he negotiated if the *Uang Panaik* amount could be decreased. In that situation, Riska who had the desire to realize her feelings and as the connector between them initiated to play a role. After informing Mail’s ability on the required *Uang Panaik* to her father, Riska did not stay passive, in contrast she actively persuaded her parents to decrease the

*Uang Panaik*. She follows her subjectivity against the structure that she thinks complicated her wish to get married. Riska's action is in accordance with what Setyawan wrote in his writing that a problem in conducting a marriage, especially *Uang Panaik*, should not only become the burden of the men, but the women could stand up for it and do an intervention needed (Setyawan, 2020).

Riska's initiation shows that a woman could also become active, not only passive. Although Riska actively persuades her parents, it does not mean that she can directly change her parent's mind. In this case, her father plays the role as the leader in their family, thus his opinion and decision should be followed. As a daughter whose position is lower than the family leader, she must follow her father. However, with respect to her father, she still tried to change his mind by communicating her wish to her mother. Riska's effort to communicate the *Uang Panaik* condition is likely not complicated as her love relationship with Mail was approved from the beginning. Moreover, a love relationship (*pacaran*) in these days may affect the result of deciding the amount of *Uang Panaik* (Anriani, 2017).

Meanwhile in the Kiki and Imran case, Kiki's parents required 25 million for *Uang Panaik*. Based on the information from them, it is Kiki's mother who suggests the number and agreed by Kiki's parents. Kiki's parent explained that the decision about the amount of *Uang Panaik* they ask for was from Kiki's mother, he let her to decide because that money would be used for the wedding expenses, thus it is the mother's domain as she knew more about the price of the basic needs and other goods.

When Imran informed them about the *Uang Panaik* that Kiki's parents requested, Imran's mother accepted it, meanwhile his father did not say much about this as he stated that he followed his wife's opinion. Imran's mother explanation when Imran started the discussion about his desire to get married is presented below:

*"Dia bilang, 'Itu perempuannya menunggu mi, Mama' - (saya bilang 'Iya, tunggumi, kalo laku tanah sa kasi' nikah ki' - Jual tanah to, jadi laku mi itu tanah, ee, ku kasi' kawin mi"* (Imran's mother, Interview 2021).

"He said, 'The girl has been waiting, Mother' - (I) answered 'Yes, just wait, if the land is sold I will let you marry' - Selling the land, as the land was sold, ee, I let him marry".

*"Kan dia bilang waktu itu Imran 'kenapai Mak, kalau 25 mau ji ki'? Atau kumintakan 20?' maka' 'Janganmi, mengerti ki' kita laki-laki, perempuan, sedikit dibawakan ki, e apa mau dibelanja, na sekarang mahal semua apa-apa toh. ....Jangan mi, jangan meko kesi turun i, itumo"* (Imran's mother, Interview

2021).

“At that time Imran said ‘Why mother, do you agree if it is 25? Or should I ask for 20?’ I said ‘No need, we understand, if it (*Uang Panaik* that is brought) is little, what would we use to buy things, now everything is expensive....Do not, you do not need to decrease it, just that (amount)’”.

It is likely preferable to discuss *Uang Panaik* ‘personally’ (Bride, groom, parent) as their *Siri* could be truly protected, far from the outsiders interference. Compared to the traditional procession where all the informal discussion is done by the groom’s representatives and the bride’s representatives (sometimes with the bride’s parents too), this ‘modern’ informal proposal is much more different. I call this as a ‘modern’ way because it could only be done by the couples who are in a love relationship before marriage. By this modern way, both bride and groom are able to act out their agency. Also, by doing this modern way, they challenge the traditional practice of *Uang Panaik* which is usually discussed in meetings between family representatives.

### ***Romantic Love and The Hybridity of Culture***

A free-choice marriage mostly appears because of the love feeling present between the man and woman. This feeling has much influence in how people decide their ways of choosing partners, as well as the decision to get married. When two people have fallen in love, the bond is strong enough to face the obstacles that might be found, such as the economy, parental power, and sometimes the culture. This is supported by what Eva Illouz wrote in her writing about Romantic love that romantic emotions intersected with the link economy and culture (Illouz, 1997).

From its relation to culture, the position of romantic love in Buginese is a quite new subject to discuss for if compared to the principle and ethic that Bugis has. For instance, the application of *Siri* is contradictory with the practice of romantic love which performs a modern practice called dating. In addition to that, romantic love is considered opposing the tradition where marriage is arranged by family, especially by parents. Thus, romantic love is considered de-establishing as it challenges the ‘kinship’, the essential regulatory mechanism (Illouz, 1997). Illouz also wrote in her book:

“To the extent that romantic love affirms the choice of a mate by the individual, often against or outside the rules of endogamy, it explores the limits of the rules maintaining the group. As William Goode, in a classic paper on love, put it, “To permit random mating would mean radical change in the existing social structure” (Illouz, 1997).

What Illouz wrote above showed the perception of romantic love by the society. As by romantic love, people prefer to choose their partner by themselves which in some cultures was done by their parents. Not often this phenomenon threatens the society that still strictly holds traditional culture regarding marriage. In fact, practicing romantic love and choosing own's mate becomes more common. In Riska and Kiki's case, although the couples perform romantic love, it does not give them the complete freedom to decide with whom they will get married. It is true that by having a love relationship, both couples choose their partner by themselves, with the support from their heart and feelings. Yet at the end they had to face the structure in their society that a marriage should be done by following the tradition, in which ritual is one of the things to perform. The fact that the groom should give *Uang Panaik* to the bride which the amount is requested, and the fact that it is not the bride who decides the amount nor the proposal acceptance but her parents, thus the couple are still under the parent's authority. In addition to that, Theodor Zeldin (via Illouz) explained that marriage was considered as the most important financial operation of people's live, which mean, the ideal marriage is about fortune of both partners and it was an equitable bargaining, thus, love is an enemy for the parent's authority towards their children and it may cause calamity for its projects (Illouz, 1997).

Meanwhile from the economic perspective, romantic love becomes the arena in which capitalism performs. Romantic love is faced with the powerful utopia of love which gives promise by offering leisure and nature which is then consumed by the society, although it opposes the productive sphere and personal freedom. Illouz called romantic love the cornerstone of utopian vision because it opposes social order through inversion of hierarchy and affirms individual supremacy (Illouz, 1997). According to Illouz, the way couples act out their love cannot be separated from the capitalist influence which offers consumptive behavior. She mentioned that romantic love intersects with the market through two processes:

1. Romanticization of commodity: romantic aura in commodity in movies and image. This consumption is offered in two ways; candid consumption where a product is being advertised, and oblique consumption where a couple is engaged in a consumption of leisure such as going to dine out with dress up and jewelry.
2. Commodification of romance: the consumption of leisure goods by mass market, for instance, movie theater.

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that the two couples in the case in the previous chapter also perform the romantic love with consumptive behavior. During their love relationship, both couples usually spend their time by going out using motorbike to see around the city, or going to watch movies, and eat out together. The mass media plays a big role in introducing couples to dating, as

the picture of man and woman going for a movie, holding hands, and others, are shown in movies or advertisements and everywhere.

According to Illouz, people in the past did 'calling' to invite their partner in romantic love to come to their house and drink or eat there. Nowadays, the 'calling' has changed into 'dating', from leisure at home to the public sphere. Calling was done to the expectation that courtship is done under the protection boundary of home and family, while dating is done privately but in a public sphere thus it is called an island of privacy (Illouz, 1997). Meanwhile for Riska and Kiki with each of their partners, they did both calling and dating. By calling, means they visit each other place to meet their partner family, in which they did part of the informal proposal that are mammanu'-manu, mappese'-pese, mabbaja laleng, or simply called "getting to know the prospective spouse".

However, in most societies moral order is perceived to be threatened by the existence of romantic love (Illouz, 1997). As romantic love involves emotions from two people, Illouz illustrates the concept of the link among emotion, culture and economy. As emotions are a complex conjunction of physiological arousal and romantic love implies the experience of the body, it could lead to either fear or infatuation. Furthermore, culture plays some roles and one of them is labelling the sexual arousal depending the tradition such as recognition of destined souls, love at first sight, or lust (Illouz, 1997). Although Illouz mentioned about Victorian sexual relaxation which stated that sexual explorations such as dating and petting are likely permitted prior to marriage (Illouz, 1997), but connecting it to Bugis tradition, one can say that sexual arousal, if it is shown or done outside marriage, is a sin. In relation to religion, romantic love may oppose values of some religion although in reality people of specific religion still perform romantic love even if it is contradictory to their religious teaching. This is explained by Illouz in her writing: "In fact, in the view of some historians, romance replaced religion as the focus of daily life. Lystra suggests that this process started when Romance Met the Market in the nineteenth century and was an important factor in bringing about the secularization of the male-female bond. She suggests that, "Especially during courtship, it can be shown that romantic love contributed to the displacement of God by the lover as the central symbol of ultimate significance ... [Lovers] were making deities of each other in the new theology of romantic love" (Illouz, 1997).

However romantic love that is said to be replacing religion in daily life might happen in western culture where people choose to be focusing on romantic love to find inner peace and life value. Whereas both couples did not perform so, they were still in the limitation from their religion. Also as Bugis tradition much influenced by Islamic teaching, any sexual activity outside of marriage is forbidden. Idrus explained in her writing that Islam has regulated sexual life, that any sexual activity (sexual intercourse) is only allowed in a marriage. Sexual activity that is done within a marriage relations is halal (allowed) and considered as a form of

worship or duty that brings rewards but sexual activity that is done outside marriage is haram (forbidden) and considered as an adultery or concubinage (Idrus, 2003).

The contestation between tradition and love that happened to both of the couples at the end gave them a way out, to reach their wish for marriage. However tradition and love relations are actually possible to be not contesting with each other. A space called 'in-between' by Homi Bhabha should provide a space for both tradition and modern love relations to be in one place together. According to Bhabha, the liminality is used to describe the space in which the changing of a culture is possible (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha also wrote about the example of the in-between through the stairwell in Rene Green's writing:

"The stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy (Bhabha, 1994).

Connecting this concept to the cases, it can be seen that the experience of the couple with romantic love led them to the liminal space and meet *Uang Panaik* as part of their culture. *Uang Panaik* that was originally discussed and decided solely by parents becomes an arena where children could also have their contribution. Romantic love pushed them to act out their agency towards the domination of parental authority towards them. It is shown by Riska's act who actively persuades her parents to change their mind, to follow Riska's wish to decrease *Uang Panaik*. On the other hand, Mail as the groom who should give the *Uang Panaik* meet the easier way to negotiate *Uang Panaik*, which was through Riska. The negotiation worked well as both Riska and Mail had the same purpose, and it supported from Bhabha's writing: "the discursive liminality through which it is signified may provide greater scope for strategic maneuver and negotiation" (Bhabha, 1994). Thus, it is also seen that both of them (man and woman, groom and bride) have the same role, to realize marriage.

The other roles were played by the bride's parents, where the amount of *Uang Panaik* is on their hand, they were the one who decided it. The bride's parent's agency is to preserve their tradition to practice *Uang Panaik* with desired amount. However, their position as parent's contribute to the decision they made, although *Uang Panaik* is a 'legit' tradition yet what the children want still became the consideration. Hence their agency towards the structure was not fully applied.

Meanwhile, as the couples are the children, where their position is under the parent authority, their strategy was to negotiate the constructed tradition which at the end shows the hybridity of the tradition and romantic love as a modern action.

To sum up, romantic love and tradition meet in the liminal space which then allows hybrid culture to be performed. Both couples who are from Bugis culture and society become more relax in having contact with the opposite sex, as they also perform romantic love (courtship) which is a modern product and known from the influence of globalization. However, the couples did not perform romantic love the same as the Western image, yet both couples portrayed courtship into a stricter sexual practice. The religion (Islamic teaching) plays a major role in hindering people from sexual activity as it is widely acknowledged in Bugis that sex outside marital relation is a restriction. Therefore, the in-between space becomes the area where *Uang Panaik* tradition, Islamic ethic, and modern romantic love become a hybrid culture.

## KESIMPULAN

Buginese have long practiced their culture which has been constructed by the society, and one of them is in marriage. In the wedding procession, men are required to give *Uang Panaik* (ascending money, wedding expenses) to the women's party in addition to *sompa* (homage) and *mahr* (Islamic requirement, dowry). In the couples' cases, both marriages experienced a love relationship before marriage which became the informal steps of their wedding proposal. Instead of sending representatives, both men and women from both couples practice and discuss the *Uang Panaik* by themselves. As in the *Uang Panaik* practice men have some conditions, both couples acted out by trying to negotiate the tradition. Both women acted actively in the discussion of *Uang Panaik* by persuading their parents to request a specific or even a lower amount regardless of their position as children in the family. The negotiation that they went through was started with the fact that they experience romantic love prior to marriage. This relationship made them able to experience romance at one point but still practicing tradition at another point. The narratives of romantic love that are widespread in the media account for the action of both couples in expressing their feelings, such as consuming leisure and nature. Yet the love expression are bounded by religious ethic which forbid any sexual activity before marriage. Therefore, although both couples were already in a love relationship they still practice their tradition as Buginese, which is *Uang Panaik*. Furthermore, even though some obstacles appeared, the couples negotiated the constructed tradition so both *Uang Panaik* and love relation could be achieved in a sphere called in-between. Thus, the tradition and the love relation by the couples meet as a hybrid culture.

As the research about *Uang Panaik* is still needed, the researcher would



recommend other researcher to consider *Uang Panaik* to be the focus of their research. The discussion about *Uang Panaik* as a hybrid culture as well as how people negotiate *Uang Panaik* in the context where the bride and groom come from the different ethnicity would add the richness of the study about tradition and gender, especially about *Uang Panaik* tradition. Thus, in conducting further research about *Uang Panaik* as a hybrid culture, it has better be done with the involvement of more number of informants and wider in the scope of topic.

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