

The Silence Bissu: Cultural Misaccommodation of Local Communities in Ritual Ceremony

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Abstract: This article aims to explain how cultural misaccommodation of rituals in local communities can occur. Bissu as a component of society comes along with negotiations to maintain the rituals and religiosity that have shaped their identity. The presence of bissu in the ritual procession is an authority that they have culturally. Throughout the history of civilisation, bissu were the main, sacred and central party in the ritual procession. However, what happened on Bone's 62nd anniversary was a moment when bissu were not involved. This article is based on data obtained from online searches. News and article searches were conducted as a basis for analysing the cultural misaccommodation of local communities. This article shows that the misaccommodation of bissu in the ritual procession is a weakening of identity and existence. The government in this case becomes the party that eliminates bissu from its roots, the dynamics of polarisation of the ruling group along with a set of laws make bissu misaccommodation a hegemony. Along with the society that places bissu as a minority party, both socially and culturally. Therefore, it is necessary to affirm the authority of bissu as a party that maintains cultural sustainability.

Keywords: Cultural Misaccommodation, Local Community, Traditional Ceremony

A. Introduction

Cultural misaccommodation in traditional ceremonies has made cultural values begin to disappear in people's lives. The existence of local communities such as Bissu has legitimised cultural values to carry out traditional ceremonies to this day. These values provide fragments of historical heritage for the sustainability of culture owned by the community. However, in the anniversary of an area that includes traditional ceremonies, it is known that bissu traditional

figures are not accommodated to be involved in it¹. In this case, the internalisation of religious values justifies the government and society in general in rejecting the participation of local communities in traditional ceremonies and cultural rituals².

Studies on local community engagement tend to be discussed in three areas. Firstly, studies that look at the participation of traditional leaders in development politics. Traditional leaders become a space for the community to get information about government programmes^{3,4}. Second, the role of traditional leaders as social mediators. Traditional leaders are parties involved in conflict resolution as mediators and facilitators^{5,6,7}. Third, the participation of traditional leaders in cultural rituals. Traditional leaders have the authority to carry out traditional ritual routines for generations^{8,9,10}. From existing studies, it appears that the rejection of traditional leaders in cultural rituals is not widely discussed. The rejection of traditional leaders is a misaccommodation of the existence of local communities that are trying to be weakened, both in social and religious terms.

¹ Abdul Muhaimin, "Bissu Tidak Dilibatkan Dalam Acara Mattompang Arajang Sambut HJB 692, Ini Kata Kadis Kebudayaan," *ENews*, 2022.

² Nurul Azizah, "Agama Dan Tradisi: Pergumulan," 2022.

³ Mashuri, M., & Putra, A. (2021). Kepemimpinan dan Peranan Tokoh Adat dalam Pembangunan di Kabupaten Kampar Provinsi Riau. *Jurnal Terapan Pemerintahan Minangkabau*. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jtpm.v1i2.2099>

⁴ Kelurahan, D., Kecamatan, D., & Kota, R. (2016). Peran Tokoh Masyarakat Dalam Meningkatkan Partisipasi Pembangunan (Studi Di Kelurahan Duasudara Kecamatan Ranowulu Kota Bitung). *Jurnal Politico*

⁵ Munthe, H. M., & Hafi, B. (2018). Pemberdayaan Gender Pada Tokoh Adat Untuk Mendukung Peran Perempuan Dalam Pembangunan Desa. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)*. <https://doi.org/10.34007/jehss.v1i2.14>

⁶ Dova. (2016). *Peranan Tokoh Adat dalam Mempertahankan Adat Tunggu Tubang Pada Masyarakat Semendo*. 4(5)Dova, "Peranan Tokoh Adat Dalam Mempertahankan Adat Tunggu Tubang Pada Masyarakat Semendo" 4, no. 5 (2016).

⁷ Bilung, N. (2020). Peranan Tokoh Adat Dalam Penyelesaian Provinsi Kalimantan Utara. 8(4), 15–28.

⁸ Gumilang, J. S., Haryono, H., & Budiati, A. C. (2018). Peran Sentral Figur Tokoh Adat dalam Upacara Sedekah Gunung di Desa Lencoh Kecamatan Selo Kabupaten Boyolali. *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi*. <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v5i2.18104>

⁹ Sepdwiko, D. (2016). Upacara Adat Kenduhai Sko Pada Masyarakat Kerinci. *Besaung Jurnal Seni, Desain Dan Budaya*, 1(1), 49–55. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.36982/jsdb.v1i1.82>

¹⁰ Manan, M. A. (2014). Ritual Tagi Jere dalam Komunitas Etnik Kao: Peran Lembaga Dewan Adat dan Badan Syara' dan Perkembangannya. *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya*

The aim of this paper is to complement the shortcomings of previous studies that tended to place traditional leaders based on their role in development politics and social mediators. The issue of misaccommodation of traditional leaders in cultural rituals needs to be analysed in depth. In line with this, this paper aims to analyse how bissu are misaccommodated in the traditional rituals of the Bugis-Bone community. Furthermore, this paper aims to analyse the factors that prevent bissu participation in cultural rituals. In addition to analysing the misaccommodation of traditional figures, this paper also analyses the implications of bissu misaccommodation in the procession of traditional rituals. In general, this paper aims to analyse how the misaccommodation of bissu in the procession of traditional rituals, which therefore becomes a form of weakening identity and existence.

This paper is based on an argument that the misaccommodation of bissu, especially in the procession of traditional rituals, is direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence. The government becomes the party that eliminates bissu by issuing statements and reasons that reject the participation of bissu in cultural rituals. Traditional rituals are a space for traditional figures such as bissu to express the form of tradition owned by a community, which is also a form of bissu's efforts in preserving the culture of Bugis society. In this case, bissu as a component of Bugis society is present as they negotiate to maintain the rituals and religiosity that have shaped their identity.

B. Literature Review

1. Cultural Misaccommodation

Cultural accommodation is the provision of space for various cultural expressions understood by a society ¹¹. This concept refers to the adaptation between two or more aspects to achieve certain goals. Cultural accommodation integrates various elements of society to engage not only in their similarities but

¹¹ Sri Handayana and Muhamad Rezi, "MTQ; Antara Seni Membaca Alquran Dan Politik Akomodasionis Pemerintah Terhadap Umat Islam," *ISLAM TRANSFORMATIF: Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (December 2018): 133, <https://doi.org/10.30983/it.v2i2.747>.

also in their differences¹². However, for some groups of people, the complexity of crossing values and cultures results in unacceptable circumstances. This implies that the existing diversity is not accommodated, or called cultural misaccommodation. The negotiation process experiences a trade-off that can lead to cultural conflict in the accommodation process. There is a tug-of-war relationship between culture and new values in society that does not go hand in hand, making one of the values misaccommodated.

In Indonesia, misaccommodation can be seen since the presence of religion. The touch of Islam, for example, with various cultures that have been present earlier in Indonesia, makes the culture experience misaccommodation¹³. In different circumstances, symbolic interactions such as communication tend to be faced with groups that feel they have inferior languages and dialects so that there is cultural misaccommodation by other cultural groups¹⁴.¹⁵ asserts that concerns due to stereotypes of one culture become an obstacle that results in misaccommodation. Likewise, misaccommodation occurs due to a lack of knowledge about the original culture. Therefore, despite the misaccommodation that occurs in various subjects of life, multiculturalism exists as a theoretical framework that can help understand diversity and accommodate differences fairly¹⁶.

2. Local Ceremony

Local ceremony is interpreted as a ritual that is deeply rooted in the beliefs of a particular community. Beliefs in society become social forces that shape psychological, sociocultural and spiritual realities. The reality in local ceremonies

¹² zaenuddin Hudi Prasojo And Mustaqim Pabbajah, "Akomodasi Kultural Dalam Resolusi Konflik Bernuansa Agama Di Indonesia," *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 5, no. 1 (June 2020), <https://doi.org/10.30984/ajip.v5i1.1131>.

¹³ Moh Slamet Untung, "Telaah Historis Pertumbuhan Pusat Pendidikan Islam Di Jawa Sampai Periode Perang Jawa," *Forum Tarbiyah* 8, no. 2 (2013): 215–28.

¹⁴ El Chris Natalia, "Pemilihan Penggunaan Bahasa Dalam Interaksi Sebagai Bentuk Adaptasi Antarbudaya Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (January 2018), <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v4i2.8883>.

¹⁵ Lovett (2010)

¹⁶ Gavin Hart, "Why We Still Need Multiculturalism: A Critical Review of Approaches to Cultural Accommodation," *OMNES: The Journal of Multicultural Society* 10, no. 2 (July 2020): 26–50, <https://doi.org/10.14431/omnes.2020.07.10.2.26>.

adapts to environmental dynamics to maintain socio-cultural functions in society¹⁷. As stated by¹⁸ that local ceremonies have symbolic meanings, ethical, moral and social values that represent the influence of the socio-cultural dynamics of a community. In addition, local ceremonies are also interpreted as an activity used for conflict resolution and the restoration of social relations¹⁹. These activities are part of holistic community²⁰. Local ceremonies are recognised as a traditional approach to conflict resolution. In this case, local ceremonies as social activities are activities based on common interests, which require solidarity as a force to sustain a ceremony²¹.

Traditional ceremonies have elements in their implementation. By Koentjaraningrat, it is classified into four parts, namely; First, the location as a place for local ceremonies that are known to have sacred values. The location of the ceremony is known to be visited only by the people involved or traditional leaders. Second, the time of the ceremony is determined based on the provisions of the traditional leader, such as in the anniversary ceremony of an area. Third, the ceremonial tools or objects used are objects that have been determined from generation to generation by the community. Fourth, the party involved in the traditional ceremony is the person who acts as the leader of the traditional ceremony or the rituals that complement it²². The elements in traditional ceremonies are known to be important for community togetherness and social development. Thus, traditional ceremonies are a reinforcement of cultural norms and values that have prevailed²³.

¹⁷ Michael Frishkopf, "Paralinguistic Ramification of Language Performance in Islamic Ritual," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 4, no. 1 (April 2018), <https://doi.org/10.17132/2377-231X.1099>.

¹⁸ Sujaya (2018)

¹⁹ Stefan Danerek, "Tata Liba Ceremony for Reconciliation and Healing (Palu'e Island, Eastern Indonesia)," *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 85 (April 2022): 75–94, <https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2022.85.danerek>.

²⁰ Tashi Dorji et al., "Mithun (Bos Frontalis): The Neglected Cattle Species and Their Significance to Ethnic Communities in the Eastern Himalaya — A Review," *Animal Bioscience* 34, no. 11 (November 2021): 1727–38, <https://doi.org/10.5713/ab.21.0020>.

²¹ Deria Sepdwiko, "Upacara Adat Kenduhai Sko Pada Masyarakat Kerinci," *Besaung Jurnal Seni, Desain Dan Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2016): 49–55, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.36982/jsdb.v1i1.82>.

²² Sri Wahyuni, "Analisis Pariwisata Budaya Dalam Pengembangan Aset Lokal Perayaan Upacara Adat Dahau Di Kabupaten Kutai Barat Provinsi Kalimantan Timur," *Jurnal Manajemen Aset Infrastruktur & Fasilitas* 3, no. 1 (March 2019), <https://doi.org/10.12962/j26151847.v3i1.5160>.

²³ Fitriansyah, "Batak Toba" 6, no. 1 (2017): 46–56.

3. Local community

Local community is a term used to identify a group of people who are interconnected, have common interests and values. This connectedness is considered to be the basis for interaction with the values that are lived. In this case, a local community is commonly recognised as a group that has and maintains traditions or other aspects of early culture that originated with the first inhabitants of their area of residence²⁴. Local community is synonymous with a territorial or geological unit of society that has its own wealth, citizens who can act with the unity of cultural law²⁵. Therefore, local communities uphold the principles and values inherited by the ancestors in order to preserve the authenticity of culture and customs to be passed on to the next generation²⁶.

Various studies have been conducted that show that local communities are often faced with socio-cultural problems.²⁷ showed how local communities living in the World Heritage Site (WHS) area as stakeholders and holistic management in the area did not work well. the lack of local community participation in the decision-making process had a negative impact on natural, social and human cultural capital²⁸. In addition, local communities such as Bissu experience cultural and religious struggles where there are clashes in the form of contestation and resistance to their presence in society (Adnan, 2018;²⁹ As indicated by oleh³⁰ showed that local communities living in the centres of violence in Colombia,

²⁴ James D. Ford et al., "The Resilience of Indigenous Peoples to Environmental Change," *One Earth*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.oneear.2020.05.014>; Anna Carr, "COVID-19, Indigenous Peoples and Tourism: A View from New Zealand," *Tourism Geographies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1768433>.

²⁵ Carlos Crivelli et al., "Reading Emotions from Faces in Two Indigenous Societies," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000172>.

²⁶ W. W. Dressler, "Indigenous Societies," in *Stress: Concepts, Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior: Handbook of Stress*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-800951-2.00055-8>.

²⁷ Ibrahim et al. (2023)

²⁸ Laura Castro-Diaz et al., "Impacts on Locals' Livelihoods of Hydropower Development in the Global South," *Manuscript Submitted for Publication* 169 (2022): 106285, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2023.106285>.

²⁹ Suheri, S., Adawiah, R., Sarjoon Razick, A., & Jubba, H. (2021). Bissu on Contesting Indigeneity with Islamic Puritanism in the Sacred Arena. *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*. <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v22i1.2804>

³⁰ Lyons, K. (2023). "Nature" and territories as victims: Decolonizing Colombia's transitional justice process. *American Anthropologist*, 125(1), 63–76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13798>

together with the governments that should be responsible for the implementation of justice, create tensions because of the power they have.

4. Marginalization

Marginalisation is a process of marginalisation experienced by vulnerable groups, whether in the workplace, household, community culture or the state. The process places or shifts to the periphery a right that indicates neglect. In this case, marginalisation occurs due to spatial and social discrimination³¹. Spatial discrimination refers to the unfair provision of facilities, while social discrimination refers to unfair practices and traditions towards lower castes and ethnic groups, vulnerable to the poor.³² also stated that one of the social mechanisms through which marginalisation occurs is through exclusion. Similarly, social marginalisation is associated with a lack of system justification. Those who benefit from the status quo are more likely to hold beliefs that justify the system. However, some disadvantaged groups in higher systems suggest that system oppression may be a key moderator of the influence of social position³³. Thus, this marginalisation is largely shaped by ongoing conflict³⁴.

In this context, marginalisation can be seen in several cases, such as the Arab community in Israel experiencing deep social and institutional marginalisation due to their ethnic identity and their perceived threat and opposition to the state

³¹ Balkrishna Baral, "Accessibility and Governance Systems in Local Development: Measuring Marginality in the Mid-Marsyāngdi River Basin, Nepal," in *Perspectives on Geographical Marginality*, 2022, 253–69, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-21325-0_17.

³² Walsh, K. T., Boring, B. L., Nanavaty, N., Carter-Sowell, A. R., & Mathur, V. A. (2022). Lifetime ostracism experiences and mechanisms of pain. *Frontiers in Pain Research*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpain.2022.1037472>

³³ Kiffer G. Card and Kirk Hepburn, "Social Position and Economic System Justification in Canada: Implications for Advancing Health Equity and Social Justice from an Exploratory Study of Factors Shaping Economic System Justification," *Frontiers in Public Health* 10 (October 2022), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.902374>.

³⁴ Leena Badran et al., "I Am an Arab Palestinian Living in Israel with a Disability: Marginalisation and the Limits of Human Rights," *Disability & Society*, March 2023, 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2023.2181764>.

³⁵. ³⁶ also pinpoints forms of marginalisation on profit-seeking patriarchal practices that drive gender injustice, identifies mechanisms that entrenched and persistently reinforce patriarchy, and how patriarchy adapts to pressures from changing socio-economic environments. Similarly, ³⁷ dan ³⁸ in their research found that injustice appears through government rules and actions that hurt religious-cultural identities through redistribution politics related to cultural expression. Therefore, marginalisation makes the position of a group of people who have differences in ethnicity, race, culture and gender marginalised.

C. Method

This paper is descriptive qualitative which can be used to make a systematic and accurate description through interpretation of facts and attitudes and relationships between phenomena that occur in the community. The type of data used in this paper is the result of reading journal articles and searching online internet news pages about bissu. Data obtained from online searches are then verified, analysed, and displayed in the form of descriptions (³⁹). Furthermore, to describe the meaning of the data that has been obtained, the interpretation process is carried out. Interpretation was carried out on the basis of the facts that had been obtained, with the aim of answering the problem of not involving bissu in the ritual procession of traditional ceremonies.

³⁵ Badran, L., Amin, H., Gur, A., & Stein, M. (2023). 'I am an Arab Palestinian living in Israel with a disability': marginalisation and the limits of human rights. *Disability & Society*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2023.2181764>

³⁶ Chaudhry, S. (2023). Feminist Discourse and Rent Seeking Under Patriarchy. In *Civil Society and Pakistan's Economy* (pp. 123–146). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003302896-8>

³⁷ Kamuri, J. P. (2020). Menimbang Posisi Penganut Kepercayaan Marapu di Hadapan Pemerintah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. *Societas Dei: Jurnal Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 7(1), 73. <https://doi.org/10.33550/sd.v7i1.129>

³⁸ Suheri et al. (2021)

³⁹ Hutchinson, J. (2016). An introduction to digital media research methods: how to research and the implications of new media data. *Communication Research and Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1155307>

D. Result

1. Dominant Religion Present

The assimilation of Islam with local culture, including bissu itself, is the point of rejection of bissu. The interaction has made the Bugis community negotiate in carrying out their rituals, incorporating religious elements so that the characteristics of the previous culture are no longer visible. The influence of Islam is evident in the ritual procession performed by bissu. As in starting a ritual, bissu recite the *memmang* language or the language *to rilangi* without any elements of Islam, but now bissu add prayers and dhikr or basmalah to start a ritual. Islam being the dominant religion puts bissu in a struggle in performing rituals.

"The activities of bissu are often considered contrary to recognised religious beliefs in Indonesia" ⁴⁰

"Customs and religion become the controllers in determining what is allowed and not allowed in society, as well as controlling things that are considered deviating from the prevailing norms." ⁴¹

Another reason for the decline in the role of bissu in Bugis society is the change from a royal system to a governmental system. In the governmental system, Islam became dominant, so the position and role of bissu was replaced by a khadi' or imam.

"So (in the past), even though Muslims, like kings, were still called. Because bissu know this kind of clothes to wear, this kind of bosara, the protocols of the Kingdom in the old days he memorised. So, the kings, even though they are Muslims, he called them" ⁴²

⁴⁰ Andi Nur Isman, "Tantangan Bissu Bugis Di Era Modern, Minim Generasi Hingga Tekanan Moral," *Detik.Com*, 2022.

⁴¹ Kompasiana, "Tradisi 5 Gender Konstruksi Suku Bugis Apakah Embrio Homoseksual?," *Kompasiana.Com*, 2023.

⁴² Detik, "Tentang Bissu, Tokoh Spiritual Bugis Sejak Zaman Kerajaan," *Detik News*, 2022.

"The problem of idolatry against Bissu is also a problem that we must solve. Culturally it is also to change the mindset of our people in Bugis who previously, for example, appreciated Bissu culture to reject it"⁴³

The religion present in this case shows the upheaval of the existence of bissu, as the religious doctrine states that bissu is a form of polytheism. Likewise, it is stated in the data above that religion becomes a controller in determining an action that is considered permissible and not permissible.

2. Gender and Social Life

Bissu are narrated as the fifth gender, where their gender and social life are different from most humans. In this case, gender as a social construction is not included when looking at the existence of bissu, because bissu is a given. Gender differences are socioculturally constructed so that they are based on responsibilities, behaviour patterns, roles, masculine and feminine qualities.

Bissu is associated with LQBT, which has been rejected by the government.

"Several fashion shows held in conjunction with the bridal party were cancelled. Bissu were not given a place in the celebrations. A ban on communities that are considered LGBT"⁴⁴

In terms of gender, it also relates to the clothing and make-up used by bissu in rituals and daily life. In rituals, clothing and make-up are a matter of debate, as stated by Bissu, that:

"We have offered various solutions including not wearing bodo clothes and not doing makeup. There are many other clothes that can be worn"⁴⁵

Equally important, narratives of bissu rejection are mentioned due to considerations of accessories, traditional clothes and facial make-up. However, bissu can negotiate these considerations by offering to wear other clothes, by not

⁴³ Isman, "Tantangan Bissu Bugis Di Era Modern, Minim Generasi Hingga Tekanan Moral."

⁴⁴ Nur Rofifah Marzuki, "Ingin Sumbang Pemikiran Pengakuan Dan Hak Keragaman Gender Berbasis Kebudayaan, BRIN Teliti Bissu Sulsel," *Tribun Makassar*, November 2022.

⁴⁵ Detik, "Pertama Dalam Sejarah Tokoh Spiritual Bissu Tak Hadir HUT Bone," *Detik Sulsel*, 2022.

using *bodo* clothes and facial makeup (Detik, 2022). Bissu as a cultural part of Bugis society is a multigendered identity whose position is not included in the position of abrahamic religion. Bissu identity represents the dynamic presence of masculinity and femininity as two gender constructions manifested in one physical body. In this sense, bissu identity transcends gender boundaries and blurs society's binary construction of male and female.

Based on their physical appearance, behaviour and attitudes in the social environment on the front stage, bissu are loyal and obedient to the norms and values of society through their role as ancient Bugis priests. Meanwhile, their backstage, which receives less attention from values and norms, allows them to fulfil their financial, sexual and selfexistence needs as *calabai (waria)* who still crave men. Self-presentation as bissu and outside "*calabai*" (*waria*) shows the differences in each informant in managing the role and impression of themselves that they want to display and perceive both on the front stage and on the back stage.

3. Customary Ritual Practice

As part of the culture, Bone's anniversary celebrations begin with a traditional procession involving bissu. Every year, bissu are the main actors in performing the ritual. However, on Bone's 62nd anniversary in 2022 bissu will no longer be involved. The government has decided that the role of bissu will be taken over by former *paskibraka* and teenage women's groups. A series of rituals such as carrying trays containing heirlooms are performed by former *paskibraka*, while the Sere Bissu dance is performed by groups of teenage women (detik, 2022). There was a tug of war by the government in the distribution of rituals for Bone 2022 anniversary celebrations. The bissu chose to withdraw because there was no clarity on why they were not involved. As stated by Bissu Puang Matoa:

"Despite appealing to the Bone Regency government, there was no response, but they seemed to be looking for reasons that made it difficult for bissu" (Metro, 2022)

In this case, the local government of Bone Regency has decided that the *mattompang arajang* ritual should be performed in the independent field, based on the request of the entire Bugis community, both in Bone and outside Bone. The

government regulates the procession of rituals in which bissu are the ones who have the understanding and knowledge of the ritual. As stated by the Regent of Bone that:

"we have provided solutions, so rituals have been offered for example up to here" (Detik, 2022)

The *mattompang arajang* ritual procession performed by bissu is a whole unit with its stages. These are functionally interconnected parts. The loss of one element will eliminate the sacredness of the traditional ceremony. Likewise, based on the explanation of the Regional Government regarding the non-involvement of bissu that:

"the performance in the *mattompang arajang* ritual procession must be played by many elements" (Detik, 2022)

The local government states that the role of bissu should not dominate the entire *mattompang arajang* ritual process. In this case, Bissu Puang Matoa emphasised that:

"There is no definite answer (from the Bone Regency Government). Several times we (bissu) offered solutions but were never heeded"

Bissu present stage performances with planning and management that includes attitudes that have been determined by the government and society.

E. Discussion

Bissu in contemporary narratives are known as local communities. Local communities are people who still uphold customs, live in a diversity of traditions and ensure the preservation of these traditions. Scholars use *adat* to refer to systems and norms rooted in local customs, and to systems of customary law that regulate social interactions within indigenous communities. In this case, bissu are a portrait of an indigenous community that cannot be separated from the social conditions of Bugis society. This is a supporting factor for Bugis people in

expressing and producing the culture that is recognised today⁴⁶. For Bugis who value historical continuity, bissu are an integral connection to the past that maintains Bugis identity and community solidarity.

Bissu communicate through performance and dress, an expression of the uniqueness and validity of Bugis culture. However, the space of bissu in the contemporary world has become uncertain with various interpretations being received⁴⁷. Both in terms of religion, gender and rituals performed. The judgement that comes with bissu is based on what society wants. Taking on the role of bissu is one form of self-presentation sought by bissu, which is then managed in such a way by the government and Bugis society. This condition is a demand to create an impression in accordance with what is expected by the values and norms that have been adopted by Bugis society. Therefore, bissu are at least enduring not only for Bugis society, but most certainly for outside observers.

The norms and values that exist in the social environment of contemporary society strongly bind each individual who is part of it. Any behaviour that is considered not in accordance with existing values and norms will be followed up and punished in accordance with established rules. As in the case of the *mattompang arajang* ritual procession, the government has a tendency not to interpret bissu as a symbol of the continuity of tradition, bissu as a symbol and embodiment of authentic Bugis culture. This has led to the misaccommodation of bissu as preservationists who have an understanding and experience of the traditions of Bugis society. Misaccommodation in this case relates to influence, authority, commanding, controlling others to cause voluntary submission. What happens structurally and culturally does not show that bissu are an integral part of the existing ritual framework. Bissu do not make up the entire network of social relations of Bugis communities that still practise the ritual⁴⁸. Therefore, the absence of bissu's presence and role in the ritual is a symbol of

⁴⁶ Davidson, J. S., & Henley, D. (2007). The revival of tradition in Indonesian politics: The deployment of adat from colonialism to Indigenism. In *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203965498>

⁴⁷ Asrul Nur Iman et al., "A Study of Transvestites: The Self-Presentation of Bissu," *Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.32861/jssr.spi2.70.75>.

⁴⁸ Suheri et al., "Bissu on Contesting Indigeneity with Islamic Puritanism in the Sacred Arena."

misaccommodation of traditional leaders that provides a tug-of-war relationship between the values lived by the community and the new values that come after.

Silence is identified as the complete absence of sound and the state of not speaking. When silence is used by theorists, it not only denotes the absence of speech, but also implies that it is the result of violence, either direct or indirect⁴⁹. In this case, there is structural and cultural violence where the act of silencing a group's voice in practice or in discourse. As stated by⁵⁰ that all silence is the resistance of a body or something. In politics, silence is not defined as physical silence, but political silence. Silence is a multi-layered phenomenon that is rarely recognised because it is associated with violence related to powerlessness and disenfranchisement.

Traumatic experiences often leave people depressed and weak due to marginalisation and voicelessness. However, voicelessness can be interpreted as a political, social and cultural challenge to subjugation and resistance⁵¹. By understanding the complex socio-religious environment we can understand the mechanisms of survival of marginalised communities in the midst of all circumstances⁵², just as Bissu exist as part of the dynamic representation of masculinity and femininity, two gender constructions embodied in one physical body⁵³. The identity of Bissu in this case is an aspect of why they are marginalised to the point of reducing their involvement in traditional ceremonies or socio-cultural activities⁵⁴. Nonetheless, Bissu strive for inclusion by performing the pilgrimage to affirm themselves as good Muslims and worthy of social acceptance,

⁴⁹ Purissima Emelda Egbekpalu, Paschal Onyi Oguno, and Princewill Alozie, "Dialectics of War as a Natural Phenomenon: Existential Perspective," *Conatus* 8, no. 2 (December 2023): 129–45, <https://doi.org/10.12681/cjp.35281>.

⁵⁰ Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of World Security*. In *Theory of World Security*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511840210>

⁵¹ Hanane Bouchebouche and Hala Abutaleb, "Challenging Trauma's Invisibility: Constructing Voice in AlAmmar's Silence Is a Sense," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 13, no. 5 (May 2023): 1304–9, <https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1305.26>.

⁵² Nebojsa Djordjevic, "Decolonization of the Third Gender in the Contemporary Indonesia," *Sociologija* 64, no. 3 (2022): 359–77, <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC2203359D>.

⁵³ Sri Warsidah Rahmi and Christina T. Suprihatin, "Beyond the Male-Female Binary, Issues of Identity in Pepi Al-Bayqunie's Novel Calabai," in *Problematising Representation in Popular Culture*, 2020.

⁵⁴ Suheri et al., "Bissu on Contesting Indigeneity with Islamic Puritanism in the Sacred Arena."

as well as to focus diverse lived experiences of structural vulnerability and socio-cultural marginalisation.

The understanding of cultural accommodation relates to the belief in someone who is considered to have expertise in a particular field⁵⁵. Such as the accommodation of bissu to the rituals they have been living. This reflects relational and hierarchical relationships. In diversity, authority plays a role in building human moral order⁵⁶. The government plays a role with a hierarchical relationship that places bissu in a lower layer position, therefore, bissu misaccommodation is the elimination, removal, shifting of bissu's authority over what is already theirs⁵⁷;⁵⁸⁵⁹. Thus, not involving bissu in a ritual procession is a form of the government not positioning bissu as indigenous people. The role of bissu is currently uncertain in contemporary society, which is only used as a community and tradition of the past.

F. Conclusion

The marginalized conditions experienced by Bissu further emphasize the fading attention of local governments to the existence of local communities. This paper shows that the deexistence of bissu so far is related to the domination of religion, gender and rituals practiced. This form of misaccommodation is a condition that occurs in contemporary society, especially the government as an actor who forces bissu to accept every decision that has been determined. The government as the party with authority places bissu in a position that can be

⁵⁵Ahmatnihar Ahmatnihar, "ULAMA BERBAGI OTORITAS: Fungsi Dan Peran MUI Kota Padanmgsidimpuan Dalam Meningkatkan Kesadaran Dan Budaya Hukum Masyarakat," *TAZKIR: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.24952/tazkir.v2i1.407>.

⁵⁶Ayman K. Agbaria, "Contact Religious Authority and the Creation of Hyper-Solidarity: Reflections on Israeli Politics and Islamic Political Thought," *Ethics and Education* 14, no. 2 (2019): 227–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449642.2019.1587685>.

⁵⁷Monticelli, D. (2016). Reconfiguring the sensible through translation: Patterns of "deauthorization" in post-war Soviet Estonia. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 11(3), 416–435. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.11.3.06mon>

⁵⁸Faheem, M. A., & Ishaque, N. (2021). Marginalization, mimicry and subversion: A Bhabhian reading of Mohsin Hamid's the Reluctant Fundamentalist. *Forum for World Literature Studies*

⁵⁹Nuha, A. A. U., & Subahri, B. (2020). Deotoritasi Guru di Era New Media. *Bidayatuna: Jurnal Pendidikan Guru Mandrasah Ibtidaiyah*. <https://doi.org/10.36835/bidayatuna.v3i2.616>

regulated based on government authority. Whereas traditionally, the position of bissu was a spiritual advisor to the king in the past. Although by giving space to bissu as an effort to negotiate the procession of ceremonies, in practice there are those that can be implemented and those that are not given space. The misaccommodation does not consider bissu as indigenous people who have an understanding and knowledge of the rituals they have lived through alongside the presence of Bugis society itself. Thus, the existence of bissu is increasingly marginalized as a community of tradition keepers in the midst of complex global changes.[]

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