

THE IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES ON WELFARE: STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RAMBU SOLO' CEREMONY IN TANA TORAJA, INDONESIA

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THE IMPACT OF TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES ON WELFARE: STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE *RAMBU SOLO*' CEREMONY IN TANA TORAJA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT: There are various traditional ceremonies in the world, one of which is the *rambu solo*' ceremony in Tana Toraja, Indonesia. *Rambu solo*' ceremony is a death ceremony which consists of several forms, namely *tedong tungga*', *ditallung bongi*', *dilimang bongi*', *dipitung bongi*', and *rapasan*. The higher the choice of ceremony form, the greater the cost for the ceremony. In this article, the problem that is being discussed is the impact of the *rambu solo*' ceremony on the welfare of the people in Tana Toraja. The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact of traditional ceremonies on welfare. This research uses a qualitative approach. Informants were chosen purposively, namely the traditional leader, *Aluk Todolo* figure, Christian figure and community members who had carried out the *rambu solo*' ceremony. Primary data obtained through observation and in-depth interviews. Secondary data were obtained from books, journals, and written sources produced by the researchers of the *rambu solo*' ceremony before this. The results showed that traditional ceremonies had positive and negative impacts on welfare. Choosing the form of *rapasan* ceremonies based on social status has a negative impact on economic aspects. However, in a global perspective, the local culture has a positive impact.

KEYWORDS: Socio-culture impact, *Rambu Solo*' Ceremonies, Toraja

I. INTRODUCTION

The global community is filled with cultural diversity and this can be seen from various traditional ceremonies all around the world. One of the famous and unique traditional ceremonies is the *rambu solo*' ceremony in Tana Toraja, Indonesia. The *rambu solo*' ceremony is a ceremony related to death and is a manifestation of the life philosophy of the Toraja people. The term *rambu solo*' consists of two words, i.e. *rambu* (smoke or light), and *solo*' (descending). Therefore, *rambu solo*' can be interpreted as a ceremony that is held when the sun starts to set. Sitonda's study (2007) suggests that in the context of *Aluk Todolo*'s belief, the *rambu solo*' ceremony is aimed to honor and deliver the spirit of the deceased to the spirit realm, together with their ancestors who resided in *Puya*. This ceremony is seen as a refinement because a new person is considered truly dead after the entire procession of the ceremony is finished, then his soul reaches the level of god (*to-membali puang*) to then become a protective deity (*deata*). However, the Kabanga's study (2002) argues that in the context of Christian religious beliefs, the *rambu solo*' ceremony was intended as a tribute to the deceased in which the deceased is considered to have "died completely". It also serves as a form of social bond.

In more specific, the present form of the *rambu solo*' ceremony in North Makale, Tana Toraja (Hasbi et al, 2019) is as follows:

- Tedong tungga*', the sacrificing of one buffalo for the *tana'kua-kua* (servant), and *tana' karurung* (public) group.
- Ditallung bongi*, the sacrifice of three to five buffaloes for *tana' karurung* (public) and above.
- Dilimang bongi*, the sacrificing of six to 11 buffaloes for *tana' bassi* (average aristocrats).
- Dipitung bongi*, the sacrificing of 12 to 17 buffaloes for *tana' bassi* (average aristocrats).
- Rapasan*, the sacrificing of 18 or more buffaloes for *tana' bulaan* (superior aristocrats).

The implementation of the *rambu solo*' ceremony based on the choice of ceremonies mentioned above has had a different impact on the welfare of the community. Based on this, the purpose of this study is to find out the impact of the *rambu solo*' ceremony on the welfare of the community in Tana Toraja when viewed from the aspect of social status and economic aspects.

As study of Hasbi et al (2019) suggests that the social status motive with the choice of the *rapasan* ritual form did not reflect rational choice but became the most used reason when choosing the form of the *rambu solo* ceremony. Whereas economic motives with the choice of non-*rapasan* ritual ceremony reflects rational choices but is less used as a reason in choosing the *rambu solo* ceremonial form.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Before analyzing these impacts, some understanding of welfare is going to be explained first. According to Wickenden (1965) quoted by Fahrudin (2012) who argued that welfare includes the provisions to meet the necessities of life which are recognized as the basis for population welfare and the betterment of function. This definition emphasizes on well-being, which means a state of prosperity.

In the context of the relationship of welfare with quality of life, Felce and Perry (1995) (Nofitri, 2009) have conducted a literature review of various studies that produce aspects of quality of life. Based on their study, they identified aspects of quality of life were categorized into five groups, namely: (1) physical aspects of well-being (consisting of health, fitness, physical security, and mobility aspects), (2) material well-being (consisting of income, quality of the environment, privacy, ownership, food, transportation, living environment, security and stability aspects), (3) social well-being (consisting of dimensions of interpersonal relationships and community involvement), (4) development and activity (consisting of development and activity dimensions), and (5) emotional well-being (consisting of affective or mood, satisfaction or fulfillment of needs, self-confidence, religion, and social status).

Based on several notions of well-being and quality of life aspects mentioned above, the welfare examined in this study is the material aspect of well-being, namely income, residence, and vehicles, and the emotional well-being aspect, namely social status.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach, which is an approach that involves observation of (i) human and community behavior, and (ii) the participation of researchers in the behavior itself (Newman, 2011). This type of research is phenomenology.

This study was conducted in May to July 2019, taking place in the North Makale sub-district, considering that the area is settled by the traditional Makale leader, *Aluk Todolo* figure, Christian religious figure, and it is the most inhabited area of old residents in Tana Toraja (Toraja Tallu Lembangna, 2010). The determination of the informants was done purposively by choosing the traditional leader, *Aluk Todolo* figure, Christian figure and community members who had carried out the *rambu solo* ceremony.

Data collection techniques are in-depth interviews with seven informants and observation. According to Esterberg (2002), an interview is a search for ideas or open conversation. The type of data used is primary data and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained directly from the field through in-depth interviews. Secondary data according to David & Sutton, C. (2004) is data obtained from the previous publication of books, journals, and written sources produced by researchers of the *rambu solo* ceremony and Toraja culture.

According to Miles et al (1984), data analysis for qualitative research is analyzing the results of interviews by data reduction, data presentation, and finally drawing conclusions and verification. In the context of this study, the data analysis techniques performed (ie data obtained from interviews) were reduced. After the data has been reduced, a data presentation is performed which leads to the elaboration of the data. The next step is to analyze the impact of the *rambu solo* ceremony on welfare.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the context of this study, the forms of ceremonies that have been carried out by informants, namely *ditallung bongi*, *dilimang bongi*, *dipitung bongi*, and *rapasan*. The decision to choose the form of the *rambu solo* ceremony that is carried out is a collective decision between individuals, nuclear families, extended families, traditional figures, and the church. This shows that the decision to carry out the *rambu solo* ceremony is not an individual decision but determined collectively. This reflects the solidarity between individuals, families, and communities. As such, costs are covered jointly, especially by nuclear families and extended families.

As for welfare, informants' perceptions about the life conditions of present-day informants are seen from two aspects, namely aspects of social status and economic aspects.

1. *Ditallung bongi* ceremony

a. Economic aspect

Informants' perceptions about their present life conditions after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony were obtained at the time of the interview. The interview results showed that all informants stated that *ditallung bongi* ceremony had little impact on household economic aspects. The economic aspect in this study is intended to be financial condition due to debt and savings after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony. Debts and deposits after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony have an impact on the state of residence.

In terms of housing conditions, all informants stated that the *ditallung bongi* ceremony had little impact on the costs of maintaining and repairing their residence. They stated that with the choice of the *ditallung bongi* ceremony that had taken place, they only had a little debt and still had deposits of money and animals. All informants stated that with little debt and still having savings, they could prepare maintenance and repair costs for their homes.

This shows that the *rambu solo*' ceremony in the form of *ditallung bongi* is considered by all informants not to be a burden on old age finances because they only bear a small amount of debt. As explained by the informant (IS) that:

ditallung bongi ceremony is a ceremony with the sacrifice of three to five buffaloes. But at the ceremony people usually choose to sacrifice three buffaloes. The cost of three buffaloes is not too heavy, especially if jointly covered by children who are working and siblings of the deceased. Thus, they still have money or animal deposits.

All informants stated that with the *ditallung bongi* ceremony they still had money saved for the cost of repairs to their homes. This shows that the *rambu solo*' ceremony in the form of *ditallung bongi* is considered to have little impact on the cost of repairing their residence. This is explained by the informant (FD) as follows:

we performed the *ditallung bongi* ceremony for our late father in 1979 at the sacrifice of five buffaloes. At that time as a child, I had to bear a buffalo for Rp 10,000,000. Before the ceremony, I paid for house repairs, after the ceremony I was still able to continue repairing the house, even though it was slow to finish. So, at that time the *ditallung bongi* ceremony that we conducted had minor impact on the cost of repairing our house.

Overall, the results of the interviews showed that all informants stated that the *ditallung bongi* ceremony had little impact on household economic aspects. They stated that after carrying out the *ditallung bongi* ceremony, they only had a little debt and still had deposits. Almost all informants stated that they still had enough money and animal deposits. Less than half of the informants stated that they still had a small deposit of money and animals. This shows that the perception of all informants about the impact of the *ditallung bongi* ceremony on the economic aspect was positive. In other words, they still have deposits for old age life.

b. Social status aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *ditallung bongi* ceremony on aspects of their social status were obtained at the time of the interview. Interviews showed that all informants stated that the *ditallung bongi* ceremony had little impact on aspects of social status. With all the informants stating that the *ditallung bongi* ceremony had little impact on aspects of social status shows that the *ditallung bongi* ceremony had a less recognized impact on achieving social status in society. This was explained by the informant (N'S) that:

ditallung bongi ceremony with the sacrifice of three to five buffaloes is for the *tana' karurung* community although it is also permissible for the Tana Bassi and Tana Bulaan groups for reasons of incapability or cost savings. However, it is less recognized to achieve social status.

2. *Dillimang bongi* Ceremony

a. Economic aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *dilimang bongi* ceremony on household economic aspects were obtained at the time of the interview. The results of the interviews showed that almost all informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little impact on household economic aspects.

The economic aspect in this study is intended to be financial condition due to debt and money or animal deposits after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony. Debts and deposits that exist after carrying out the ceremony *rambu solo*' has an impact on the state of residence.

In the context of housing conditions, almost all informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little effect on the improvement of their residence.

The presence of almost all informants who stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had minor impact on the household's financial situation showed that after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony in the form of *dilimang bongi*, almost all informants stated that they had little debt. This was explained by the informant (PT) that:

we have carried out the *dilimang bongi* ceremony four times with a total cost of Rp 118,700,000. The cost was quite heavy for me and my family because at that time as a civil servant, I was still paying for the education of four children. But we are grateful because after the ceremony, we only incurred the debts of a few pigs and there was still enough money and animal reserves.

Almost all informants also stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little effect on the cost of their residence. They claim to have a place to stay, but they still need maintenance costs.

Overall, the results of the interviews showed that almost all informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little impact on household economic aspects. They stated that after carrying out the *dilimang bongi* ceremony, they had little debt and still had deposits. More than half of the informants stated that they still had enough money and animal deposits. Less than half of the informants stated that they still had a small deposit of money and animals. This shows that the perception of almost all informants about the impact of the *dilimang bongi* ceremony on household economic aspects is positive. In other words, they still have costs when turn old.

b. Social status aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *dilimang bongi* ceremony on aspects of their social status were obtained at the time of the interview. The interview results show that more than half of the informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little impact on aspects of social status. In contrast, less than half the informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had a modest impact on aspects of social status.

The presence of more than half the informants stated that the *dilimang bongi* ceremony had little impact on aspects of social status, indicating that the ceremony was considered by more than half the informants to be less recognized for the deceased family's social status. This is because the number of buffaloes and pigs that were sacrificed in the ceremony were considered ineligible to obtain social status. This was explained by the informant (PT) that:

after we carried out the *rambu solo*' ceremony for the late father, the late mother and our two siblings in the form of *dilimang bongi*, we are grateful to have carried out an expression of affection for the deceased, but in terms of social status we felt it was less fulfilling.

3. *Dipitung bongi* Ceremony

a. Economic aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *dipitung bongi* ceremony on household economic aspects were obtained at the time of the interview. Interviews showed that more than half of the informants stated that the *dipitung bongi* ceremony had little impact on household economic aspects. Less than half of the informants stated that the *dipitung bongi* ceremony had a modest impact on household economic aspects. The economic aspect in this study is the financial situation of the informants because there are debts and deposits of money or animals after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony. These debts and deposits have an impact on their living conditions.

The presence of more than half of the informants stating that *dipitung bongi* ceremony had little impact on the household's financial situation shows that after carrying out the *rambu solo*' ceremony in the form of *dipitung bongi*, more than half the informants stated that they had little debt and still had money and animal deposits. This was explained by the informant (PT) who stated that:

we have performed the *dipitung bongi* ceremony twice, for a total cost of Rp 112,000,000 (approximately USD 7,554). With the ceremony, my family and I have a little debt, which is a few pigs. Before the ceremony for my late mother-in-law, I retired as a civil servant and still paid for the education of three children.

In addition to that, the informant also stated that the *dipitung bongi* ceremony had a significant impact on the condition of their residence, indicating that the magnitude of the cost of the ceremony had a significant impact on the cost of housing repairs.

Overall, the interview results show that more than half of the informants stated that *dipitung bongi* ceremony had a significant impact on household economic aspects. They stated that after carrying out *dipitung bongi* ceremony, they had quite a lot of debt. This shows that the perception of more than half of the informants about the impact of the *dipitung bongi* ceremony on the economy is quite large. In other words, they do not have enough money to save for when they turn old.

b. Social status aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *dipitung bongi* ceremony on aspects of social status were obtained at the time of the interview. The interview results showed that all informants stated that the *dipitung bongi* ceremony had a minimal impact on aspects of social status. This is because the number of buffaloes and pigs that were sacrificed in the ceremony were considered to be inadequate to meet the minimum requirements for recognition of social status.

4. Rapasan Ceremony

a. Economic aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *rapasan* ceremony on economic aspects were obtained at the time of the interview. Interviews showed that more than half of the informants stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a large impact on the economic aspects of their household. The economic aspect in this study is the financial situation due to debt and money or animal deposits after carrying out the *rambu solo* ' ceremony. Debts and deposits of money or animals have an impact on the state of residence. This was explained by the informant (DL) that:

we have held *rapasan* ceremony three times. From the three ceremonies, I covered for 18 buffaloes and approximately 100 pigs with a total cost of Rp. 647,500,000. The large amount of costs caused my family and me to still have the debt of two buffaloes and several pigs.

More than half of the informants stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a massive impact on the financial situation of their household, indicating that the *rambu solo* ' ceremony in the form of *rapasan* felt very burdensome to their financial situation in old age. This was explained by the informant (N'K) that:

the *rapasan sapu randanan* ceremony is a high-level ceremony at a very large cost. My family and I have performed the *sapu randanan* ceremony four times, at a cost of approximately Rp 2,730,500,000. These costs are very burdensome for our household finances. Until now we still have a lot of debt.

In addition to having a large impact on their financial situation, it also impacts their living conditions. This shows that the magnitude of the cost of the ceremony was felt to be very burdensome cost of repairing the residence. This was explained also by NK:

the house we live in is a legacy from my parents who passed on to me. Until now this house has never been repaired. The repair has been planned for a long time but has never materialized because the cost is always used to pay debts for the implementation of the relatives' ceremony.

Overall, the results of the interviews showed that more than half of the informants stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a large impact on household economic aspects. They stated that after carrying out the *rapasan* ceremony they had a lot of debt so there were no more deposits of money and animals. This shows that the perception of all informants about the impact of the *rapasan* ceremony on household economic aspects is negative. In other words, the choice left them with no money and livestock for old age.

c. Social status aspect

Informants' perceptions about the impact of the *rapasan* ceremony on aspects of social status were obtained at the 6th me of the interview. The interviews showed that all informants stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a great impact on aspects of social status. The existence of all informants who stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a great impact on aspects of social status, showed that by carrying out the *rapasan* ceremony, all informants stated the deceased family's social status was recognized by the community. This is because the highest conditions in *rapasan* have been fulfilled and the number of buffaloes and pigs that were sacrificed in the ceremony was very large so that the distribution of meat to the local community was also increasing.

The existence of all informant 1st who stated that the *rapasan* ceremony had a great 7th impact on aspects of social status, showed that the *rambu solo* 'ceremony in the form of *rapasan* had a great impact on the recognition of social status by the community to the deceased's family. This is because through the *rapasan* ceremony, the highest social status for the deceased's family is recognized by custom and society. This is explained by (N/P) as a traditional figure in the North Makale District as follows:

at first the *rapasan* ceremony could only be carried out by nobles and their descendants. But what is happening now, even if someone is not of noble descent but feels capable, then he can perform the *rapasan* ceremony. For a nobleman, the *rapasan* ceremony will strengthen his social status, and for someone who is not a nobleman will achieve high social status as a to *makaka* (traditional figure) in his area.

Explanation from N/P proves that the implementation of the *rapasan* ceremony which was originally only allowed to 1st carried out by nobles and their descendants, can now be carried out by non-nobles. This shows the change from *ascribed status* to *achieved status* in the implementation of the *rapasan* ceremony.

The impact of the choice of the 'solo sign' ceremony on welfare 3rd can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Impact of the *Rambu Solo* ' Forms in Ceremony on Welfare.

No	Choice of Ceremony Forms	Impact on Welfare
1	- <i>Rapasan</i>	- Social status aspect , social status gets recognized. - Economic aspect , high costs, lots of debt, no savings, inability to fix the house.
2	- <i>Dipitung bongi</i> - <i>Dilimang bongi</i> - <i>Ditallung bongi</i>	- Social status aspect , social status gets less recognized. - Economic aspect , low cost, little debt, no savings, able to improve the house.

Source: Processed from 2019 data analysis results

Table 1 above shows that the informants who carried out the *rambu solo* ' ceremony by choosing the form of the *rapasan* ceremony had a positive impact on aspects of social status, namely the recognition of social status by adat and the community. But it has a negative impact on economic aspects, due to high costs. The economic implications are that there is a lot of debt, no money saved, and cause inability to repair the house.

The informant who carried out the *rambu solo* ' ceremony by choosing the form of ceremony that is not *rapasan*, namely, *dipitung bongi*, *dilimang bongi*, and *ditallung bongi*. This choice results on a negative impact in terms of the social status aspects as the social status of the family gets less recognized. But it has a positive impact on economic aspects, as it has low costs. The economic implications are that there is little debt, create savings, and ability to improve the house.

From the description above, informants' perceptions about the impact of the choice of the *rambu solo* ' ceremony on welfare can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 Perceptions of Informants Concerning the Impact of Choice of *Rambu Solo* ' Ceremony on Welfare.

No	Choice of Ceremony Forms	Impact on Welfare	
		Economic Aspect	Social Status Aspect
1	<i>Rapasan</i>	Negative	Positive
2	<i>Dipitung bongi</i>	Positive	Negative
3	<i>Dilimang bongi</i>		
4	<i>Ditallung bongi</i>		

Source: Processed from 2019 data analysis results

Table 2 above shows that the choice of ceremonial forms which are not *rapasan* (*ditallung bongi*, *dilimang bongi*, and *dipitung bongi*) had a positive impact on household economic aspects because they still had money saved but had a negative impact on aspects of social status. On the other side, the choice of *rapasan* ceremony forms has a negative impact on household economic aspects but has a positive impact on aspects of social status.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The research found that traditional ceremonies had positive and negative impacts on welfare. This can be seen in the case of the *rambu solo* ' ceremony in North Makale, Tana Toraja. The ceremony consists of two choices of forms, namely non-*rapasan* and *rapasan*. The higher the choice of the *rambu solo* ' ceremony that is carried out, the greater the cost used to carry out the ceremony. As a conclusion, the choice had an impact on their well-being.

The choice of the *rapasan* ceremony on the grounds of social status has a negative impact on economic aspects. However, in the context of the global view, the local culture has a positive impact.

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