

Mentuyo (Suicide) Millennials During the Covid-19 Pandemic From Toraja Cultural Perspective

**Kristian Hoegh Pride Lambe¹, Mansyur Radjab², Hasbi³, Rahmat Muhammad⁴,
Apriana Toding⁵, Sawedi Muhammad⁶**

^{1,2,3,4,6} Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Hasanuddin University, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

^{1,5} Universitas Kristen Indonesia Paulus, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

Email: kristian.lambe@ukipaulus.ac.id

Abstract

Mentuyo (suicide) committed by millennial children in Tana Toraja Regency during the Covid-19 pandemic became a shocking social event. These millennial children have committed suicide massively since the beginning of the pandemic in 2020. Until this research was conducted in July 2021, 25 Toraja millennials had committed Mentuyo by hanging themselves. Mentuyo is the act of an individual who intentionally and consciously commits suicide by hanging himself or hanging himself (mentuyology). Mentuyo's actions are increasingly worrying because they are almost evenly distributed in all sub-districts in Tana Toraja Regency, giving speculation that mentuyo has a chain transmission effect. This concern is very reasonable because the Mentuyo events spread very quickly in the timeline. Posts in the form of photos of the perpetrators that the alleged suicide motives and the methods used were uploaded on various social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp groups.

The purpose of this study is to find out the factors that cause Mentuyo for millennial Toraja children and social mitigation measures taken by the government, religious leaders, and traditional leaders (aluk todolo) to reduce the number of Mentuyo. This study was designed in a descriptive-qualitative manner using a phenomenological approach. Data collection techniques used are observation and direct observation (participant observation), in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews), and secondary data analysis (secondary data analysis). The technique used in selecting key informants is a purposive sampling technique, namely selecting informants who are the closest people to the Mentuyo perpetrator, namely parents, friends and ex-lover. Other vital informants are traditional leaders, religious leaders, journalists, and local government representatives

The results of the study found that Toraja millennial children did Mentuyo due to several factors. The first factor, they do Mentuyo due to feeling bored with life, unable to withstand the illness they are suffering from, moodiness, feeling jealous, and disappointed because their love relationship is not going smoothly. The second factor, Mentuyo for the Toraja people, is not a disgrace or a sin. The body of the Mentuyo perpetrator is treated the same as death in general. According to the teachings of aluk todolo, the status of death due to Mentuyo, due to illness or accident, is the same. It's just a different way of dying. Mentuyo's actions are strongly influenced by the cultural values and traditional beliefs of the Toraja people about death. For the Toraja people, "death is luck" - has ended all suffering - as well as the beginning of a new life (life afterlife). Death is life itself. The Toraja tribe views death as a process of transferring or transferring the spirit (soul) to another world.

Another finding from this study is that a strong synergy between the social and cultural environment is needed to mitigate the suicidal desire of millennial children. The active role of the government, traditional leaders, and religious leaders in socializing and educating about the negative impact of mentuyo are very much needed. Education on how to smartly use social media is also very much needed. It is urgent to appeal or even a prohibition not to make posts, upload pictures or report excessively about suicides. This effort is believed to be able to reduce the suicide rate among millennial Toraja children

Kata Kunci: Mentuyo (suicide), Pandemic Covid-19, Toraja Culture, Aluk Todolo

INTRODUCTION

The negative impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has been felt all over the world with increasingly worrying levels. One of the very negative impacts of the pandemic in Tana Toraja Regency is the phenomenon of *Mentuyo* (suicide) children of productive age who are categorized as millennials. Data from the Tana Toraja Police said that as many as 25 residents of Tana Toraja died from *Mentuyo* throughout 2020 until the end of June 2021. This number shows a significant number compared to the years before the pandemic period. *Mentuyo's* social events are already very worrying because they occur massively and almost evenly in every sub-district and consecutively every month for the last two years. *Mentuyo* very quickly became viral and shocked all corners of the Earth of *Lakipadada*. The high number of *Mentuyo* cases that occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic in Toraja, which was covered in various local and national media, made people panic and very worried due to the continued impact of *Mentuyo*, which spread like a virus that could attack anyone, especially millennial children.

Millennial characteristics vary by region and social, cultural and economic conditions. However, this generation is generally characterized by increased gadgets and familiarity with communication, social media, and digital technology. However, the challenge for Toraja millennials is also to live in a disruptive era, namely an era of speedy order changes due to the influence of industrial revolution 5.0 technology. Disruption is an era of massive innovation and change that has fundamentally changed all existing systems, arrangements, and landscapes in new ways. Toraja millennial children have positive sides, including open-minded individuals, promoting gender equality, and high social solidarity. They also have self-confidence, intelligent thinking horizons, critical sensitivity, express their feelings, and understand the meaning of life.

The Social Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic

A pandemic is the spread of a disease whose transmission affects many people on

earth and is an infectious disease that spreads widely and kills many people globally. The social impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has triggered an increase in the number of *Mentuyo* in the Tana Toraja Regency. This social event went viral and became a trending topic in print and electronic media coverage. Before the pandemic, the number of suicides was not as much today, almost non-existent. But in 2020, along with the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, the cases increased very sharply. The high number of *Mentuyo* cases is a critical point where all parties must be aware of social disasters in Toraja society.

The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the entire social order of the Toraja tribe. People's lives are increasingly individualistic and tend to think short and end their lives using *Mentuyo*. This incident is very worrying for all parties because there are allegations that millennial Toraja children follow (imitate) *Mentuyo*, like a contagious disease. *Mentuyo*, of course, has a significant influence on two main aspects of human life, namely psychology and social life.

Firstly, the aspect of social psychology. This pandemic makes individuals anxious, bored of life, and finally *Mentuyo*. Individuals experience boredom and fear of being infected or infecting other individuals. The new habits of staying at home, working from home, and studying at home have influenced the social order of the Toraja community, which is a communal society. A very strict health protocol policy exacerbates this by maintaining physical and social distance (social and physical distancing), avoiding crowds and reducing community social interactions. This strict policy is very contrary to the socio-cultural habits of the Toraja people, who find pleasure, tranquillity and happiness living in a crowd of parties which are ancestral traditions passed down from generation to generation. The toughest challenges are felt by those who live in 3T areas (frontier, remote, underdeveloped). They do not have access to the internet network because hills, valleys and mountains surround the area. People living in the 3T area cannot keep up with the development of information and communication. Along with the policy of

implementing strict health protocols during the Covid-19 pandemic, they increasingly feel the limitations, backwardness and confinement that causes them to be even more backward.

In a society whose social life is open, this new habit carries very complex social implications. During the pandemic, individuals can no longer go to the market, work, study at school, not gather in mosques and fellowship in churches, or participate in youth activities. These conditions make individuals bored, resigned, and live in uncertainty.

Secondly, the severe social impact of this pandemic is the economy. Termination of employment causes unemployment or employees who are laid off due to the impact of the pandemic. Finally, individuals lose their jobs and income and have direct implications for the high unemployment rate. For people accustomed to an established economic life, when they encounter a difficult economic situation, it will significantly impact their psyche. In addition, this economic impact directly affects household life, social environment, traditional cultural activities, and other social activities. The triggering factors for *Mentuyo's* action are not single, and this is a multi-factor case. Thus, every individual must remain calm and not panic in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic because this situation is a non-natural disaster or a health problem that has hit the world. The world community needs to make social adaptations to meet the new order of life. As a social activity, it is necessary to prevent transmission so that the effort to suppress is that individuals are forced to carry out mass vaccinations and always comply with the health protocols that have been mutually agreed upon. This policy is carried out in order to establish herd immunity. Thus, social conditions occur when most individuals in a group already have immunity to certain infectious diseases. More and more individuals are immune to a disease, making it more difficult for the disease to spread or be infected to other groups.

Mentuyo* Action with *Mentoke'

The social phenomenon of *Mentuyo* in Tana Toraja is a new way of solving problems without causing problems for Toraja culture. This incident shocked the Toraja people. It is

because that occurred sporadically and consecutively in a month throughout 2020 until now. Life is often overlooked, but death is never a disgrace or a percussion. The individual's response to the problems experienced in his life is very dependent on his mental strength to deal with various problems. If the person concerned has a healthy and robust mentality and good social psychology adaptation, they will live well. This social event that occurs is not a common thing and, of course, must be considered carefully. That incident has become an extraordinary event, and all parties must be responsive. But those who have limited ability to deal with or adapt to various problems are vulnerable and can cause various psychological disorders. Moreover, during the Covid-19 pandemic, which did not subside, this was one of the triggering factors for the emergence of various individual mental disorders. Reporting on social media is one of the variables that trigger social behavior to join in to commit suicide in the same way, namely *Mentoke'* (hanging yourself).

Mentuyo events by way of *Mentoke'* occur sporadically and massively become a new habit, which is a social reality. The trigger may be because of illness, romance, the magnitude of social pressure, economic pressure, or feeling that his life is meaningless. So, trying to end his life in ways that are not reasonable or intentional. Unhealthy love and family relationships are often the triggers for the emergence of individual psychosocial barriers to mental adaptation. There are several steps to avoid the emergence of individual intentions to do *Mentuyo*, such as building good communication within the family and surrounding environment. Encourage individuals who are experiencing problems openly and voluntarily to express any problems, and other families avoid judgmental behavior, then display empathetic behavior. Responsive and solution steps to problems experienced by family members require serious handling by providing education to the public about the importance of mental health and the ability to interact socially with others.

Death in Toraja Cultural Perspective

Culturally, the Toraja see death as life itself. "To die is gain, and to live is to serve."

According to the belief of *aluk todolo*, individuals who have died can be brought back to life for specific reasons. The dead can also walk alone to their *Patane* or grave. Even the funeral process is carried out, such as taking the living to their final resting place or moving to the eternal realm. The phenomenon of *Mentuyo* in Toraja is closely related to the culture or cultural practices surrounding death, although individuals carry out this death using *Mentuyo*. This individual behavior is a social fact that occurs in Toraja, and it has received particular attention among the church, traditional leaders, and local government, thoughtfully, carefully and with deep empathy. The perspective of the Christian faith strengthens *aluk Todolo's* belief about death that death is gain and life in Christ as a believer, doing good and spreading love. That is why the Toraja people highly value death, which is traditionally ceremonial to lead the corpse to eternal life to "puya or heaven."

The role of the family is significant in dispelling and mitigating the occurrence of *Mentuyo* efforts. The family is the minor organization in this world formed by God's hand. The family institution is the smallest unit of the Toraja tribe consisting of the head of the family, father and mother, and children who live and interact directly under one roof. The whole family has a very high interdependence between family members with one another. In the family, children get to know themselves and their environment and then develop their abilities and creativity towards Toraja cultural values that apply in society. Therefore, the family is the central pillar and an effective means of implementing Toraja cultural values. The Toraja tribe applies an endogamous marriage system. Marriage between a man and a woman from a family is still in the same clump or mass '*Tongkonan*'. *Tongkonan* is a traditional house of the Toraja tribe that functions as a place of residence, power (politics), economic centre, and the development of Toraja socio-cultural life. Marriage is not allowed outside the family or clan. This marriage model is preserved in the Toraja tribe because of the importance of unity and harmonization in relationships between families.

The power on earth whose words and actions were held both in agricultural life and funeral ceremonies was called to *minaa* (an *aluk* priest). Before the entry of Christianity and

Islam, the Toraja people adhered to ancestral beliefs known as *aluk todolo* (*aluk* = rules, while *todolo* = ancestors). This means the rules or teachings of the Toraja people's beliefs which contain ideas brought by *tamboro langi'* (ancestors) to earth. . The universe, according to *aluk*, is divided into the upper world (heaven), the human world (earth), and the underworld. *Aluk todolo* is a belief system and a combination of law, religion, and customs. *Aluk todolo* regulates social life, agricultural practices, and religious rituals. The procedure for *aluk todolo* can differ from one village (*lembang*) to another. One common law is the rule that the rituals of death and life must be separated. The Toraja believe that the ritual of death will destroy the corpse if its implementation is combined with the ritual of life. Both rituals are equally important in terms of their meaning and purpose.

Knowledge of totemism has similarities to the Toraja culture of *Tallulolona* (three pillars) of life, which is the philosophy of the Toraja tribe consisting of "*lolo tau* (humans), *lolo tananan* (plants), and *lolo patuoan* (animals/animals)." The introduction of *Tallulolona* from a scientific perspective will be an earlier introduction to God's most perfect creation in an environmental system that interacts with one another and maintains a balance in worldly life. The interaction process between the three will raise awareness that these three elements have their respective roles and benefits where there will be dependence between *lolo tau*, *lolo tananan*, and *lolo patuoan* in an environmental balance where one another needs each other. The Toraja tribe has several local pearls of wisdom, which are the main elements of Toraja human culture, and have become the social strength of the Toraja people in adapting to the natural environment or managing challenges from outside cultures. In line with the times, the local wisdom of the Toraja tribe is always required to be flexible to be able to adapt to every challenge faced but still be steadfast in maintaining the values that support the creation of an increasingly prosperous social life.

Emile Durkheim's Suicide Theory

Durkheim's theory of suicide can be seen more clearly if we examine the relationship between the types of suicide and the two

underlying social facts of integration and regulation (Pope, 1976). Integration refers to the strength of attachment we have to society. For Durkheim, the two social currents are continuous variables, and suicide rates increase when either stream is too low or too high. Therefore, according to Durkheim, there are four types of suicide if integration and regulation in society are high or low. If integration is too high, Durkheim calls it a generous type of suicide. Low integration leads to an increase in egoistic suicide. Fatalistic suicide is associated with high regulation and anomic suicide with low regulation.

Durkheim showed that not all provide the same degree of protection against suicide. Protestant religions emphasise individual faith transcending the church community, and lack of communal rituals tend to provide less protection. The main point is that it is not the specific religious beliefs but the degree of their integration. Religion protects man against the desire for self-destruction. What constitutes religion is certain beliefs and practices that are common to all believers, traditional and obligatory. The more and the stronger these collective states of mind. The stronger the integration of the religious community, the greater the value of its preservation. No matter how individualized a person is, there is always something that is often collective, and the moodiness of the soul itself is produced by excessive individualism. He influences Communion through willingness when he has nothing left to achieve.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study aims to objectively describe, understand, and analyze the factors that cause "Mentuyo" millennial children's suicide in Toraja, what are the motivations of Toraja millennial children to commit "Mentuyo" suicide, and what mitigation measures are taken. The government, religious leaders, and community leaders can do to reduce the suicide rate "Mentuyo". The method used in this research is descriptive-qualitative through field data collection. In qualitative research, several strategies or approaches can be found. One of which is phenomenology which is also used as a method of this research. Phenomenology is a study that moves from the case of individuals

and groups to understand social reality. At this time, researchers make interpretations of the meaning of their actions and thoughts about the structure of the situation. This analysis of informants is a technique that is often used by a phenomenological approach to describe how humans think about themselves through speech. Phenomenology focuses its analysis on life experiences intending to find the true meaning in the first source, in this case, family members of suicide victims. Then, from the first source's essential meaning, the essence of a phenomenon under study is identified, which is used to build the proposition.

Data and Data Sources

The locus of this research was conducted in Tana Toraja Regency, and the source of the research data were the families of the *Mentuyo* (suicide) victims by *Mentoke'* (hanging themselves). The data to be sought is data on the factors that cause *Mentuyo* and the number of cases of *Mentuyo* in Toraja. The data obtained were sourced from family informants of *Mentuyo* victims, traditional leaders, *aluk todolo*, religious leaders, and community leaders in Tana Toraja Regency and North Toraja Regency.

Data collection technique

Data collection techniques used are as follows: 1). Observation is a systematic observation and recording of the observed phenomena. The observations made in this study were preliminary research to identify the families of the *Mentuyo* victims. In conducting observations, researchers found sources of information from families by visiting their homes and seeing and observing directly the place where the *Mentuyo* was carried out; and 2). In-depth interviews, namely data collection techniques through in-depth interviews with informants, namely the families of victims who have done *Mentuyo*, religious leaders, traditional leaders, *aluk todolo*, media activists and the local government.

Data analysis

Creswell (1989: 147) describes the work steps in phenomenological research as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. phenomenological qualitative data analysis

Phenomenological Research	Data Analysis and Representation
Create and organize data	Data processing
Read text, make notes boundaries, and create initial codes	Read and remember data
Describing the meaning of events for researchers	Describing data
Find meaningful statements and make a list of them	Classifying Data
Grouping the same statements into certain meaning units	
Build a textural description (what happened)	
Build a structural description (how the event was experienced)	Data interpretation
Build an overall description of the event (the essence of the event)	
Narrative of the essence of the event, equipped with a table of questions and units of meaning.	Data visualization and presentation

The stages of making conclusions are the activities carried out; a). Make summaries and summaries of the entire research; b). Confirming the results of the study by stating the differences from previous research; c). Explain the research results with the possibility of further research; d). Connecting research results with research usefulness; e). Connecting research results with the research profession; f). Connecting research results with social meanings and relevance; g). Closing the explanation by offering the purpose and direction of further research

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the study results, it was revealed that there was no influence of gender on the behavior of *Mentuyo*. That is, certain genders do not exclusively carry out *Mentuyo*. The same is true for the age group. Those of the same age do not perform *Mentuyo*. *Mentuyo* perpetrators were carried out by those aged between 11-51 years. However, there are similarities between the *Mentuyo*'s actions. They do it the same way, namely *Mentoke* or hang themselves. They did not even think about the social impact experienced by the family, church,

and society. This condition is very concerning because the victims of *Mentuyo* are individuals who are Protestant and Catholic Christians. It is very ironic and contradicts the religious teachings that say do not kill. The act of killing oneself is contrary to the Word of God. The pattern of intention and way of thinking is the same between farmers, students, and entrepreneurs by punishing themselves for *Mentuyo*.

The exciting thing is that the spread of this incident is evenly distributed in the Tana Toraja Regency area, where it occurs in areas that are strongly influenced by Toraja culture. Durkheim's boldest argument is that moral bonds become cognitive bonds because the categories for understanding, such as classification, time, space, and cause, also derive from religious rituals. Durkheim's theory of religion is that society (through individuals) creates religion by defining certain phenomena as sacred and others as worldly. Aspects of social reality that are defined as sacred things. That is separate from everyday life from the essence of religion. Researchers categorize victims' identities based on age, gender, religion, occupation, and location of the incident, which can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Identity of *Mentuyo* Victims

No.	Initial Name	Age	Gender	Religion	Work	Location Incident
1.	TL	44	Male	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Buntu Burake, Makale District
2.	LLA	21	Female	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Tongko Sarapung, Sangalla District
3.	SP	28	Male	Christian Protestant	Entrepreneur	Botang, Makale District
4.	ND	36	Male	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Lemo, Mengkendek District
5.	AB	48	Male	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Tiroan, Bittuang District
6.	SND	45	Male	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Benteng Ambeso, Gandasil District
7.	SK	23	Male	Christian Protestant	Farmer	Pali, Bittuang District
8.	RND	16	Male	Christian Protestant	Student	Rantekalua', Mengkendek District
9.	FM	17	Female	Catholic Christian	Student	Kayu Osing, Rembon District
10.	RB	20	Female	Christian Protestant	Student	Buttu Limbong, Bittuang District
11.	ES	20	Male	Christian Protestant	Student	Pong Batik, Bittuang District
12.	EG	11	Male	Catholic Christian	Student	Rante, Makale District
13.	RS	14	Female	Christian Protestant	Student	Lipungan Tanete, Kurra District
14.	MT	14	Female	Christian Protestant	Student	Lipungan Tanete, Kurra District
15.	AP	51	Male	Christian Protestant	Entrepreneur	Buttu, Kurra District
16.	EM	17	Female	Christian Protestant	Student	Tokesan, South Sangalla District

As shown in table 2, it is illustrated that the *Mentuyo* perpetrators practice *Mentuyo* (hanging themselves) at various times, namely dawn, morning, afternoon and evening. The time of the incident depends on the opportunities and circumstances that are considered by the perpetrator who was desperate to hang himself without the help of another individual. This means that the individual is consciously carrying out the process of looking for the right and strong rope, then looking for a place to tie it to wood or concrete above the bedroom, under the traditional *Tongkonan* house, or on the beams above the kitchen. In a quiet and quiet situation, the scene of hanging himself is done with the aim of doing *Mentuyo*. The *Mentuyo* process is very fast. The victim tied the rope to the weight support to hang perfectly it only took about 5-10 minutes. After the incident of hanging himself became known to the public, social media, print and electronic media also competed to make the *Mentuyo* incident viral. *Mentuyo* that occurred in urban areas received a very excessive portion of the news because telecommunication access was wide open. Meanwhile, the *Mentuyo* incident in remote areas, due to difficulty in accessing communication or entering the blank spot area, will be reported slowly and not as massive as the *Mentuyo* incident in urban areas. This social phenomenon is interesting because the factors that cause *Mentuyo* victims are unable to bear the burden of the disease they suffer so that the individual ends his life with *Mentuyo* in order to escape suffering. While the higher egoistic suicide rate stems from incurable exhaustion and sad depression.

Trivial issues between husband and wife who are fighting or bickering underlie the trigger for the desire to kill his life. Feelings of disappointment and lack of respect as a form of marital commitment are no longer visible after living together for so long. The social jealousy factor due to the economic crush also occurs by some individuals causing reasons to avoid the large demands of daily life. Non-natural

disasters experienced by the world provide a warning to every individual to anticipate the presence of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak which ravaged the joints of the world economy. How individuals can survive in the midst of difficult situations against the rushing social currents. The confusion of mind that ensues may leave individuals disappointed because of the lack of control over their passions, which are free to run rampant in the insatiable race for gratification. *Mentuyo* anomic events are more likely to arise because of the negative nature of chaos or economic depression so that individuals no longer think about their future and the negative impact it has on the bereaved family.

As a result of married couples who marry young (early marriage) illustrates an immaturity of a well-planned and structured way of thinking. Some *Mentuyo* incidents for young Toraja couples who are prone to promiscuity and weak social interactions cause them not to understand each other and lack mutual respect. Feelings of suspicion and jealousy arise, with the presence of gadgets or android phones becoming a thorn in the flesh, interactions in the family become less qualified. The relationship that is far away should be getting closer, and it should be that the close one is getting further away. The dynamics of life become monotonous because it tastes bland and no longer exciting. Likewise, the issue of romance between couples of Toraja youth who their parents do not approve, the breakdown of relationships causes the opportunity to live and die to be lost. Excessive love factors, regardless of individualization of a person, there is always something that is often collective, depression and moodiness itself are produced by excessive individualism. He influences Communion by being willing when he has nothing left to achieve.

Table 3. Time, Place, and Chronology of Hanging Himself

No	Victim Identity	Occurrence Time	Venue	Chronology of Hanging Himself
----	-----------------	-----------------	-------	-------------------------------

1	TL	Tuesday, 4 February 2020, around 6.00 am Toraja Time	Burake, Buntu Burake Village, Makale District	The victim left the house on Monday, February 3, 2020, then was found by RTP, the victim was hanging at a kiosk belonging to YNA on Tuesday, February 4, 2020
2	LLA	Monday, 25 May 2020, around 1.00 pm Toraja Time	Kampong Kote, Tongko Sarapung Village, Sangalla District	April's brother entered the house and found the victim hanging himself near the stairs of his own house
3	SP	Wednesday, 27 May 2020, around 6.30 pm Toraja Time	Botang, Botang Village, Makale District	Nanda, the victim's nephew, saw the victim put a rope around his neck, then Nanda rushed to convey it to the victim's uncle, but when he returned to the victim's house, it turned out that the victim was found dead in a state of hanging himself.
4	ND	Tuesday, 7 July 2020, around 5.30 pm Toraja Time	Moso, Lemo Village, Mengkendek District	At around 11.00 am Toraja Time, the victim and his family were gathering together, then at around 5.00 pm Toraja Time, the victim was found by his family, hanging himself in his house.
5	AB	Friday, 17 July 2020, around 6.30 pm Toraja Time	Rano, Tiroan Village, Bittuang District	At around 5.00 am Toraja Time in the morning, the victim gave permission to his wife to defecate under her house (WC). Then at around 6.00 am Toraja Time, his wife went to the kitchen next to her house and found the victim hanging in the kitchen.
6	SND	Monday, 20 July 2020, around 12.00 noon Toraja Time	Buntu Kole, Benteng Ambeso Village, Gandasil District	On Sunday, July 12, 2020, the witness delivered rice and cigarettes to the victim's cottage, but the victim was not there. Then on Sunday, July 19, 2020, the witness returned to deliver rice and cigarettes, but the victim was still not there. Then the witness looked for the victim and found the victim hanging himself near his garden..
7	SK	Wednesday, 16 September 2020, around 10.00 am Toraja Time	Tunggo, Pali Village, Bittuang District	Brother SS, who is the victim's brother-in-law, went to the victim's house to pick up the tractor, then when he got home, brother SS called the victim from outside the house, because there was no answer, brother SS went into the house and found the victim hanging himself.
8	RND	Friday, 24 October 2020, around 07.10 pm Toraja Time	Lempe, Rantekalua Village, Mengkendek District	Around 3.00 pm Toraja Time, RX's brother, the victim's older brother, invited the victim to attend a friend's birthday party. The victim's victim chose to stay at home, then when RX's brother returned from the party, the victim was no longer home, and RX's brother immediately looked for the victim. It turned out that the victim was found hanging himself in an empty house belonging to the victim's parents.

9	FM	Wednesday, 4 November 2020, around 5.30 am Toraja Time	Kayu Osing, Rembon District	The witness, organization who was about to go to the Makale market, saw the victim hanging himself on a guava tree wearing a high school.
10	RB	Sunday, 10 January 2021, around 11.35 am Toraja Time	Buttu Limbong Village, Bittuang District	The witness from the church went to the victim's house with the intention of drinking, then when the witness arrived at the victim's house, the witness saw that the victim had hung herself in the room with the bedroom door open, and the victim was wearing a sarong tied to the ceiling of the house.
11	ES	Monday, 11 January 2021, around 5.30 am Toraja Time	Se'seng, Pong Batik Village, Bittuang District	The witness was about to fetch water under the rented house, then the witness looked for a bucket he wanted to use, but suddenly the witness turned and saw that the victim had hanged herself under the house.
12	EG	Monday, 22 February 2021, around 01.30 pm Toraja Time	Mamabo, Rante Village, Makale District	The witness was about to go buy cigarettes and saw that the victim at the scene near the garden was already hanging (hanging himself) under a wooden house that was being built, then the witness called DRW and went to the scene and immediately reported it to the Tana Toraja Police.
13	RS and MT	Thursday, 25 February 2021, around 03.30 pm Toraja Time	Peta, Lipungan Tanete Village, Kurra District	Around 4.30 pm Toraja Time, witness HT met witness KS on the street who was looking for someone around the school location, then witness KS entered the school location, a few minutes later witness KS came out of the schoolyard and told witness HT that someone had hanged himself at school. Witness HT conveyed the incident to local residents and came to see the scene and found two students who had died hanging themselves, precisely at the door of class 9A. The witness immediately reported to the authorities.
14	AP	Wednesday, March 17 2021, around 11.00 am Toraja Time	Buttu, Ratte Kurra Village, Kurra District	The witness wanted to bring food to the victim, who was sick for two months. The victim had previously slept in the room under the <i>Tongkonan</i> house for two days because it was difficult to climb stairs. After arriving at the door, the witness opened the door and was shocked to see that the victim had hanged himself using a rope. Seeing the incident, the witness panicked and immediately called her husband (PP), as well as local residents, to cut the rope used by the victim, then lowered the victim and called medical officers, but after being examined the victim was already dead so he was not taken to the hospital.

1 5 .	EM	Sunday, May 9, 2021, around 6.30 am Toraja Time	Ra'pak, Tokesan Village, South Sangalla District	At around 6.00 am Toraja Time, TL, who is 80 years old, found the victim was dead in a state of hanging himself on his bed. The victim was using a piece of cloth rope about 2 meters long, 2 centimetres wide, which was tied above the ceiling of the room.
-------------	----	---	--	---

Mentoke carried out the uniform action of the *Mentuyo* perpetrator (hanging himself). According to Rawlin's theory (1993), suicide is an act that a person commits voluntarily and intentionally to end his life. *Mentuyo* in Christianity is very forbidden because it is the same as precedes the provision of death, where life and death is only God who has the authority to do that. Deviance is the negative side of the positive form of behavior, behavior that is not in accordance with the norms that exist in society, be it legal norms, moral norms, politeness, and religious norms. In this study, it was found that the theory of suicide was refuted by the Toraja tribe's view of seeing death as life itself. *Mentuyo* or suicide is not a disgrace or a percussion for the victim's family because his death is just a different model and method.

After the death of the *Mentuyo* victim, the family performs a religious liturgy, consolation services are served by the Toraja Church Priest, and the Catholic priest serves spiritual prayers. Traditionally, buffalo are slaughtered as the reason is *sero pa'diki* (cleansing the pain of this heart). Buffalo is a high value and sacred animal as a symbol of last respect. Buffaloes are believed to carry spirits to *puya* (nirvana). This ritual serves to release a deep groan of sadness. Many close family and relatives present expressed their condolences and paid their last respects to the deceased.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The Toraja people interpret death as life itself. They appreciate the death that is ceremoniously done and the aluk rudeness to bring the corpse to life in another world to *puya*. For the Christian faith, "to die is gain and to live is Christ". Funeral processions are carried out like taking the living to their final resting place or moving to another world. The phenomenon of *Mentuyo* in Toraja is closely related to the cultural customs or cultural practices surrounding death, although individuals carry

out this death by means of *Mentuyo*. This individual behavior is a social fact that occurs in Toraja, and this has received particular attention at the church, community, traditional leaders, and local government levels. *Mentuyo*'s actions are very self-contained without considering things that impact social, cultural, and economic problems for the bereaved family. The contributing factors are chronic illness, disappointment in love, lack of respect between husband and wife, and economic difficulties due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Mentuyo victims are well aware that they will be treated the best by their families after his death. For the family that death by means of *Mentuyo* is not a disgrace or a percussion. So that the family is not ashamed to perform traditional Toraja cultural rituals. Traditional Toraja cultural traditions carry out every death of the Toraja tribe by slaughtering buffalo as a high-value animal and is a customary requirement for the dead so that they can get a proper place in the eternal world. Then they are put into patani, which is a specially made family grave like a house building, or put in stone burrows that are neatly arranged according to the genealogical structure of their ancestors.

Local governments, religious leaders, traditional leaders and all parties, stakeholders to cross-stakeholders must intervene to educate the impact of *Mentuyo* or social impressions that have worried all Toraja tribes. Social roles are needed in anticipating events that are rife among the millennial generation of Toraja. Socialize the use of gadgets or android phones wisely so as not to be provoked by hoax news and hate statements. Reporting in the mass media by journalists as an information function no longer creates terrible and vulgar news content so that Toraja millennial children do not imitate *Mentuyo* by *Mentoke* (hanging themselves). The impact of using social media through gadgets causes individuals to do the same thing as previous events carried out by their peers. Like

infectious behavior or bandwagon in the same way.

Social media coverage can have a contagion effect on *Mentuyo* behavior among millennial Toraja children. The attitude and behavior of Toraja millennial children are very innocent and idealistic. They do not hesitate to do whatever is considered excellent and instant without interpreting the meaning of life itself. They have an ideal obsession that is not balanced with the social facts that occur in society. *Mentuyo's* motivation for them is the act of letting go of his departure because he thinks he is no longer worthy of those closest to him and his environment. They cannot accept the realities of life, do the same things and neglect their salvation after death. Therefore, it is necessary to involve all parties to carry out social mitigation to prevent individual efforts to *Mentuyo* and enlighten Toraja millennial children in articulating the values of harmonious life.

REFERENCES

- [1] Adams, G. R., Openshaw, D. K., Bennion, L., Mills, T., & Noble, S. (1988). Loneliness in late adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 3, 81 – 96.
- [2] Ahmad, L. (2012). Labour migration: Malaysia as a receiving country. Paper presented at the 2nd ADBI-OECD roundtable on labour migration in Asia, Tokyo, Japan.
- [3] Al-Sharifi, A., Krynicki, C.R., & Upthegrove, R. (2015). Self-harm and ethnicity: A systematic review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 61, 600–612.
- [4] Austin, B. A. (1983). Factorial structure of the UCLA loneliness scale. *Psychological Reports*, 53, 883 – 889.
- [5] Bearman, P. S., & Moody, J. (2004). Suicide and friendship among American adolescent. *American Journal of Public Health*, 94, 89 – 95.
- [6] Berkman, L. F., Glass, T. A., Brissette, I., & Seeman, T. E. (2000). From social integration to health: Durkheim in the new millennium. *Social Science & Medicine*, 51, 843 – 857.
- [7] Bernal, M., Haro, J. M., Bernert, S., Brugha, T., De Graaf, R., Bruffaerts, R.,... Alonso, J. (2007). Risk factors for suicidality in europe: Results from the European Study on the Epidemiology of Mental Disorders (ESEMED) study. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 101, 27–34.
- [8] Bhugra, D., Gupta, S., Bhui, K., Craig, T., Dogra, N., J. David, I.,... Tribe, R. (2011). WPA guidance on mental health and mental health care in migrants. *World Psychiatry*, 10(1), 2-10.
- [9] Bigalke, W. Terance. (2019). *Sejarah Sosial Tana Toraja [Social History of Tana Toraja]*. Penerbit Ombak, Yogyakarta
- [10] Boeninger, D. K., Masyn, K. E., Feldman, B. J., & Conger, R. D. (2010). Sex differences in developmental trends of suicide ideation, plans, and attempts among european american adolescents. *Suicide Life Threat Behav*, 40(5), 451-464.
- [11] Bonner, R. L. (2006). Stressful segregation housing and psychosocial vulnerability in prison suicide ideators. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, 36(2), 250 – 254.
- [12] Cartensen, L. L. (2006). The influence of a sense of time on human development. *Science*, 312, 1913 – 1915.
- [13] Cartensen, L. L., Fung, H. H., & Charles, S. T. (2003). Socioemotional selectivity theory and the regulation of emotion in the second half of life. *Motivation and Emotion*, 27(2), 103 – 123.
- [14] Chang, E.D., Sanna, L.J., Hirsch, J.K., & Jeglic, E.L. (2010). Loneliness and negative life events as predictors of hopelessness and suicidal behaviors in hispanics: Evidence for a diathesis stress model. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 66(12), 1-12.
- [15] Corr, C. A., Nabe, C. M., & Corr, D. M. (2006). *Death and dying, life and living* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- [16] Edi, Fandi. R. S. & Biroli, Alfan. (2017). *Psikologi Sosial [Social Psychology]*. Malang: AE Publishing.
- [17] Gamayanti, Witrin. (2014). *Usaha Bunuh Diri Berdasarkan Teori Ekologi Bronfenbrenner [Suicide Attempts Based*

- on Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory]. *Jurnal Psymphatic*, Vol. 1, No. 2.
- [18] Johnson, Doyle Paul. (1986). *Teori Sosiologi Klasik dan Modern [Classical and Modern Sociological Theories]*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- [19] Mantiri, Arthur. D.B., Erwin. G.K, and James.S. (2016). *Profil Kasus Bunuh Diri di Kota Manado Periode Januari–November 2015 [Profile of Suicide Cases in Manado City Period January–November 2015]*. *Jurnal e-Clinic*, Vol. 4, No. 1.
- [20] Nugroho, Wahyu Budi. (2012). *Pemuda, Bunuh Diri dan Resiliensi: Penguatan Resiliensi sebagai Pereduksi Angka Bunuh Diri di Kalangan Pemuda Indonesia [Youth, Suicide and Resilience: Strengthening Resilience as a Reducing Suicide Rate Among Indonesian Youth]*. *Jurnal Studi Pemuda*, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- [21] Ritzer, George. (2011). *Sosiologi Ilmu Pengetahuan Berparadigma Ganda [Sociology of Science with a Dual Paradigm]*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- [22] Ritzer, George. (2012). *Teori Sosiologi [Sociological Theory]*. Edisi kedelapan 2012. University of Maryland. Pustaka Pelajar. Celeban Timur. Yogyakarta
- [23] Sunarto, Kamanto. (2004). *Pengantar Sosiologi [Introduction to Sociology]*. Jakarta: FE Universitas Indonesia.
- [24] Upe, Ambo. (2010). *Tradisi Aliran dalam Sosiologi [Stream Tradition in Sociology]*. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada.
- [25] Usman, Sunyoto. (2012). *Sosiologi: Sejarah, Teori, dan Metodologi [Sociology: History, Theory and Methodology]*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- [26] Valentina, Tience Debora & Helmi, Avin Fadilla. (2016). *Ketidakberdayaan dan Perilaku Bunuh Diri: Meta-analisis [Helplessness and Suicidal Behavior: Meta-analysis]*. *Buletin Psikologi*, Vol. 24, No. 2.
- [27] Widodo, T. (2011). *Sosiologi Kependudukan [Population Sociology]*. Surakarta: LPP UNS dan UNS Press.