

LOCAL WISDOM IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF BUGIS-WAJO WEAVER COMMUNITY

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Abstract: Weaving activities for Bugis community is not only economically profitable activities, but also have local wisdom that is loaded with moral messages. The aim of this research is to describe how is local wisdom in weaving activities has been practiced by the groups of weavers and how is the moral economic base of the weavers in the middle of the market economy's wave. The research is using qualitative method with constructivist paradigm. The process of collecting data is using in-depth interview, participant observation, and documentation methods. The analysis of data is using data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The result of the research indicates the existence of the local wisdom in weaving activities that can be found in the function and the meaning of woven cloth, weaving activities as a creator of hard work's ethic, as well as the myths and prohibition in weaving activities that contained moral messages about protection system to women.

Keywords: Weaving, Bugis, Social-Economy, Local Wisdom.

1. Introductions

Local wisdom is a knowledge explicitly emerged from a long period and evolved along with community and its environment in a local system that experienced together. Evolution process that took a long time and embedded in a social system can make local wisdom as a potential energy resource from community's collective knowledge system to live dynamically and peacefully together. Weaving activity, for Bugis community, is not just cultural activity but also an activity with economic gain. The economic activity of weavers is embedded in the value and norm of Bugis community. This is in line with Granovetter (1985) who states that economic action is always socially situated and embedded in personal-social network taking place among the actors. Local wisdom is not only a guidance for one's behavior, but also able to make the community's life that full of civility become dynamic.

Substantially, local wisdom is the prevailing values in a community; values that believed to be true and become a reference in daily behavior of a local community. Therefore, it is reasonable when Geertz (1983) states that local wisdom is an entity highly determines human's value and dignity in their community. It means that local wisdom consisting of intelligence, creativity and local knowledge elements of the elites and community is the determining factor in the development of community civilization.

Local wisdom is usually reflected in community's life habit that taking place for a long time. The sustainability of local wisdom is reflected in values prevailing in the certain community's group. Those values become guidance for the community and turn into an integral part that can be observed through their daily attitude and behavior. Local wisdom describes more about a specific phenomenon that usually become characteristic of the community.

Weaving activities and knowledge has been going on since 13th century to present in Bugis community and it is a local wisdom that can be understood as idea that thoughtful, full of wisdom, having good values, and it is inherent in Bugis community's life and followed by its members. This type of knowledge developed within local scope and adjusting to community's condition and need. This knowledge also the result of creativity and innovation or ongoing trial involving internal input and external influence in order to adjust with local new condition. Therefore, this knowledge cannot be defined as ancient, less developed, static or unchanged knowledge.

Local wisdom in weaving activities in Bugis community developed through oral tradition from mouth to mouth or through informal education and get additional knowledge from new experiences, but this knowledge can also be lost or reduced (Fitria, 2011; Idris *et.al.*, 2009; Kahdar 2009). It is certain that knowledge irrelevant to community's situation and need will be gone or abandoned. Weavers' capacity in managing change is also part of indigenous knowledge. Therefore, local wisdom in weaving activities can be seen as the accumulation of collective experiences through generations that dynamic in nature and continue to change in line with times. Various local wisdoms emerging in the activity of weavers in Wajo Regency, as describe follow, can appear in the woven cloth or in weaver acts.

Fitria (2011) states that every region has their own design, characteristic and different meaning on their weaving motif depends on their own culture. For example, in Payakumbuh and Pandai Sikek in West Sumatra, spiritualism element dominating the weaving motif in form of design such as bamboo shoot tip shape that symbolizing a power that growth from within. Morality element contains in weaving design motif of Palembang such as jasmine flower symbolizing holiness and courteousness or *bunga tanjung* as a symbol of hospitality. Meanwhile, in Kalimantan, the design is related to magical spiritualism, such as eagle and reptile motifs. These motifs represent the above and under world and consider sacred because people in Kalimantan, especially Dayak tribe, considers certain bird voice heard from the wood is magical voice with certain meaning from the God. While in Bali, woven cloth is influenced by Hinduism element. It can be seen from the design that similar to *pura* (temple) reliefs and Balinese sculpture art or puppet (*wayang*) motif came from Hindu-Bali legend.

Asian woven cloth is a strong and interesting art (Maxwell, 2003). Spiritual and ritual elements on the cloth have roles in religious ceremonies and ritual (Yukimatsu, *et al.*, 2008). Textile has an important role in practical life of ritual and religious ceremonies of

Asian people for centuries. Local weavers with knowledge on community's custom and tradition have created various patterns in a repetitive process developed for centuries. A study by Yukimatsu, *et.al* (2008) indicates that Matmii woven cloth from Thailand-Lao and Kasuri from Japan has developed under the influence of times and local culture. Local custom and environment has created differences on both. Asian woven clothes are one of strong and interesting arts. A prominent difference found in the pattern or design. In addition, Yukimatsu also states that woven cloth from Thailand-Lao and Japan were initially functioned as clothes in religious celebration and ritual. The economic function emerges later that bring profit to local community as a value added of the woven produced. This value added, in turn, is able to increase local community welfare. Similar symptom also indicated by Sitorus' (1999) research on weavers at Batak Toba North Sumatra.

The reality in Wajo indicates that there are around 5.113 primitive handlooms and 1.914 improved-handlooms (*alat tenun bukan mesin/ATBM*). Around 75% or 1.435 ATBM owned by weaving entrepreneurs and 479 ATBM owned by home industries and only one company owned power driven-loom (ATM) (Secondary Data, processed, 2012). The co-existence of those three types of weaving industries in one area is an interesting fact to be examined because each weaving group has its own process in weaving activities. This issue can be searched through analysis of economic action embeddedness of weavers related to the existence of local wisdom in weaving activities and moral economic ethic shaping the economic system of weavers. Based on the issue, the main question for the research is how does the form of social-economic system based on local intelligence and wisdom in weaver communities in Wajo Regency.

2. Methodology

The research was conducted at Tanasitolo Subdistrict Wajo Regency as the development center of weaving activities in South Sulawesi Province – Indonesian. Research targets was communities involved in weaving activities stayed at the research location during the research period, either as *gedogan* looms weavers, ATBM weavers or weaving entrepreneur. Respondents were selected using snowball method. The number of informants in this study as many as 15 people. Consisting of 3 *gedogan* weavers, handloom weavers 3, 4 weaving businessmen, public figures 3 and 2 scientists who have studied about weaving. Data search was stopped at the time of data submitted informant had repeatedly (experiencing saturation point).

The research used constructive paradigm (Denzim and Lincoln: 2000). Data collection was conducted using in-depth interview, observation and documentation methods. The study lasted six months, namely from March - August 2014. Interviews were conducted at three different times that morning, noon and night. Interviews and observations carried out repeatedly on the informants either at work or when the informant is at rest. Researchers consulted with the informant about the readiness of their time to receive the

researchers conducted interviews and observations. Three steps data analysis were used in the research, data reduction, data presentation and conclusion (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Examination on data validity was conducted through four ways, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 The Function and Meaning of Woven Cloth for Bugis Community

Based on the function and meaning of woven cloth for the Bugis, there are four categories of woven cloth function: as an ordinary clothing or to protect the body from the natural impacts; as a gift; as a status symbol and prestige that considered sacred; and as an object used for ceremonies. The persistence of weaving culture in Bugis people is related to the strong tradition followed as life philosophy bridging modern advancement with prevailed norms. All aspects of Bugis culture still symbolized on the woven cloth as a clothing, gift or a high award, status symbol or a supplement for local cultural ceremonies.

3.1.1 Woven Cloth as a Clothing

The main function of Bugis woven cloth for Bugis ethnic is as a clothing. This reality can be found in the daily life of the Bugis who still wear the cloth as *sarung* and clothing. *Sarung* and clothing are used as clothing for wedding activity, a formal clothing to attend formal occasions, informal clothing or daily clothing when they are cooking, taking a shower, shopping and so on. The motif or material used will be adjusted according to the situation where it is will be used and to the person who going to wear it. Genuine silk usually used for formal clothing, for informal clothing the material will be a mixed of silk and cotton with middle quality. The price is in accordance to the quality of material used. The motif and color are less important. Personal taste has more influence in determining *sarung* and clothing. However, there are people who still choose the motif of woven cloth as the symbol of their identity. A noble motif is a motif created in no-pictorial period or around 1400-1600, which is *mettetong* motif, in which it is a vertical line motif with gold or silver yarn accent (Kahdar, 2009). Another motif considered as noble motif is *cobo* motif, which is a motif similar to wave shape created in 1600-1900 or square period.

The existence of *cobo* or *bombang* (wave) motif is strongly influenced by the livelihood system of Bugis community as fishermen, which is by seeing the wave on the sea surface (Idris, et al: 2009). Every new motif would be dedicated to the kings and noblesse at that time. This habit of seeing wave by local community became an inspiration when making woven fabric with *cobo* or *bombing* (wave) motifs.

The human need for recognition of identity is described on the *lipa* (sarung) that has undergone a shift. In order to maintain or to show status on clothing, the initial motif of *cobo* is adapted into square motif. *Lipa* (sarong) itself for South Sulawesi people in general and especially for the Bugis is traditional clothing for either men or women. The

strength of Bugis woven cloth as clothing is the characteristic of custom power held by the people through present day.

The development of Bugis woven cloth in the next century, which is pictorial period or in 1900 – present, shows various trend of woven cloth by displaying various pictorial motif. The introduction of improved handloom (ATBM) in 1951 and power-driven looms (ATM) in 2001 makes Bugis woven cloth more dynamic. This tendency brings more variation on the development of motif with the introduction of Bugis woven cloth with pictorial motif. The combination of high skill and sufficient technology introduced motifs with flower and animal pictures or any picture the weavers seen at that time. It is a proof that Bugis community has high civilization. Even the combination of color on the woven structure result adds certain esthetic value on Bugis *lippa*

3.1.2 Bugis Woven Cloth as a Gift

In addition to its use as clothing, Bugis' woven cloth also a symbol of appreciation to someone that can be interpreted as respect, high honor and the acceptance of someone. For example, in *mapparola* ceremony, a ceremony to accept new daughter-in-law and her family, beside gold, parent-in-law and their relatives give *lippa* (sarong) to daughter-in-law as a symbol that they accept her as part of their family. Every relatives give *lippa* as a present to the new daughter-in-law. Also in the wedding reception, people give *lippa* as a keepsake. *Lippa* is a valuable good and it is comparable to money in certain time, or even more valuable than money. The motif and color of *lippa* gave as a present depends on the person who gave it, and to whom it will be given to. However, at present, *lippa* motif as present has been adjusted to the economic level of the giver.

In early 1950s, there was a story in the creation of a motif that initially as a gift. It is very popular in Bugis community at Wajo as a beautiful symbol of a gift on *lippa* motif. It was told that once upon a time a woman (first wife) was weaving for her husband who was leaving her for another woman. Her love to the husband was described on the *lippa* motif. It was told that the *lippa* was given to the second wife. After receiving the *lippa*, the husband was very touching by the beauty of the motif that brought him back to the first wife. The motif called *mappa giling*, means to come back again (Kahdar, 2009).

Entering the 15th century, the function of woven cloth as a gift was increasingly develop by making it as a gift for the safety of any relatives who will be travelling (Kahdar, 2009; Idris et al: 2009). For Bugis settled foreigner, the woven clth they received as a gift from their relatives was a valuable gift because it can be used as a transaction tool to be traded with other goods based on their needs in the foreign area.

At present, *lippa* as a gift also often to be given to family, neighbors, or friends who want to go to pilgrimage to Mecca (Haji). This gift will be donated as they arrived at Mecca. Woven cloth also can be used as a present for government officers or important person who visits Bugis. This gift is a symbol of respect from Bugis ethnic to those officer or important person.

3.1.3 Bugis' Woven Fabric as Status Symbol

The existence of Bugis' woven cloth is important for them at present or past. It is because the cloth is a status symbol, which is a prestige to show someone's position or existence in the community. For Bugis community, the cloth is a symbol representing those position or existence. Woven cloth as a status symbol is reflected on Bugis' bridal wedding chair. The more the cloth displayed on the bridal wedding place (*baruga*), the higher the social status of the family (Kahdar: 2009).

There also another sample related to the color of *lippa* (sarong) used as a clothing as well as symbolizing the status of the person who wear it. Colors used as a symbol of high social strata are red and green with gold and silver accent as a symbol of nobility. Gold and silver are considered high because in 1600s, when gold and silver entered Sulawesi territory, only kings and noble family who used it (Chabot: 1996).

The social strata levels in Bugis community, which are noble class (*Arung/Datu*) as the top class, common people or free people (*to sama/to maradeka*) as the middle class, and slave (*ata*) as the lowest class, can be identified from the color of their clothing at the traditional wedding ceremony. The colors of *baju bodo* (traditional clothing) determined for the noble class are purple, green and yellow; for common people or free people the colors are pink and dark red. The identification of the color of *baju bodo* and the user are as follow:

- a) Pink traditional clothing, in Bugis term called *bodo pella-pella*, is made from silk or cotton fibers woven. This pink color wears by teenager from 10-17 years old. This *baju bodo* has thinner and transparent woven. The material for this *baju bodo* is woven without any motif or plain. This dress usually wears with patterned sarong made from silk or cotton fiber with the same color as the dress.
- b) Light green traditional clothing (*kudara*) is used by noble girls
- c) Yellow traditional clothing made from cotton wears by common girls (*to sama/to maradeka*)
- d) Dark red traditional clothing, called *waju bodo salaeja*, wears by married women
- e) Black traditional clothing, called *waju bodo nyila*, is made from cotton or silk woven consists of two layers and the length of the cloth reach the calf. It is wears by older women and also used when mourning.
- f) White traditional clothing, in the past, wore by lady-in-waiting and kings nurses but now usually wears by women who gave birth.

In the past, certain color and motif of woven fabric were used based on the strata. For example, green color were made for noble class, red for middle class (*tau deceng*), black and white colors for slaves. The traditional clothing for women in Bugis composed of sarong and *baju bodo*. Sarong and *baju bodo* are woven from silk fiber if they are going to be used for party, but for daily use, they are made from cotton fiber. Sarong made from silk woven called *lippa sabbe* and from cotton woven called *lippa wennang*. Whereas,

traditional clothing for men to go to a party is silk sarong with coat that match the color of the sarong. Green color is for noble class and red color is for common people, and the entourages wear black or white color.

3.1.4 Bugis Woven Fabric as Ceremonial Goods

Bugis woven cloth as the identity of Bugis community now mostly used as one of equipments for ceremonies. The symbol presented on the motif of *lippa* has made *lippa* as a cultural object that considered as cultural heritage and often included in every traditional ceremonies of Bugis community. For example, in a ceremony called *mappalisu lolo*, a ceremony conducted on the 40th days after giving birth. At that day, the mother is allowed to take a shower with usual water because before that day she only took a shower with water mixed with flowers and leaves. Another example is in *mappe gemme* ceremony (a ceremony to cut child's hair). The child's clothing is based on her/his age; while the parents' will be chosen among the traditional clothing. The child will be laid down on seven layers of *lippa* (sarong) symbolizing the level of human life.

Another ceremony using *lappo* as customary object is *mappaci* ritual. The ceremony is conducted for bride-to-be before the wedding is conducted. The main purpose of this ceremony is to get bless and advice from the elder for their marriage. Seven layers of *lippa* are folded and arranged on a small table as a place for the bride-to-be to put their hands. The top layer of *lippa* is lined with banana leaves. Every elder people give bless and advice after give a mark by putting henna on the hand palms and spread rice to the bride-to-be.

The ceremonies conducted in form of rituals related to the livelihood of Bugis community, including life cycle ceremony. These ceremonies are the habit of Bugis community. Most Bugis community, in their daily life, is still bound by norm and customary systems that considered sacred.

3.2 The Formation of Hard Work Ethics (*Reso/Pajjama*), Persistence (*Tinulu*) and Accuracy in Weaving Activities

One of important aspects for the creation of Bugis woven cloth is the technical aspect of weaving process. It is important because the creation of motif is related to technical aspect involved in weaving process, from the processing the yarn to the technology used. There are three technologies used in weaving process, *gedogan* looms known as *walida*, improved handlooms (ATBM) and power-driven looms (ATM).

Results gained from those three weaving tools, indeed, are different. In weaving process, the weaver use varied work time and work hour. There are two categories on weaver's work hour, morning-noon and afternoon, and morning and afternoon. Based on the application of weaving work hour, it is known that weavers work from morning-noon and afternoon need around eight hours every day. They are usually start to weave at 09.00 am

until *Zuhur* prayer time or lunch-time (around 12.00 – 13.00) and after that they will continue the activities until *Ashar* prayer time (around 14.00-15.00). After praying, they will continue again until *Maghrib* prayer time (at sunset). This arrangement is due to the majority of weavers are women and they have to share their time between weaving and household activities. Before they start to weave in the morning, household matters like washing, cooking, taking care of husband and child are already taken care of. Therefore, the place to weave is located as near as possible with the kitchen to make them easier to do activities in their house. However, now, weaving activities are conducted under the house. Those series of work reflect a work ethic (*reso*) and persistence (*tinulu*) formed in the activities series conducted by weavers every day.

Weavers in Wajo believe that to gain rightful (*halal*) livelihood, they have to work hard and wholeheartedly on what they do and leave the rest to God. This belief is embedded in Bugis culture contained in an expression *Lontarak: Resopa natinulu, natemmanginni namalomo naletei pammase Dewata Seuwaee* (hard work and persistence will be the only way to God). (Rahim, 1985)

Various weaving activities demand persistence, hard work and accuracy. For example, in one of activities in weaving, which is *menganai (massau)*², an activity where weaver stretch yarn strand by strand from one house pole to another over and over again after it reaches 3.700 yarn or it depends on the length of cloth to be woven. If they miscalculate the yarn or a yarn broken, they have to start all over again. Therefore, it is demanded that weaver has persistence, hard work and accuracy. *Menganai* activity takes time about 4-6 hours to produce one warp thread that ready for weaving.

Another activity in weaving that need hard work, persistence and accuracy is pecking process (*apparisi*). In this activity, yarns resulted from the *anai*³ activity are put one by one into weaving comb. This activity takes place around 2 – 4 hours. After pecking process (*apparisi*), weaving process can be started. Weaving activities always need persistence, hard work and accuracy within the weavers. After the hard working then leave the rest to God.

3.3 Myths and Prohibitions in Weaving Activities

Various myths and prohibitions related to weaving activities exist in Wajo community to present. Wajo community still believes that *walida*, one of parts used in *gedogan* looms, is a weapon for women. According to the local belief, if *walida* is being struck to a man, he would immediately die or if he has supernatural power, his power will gone.

This belief is a myth created by Bugis ancestor to give security system for women (weavers) from men. An APJ informant states that:

² *Menganai/anai* is an activity to stretch the yarn to make a warp threads for weaving

³ Refer to *menganai* definition

“During weaving activities, women position is between weaving tools (loom) and this is a vulnerable position for sexual abuse from men. Therefore, one of tools that reachable for weaver to fight back if someone tries to abuse her is *walida*. In the past, Bugis women seldom to go out from their house and if they did, they would wear two layers of cloth, blouse and skirt and two *sarong*; one *sarong* to cover part of body from stomach till toe and the other one to cover head till stomach. While Bugis men, if they wanted to approach a girl, they would listen to the sound of weaving tools and they would go to the sound source. While weaving, men were able to see the girl whom they love. With the position of weaver during weaving activities and the vulnerability of being abused by men, the myth on *walida* was created as a weapon for women” (Interview, December 28, 2011).

Based on the statement above, it can be understood that the creation of *walida* myth as a weapon for women is meant to protect women from sexual abuse. *Walida* has blade-like shape and usually it made from *ulin* wood (a very strong wood) or black wood as the symbol of women resistance to all men with bad intention. *Walida* is located near the weaver because it is used to loosen the yarn being woven. After weaving, women will keep *walida* under her bed that can be used at any time as a weapon when men intend to abuse her on bed. The moral message to be conveyed with this *walida* myth is that for men to treat women appropriately and to prevent them from abusing women and for women to take the fight to every man who want to harm them.

The local community also believes on prohibition for preventing any item to fall during *menganai* activities. It is prohibited to talk during *menganai* activities before the yarn to be woven has been spinning for seven times. According to this belief, if something falls during this activity, the family will be hit by disaster. When starting *menganai* activity, one should hold breath until the yarn to be woven has been spinning for three times. This myth and prohibition is created by Bugis ancestors to maintain weaver’s concentration during *menganai* activity. All items should be kept so that they will not fall during *menganai* activity, because if one item falls, person who are weaving will be surprised and his/her concentration will be distracted. *Menganai* is a process stretching yarn strand by strand to create a warp and the amount can reaches 3.700 yarns or it depends on the length of cloth to be woven. This activity is usually conducted in the morning until noon and took about 2 – 4 hours or depends on the weavers’ skill.

Another myth and prohibition is related to the time of weaving activities series. According to Bugis calendar system, that:

“*Dua ompona ulengnge, jongai asenna, madeceng diappmulang sau sabbe, masittai tepu tennungnge* (means that the second night the moon appeared, called “Deer” moon, is a good time to start *menganai* (*massau*) activity, because weaving activity will finish quickly). *Seppulo tellu ompona ulengngnge, maegai asenna, megelloi diappamulang tennung* (means that the 13th night the moon appeared, called “many” moon, is a good time to start weaving activity)”. In addition, the same source also states that *seppulo eppa ompona ulengnge, bale asenna, majai di sappekeng tennnun* (means that the 14th night the moon appeared, called “fish” moon, is not a good time to cut woven cloth). *Duappulo*

seddi ompona ulengnge, pari asenna, majai diappmulang tennung (means that the 21st night the moon appeared, called "rayfish" moon, is not a good time to start weaving activity)" (Source: Documentation of *Lontarak Abbilangenna Tanah Wajo*, owned by Andi Padjarungi).

Based on that *lontarak bilangannya tanah Wajo* (a book about calendar system of Wajo community), it can be understood that there are good and bad days to start weaving activities. Two days the moon appeared, called "Deer" moon (the second night the moon appeared) is believed as a good day to start weaving and the process can be finished quickly. According to the Bugis ancestor, deer can run fast; therefore, when people start to weave on "deer moon", the process can be finished quickly just like the deer run. The myth about "deer moon" contains message that the weaver should finish their woven fabric on that time, because when the full moon come (10-15 days of the moon appeared), it will be a good time for Bugis community to conduct ceremonies (wedding, circumcision, entering a new home, etc). If it takes 10 days to weave one cloth, so it will be finished before the ceremonies started. So that weaver can help preparing the ceremonies.

Thirteen days the moon appeared, called "many" moon (*uleng maega*), is a good day to start weaving. People who start weaving on this moon is expected to have more income and the woven cloth will be sold quickly. Weaving activity started at *uleng maega* time usually coincides with big ceremonies conducted in the community such as wedding, circumcision and entering a new house; therefore, people who start their weaving activity at this time often leave their activity to help their neighbors, relatives and friends who are having a ceremony. The involvement of weaver in the ceremony is by helping the physical works and give donation either money or goods. The reciprocal principle characterizes the ceremonial activities conducted by weaver community. Thus, weaver involved in the ceremony is expected to gain return when they have their own ceremony. This is the meaning of myth about a good time to start weaving activity on "many" moon (*uleng maega*) because weavers involvement in community ceremonies will get return when they have their own ceremony (reciprocity); therefore, this exchange activities can give guarantee on more income for the weaver.

Whereas, the belief about bad day to start weaving such as on "*bale* (fish)" and "*pari* (*rayfish*)" moons related to the fact that fish and rayfish are cut and then to be eaten. The Bugis community who create this myth and prohibition did not expect weaver and the woven cloth user to be treated as fish and rayfish, which is to be cut and eaten; therefore, they create the myth that it is not good to start cutting the woven cloth on "*bale* (fish)" and "*pari* (*rayfish*)" moons.

The myth and prohibition in conducting weaving activity on "*bale* (fish)" and "*pari* (*rayfish*)" moons also contain moral message to skimp. The weavers are expected for not spend all their income from selling the cloth on basic needs only, because they might at any times cannot work and lose their income. Therefore, some of their income should be saved as a preparation for needs other than basic needs. When weavers cannot work or

lose their income, they can use the saving to fulfill their need. Besides, some sudden events that need money might occur such as attending a celebration invitation, medical treatment or grief cost.

Another myth and prohibition is related to the prohibition for pregnant women to cut woven cloth. According to local belief, pregnant women who cut a woven cloth can give birth to children with disabilities. This belief also followed by all *gedogan* weavers. While, among ATBM weavers and weaving entrepreneur in Wajo community, myth and prohibition in weaving activity are no longer exist at this time. This situation on ATBM weavers and weaving entrepreneur is similar to Weber's (1958) finding on the emergence of capitalism in Western world where rationalization of world affairs appeared and magic efforts were erased.

3.4 Economic Dimension in Bugis Weaving Tradition

Bugis woven cloth, in addition to the social and cultural meaning, has economical function for weaver community in Bugis. This economical function appeared later when the fabric started to be produced to meet the market taste. The phenomenon started to emerge when improved-handlooms (*alat tenun bukan mesin/ATBM*) entered Wajo in 1950s. The phenomenon clarified that rural areas were not only provides agricultural and fishery product for the community at the village or urban area, but also could produce industrial product especially creative industry such as woven cloth.

The character of Bugis-Wajo people in fulfilling their family economy is reflected in their philosophical view states that "*tellu bessi dipake*" (three irons used) in the search of livelihood (Interview, Andi Padjarungi, 2011). Those three irons are: *first*, Father is the main breadwinner who generally has profession as farmer, fisherman or merchant. *Second*, mother helps the husband by becoming a weaver besides doing her activity in the kitchen and other household activities (washing and taking care of children). *Third*, son is helping his parents by becoming a shepherd. Daughter is helping her mother in weaving activity. After the son grow up as a teenager or young adult, Bugis parents will encourage their son to go to another place to make a living. The involvement of all family members in economic activity is an effort to sustain the economic life of the family.

The Bugis-Wajo community always interprets the household live like sailing the ship of life. It is means that every household in Bugis is like a "ship" that should be equipped with three poles to sustain the family economy. Andi Padjarungi (Interview, 2011) states that there is local wisdom by Wajo people related to the tradition of *pappasen* (wise messages) as revealed that "*dua – tellu pabbisena, namoni dua tellu pabbisena, nako poloi dua pabbisena, pappadai to bongngoE*" (two to three oars, even with two to three oars, but if two oars are broken it is like failing in life). The tradition of *pappaseng/paseng* (wise messages) in household life as mentioned above indicates that Bugis-Wajo people always encourage every family member (father, mother, and children) to help each other (*sibali reso/sibali perri*) in fulfilling family economy. If

children and wife are unable to contribute in supporting family economy, it is like failing (*to bongngo*) in sailing the ship of life. This tradition is always socialized among every members of the family when they get together, especially when they are resting, eating together or before taking a night sleep. *Pappaseng/paseng* socialization also conducted to the next generations.

The work ethic of Bugis-Wajo is a voluntary attitude without being forced to do an activity. It is the nature, character, life quality, moral and mood of someone or a society. Related to the work ethic, Wajo community always basing their work ethic on local wisdom as contained in the culture "*resopa, natinulu, natemmangingngi namalomo naletei pammase dewata*" (only with hard work, persistence, and not easily satisfied or give up that God will bless us).

Hard work (*resopa*) is the reflection of Bugis-Wajo weavers' character who works hard to support family economy. According to Bugis view, laziness (*makattu*) can plunge someone into poverty and losing his/her self-esteem or shame (*siri*) in the community. Weaving activity cannot be separated from hard work (*resopa*) spirit that becomes the basic for fulfilling economic need as part of efforts to uphold their self-esteem or shame among the community. Shame (*masiri*) is not only borne by oneself but also his/her family. Every family always reminds each other (*sipakainge*) to have high work ethic.

Hard work must be accompanied by persistence (*tinulu*) and not easily satisfied or give up (*temmangingngi*) because in the view of Bugis-Wajo community, the expected work dedication is maximum result, means that in doing the work, one should be wholehearted with full responsibility until the work is done. After someone doing his/her work with hard work, persistence and not easily satisfied on his/her work, the next step is ask for blessing from God on what he/she did. This local wisdom is truly embedded in weaving activity conducted by Wajo community. The success in weaving activity from the view of Wajo weavers is not only determined by human work that real in nature but also by blessing from God that abstract in nature and only can be reached by prayer and work.

Weaving activity is an activity that able to drive economic wheel of community in Wajo Regency. Various community layers rely on the weaving activity. Some of the weaver communities in Wajo make the weaving activity as the main livelihood and the rest make it as the side job with economic result. The existence of weaver in Wajo community can be seen on the following table:

Table 1. Data on Weavers in Wajo Regency in 2014

No.	SUBDISTRICT	BUSINESS UNIT	WORK FORCE (worker)	INVESTMENT VALUE (Rp.000)	PRODUCTION VALUE (Rp.000)	RAW MATERIAL VALUE (Rp.000)	VALUE ADDED (Rp.000)
1.	SABBANGPARU	720	3.319	441.890	2.140.604	1.290.852	849.752
2.	TEMPE	1.640	4.652	4.270.318	14.308.119	8.111.915	6.196.204
3.	PAMMANA	691	1.104	148.081	1.064.718	568.183	496.535
4.	TAKKALALLA	203	280	30.865	280.185	146.007	134.178
5.	SAJOANGING	244	343	207.974	1.013.181	656.621	356.560
6.	MAJAULENG	980.	1.309	353.564	1.966.301	1.000.468	965.833
7.	TANASITOLO	1.886	8.879	3.591.422	14.051.372	8.544.360	5.507.012
8.	BELAWA	64	170	39.660	164.338	95.659	68.679
9.	MANIANGPAJO	306	410	277.556	1.007.898	602.508	405.390
10.	PITUMPANUA	7	9	509	8.432	4.218	4.214
11.	BOLA	10	18	813	12.670	6.020	6.650
12.	KEERA	5	7	467	6.020	3.010	3.010
13.	PENGRANG	199	270	16.200	240.200	120.200	120.000
14.	GILIRENG	72	98	5.854	86.831	43.344	43.487
	JUMLAH	7.027	20.868	9.385.173	36.350.869	21.193.365	15.157.505

Source: Cooperation, SME, and Industrial Agent Wajo Regency, 2014.

Based on **Table 1**, it can be seen that there are 7.027 weaving business units consists of 5.113 *gedogan* (primitive) looms, ATMB and ATM of 1.914 units either producing silk or non-silk clothes. The employment rate for activities of *gedogan* weaving is 6.131 workers; while ATBM and ATM silk and non-silk is 14.637 workers. The investment value is Rp. 9.385 billion with cloth production value is Rp. 36.350 billion. The value of raw materials consists of yarn and dye is Rp. 21.193 billion. The value added from weaving activities in Wajo Regency in 2011 is Rp. 15.16 billion or around 24.35 percent of total output of all small and home industries. *Gedogan* weaving produced around

±20.240 sarong per year; whereas, for ATBM and ATM the production is ± 4.063.687 meter every year. This indicates that weaving activities in Wajo has important role in the development of local economy. It is in line with Jarvis *et. al* (2002) who highlighting the tendency of a company. Small and medium industries have important role in the development of local economy.

Gedogan weavers in Wajo make their weaving activities as a side job during their leisure time, but what they gain from weaving activities is able to help and support their family economy. ATBM weavers, in the other hand, have started to make weaving activities as their routine job, but it is not their main income source in supporting the family economy. The main income source of *gedogan* and ATBM weavers come from their husband who work as farmers or fishermen. For weaving entrepreneurs, weaving activities has been their main job and the main source of family economy.

Weaving activities in Bugis-Wajo community located in rural areas benefiting from the characteristic of labor market, such as cheap and loyal workers. The utilization of those cheap and loyal workers is not a concern because they are usually weak in management and sometimes inefficient. Weavers are weak regarding to management and financial arrangement. This symptom is in accordance with a research from Keeble *et al* (1992) that rural small industries having some problems related to business development and efficiency due to the lack of technical and skilled workers; besides, they are also weak in terms of management and professional staffs.

The development of natural silk in Wajo Regency is conducted in cluster. Weaving activities are exist in fourteen regencies, with the main concentration is in Tanasitolo Subdistrict. Mulberry plant and silkworm are developed in Sabbangparu, Gilireng and Takkalalla Subdistricts. There are hundreds of mulberry and silkworm farmers and it is one of income sources for their family. The development of mulberry plants in Wajo Regency is located in area of ±240 Ha using cultivation techniques such as pure planting, intercropping and yard planting. Mulberry plant in Wajo Regency has production potential of 33.600 ton mulberry leaves every year and is able to meet the requirement for nurturing 48.000 box of silkworm eggs with production capacity of 416.771 kg cocoon per year (Armayani, *et al*: 2009). The development of mulberry plant and silkworm also conducted in other regencies near Wajo Regency, such as: Enkerang, Sidrap, Soppeng, and Luwu Regencies.

Weaving activities in Wajo is able to provide jobs and additional income for 91 spinning mills that hire 882 workers. Based on their operational, spinning mills industries in Wajo Regency are developed in several levels, which are using *reeling* tools with manual, semi-mechanical and semi-automatic systems (Armayani, *et al*. 2009). There are 274 spinning units that able to produce raw silk yarn (not ready for weaving) of 6.389 kg per year. This yarn should go through twisting process to get silk yarn that ready for weaving.

There are also traders that taking economic advantage from weaving activity in Wajo Regency. These traders will show up in the activities of buying and selling mulberry seedling, silkworm breeder, silk yarn and woven fabric. Weaving activities in this area has strategic position because it is able to create job and give economical benefit for thousands of people so that economical life in the local level becoming dynamic. The sustainability of weaving activity is able to support the economy of Wajo community. It is cannot be separated from the cultural root of Bugis-Wajo that embedded in the community, which is a local wisdom contained in the culture of "*resopa, natinulu, natemmangingngi namalomo naletei pammase dewata*" (only with hard work, persistence, and not easily satisfied/give up that God (Allah SWT) will bless us). Based on the empirical reality, Bugis-Wajo people's view on the relationship between work function and income level and God bless shows similarity to Weber's thesis (1958; 1978) on the emergence of Western capitalism that consider work as a sacred calling. Capitalism spirit according to Weber is based on protestant doctrine that uphold work spirit, efficient, rational and ability to refrain. A successful work can be interpreted that those religion followers are the chosen one. The intensification of religious devotion realized through hard work is a description and self-declaration of the chosen one (Abdullah, 2006). The difference between work ethic of Bugis people and Western capitalism ethic as described by Weber is, for Bugis people, beside working hard to get the bless from God, they also make their work as part of their effort to maintain their *siri'na* (self-esteem). To maintain their self-esteem and shame, Bugis people always avoid arrogance, laziness and dishonest; because those characters can ruin one's good name and his/her family's. This Bugis ethic is similar to Bellah finding on samurai family ethic in Japan that always encourage their family member to be honest, work hard and efficient as part of their service to maintain their family's shame (Suwarsono and So, 1991). The difference between Samurai ethic and Bugis ethic is that Samurai people will put loyalty to their country above the loyalty to their family; whereas, Bugis people will put loyalty to their family first.

4. Conclusion

Weaving activities for Bugis – Wajo community is a local wisdom; it has good value and embedded within Bugis community life. Various local wisdom are contained in the function of woven cloth in Bugis community: woven cloth as daily clothing or as a medium to cover their body and to protect them from the surrounding environment; woven cloth as a gift; as a status symbol and prestige that consider sacred; and as an object used in ceremonies.

Weaving activities for Bugis-Wajo women is an activity that form work hard ethic (*reso/pajama*), persistence (*tinulu*) and accuracy. Therefore, a woman who is able to finish one woven cloth is considered ready to get married because she has those characters needed in household life. Hard work ethic (*reso/pajama*) and persistence (*tinulu*) characters not only belong to men as someone who responsible to fulfill family needs. Women are also encouraged to have hard work ethic (*reso/pajama*) and

persistence (*tinulu*) as part of their responsibilities to help their husband to fulfill the family economical need.

Household life is always need hard work ethic (*reso/pajama*), persistence (*tinulu*) and accuracy. Therefore, a woman (wife) has moral responsibility to give guarantee for the sustainability of livelihood for every family member. A woman (wife) as someone who arranges family financial also encouraged to be accurate or careful when keeping her husband treasure and honor. This position indicates the meaning of Bugis local wisdom that a woman who is able to produce one woven cloth is considered ready to get married.

There are some myths and prohibitions related to weaving activities. Those myths and prohibitions are: Wajo community still believes that *walida* as one of tools used in gedogan looms is a weapon for women. This myth has moral message about the need to glorify women. The myth about prohibition for not talking for women when doing *menganai* activities is a warning for weavers to concentrate on their job.

The existence of local wisdom in weaving activities inspires the creation of family institution in Bugis community. Bugis family give huge emphasize on the importance for every family member to have mutual help ethic (*sibali reso/sibali perri*), hard worker (*reso/pajama*), persistence (*tinulu*) and not easily give up (*temmangingngi*), accuracy, efficient, and to protect the weak and oppressed and to fight back. A family foundation in Bugis community should be built based on local wisdom values in weaving activities as mentioned before.

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