

SOCIAL MOBILITY OF THE BUGIS FEMALE HAJJ PILGRIMS

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ABSTRACT

This research delves into the social mobility of Bugis female Hajj pilgrims, examining not only the ways in which the experience of performing the Hajj transforms Bugis women socially but also how this mobility becomes integral to their cultural lives. Utilizing qualitative methods which include field studies and interviews with Bugis women who have completed the Hajj, this research positions them as agents, actors, and subjects. Its objective is to reveal the various forms of social mobility that have reshaped the status of Bugis women who have performed the Hajj. Specifically, it investigates the role of the Hajj as a social identity within Bugis society, the social and cultural transformations experienced by Bugis female Hajj pilgrims, and the effects of their social mobility on changes in their societal status and roles. Field findings show that the social mobility of Bugis female Hajj pilgrims is deeply intertwined with the community's respect for the difficult journey of performing the Hajj, from departure to return. This journey redefines women's positions within religious rituals, fosters cultural cohesion through the symbolic attributes worn during the Hajj, and generates both direct and indirect impacts on society through the pilgrims' contributions.

Keywords: *Social Mobility; Bugis Female; Hajj Pilgrims*

INTRODUCTION

The centuries-long history of Islam's arrival to mainland Sulawesi in the 17th century brought about profound changes in societal dynamics. Particularly significant was the decision of the Bugis Kings to establish Islam as the official religion of the kingdom, extending invitations to neighboring kingdoms to embrace Islam collectively. This Islamic influence was not limited to coastal communities; even inland regions garnered the attention of influential monarchs (Mappangara, 2003; Nasiruddin, 2020). The integration of Islamic principles into local culture strengthened, guided by the principles of *sara*'

(Islamic law). Initially controversial, the Pangngadereng culture underwent a process of elaboration within the community, solidifying into a cornerstone of social institution. This integration laid the foundation for the Bugis Islamic community to utilize Islamic values and cultural practices as guiding principles in their daily lives. (Rahim, 1992; Mulkan, 1998; Djamas, 1998).

The increase in the number of Muslims within Bugis society has brought dynamism to religious rituals. Among these, completing the pillars of Islam, particularly performing the Hajj pilgrimage, stands out as a paramount aspiration. In an era marked by rapid development, the significance of the Hajj extends beyond its religious connotations. It has evolved into a marker of social identity, economic legitimacy, and cultural expression within society (Nasiruddin, 2021). To fulfill these complex roles, individuals enthusiastically endeavor to perform the Hajj pilgrimage. For the Bugis people, embarking on the Hajj journey is a matter of pride, symbolizing a journey filled with challenges from departure to return to their homes (Hamid et al., 2003; Normasunah, 2019). It is undeniable that the experience of the Hajj has given rise to numerous cultural phenomena within Bugis society (Subair, 2019). Interestingly, a significant majority of Bugis pilgrims are women.

This research found that out of 78 percent of individuals undertaking the Hajj pilgrimage, 60 percent were women and they were identified as housewives (Agustang, 2018). Despite the strict guidelines within the Islamic faith regarding women's travel, which typically mandate the presence of a *mahram* or, at the very least, a husband during long journeys (Bobihu, 2023), notable scholars within the Shafi'i and Maliki schools have provided concessions for the Hajj pilgrimage. They advocate for participation within trusted groups that ensure safety and security throughout the worship process (Zahroh & Muhajarah, 2024). Consequently, it is not surprising that a higher number of Bugis women undertake the Hajj compared to men.

The dynamics surrounding the Hajj pilgrimage within Indonesian society are undergoing functional changes, as evidenced by several research findings. Three relevant studies have been summarized to shed light on this phenomenon. Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1990 & 1984), for instance, conducted a survey on the socio-economic profile of Indonesian Hajj pilgrims. He explained that economic factors significantly influence the dynamics of the Indonesian Hajj. Similarly, studies have examined the tradition of wearing Hajj clothing within the Bugis ethnic group (Nirwati et al., 2021; Kasman, 2019), revealing notable differences in Bugis women's attire before and after performing the Hajj pilgrimage. Furthermore, investigations into the relationship between the Hajj pilgrimage and the social status of Bugis women

indicate that obtaining the Hajj title can elevate their social status (Nasiruddin, 2022; Fitri, 2023). Building upon these insights, this research aims to delve deeper into the process of social mobility among Bugis women who perform the Hajj pilgrimage. This will be achieved by formulating three key questions to guide further exploration in the subsequent sections. First, the discussion will revolve around the Hajj pilgrimage as a form of social identity within Bugis society. Second, attention will be directed towards unraveling the social and cultural transformations experienced by Bugis female Hajj pilgrims. Finally, the focus will shift to examining the impact of social mobility resulting from the Hajj pilgrimage on changes in the social status and roles of Bugis women within society. By addressing these questions, the study endeavors to provide new scientific insights into the evolving trends of Hajj participation within Bugis society, particularly among women.

This research aims to complement previous studies by exploring the scope of social mobility generated by Hajj pilgrims within the Bugis community. It is important to explore this topic in greater detail, focusing on three key aspects. First, while the Hajj pilgrimage is typically viewed as a religious obligation within Islam, for Bugis women, it holds additional significance as a means of elevating their social status. Thus, there is an urgent need for an in-depth examination of the social mobility experienced by Bugis women who undertake the Hajj pilgrimage. Second, the impacts stemming from the Hajj status attained by Bugis women require special attention, as they serve to strengthen their identity within society. Finally, this research highlights the sacredness of the Hajj pilgrimage within Bugis society and its profound significance as a source of pride in social life. This qualitative study targets individuals across various strata of Bugis society, including both educated and uneducated women, by examining the influence of education on their perception, activity, and social repositioning.

SOCIAL IDENTITY FORMATION THROUGH HAJJ AMONG THE BUGIS PEOPLE

According to H.P Badrun (1997), the Bugis perspective on the Hajj ritual illustrates a dual motivation: first, fulfilling religious obligations and second, using the pilgrimage as a means to gain social recognition, subsequently fulfilling societal roles. In addition, the Hajj is viewed as an expression of obedience to religious recommendations and the fulfillment of the fifth pillar of Islam (Syamsurijal, 2020). However, beyond individual motivations, the Hajj is also a communal expression rooted in a collective awareness of the importance of adhering to true Islamic principles by completing fundamental

religious teachings. This community-driven perspective aligns with Durkheim's assertion that religion serves as a unifying force within society. (Bustomi et al., 2023).

The Hajj pilgrimage has evolved into a profound religious symbol that motivates the Bugis people to perform it. Beyond its spiritual significance, the Hajj holds considerable influence in shaping the social identity within Bugis society. Social identity encompasses various aspects, including culture, religion, and shared values upheld by a community (Lisma, 2023). Within the Bugis community, embarking on the Hajj pilgrimage transcends mere religious obligation; it serves as a powerful foundation for the formation and reinforcement of their social identity.

Moreover, the Hajj pilgrimage can serve as a motif for individuals to engage in economic activities guided by principles such as strong work ethic, efficiency, optimism, and adherence to halal procedures. This is particularly evident in traditional societies where numerous events occur before and after the Hajj pilgrimage. However, the substantial economic investment required for the Hajj presents a significant obstacle that requires determination to overcome. The cost factor undeniably plays a dominant role in determining the success or failure of prospective Hajj pilgrims. This was evident in 1999 during the monetary crisis, where there was a drastic decline in Hajj pilgrims due to soaring costs, leading to a one-third reduction in the number of pilgrims compared to the previous year. (Ahmad, 2013).

Participation in the Hajj pilgrimage introduces a new dimension to the social identity of the Bugis community. Culturally, the Hajj experience is deeply-rooted within the rich traditions and values of the Bugis people. This spiritual journey not only signifies obedience to the pillars of Islam but also reflects a sense of pride in the enduring Bugis cultural heritage, as described in this discussion. Furthermore, the Hajj serves as a channel for fostering solidarity and unity among the Bugis community (Baso, 2012). The collective undertaking of the Hajj pilgrimage fosters strong social bonds among fellow pilgrims. On a broader scale, the Hajj experience serves as a unifying force, allowing the Bugis community to take part in the solidarity of Muslims globally, thereby fortifying their social identity as integral members of the broader Islamic community.

In society, there exist four structural elements: social identity, social situation, social groups, and social roles (Spradley & Mc. Coerdy, 1975: 118). This concept serves to explain and comprehend the phenomenon of pilgrimage among Bugis women for several reasons. First, it seeks to grasp society in a structured manner, revealing the tangible patterns of interaction among its

various components. These patterns endure over time as interactions occur in an organized fashion. This concept facilitates the explanation of society through a more specific and interconnected framework of structures that contribute to the formation of societal dynamics.

Second, this concept explains the reciprocal relationship between individuals and the broader social structure (society). It suggests that individuals and society possess distinct identities that influence each other. Individuals within society can be categorized into various groups based on factors such as gender, ethnicity, occupation, etc. Sheldon Stryker (1980) refers to this as 'identity.' As individuals form groups, their individual identities transform into group identities, each characterized by unique attributes that distinguish them from other groups. (Hogg A.M., 2003). Identity elements can also identify groups of people who feel inferior compared to other societal groups and subsequently strive to improve their condition to regain a positive social identity. According to Hogg and Abram (1988), only with a positive social identity can recognition and social equality from others be achieved. In the context of social groups, positive social identity can be shaped through mechanisms such as social mobility and social change.

Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals from lower social groups to higher ones. According to Laker (in Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994), individuals or groups who perceive their identity as inferior may experience misidentification, where they attempt to align themselves with the identity of another group perceived as superior. The social identity shaped through the Hajj pilgrimage significantly influences the Bugis people's self-perception and their relationships with the broader community. This spiritual journey not only deepens their sense of Islam but also fosters an increased awareness of social and moral responsibility among individuals and within the Bugis community. (Francis & McKenna, 2017).

Overall, the Hajj is not merely a pilgrimage; it serves as a strong foundation for forming social identity in Bugis society (Syamsurijal et al., 2023). Through this experience, Bugis pilgrims explore their cultural roots by studying history, engaging with the older generation, and observing traditions. This journey reinforces Islamic values, enhances solidarity, and shapes their self-perception and role within the wider society. Thus, the Hajj transcends being a mere religious ritual, becoming a pillar that builds and sustains a rich social identity for the Bugis people. (Niu & Li).

TRANSFORMATION WITHIN THE BUGIS FEMALE HAJJ PILGRIMS

Bugis female Hajj pilgrims experience a significant social transformation

marked by increased religious awareness during their Hajj journey (Prastyo, 2022). This spiritual experience not only alters their perspectives on Islamic teachings but also deepens their understanding of the religious values that strengthen everyday life. This increased religious awareness involves a more profound comprehension of Islamic worship practices, ethics, and moral values grounded in commendable morals (Wekke, 2017). Consequently, Bugis women who undertake the Hajj not only undergo individual transformation in the religious dimension but also positively impact their home communities. This increased religious awareness often influences social interactions, policy formation, and the development of moral values within their social environment.

Within the community, the Hajj serves as a powerful social symbol for Bugis women, reinforcing social values. As a symbol, the Hajj holds significant importance in the minds of the Bugis people. In the Kalabbirang urban village, the status of having performed the Hajj helps shape social values in the daily lives of Bugis women, distinguishing them from other Bugis individuals who have not performed the pilgrimage. These pilgrimage values then influence their interactions in everyday life. Thus, the symbol of “Hajj” carries substantial importance for Bugis women. (Fitri, 2023).

According to Clifford Geertz, the significance of a symbol is most tangible when it is prominently featured in rituals or myths. The sacredness attributed to symbols serves to bridge ontology and cosmology with aesthetics and morality. The distinctive strength of these symbols lies in their capacity to align facts with values at the deepest level, instilling something purely factual with comprehensive normative content (Geertz, 1995: 54-57). In the context of Bugis society, cultural practices culminate in reverence for the objects of that culture.

Due to their substantive and perceived nature, values, norms, and symbols hold greater prominence among structural functionalists not as structural elements, but rather as cultural components. These elements occupy various conceptual spaces surrounding the social structure of Bugis society (Merton, 1949). Essentially, the norms and values of the Hajj represent ideas or symbols residing in the minds of individual Bugis women who have performed the pilgrimage, serving as a ‘code of sanctions’ for their interactions. As a symbol, the Hajj carries significant value in the collective consciousness of the Bugis people. Bugis women possess an awareness of the subjective meaning inherent in the symbols of the Hajj, which can manifest through words, actions, or objects (Wahab, 2011). When the Bugis community comprehends the significance of the Hajj, it becomes a social phenomenon. Moreover, the

ability of Bugis individuals to construct the Hajj as a social symbol inherently positions the human mind as a product of socialization. (Sadzali, 2018). Field findings indicate that during weddings or village events, individuals who have performed the Hajj pilgrimage are accorded the same level of respect as religious scholars and village officials. This social capital not only facilitates the economic activities of traders by alleviating psychological barriers but also enhances trust among their peers. The honorific title of “hajj” confers trustworthiness and a range of social benefits, including improved social status and socio-economic advantages, categorizing Hajj participants as part of a religious elite group (Subair, 2019). Furthermore, Subair (2019) elaborates that the significance of the Hajj ritual transcends mere religious doctrine, evolving into an institution capable of upholding local values. For instance, Hajj as a social institution can elevate an individual’s status within society. (Farida, 1999:37).

The impact of the Hajj on individuals who have completed the pilgrimage is often perceived through changes in their social status within society. This perspective views the Hajj instrumentally, recognizing its potential to strengthen and enhance an individual’s mobility and competitive spirit. It involves strategies and symbolic behaviors aimed at increasing personal prestige, as well as that of one’s family or group (Bianchi, 2015; Nashir, 2013). Thus, the Hajj is interpreted as a status symbol that reflects one’s social standing and position of high regard. Common methods employed to express this status include the utilization of symbols such as commendable actions (Horton and Hunt, 1992), observable behaviors, attire, housing, and affiliation with organizations, all serving as manifestations of self-actualization. (Soerjono, 1990).

Strengthening cultural identity within the context of the Hajj pilgrimage among Bugis women offers a profound insight into how spiritual experiences can foster unity and safeguard cultural diversity. This is proven by their actions throughout the Hajj pilgrimage, where Bugis women often wear traditional attire, engage in customary Bugis rituals, take part in pre-departure celebrations, utilize Bugis weaving as a symbol of pride, recite prayers in the Bugis language, and create spaces that promote and fortify their cultural identity (Kasman, 2019). Upholding these traditions not only fosters a sense of solidarity among Bugis pilgrims but also serves as a distinctive marker of Bugis cultural diversity amid diverse Hajj pilgrims coming from various corners of the world. Beyond serving as a local identifier, the strengthening of cultural identity can serve as an effective instrument for fostering intercultural understanding and appreciation among Hajj pilgrims. (Hakim & Djarot, 2023).

In a broader context, enhancing the cultural identity of Bugis female Hajj pilgrims can have a positive impact on the global perception of Muslims. Through celebrating cultural diversity within the universal setting of the Hajj pilgrimage, Bugis women not only preserve their cultural heritage but also serve as cultural ambassadors who promote positive intercultural dialogue amid the social complexities of a globalized society. Strengthening cultural identity during the Hajj journey transcends mere local performance; it serves as a global assertion of the richness of culture capable of uniting the spirituality of Muslims worldwide.

SOCIETAL IMPACT OF SOCIAL MOBILITY THROUGH HAJJ PILGRIMAGE

The social mobility experienced by Bugis female Hajj pilgrims manifests as an elevation in their status or standing within society, giving them respect and recognition. This is attributed to the dynamics and processes involved in performing the Hajj pilgrimage, which not everyone can undertake, spanning from the initial stages of departure to the return. This journey yields significant contributions to society. First, participation in the Hajj pilgrimage emphasizes Bugis women's unwavering commitment to Islamic values. The pilgrimage journey, characterized by extensive travel and material sacrifice, serves as tangible evidence of their dedication to upholding the principles of the Islamic faith (Suliyati, 2018).

Their courage to embark on the Hajj pilgrimage amid logistical and physical challenges serves as a testament to their level of faith and sincerity, garnering admiration from the surrounding community (Zainuddin, 2013). Martin Van Bruinessen (1990: 45) further observes the Hajj ritual as possessing religious, social, and political functions. Moreover, Kuntowijoyo (1991) highlights the social function of the Hajj, which historically, during colonial times, played a role in shaping the emergence of a new class within the hierarchical structure of society.

Social mobility through the Hajj pilgrimage provides Bugis women with opportunities to acquire new experiences and knowledge. Throughout the pilgrimage, they engage in interactions with pilgrims from diverse cultural and social backgrounds (Khair, 2008). This not only enriches their understanding but also broadens their social networks, facilitating the exchange of ideas and fostering collaborations that can elevate their social status (Kisworo, 2017). Furthermore, active participation in religious activities such as the Hajj can boost the leadership capabilities and social skills of Bugis women in the eyes of society.

The participation of Bugis women in Hajj activities has yielded a positive impact on reshaping society's perception of women. Traditionally, women's roles have been constrained by conservative social norms prevalent in certain communities (Moore, 1998; Radcliffe, 1982). However, through their experiences as Hajj pilgrims, Bugis women have the opportunity to engage in worship activities that are often regarded as prestigious, affording them space for a deeper understanding of the role of women in Islam (Abdurrahman, 2009). This opportunity provides them with a platform to showcase their spiritual resilience and religious knowledge, breaking up stereotypes and fostering new perspectives on the potential contributions of women to society. (Zahrok & Suarmini, 2018).

The Hajj experience offers Bugis women a broader understanding of women's roles within a social context. As Hajj pilgrims, they engage with the international community, gaining insights into social and cultural realities beyond their local environment (Pasa, 2022). This exposure helps change societal perceptions of women from being confined solely to domestic roles to recognizing their significant contributions to social and religious dynamics (Qomariyah & Fathiyaturrahmah, 2024). Consequently, Bugis women's participation in the Hajj not only triggers changes in public perceptions but also holds the potential to provide greater opportunities for women's involvement across various aspects of life.

Moreover, the elevated social status of Bugis women can significantly influence overall family dynamics (Rohmah & Hidayat, 2023). When a mother or wife garners respect and recognition in society due to social mobility, it can positively impact the family's perception and well-being. Elevating the social status of women within the family can also inspire the younger generation to pursue higher education and aspirations, fostering a family environment oriented towards positive development. (Wahyuni & Simatupang, 2024).

The social mobility experienced by Bugis female Hajj pilgrims represents a phenomenon capable of reshaping the landscape of religious values within society. The Hajj pilgrimage engages Bugis women in a profound spiritual environment, offering a unique opportunity to deepen their comprehension of religious values (Prasojo, 2020). As agents of change, Bugis women who have performed the Hajj can impart their religious insights to the surrounding community, thereby making a positive contribution to the dissemination and understanding of spiritual values in everyday life. This perspective aligns with the notion of the constructive impact of women's engagement in religious activities, where the experience of the Hajj can generate the transformation of religious values within the Bugis community. (Afsar, 2009).

The contribution of Bugis women in elevating social status also yields positive role models for the next generation (Mansyur et al., 1998). Serving as strong and independent exemplars, Bugis women who have performed the Hajj can inspire young women to pursue their aspirations and engage actively in community development (Homans, 1974). Hence, the social mobility of Bugis women through the Hajj not only affects individual social status but also generates a multiplier effect that resonates throughout the broader social structure.

CONCLUSION

As times are changing, societal development has resulted in new patterns of life, even within the Bugis community, while still maintaining its cultural traditions. Drawing from the explanations and discussions presented earlier, this research has formulated three significant findings. First, the Hajj pilgrimage serves not only as a religious fulfillment for the Bugis community but also as a means of shaping their societal identity, thereby enhancing their mobility. Second, the identity of Bugis women who have performed the pilgrimage remains embedded in them throughout their lives. This is evidenced by the elevated status of individuals holding the title of Hajj, who often assume central roles in Bugis community events, even informal ones. They continue to collaborate with religious leaders, transcending their previous status as ordinary individuals. Third, the social mobility of Bugis women affects public perceptions regarding the role of women in religious rituals, which are still overshadowed by conservative ideologies. Through the Hajj, Bugis women challenge the stigma associated with their societal position, debunking the notion that women are inherently subordinate to men in religious contexts.

There are limitations in the findings of this study. One notable aspect is the sustainability of the impact generated by social mobility within the Bugis community. This research serves as a supplement to existing studies on the Hajj for Bugis women, leaving room for further exploration of unexplored areas. It is therefore necessary to delve into other aspects such as the challenges and opportunities encountered by Bugis community pilgrims in maintaining their societal presence. This endeavor promises to reveal new insights and scholarly contributions as modernity penetrates remote regions of Indonesia, particularly in Sulawesi. Contemporary rituals frequently generates new cultural practices within society, and the socio-cultural dynamics of Bugis community members who have performed the Hajj pilgrimage are no exception.

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