

INTERNALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION TO THE PANAI' TRADITION: BETWEEN WAITHOOD AND MARRIAGE

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Abstract

The phenomenon of the high demand for money *in* the marriage practice of the Bugis tribe is a condition that has been a concern for millennials until now. This tradition is a custom of the Bugis tribe that must exist, the terms *panai'* and mahar in the Bugis tribe have different meanings, but it is an obligation of the same in marriage. The study is based on an argument that the high demand for money *in* Bugis marriages continues to be practiced to this day, even becoming a mandatory requirement after dowry. The motto used by the Bugis tribe is "No money *panai'* then no marriage". This study is qualitative, descriptive, namely looking at natural conditions through the phenomenon of *the panai'* tradition towards the internalization of religious moderation. The approach used by phenomenology is to observe phenomena that occur both through youtube, vlogs, Instagram, Facebook and other social media. Likewise, some supporting literature such as journals, books, and previous articles that are closely related to research. This paper shows that the *panai' tradition* has had an impact on the understanding of society which has shifted so that many people practice elopes (*silariang*), postpones marriage (*waitthood*) until the marriage is annulled, and even commit suicide. This study shows the need for the role of traditional leaders and local governments against the tradition of high demand for *money that* burdens men.

Keywords: Panai'; Waitthood; Marriage; Religious Moderation

Abstrak

Fenomena tentang tingginya permintaan uang *panai'* dalam praktik perkawinan suku Bugis merupakan kondisi yang hingga saat ini menjadi perhatian bagi kalangan milenial. Tradisi ini menjadi sebuah adat suku Bugis yang harus ada, istilah *panai'* dan mahar dalam suku Bugis memiliki makna berbeda, namun menjadi sebuah kewajiban yang sama dalam perkawinan. Kajian tersebut didasarkan pada sebuah argumentasi bahwa tingginya permintaan uang *panai'* dalam perkawinan suku Bugis masih terus dipraktikkan hingga saat ini, bahkan menjadi sebuah syarat wajib setelah mahar. Semboyan yang digunakan suku Bugis yaitu "Tidak ada uang *panai'* maka tidak ada perkawinan". Kajian ini bersifat kualitatif deskriptif yaitu melihat kondisi alamiah melalui fenomena tradisi *panai'* terhadap internalisasi moderasi beragama. Pendekatan yang digunakan fenomenologi yaitu mengamati fenomena yang terjadi baik melalui

youtube, vlog, Instagram, Facebook dan media sosial lainnya. Begitu pula beberapa literatur pendukung seperti jurnal, buku-buku, artikel terdahulu yang memiliki keterkaitan erat dengan penelitian. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa tradisi *panai'* telah berdampak pada pemahaman masyarakat yang telah bergeser sehingga banyak yang melakukan kawin lari (*silariang*), menunda perkawinan (*waithood*) hingga batalnya perkawinan, bahkan sampai melakukan tindakan bunuh diri. Studi ini menunjukkan perlu adanya peran tokoh adat dan pemerintah setempat terhadap tradisi tingginya permintaan uang *panai'* yang memberatkan pihak laki-laki.

Kata Kunci : *Panai'*; *Waithood*; Perkawinan; Moderasi Beragama

Introduction

In the current era of society 5.0, many individuals have decided to postpone marriage and there is even a movement or community of *waithood*. This phenomenon does not only occur in Indonesia, even Inhorn stated that there are many people around the world who choose to postpone marriage. There are many factors behind the people choosing to postpone marriage, both internal and external factors. In this case, the situation of postponing marriage needs to receive special attention from the community, because it has a close relationship with the values of a culture and religion.¹ Based on data from the National Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) in 2021, it shows that around 37.69 percent of youth have married status, while 61.09 percent of youth have unmarried status. In the last 10 years, the percentage of youth with married status has relatively decreased, while there has been an increase in the percentage of youth with unmarried status. The decline in the marriage rate is greatly influenced by the improvement in the quality of life of the community, especially for millennials caused by development in various aspects including education, health, economy, and cultural shifts.²

This research is related to the Internalization of Religious Moderation Towards the *Panai Tradition'* which until now has caused millennial khawati and has become a dilemma whether to choose to *waithood* or continue the marriage with the high demand for money from women's families. Conditions like this have an impact on the social conditions of the community, even the paradigm in viewing and understanding the meaning of *the panai'* tradition itself. This brought changes to the values and meaning of marriage as well as the tradition of *panai'* practice in the Bugis tribe. Some of the impacts raised by these concerns include many people who choose to do

¹ Anindita Majumdar, "Waithood: Gender, Education, and Global Delays in Marriage and Childbearing. Marcia C. Inhorn and Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, eds., New York: Berghahn Books, 2020, 414 pp.," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/maq.12721>>.

² Badan Pusat Statistik, "Statistik Pemuda Indonesia 2021," 2021 <<https://www.bps.go.id/publication/2021/12/21/52333d2ce0a748fff6469811/statistik-pemuda-indonesia-2021.html>>. (dulengkapi halamannya dan dibetulkan spasinya)

silariang or kawiiin runaway, postpone marriage, and even the cancellation of marriages to suicide.

This study is aimed at completing the existing shortcomings, by examining how internalization in religion, especially the community's understanding of their religious rules in marriage, against the practice of *the panai'* tradition, which makes the community a dilemma for *waitthood* or continuing the marriage. This paper aims to answer the three questions asked, including (a) What are the dynamics of *the practice of the panai'* culture towards the internalization of religious moderation; b) What are the factors that cause the *panai' tradition* to become a dilemma between *waitthood* and marriage; (c) What are the implications of the *panai' tradition* which is a dilemma between *waitthood* and marriage. From these three questions, it is hoped that it will be able to comprehensively explain the tradition of marriage in terms of the high demand for money in *the* Bugis tribe who are faced with the community's understanding of cultural practices and religious practices embraced by the community. So that religious leaders, traditional leaders, communities and local governments continue to have a role in a tradition, in the hope that they will not harm and contradict religious law.

This article is based on the view of the community that without *panai'* there is no marriage. This proves that *panai'* is a mandatory requirement in a cultural practice of the Bugis people. Conditions like this cause a shift in the meaning of marriage and the meaning of a tradition. Where the tradition of *panai'* is used as a prestige event among the community, whose demand for the amount of *panai'* money burdens the male family.³ This shift in meaning has an effect on several problems including *silariang* (elope), pregnancy out of wedlock and old virginity. This problem actually deviates from the *culture of series* and even becomes a disgrace in the family.⁴ Thus, through this study, it will be possible to know the social changes faced by the community towards the shift in the meaning of *the panai'* tradition, so that it has many implications, and therefore it is hoped that the local government both from religious leaders and traditional leaders can take the right steps in anticipating deviations in understanding cultural practices.

Research Methods

This study is aimed at examining and analyzing how *the culture of panai'* affects the internalization of religious moderation, the causative factors and implications of *the panai'* tradition in marriage so as to cause a dilemma between *waitthood* and marriage in the era of disruption. This type of research is qualitative research. This research was carried out with a phenomenological approach, namely by observing the

³ Juhansyah, Usman Jasad, dan Firdaus Muhammad, "Fenomena dan Implikasi Uang Panai Terhadap Pernikahan di Desa Datara Kecamatan Bontoramba Kabupaten Jeneponto (Perspektif Dakwah Kultural)," *Jurnal Mercusuar*, 2021.

⁴ Reski Daeng, Selvie Rumampuk, dan Mahyudin Damis, "Tradisi Uang Panai' Sebagai Budaya Bugis (Studi Kasus Kota Bitung Propinsi Sulawesi Utara)," *Holistik*, 2019.

conditions and social facts in the field. This research is a *library research* (literature), to obtain accurate data, the researcher obtained data through several information based on community phenomena related to *the culture of panai'* which caused the dilemma of *waithood* and marriage, this is related to the internalization of religious moderation.

Based on the source, this study uses data obtained through phenomenology, namely observing phenomena that occur in the current era of disruption, by obtaining data through various social media, both from google engines, youtube, vlogs, Instagram, Facebook and other social media related to the author's research. Likewise, some supporting literature such as journals, books, and previous articles that are closely related to this research. The data collection from this study was obtained from several sources, including references from reputable and licensed books and journals related to the problems of this research, while other sources used came from various data found through internet sources, as well as other social media, be it vlogs, youtube, Instagram, twitter, and so on. From this approach, the researcher will connect the factual evidence of the social conditions of the community, especially women's concerns between the dilemma of *waithood* and marriage found on several social media, so as to produce a conclusion that is in accordance with the phenomenon that is happening in Indonesia today.

The data that has been collected is analyzed in a qualitative descriptive manner, that is, systematically elaborated so as to obtain the clearest results of data that are closely related to the Problem of Internalization of Religious Moderation Towards the *Panai Tradition*⁴: The Dilemma of *Waithood* And marriage, after which it will be concluded deductively, namely drawing conclusions from general to specific statements. So that the results of the research will be easy to understand. To obtain comprehensive results, the researcher will explain some of the formulations of the problem as follows: a. What are the dynamics of *the practice of the panai'* culture towards the internalization of religious moderation? b. What are the factors that cause the *panai' tradition* to become a dilemma between *waithood* and marriage?, and c. What are the implications of the *panai' tradition* which becomes a dilemma between *waithood* and marriage?

Moderasi Beragama

Moderation is etymologically explained by Hamka, Quraish Shihab defines in several languages. In English, moderation is defined as the depiction of actions or processes of keeping something within reasonable or balanced limits, or avoiding extreme or excessive actions. In Arabic, religious moderation is called *al-Wasathiyyah* which means in the middle, bagis, choice, fair, balanced and praiseworthy. Meanwhile, etymologically, Quraish Shihab explained that religious moderation is an attitude of diversity that is intermediate and impartial to the left and right. This is what will make

humans act fairly so that they can be an example for all parties. Even Shihab gave a parable of moderation like the Kaaba which is in the middle of the earth.⁵

In line with Hamka⁶ who defines moderation as the middle, not only fixated on the world, not just spiritual, but moderation is a balance between the two. The same goes for Hasbi as-Shiddiqy⁷ definise moderation is a balanced attitude, not exaggerating in religion and not being a human being who lacks in fulfilling his obligations as a religious human being. Rifqi said that religious moderation is an attitude of impartiality towards each other or an attitude that tries to take a middle position by not dominating the realm of thought.⁸ Meanwhile, Khotimah explained that religious moderation is a balance and justice in views, attitudes and actualization of all existing concepts.⁹

The current era of digitalization allows a wide variety of ideologies, cultures, and even global values to manifest in many new spaces of interaction. The expression of the *waithood* movement increasingly shows its existence in the public space through various media. Cassie Werber in her research found the fact that students in Yogyakarta prefer education and work rather than thinking about marriage. Nanik and Wiwin in their research on women who do not want to get married in America, China, Israel, India, Germany, Malaysia and Indonesia because they want to actualize themselves in the public space, so that they will be more appreciated and equal to men in the family.¹⁰ Based on the theory of social construction, the development of public knowledge has an impact on changes in social perception of certain phenomena, such as the phenomenon of *waithood* caused by several social factors both from internal and external society. This has implications for changes in social behavior when looking at the phenomenon of *the waithood movement*.¹¹ The emergence of *the waithood* movement is considered a form of cultural awareness of its relevance to current conditions.

The term *waithood* was first coined by Diane Singerman, a professor at American University Washington DC, in her research on the young generation of the Middle East. His research titled *The Economic Impexratives of Marriage: Emerging Practices and*

⁵ Shihab M Quraish, "Tafsir Al-Misbah. Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an.": Lentera Hati," *Daftar Riwayat Hidup*, 2011.

⁶ Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* (Depok: Gema Insani, 2015).

⁷ Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an al-Majid An-Nur* (Semarang: Pustaka Rizki Putra, 2016).

⁸ Muhammad Rifqi, "Internalisasi Moderasi Beragama dalam Standar Kompetensi Kemandirian Peserta Didik," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Muttaqin*, 2021.

⁹ Husnul Khotimah, "Internalisasi Moderasi Beragama Dalam Kurikulum Pesantren," *Rabbani: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.19105/rjpai.v1i1.3008>>.

¹⁰ Hadiana Trendi Azami, "Kritik Penundaan Pernikahan Dalam Upaya Pencegahan Penyebaran Covid-19 (Sebuah Kajian Perspektif Maqashid Syari'ah)," *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.24235/jshn.v4i1.11143>>.

¹¹ Andika Andika et al., "Fenomena Waithood di Indonesia: Sebuah Studi Integrasi antara Nilai-Nilai Keislaman dan Sosial Kemanusiaan," *Jurnal Riset Agama*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/jra.v1i3.15090>>.

Identities among Youth in the Middle East was published in 2017.¹² Singerman explained that since the 1990s the unemployment rate in Egypt has been high, especially domestic political instability, which has made it difficult for people to live independently and it is difficult to get married. Similarly, BBC Magazine's William Kremer said in 2015, that marriage is no longer difficult but almost impossible. Various factors cause the occurrence of marriage delay. This means that getting married is not an option but there are more complex problems than that, so that various factors outside of humans appear that are coercive in nature. The phenomenon of *waithood* is a global phenomenon, and a form of the development of behavioral change in society. The movement of *waithood actualization* is inseparable from the influence of social media such as twitter, facebook, instagram, youtube and so on.¹³

According to Elzahroo¹⁴ each region in Indonesia has different cultures and traditions, this shows the characteristics of the area. As the marriage process from each region to the marriage procession. Not only the Bugis tribe of Makassar, but the tradition of giving money *in* marriage is also found in the Bugis Bone tribe which is different from the traditions in other areas. Traditionally the Bugis Bone tribe has conditions that must be met in the marriage process, this condition is known as giving money *to* the bride's family. Money of *panai'* is used as a condition to maintain the honor, dignity and dignity of the women of the Bugis Bone tribe.¹⁵

Dowry and money of *panai'* in the traditional tradition of Bugis marriage are a unit that cannot be separated, this is because in practice between dowry and money of *panai'* is an obligation that must be fulfilled by the prospective groom. Although in reality the money of *the panai'* gets more attention and is considered to be the determinant of the smooth running of a procession or a series of marriage ceremonies. Therefore the money of *the panai'* is greater than the dowry.¹⁶ In the marriage customs of the Bugis Society, there are two terms, namely *sompa* and *dui' panai'*. *Sompa* is interpreted as dowry, which is the gift of the male to the female in the form of money or objects, and this is one of the conditions for the validity of marriage.¹⁷ In terms of the amount, the number is not determined, and even varies based on the social strata or social level of the women's family in the community. Meanwhile, *dui' panai'* or uang

¹² Rani Wulandari, "Waithood: Tren Penundaan Pernikahan pada Perempuan di Sulawesi Selatan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, 2023.

¹³ M Musahwi, M Z Anika, dan P Pitriyani, "Fenomena Resesi Seks Di Indonesia (Studi Gender Tren 'Waithood' Pada Perempuan Milenial)," *Equalita: Jurnal Studi Gender ...*, 2022.

¹⁴ arwa Elzahroo, "Tradisi Pemberian Uang Panai Dalam Pernikahan Pada Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan Perspektif Maqāsid Asy-Syarī'ah" (Universitas Islam Indonesia Yogyakarta, 2021).

¹⁵ T. V. Ardhani, "Kekuatan Materiil Berlakunya Kewajiban Pemberian Uang Panai Dalam Perkawinan Adat Bugis Makassar (Studi di Kecamatan Sumba Opu, Kabupaten Gowa, Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan)," *Kumpulan Jurnal Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum*, 2017.

¹⁶ Gan Gan Giantika, "Representasi Ketidakadilan Gender Pada Film Uang Panai (Analisis Isi Kuantitatif Ketidakadilan Gender Dalam Film Uang Panai)," *Jurnal Komunikasi*, 2017.

¹⁷ Ibrahim Kadir, Nurmi Nonci, dan Halim Harifuddin, "Uang Panai Dalam Budaya Bugis-Makassar: Studi Kasus Sosiologi Di Kabupaten Pangkep," *journal.unibos.ac.id*, 2021.

panai' is the gift of the groom-to-be to the bride-to-be as a form of financing in the wedding party, and uang *panai'* is a form of requirement of the customary practice of marriage in the Bugis Community, and this custom is still maintained to this day.¹⁸

Sompa or dowry is literally an offering, which is symbolized as *rella* 'money, which is the rial, a Portuguese currency that was previously in effect, one of which was in Malacca. At first glance, the meaning of the two has the same meaning, namely both are something that must be fulfilled by the male family. However, when viewed from the history and background, *sompa* and *duit panai'* are clearly different. *Sompa* or dowry is an obligation based on Islamic tradition, while *duit panai'* or uang *panai'* is an obligation based on the customary provisions of the community.¹⁹

In the current era of disruption, people are of the view that money *is a* prestige that has become a tradition and culture, so that money *is* increasing every year, even used as a competition and pegging money *for* girls at a higher price. For the Bugis people, setting a high *amount of money is* an honor for women's families. The *money is* determined at the time of the proposal ceremony. The tradition of money *panai'* is sometimes the fruit of the mind for the prospective groom, especially when the woman to be married has a high social standard in society. This consideration was made because he was worried that the application would lead to rejection. Therefore, the current socio-economic era 5.0 provides a different understanding of money *among* millennials. The meaning of giving *the panai'* has shifted into a prestige event where the demand for the amount of the *panai'* money burdens the male family.²⁰

The meaning of giving money *panai'* in the Bugis marriage tradition has a different perspective. As in the Bone regency area, which sees the provision of *panai'* money by having a benchmark of *panai'* money is quite large compared to other districts in the province of South Sulawesi. Based on the phenomenon that occurs, sometimes it is used as prestige and even causes a lot of perception in the community.²¹

In practice, the Bugis people apply the giving of *panai'* money to meet the needs of receptions which are generally in the form of money. Spending money given by the male family to the female family as a form of responsibility, proof and expectation as well as respect,²² Where to allocate the *panai'* money to meet all the needs of the preparation of the marriage reception. However, currently the process of giving *money is* followed by gifts in the form of property, houses, gold, cars, diamonds and so on.

¹⁸ kiki ristia amalia, farhanuddin jamanie, dan annisa wahyuni arsyad, "pengaruh terpaan film uang *panai'* maha(r)l terhadap persepsi mahasiswa tentang tradisi uang *panai'* suku bugis di samarinda," *eJournal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2019.

¹⁹ Ardianto Iqbal, *Uang Panai' Sebuah Kajian Antara Tradisi dan Gengsi* (Bandung: Mujahidi Grafis, 2016), hal. 29.

²⁰ Juhansyah, Jasad, dan Muhammad.

²¹ Rinaldi Rinaldi et al., "Uang Panai Sebagai Harga Diri Perempuan Suku Bugis Bone (Antara Tradisi dan Gengsi)," *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v10i3.8411>>.

²² Gunawan, Studi, dan Komunikasi.

Thus, the giving of panai' money is no longer a tradition but a prestige in the Bugis Bone tribe community.²³ This shift in meaning has an effect on several problems including silariang (elope), pregnancy out of wedlock and old virginity. This problem actually deviates from the *culture of series* and even becomes a disgrace in the family.²⁴

Internalization of Religious Moderation

The meaning of internalization in the psychology dictionary is interpreted as the unification of attitudes, behavior in the personality of a person or group.²⁵ In other words, internalization is a teaching, belief and awareness that is conveyed in the form of a person's attitude and behavior.²⁶ In fact, internalization is interpreted as taking ideas, behavior patterns and beliefs to become part of the personal self. Internalization is not only limited to religion, but can also apply to values and norms in various social and cultural contexts. The internalization of religious values refers to the process by which individuals adopt and live the values taught by religion in depth. It is not just an intellectual understanding of religious teachings, but about transforming values into principles that govern individual behavior and attitudes in daily life.²⁷

Some important aspects of internalization²⁸ Religious values include: *First*, personal belief, which is the internalization of religious values starting with the individual's personal belief in the religious teachings that are believed, this includes understanding and acceptance of basic beliefs in religion. *Second*, commitment to religious principles, if the internalization of religious values has been integrated in the life of individuals, then the rules of every aspect of life, both moral and ethical in religion, will be followed as the commitment that has been embedded from the beginning. *Third*, changes in attitudes and behaviors, every individual who has instilled religious values in him/her, will show a change in attitude and behavior, so that every step taken will always consider ethics and morals, and avoid behavior that is contrary to religious teachings. Thus, the internalization of religious values is a continuous process that becomes a reflection, commitment, and appreciation of religious values

²³ Mutakhirani Mustafa dan Irma Syahrani, "Pergeseran Makna Pada Nilai Sosial Uang Panai' Dalam Prespektif Budaya Siri'," *JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama dan Kemanusiaan*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.24235/jy.v6i2.7250>>.

²⁴ Daeng, Rumampuk, dan Damis.

²⁵ Rifky Serva Tuju, Babang Robandi, dan Donna Crosnoy Sinaga, "Internalisasi Moderasi Beragama dalam Kurikulum Sekolah Tinggi Teologi di Indonesia," *Jurnal Teologi Berita Hidup*, 2022.

²⁶ Yedi Purwanto et al., "Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Melalui Pendidikan Agama Islam di Perguruan Tinggi Umum," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v17i2.605>>.

²⁷ Sitti Arafah, "Moderasi Beragama: Pengarusutamaan Kearifan Lokal Dalam Meneguhkan Kepelbagaian (Sebuah Praktik Pada Masyarakat Plural)," *Mimikri: Jurnal Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 2020.

²⁸ Hilyah Ashoumi, Ihdina Auliya Husna, dan Chalimatus Sa'diyah, "Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Beragama dan Implikasinya terhadap Sikap Toleransi Mahasiswa," *SAP (Susunan Artikel Pendidikan)*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.30998/sap.v7i3.15101>>.

in all aspects of people's lives,²⁹ and it makes it easy for all individuals to deal with various situations with integrity and morality based on the values of a religious belief adhered to.

Panai Tradition

Giving of money *panai'*³⁰ based on tradition in the Bugis tribe, Bone has seven meanings. Among the seven meanings include: *first*, customs, are something that must be maintained and maintained in value; *second*, it is part of the family's self-esteem; *third*, the level of women's education is also part of determining the amount that will be requested by the woman's family; *fourth*, material ability, for the community Bone material is one of the requirements that must be possessed by the prospective groom, this is for the benefit of the couple; *Fifth*, the wedding party. For the people of Makassar, the family's self-esteem and social status will be highly respected if they hold a marriage by holding a grand and festive reception; *Sixth*, responsibility, ability to provide money *based* on the agreement of the two families has shown the seriousness and sense of responsibility of men to women to meet the needs of life in the family. The dignity and dignity of women will be raised with the payment of the *panai'* money . *Seventh*, commitment.³¹

In the current era of disruption, people are of the view that money *is a* prestige that has become a tradition and culture, so that money *is* increasing every year, even used as a competition and pegging money *for* girls at a higher price. For the Bugis people, setting a high *amount of money is* an honor for women's families. The *money is* determined at the time of the proposal ceremony. The tradition of money *panai'* is sometimes the fruit of the mind for the prospective groom, especially when the woman to be married has a high social standard in society. This consideration was made because he was worried that the application would lead to rejection. Therefore, the current socio-economic era 5.0 provides a different understanding of money *among* millennials. The meaning of giving *the panai'* has shifted into a prestige event where the demand for the amount of the *panai'* money burdens the male family.³²

Waithood and Marriage

Waithood is a condition of postponement to get married. The issue of the sex recession in Indonesia has been heard, even becoming a concern for the government. The decline in the birth rate in Indonesia is one of the proofs that Indonesia is facing symptoms of a sex recession. This condition is increasingly visible when the Covid-19 outbreak enters Indonesia. One of the symptoms of the sex recession is the slowdown

²⁹ Arafah.

³⁰ Yansa Hajra, "Uang Dan Status Sosial Perempuan Dalam Perspektif Budaya Pada Perkawinan Suku," *Pena*, 2019.

³¹ Rois Mahfud, *Al-Islam pendidikan Agama Islam* (Yogyakarta: Erlangga, 2011).

³² Juhansyah, Jasad, dan Muhammad.

in marriage rates and the emergence of *the waithood* phenomenon in Indonesia.³³ The phenomenon of *waithood* is caused by several factors, one of which is the increase in *education* rates, especially for women. *Higher education* causes a desire or obsession with career growth, there are even some views that marriage is one of the causes of women's careers to be hampered.

The practice of marriage in the Bugis community of Makassar is guided by the selection of a mate who *is sitongko'* or *sikapu'* interpreted as *sekufu'* or equivalent and equivalent, especially in terms of social strata. In the selection of a mate, men and women are considered *sekufu'* or equivalent if they have the same social strata and still have blood relations like cousins once or twice. During the application process, there is a tradition of bargaining between male and female families. However, it is not uncommon for the woman's family to feel that there is no match for the groom-to-be,³⁴ Both in terms of social status and considered inappropriate, then money *is* a benchmark or weapon to make rejection.

Conditions like this no longer consider the feelings of men and women. So that this has become a phenomenon for Makassar's Bugis youth who sometimes disagree with the culture of money *panai'*. The symbols contained in the traditional Bugis Makassar marriage tradition, especially about the money *of panai'* have been inherited from generation to generation until now.³⁵ *Uang panai'* is a series of marriage customs that must be carried out. As the purpose of giving the shopping money is intended to meet the needs of the wedding party, in addition, it is also equipped with the provision of rice, ginger, turmeric, wood, needles, a piece of cloth, *betel*, and cinnamon. All of this is part of the symbol of domestic life and describes the life of the Bugis people.³⁶

The application of the values of religious moderation in the Bugis community is very important to be socialized, because this is the key to maintaining the harmonization of the *Panai'* tradition which has been going on for a long time and continues to be preserved to this day. Religious moderation is considered an effort to reduce tensions and conflicts that may arise due to differences in perceptions about marriage traditions and *the waithood* phase for the younger generation. By applying the principle of moderation, the community is expected to be able to maintain a balance between respect for old traditions and adaptation to modern social dynamics, Internalization of the values of tolerance, mutual respect, and religious maturity can strengthen the customary process while enriching the meaning of marriage in society,

³³ Mohd.Rafi Riyawi, "Penundaan Perkawinan Di Masa Pandemi Covid-19 Perspektif Teori Masalahah," *Legitima: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 2021.

³⁴ Insiyah Abdul Bakir dan Maida Hafidz, "Konsep Kafa'ah Sebagai Upaya Membangun Ketahanan Keluarga Dalam Membentengi Campur Tangan Orang Tua/Mertua," *Al-'Adalah: Jurnal Syariah dan Hukum Islam*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.31538/adlh.v7i2.2516>>.

³⁵ Dendi Gunawan, Program Studi, dan Ilmu Komunikasi, "Representasi budaya bugis-makassar dalam film uang panai (analisis semiotika film uang panai karya halim gani safia)," *S*, 2018.

³⁶ Salma Hanin Zayyana, "Analisis Semiotika Ketimpangan Gender Dalam Film 'Uang Panai Maha(R)L,'" *Jurnal Komunikasi dan Kajian Media*, 2021.

so that the tradition is not lost or shifted, but remains relevant and able to build sustainable social harmony.

Panai' Culture on the Internalization of Religious Moderation

Culture is a pattern of behavior, values, norms, beliefs, traditions, art, laws, language, and technology shared by certain groups. A complex and comprehensive human experience is also called culture. All aspects of the human way of life that play an important role in shaping group identity are also cultural.³⁷ As a multicultural country, Indonesia has different cultures, so the practices and behaviors of each individual who are raised in these cultures will also be different. Through culture, one's view of reality will be affected. All communities will manifest their views on a cultural reality. Communication patterns based on cultural background will describe a person's cultural identity. A person's behavior that has been patterned will give birth to a distinctive characteristic, so that a habit is formed for a certain community.³⁸

One of the traditions that is still practiced by the Bugis people of Makassar so that it becomes their group identity is *siri na pacce*. *Siri* means shame or self-esteem. Usually this term is used a lot when someone wants to harass an individual's self-esteem and honor.³⁹ Meanwhile, *pacce* is a sense of empathy or individual solidarity so that they can feel the sadness and pain of individuals who are in a group. The culture that is very close to *the culture of siri na pacce* in the Bugis people of Makassar is the culture of marriage about money.⁴⁰

Panai' or *dui' menre'* is money given by the groom-to-be to the bride-to-be's family, as an appreciation and reality of respect for social norms and strata.⁴¹ *Panai'* is one of the requirements in the traditional marriage of the Bugis tribe, it is also a symbol that the woman who will be married by a man is used as a motivation to fulfill *the culture of the panai'* based on the request of the bride's family, as well as a form of sincerity in proposing. The amount or nominal amount of *the money depends* on caste, social strata level and education of women in the community.⁴² The demand for *the money is* usually influenced by the woman's family, both from the father's brother and the mother's brother, and sometimes the demand is too large to make the prospective groom unable to meet the demand for the *money*. So that not a few of

³⁷ Faizal Amrul Muttaqin dan Wahyu Saputra, "Budaya Hukum Malu Sebagai Nilai Vital Terwujudnya Kesadaran Hukum Masyarakat," *Al-Syakhsiyyah: Journal of Law & Family Studies*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.21154/syakhsiyyah.v1i2.2026>>.

³⁸ Helmi Supriyatno, "Luntarnya Budaya Tradisional di Era Digital | Harian Bhirawa Online," <https://www.harianbhirawa.co.id/>, 2019.

³⁹ Yansa Hajra.

⁴⁰ Kadir, Nonci, dan Harifuddin.

⁴¹ Asriani Alimuddin, "Makna Simbolik Uang Panai' Pada Perkawinan Adat Suku Bugis Makassar Di Kota Makassar," *Al Qisthi*, 2020.

⁴² Islamiyah Islamiyah, Asmirah Asmirah, dan Syamsul Bahri, "Status Sosial Dan Jumlah Uang Panai Pada Proses Perkawinan Suku Bugis Di Kelurahan Raya Kecamatan Turikale Kabupaten Maros," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ecosystem*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.35965/eco.v21i2.1129>>.

the couples who love each other end up eloping (*silariang*), even deciding to postpone the marriage.⁴³

The role of education and social approaches in shaping a moderate attitude towards the *tradition of panai'* is an important concern of a cultural practice, especially in the context of facing the dilemma of *waitthood* and the marriage process that is often faced by the younger generation. The importance of strengthening moderate religious understanding is expected to be able to create harmonization between traditional values and more inclusive social development. Thus, the internalization of religious moderation is not only a way to maintain the sustainability of traditions, but also as an effort to build a society that is more tolerant, harmonious, and ready to face the changing times without losing cultural and religious identity in society.

The Factors Of The *Panai'* Tradition Become A Dilemma Between *Waitthood* And Marriage

In the recommendations of Islamic law, before carrying out a marriage, it is better to choose a suitable partner or *kufu'*. Likewise, the understanding of the public in general will look for and choose a partner who has the same social strata or the same as a woman's family. The current phenomenon that cannot be avoided is that the tradition of money *has* become an open secret of the Indonesian people. The high and low of the money *of the panai'* is a discussion that has become a concern in the marriage of the Bugis people, and this depends very much on the social status of the bride. So there are several factors that cause the high amount of *money*, including⁴⁴:

1) Descendants of the nobility

Women who came from noble families would have a high amount of money . The Bugis people call nobles *puang*, *andi* and *karaeng*. As researched by Alimuddin, the results of his interview with community leader Mr. H. Subair K. are as follows: "*Women's social status is very decisive for the high and low amount of money. These social status include Noble Descent, Physical Condition, Education Level, Employment and Economic Status of women. Nowadays uangpanai' is considered as a siri' or the pride of a woman and family.*"⁴⁵

2) Economic Status of a woman's family

The economy of the women's family is a determining factor for the high and low amount of money. The higher the economic status of a woman's family, the higher the *money that* must be prepared by the man, and vice versa.⁴⁶

⁴³ Kadir, Nonci, dan Harifuddin.

⁴⁴ Pabittej, S. A., & Mallombasi, S. (1995). *Adat dan Upacara Perkawinan Daerah Sulawesi Selatan*. Dinas Kebudayaan dan Kepariwisata Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan.

⁴⁵ Asriani, Alimuddin, Al Qisthi: Volume 10 Nomor 2 Desember 2020

⁴⁶ Hasnah, Wawancara, Kelurahan Untia, 28 Oktober 2011.

3) Education level

The size of the *penny is* also influenced by the level of education of women. If women have never gone to school or only graduated from elementary school, then *the money will* be relatively small, if the position of the woman is a leader or has a position with *a bachelor's or bachelor's* degree in education, then the *money will* be even larger. This is because, the people of Makassar in particular believe that, success in setting the highest price of *money*, is an honor in itself for the community. In addition, the high amount of *money will* have an impact on the invited guests, the splendor and festivity in the wedding reception.⁴⁷

4) Physical Condition of the Bride-to-be

One of the benchmarks of the height and low of the *panai'* money is the physical condition of a bride-to-be. The more perfect the physical condition of the woman to be married, the higher the determination of the *panai'*. Even though the economy is low, and *education* is also only limited to elementary school or even never went to school, the benchmark in determining the *salary of a prospective woman* is the physical condition of a prospective woman.

5) Work

The determination of the money *is* also seen from whether women have a job or not. Because working women are considered to be the male side that can help ease the family economy.

6) Difference between widow and virgin

From the results of Ikbal's research, it is stated that the difference between widows and virgins is one of the benchmarks for giving money. In general, virgins will be given a larger amount of money than widows. However, it is possible that a widow will be given a higher *salary* if her social status or social strata in society is high.⁴⁸

The tradition or ritual of Bugis marriage has functions and values, where as the times progress, shifts and changes in the value of a marriage tradition are increasingly visible, resulting in the emergence of something unwanted among them:⁴⁹

1. The traditional Bugis marriage ritual is a place to show off social status, a place for family prestige from the two brides, so that a party is held so lively to avoid negative words from the community.
2. The traditional Bugis marriage ritual is considered a waste and tends to be materialistic, this can be seen from the amount of money spent during the marriage process. Likewise, the high amount of *money charged* to men's families.

⁴⁷ M. Fremaldin, "Fenomena uang panaik Dalam perkawinan Bugis Makassar".

⁴⁸ Moh. Ikbal. Al-Hukama The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law Volume 06, Nomor 01, Juni 2016.

⁴⁹ M. Juwaini, "Nilai-nilai Moral Dalam Ritual Adat Pernikahan Masyarakat Bugis dan Relevansinya dengan Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Islam". (Yogyakarta: Tesis Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, 2018),

The Implications of the *Panai Tradition* between the Dilemma of Marriage and *Waihood*

Marriage in Indonesia, according to Van Dijk, based on customary law, has a relationship with honor, dignity of family and society,⁵⁰ in contrast to cultures outside Indonesia where marriage is only a matter between a man and a woman. As marriage is in the tradition of the Bugis people, who highly uphold customs by respecting each other, between the groom's family and the bride's family, and not forgetting the values in Islamic law.

The tradition of giving money *is* initially a form of respect and appreciation from a prospective groom to the bride-to-be, not intended as spending money in meeting the needs of the wedding ceremony from beginning to end. Although in the end the *money of the pani belongs* completely to the woman and is used for the purpose of the wedding party, the meaning and value of the money *of the money is* still a form of appreciation and respect for the woman. In the current era of disruption, the view of the money *of the panai'* is different, one of which is influenced by social prestige which can eliminate the meaning and value of the *money of the money of the money itself*. So that from this shift in understanding, not a few fail to carry out marriage.⁵¹

The high demand for money *from* women's families has both positive and negative implications.⁵² Based on the positive side, it will give rise to the spirit of work for men if they are serious about proposing to women and teaching the meaning of responsibility. So that the *required money* is not used as a burden, but as a motivation to prepare for household needs, this will affect the way a person acts. In addition, there are also those who argue that with a high demand for money, it can reduce the divorce rate.

Conclusion

The marriage practice of the Bugis tribe by setting a high price for the *money in* marriage is a clash between religion and customary traditions in the community. In practice, traditions or customs basically adopt religious teachings and values, but the fact is that not a few of the superiority of traditions or customs is more put forward. With regard to social matters, the supremacy of the tradition of high demand for money *of the* Bugis people is based on the interests of a custom, namely upholding *the culture of siri* or shame, so that the success in setting the *money of panai'* with a high nominal value is an honor in itself for the Bugis people.

⁵⁰ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Perkawinan Indonesia Menurut Perundangan, Hukum Adat dan Hukum Agama*, Mandar Maju, Bandung, 2007.

⁵¹ Rinaldi et al.

⁵² Juhansyah, Jasad, dan Muhammad.

Some of the factors that cause the tradition of high demand for money *include*: *first*, women's families come from noble descent, or from high social strata in society; *second*, the family economy of women; *third*, women have high education; *fourth*, women have good jobs; *Fifth*, women have a good physique; sixth, women's status is virgin or widow. Of the six causative factors, this is used as a benchmark for the Bugis community to determine the demand for money, but not only that, but there are times when this tradition is used as a tool to reject men who are not approved by parents and family, so that the *price of money* is so high.

Based on this, the implications of the marriage tradition on the Bugis people apart from being a scourge or concern for the community also have positive and negative implications. Based on the positive side, the high demand for *money* is used as a form of responsibility and seriousness of a man in proposing to a woman, besides that it is also used as a basis for the difficulty of divorce because the provision of *money* is too high and exceeds the dowry that should be. On the negative side, first, the high amount of *money* has implications for elopement (*silariang*); second, delays (*waithood*) until the marriage is annulled. The helplessness of the male to fulfill the demands of the woman's family actually hinders marriage, and this opens the door to immorality between men and women who have agreed to marry. Conditions like this occur a lot, even fatally to the point of suicide.

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