

Dynamics of Social Stratification in the Bugis Bone Community

Muhammad Yanis¹, Muhammad Rusdi²

^{1,2}Program Studi Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan Universitas Muhammadiyah Bone Jalan Abu Dg. Pasolong No. 62 Watampone

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Abstract

This research is descriptive analytics are trying to find and describe about the social stratification in society Bugis Bone, South Sulawesi. The type of data used in this research is primary data and secondary data. Primary data obtained from the informants or people who live on the study site. Research data includes things related to social stratification applicable in the society of Bugis Bone. The results of the study to find a conclusion that a system of stratification of Bugis society still tends to be descriptive based on the lineage of nobility.

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Corresponding Author:

Muhammad Rusdi

Muhammadiyah University of Bone

E-mail: muhrusdi@unimbone.ac.id

1. INTRODUCTION

In interacting with each other, humans tend to classify themselves into social positions, which causes society to be divided into various strata (layers) according to the generally accepted hierarchical system. Society everywhere has a hierarchical system. In this hierarchy, members of society are placed in certain social positions, either high or low and this is usually visible when they relate to each other, this fact is called social stratification.

Around the 14th century until the arrival of Dutch colonial rule, the Bugis people in South Sulawesi had independent local kingdoms, including Tana Luwu', Tana Bone, Tana Wajo', Tana Soppeng, and Tana Sidenreng. The Bugis kingdoms were collectively called Tana Ugi. Brotherly or friendly relations are based on an awareness of ethnic unity which they call "sempugi". In the subsequent development of the Bugis kingdoms, the Bone Kingdom was considered a Bugis kingdom which became the standard for political-economic and cultural life patterns for other kingdoms in Eastern Indonesia (Mattulada, 1995; Lathief, 2003).

The system of stratification based on descent or nobility is not only found in public life, but is also found in the bureaucratic system. In the Bone regent's office, for example, the language used in communicating between superiors and subordinates is the local language and customary order. Subordinates call superiors puang, not father or mother as is commonly used elsewhere. "High" positions in district government are generally held by the nobility and their descendants, the sub-district heads also mostly still come from noble families. This condition continues the tradition of social stratification in the sub-district bureaucracy, with the sub-district head even having the title Petta cama' (Petta is the title of Bone nobles who are already married). Likewise at the village level,

Social Stratification

Sorokin (Soekanto, 1990) states that social stratification is the differentiation of the population or society into classes in a hierarchical manner. The manifestations are high class and low class. According to him, the layer system is a constant and common characteristic in every society that lives in an orderly manner, whoever has a lot of valuable things is considered to be in the upper strata of society. Those who have little or nothing of value in the eyes of society have a low

position. Between the upper and lower layers are layers whose number can be determined by those who want to study the social stratum system. Meanwhile Cuber (Huki,

On the other hand, according to Horton and Hunt (1999), social class is a sub-culture which includes a system of behavior, a set of values and a way of life. This subculture plays a role in helping people to adjust to the life they live. The lower a person's social class, the fewer social associations and relationships they have. According to Yinger (Sunarto, 2004) in sociology there is a difference between closed stratification and open stratification. The openness of a stratification system is seen from whether or not someone who has a certain status is young and whether someone with a certain status obtains status in a higher strata. Closed stratification when each member of society remains in the same status as his parents (can be higher or lower).

In relation to religion, several studies conducted by experts have found that social class is a reality that exists in every society. In the United States, for example, which is often used as an example of the most democratic country, the relationship between religion and society remains significant, as stated by Demerath (Kahmad, 2002) that the church reflects social influence. Religion in America, especially Protestantism, is generally seen as an activity of the upper and middle classes. There are three indications that support this statement, namely church membership, attendance at church services and participation in official church activities. In each of these elements, people with high status seem to be more involved than those with low status.

Status and Role

Position (status) and role (role) are standard elements in the social stratum system and have important meaning for the social system. Position is defined as a person's place or position in a social group in society in relation to other people, in terms of their social environment, prestige, and rights and obligations. Abstractly, position means a person's place in a certain pattern, thus a person is said to have several positions, because a person usually participates in various patterns of life. This understanding shows its place in relation to the framework of society as a whole. For example, a person's position as a member of society is a combination of all his positions as a teacher, school principal, RT head, husband of his wife,

According to Koentjaraningrat (2002), things that embody elements in sociological and anthropological theories about societal systems are status and roles. Humans who carry out interaction actions usually consider themselves to be in a certain social position which is also conceptualized for them by the norms that regulate these social actions. In everyday language the term position or status, especially social position, is usually defined as a respected and high position. Position (status) in social sciences has a more neutral meaning, it can be high or low, and can also be prominent or invisible. The concept of position (status) is an important element in the study of society.

Social Mobility

The term social mobility is defined as the movement of individuals or groups from one stratum to another in society. There are three types of social mobility, namely vertical mobility, horizontal mobility and geographic mobility. Vertical mobility is the movement of individuals or groups in society from one stratum to the stratum above or below it. Horizontal social mobility is movement from one position to another within the same stratum, while geographic mobility is different from the two forms of mobility above. Horizontal mobility occurs when individuals or groups move from one geographic location to another. This movement (geographical) can result in vertical or horizontal mobility (Huky, 1982).

According to Hunt (1984), social mobility can be defined as a movement from one social class to another social class. An open social class society is a society that has a high level of mobility; Closed class communities have a low level of mobility. Young (Soekanto, 2002) said that social movement or social mobility is a movement in the social structure, namely certain patterns that regulate the organization of a social group. Sorokin (Soekanto, 1987) said that according to the direction, two types of social movement were found, namely ascending (social climbing) and descending (social sinking). The upward vertical social movement has two main functions, namely: 1) entry of individuals in lower positions into higher positions; and 2) the formation of a

new group which is then placed at a higher level than the position of the individuals who formed the group. Downward vertical movement also has two main forms, namely: 1) the descent of an individual to a lower position; and 2) a decline in individual status which can take the form of disintegration. Based on these various definitions, it can be concluded that social mobility is the process of moving individuals or groups from one social status to another, namely to a high social status or to a low social status. 1) the descent of an individual to a lower position; and 2) a decline in individual status which can take the form of disintegration. Based on these various definitions, it can be concluded that social mobility is the process of moving individuals or groups from one social status to another, namely to a high social status or to a low social status. 1) the descent of an individual to a lower position; and 2) a decline in individual status which can take the form of disintegration. Based on these various definitions, it can be concluded that social mobility is the process of moving individuals or groups from one social status to another, namely to a high social status or to a low social status.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

Research design

This research is an analytical descriptive study that seeks to discover and describe social stratification in the Bugis Bone community, South Sulawesi. According to Brannen (1997), research using a qualitative approach examines the culture of a particular community group with the aim of recording and describing the empirical world (patterns of thought, outlook on life, or attitudes and actions). Burrell and Morgan (Brannen, 1997) express the qualitative approach as an interpretive approach, namely the interpretation of individual behavior based on the subjectivity element of the object being observed. An interpretive approach allows you to better understand your own culture, so that when expressing events you become more of an object, the research is carried out holistically. Efforts to establish a relationship with an object are total, from the start trying to enter into the reality of the object of study. The holistic approach supports objects into multiple constructions, viewing the object in its natural context.

Necessary data

The types of data used in this research are primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from informants or community members who lived in the research location. Research data includes matters relating to social stratification that applies to society.

Secondary data was obtained through library data and documentation as well as report materials available at the relevant agencies. Secondary data includes geographic, demographic, socio-economic and cultural conditions obtained from BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics) Bone Regency.

Determination of Informants

In this research, informants were selected purposively according to research needs, data was obtained through snowballing. Informants consist of people who are considered to know the research object and live in the Bugis Bone area. Apart from that, this research also used two informants who live outside the Bone area or are overseas.

Data collection technique

1. Participant observation

Participant observation is a data collection technique that positions the researcher as an observer and at the same time as a participant (Spradley, 1980). Data collection in the field was carried out using observation techniques involving researchers regarding the activities and objects studied, in order to understand the meaning behind these activities.

2. Deep interview

According to Sitourus (1998: 48) in-depth interviews are face-to-face meetings between researchers and informants in order to understand their views on life, experiences or social situations as expressed in their own language. Interviews were conducted using an interview guide which contained an interview framework according to the aspects studied. Questions are made flexible and adapted to the conditions needed so that researchers and informants can understand each other.

3. Documentation study

Documents are an important data source in qualitative research. Especially if the research problem is related to the background or various events that occurred in the past and is related to the current conditions of the event being researched. This data was obtained through library sources, especially books related to the history and dynamics of Bugis culture. The author also obtained data from personal notes of informants (traditional leaders) using Bugis script (lontara), especially those related to social stratification. Likewise with documents in the form of portraits of scenes that have particular significance as data reinforcement.

Data analysis technique

Data analysis is the process of simplifying data into simple formulas that are easy to read and easy to interpret. In this way, it is able to provide clarity in the meaning of each observed phenomenon, so that the broader implications of the research can be used as material for final conclusions (Garna, 1997; Muhadjir, 1998).

Data analysis in this research is qualitative analysis with principles, data analysis is carried out from entering the field and is carried out continuously until reaching conclusions. The analysis model used is flow analysis (flow model of analysis). The three components run together during data collection activities. Once the researcher has compiled complete fieldnotes, data reduction is immediately carried out and continues with preparing the data presentation and drawing up temporary conclusions.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kinship and Marriage

1. Kinship

Kinship and marriage are part of the social stratification system of Bugis society. In-depth knowledge of the principles of kinship is needed to understand what underlies the various aspects of Bugis community life and which are interrelated in forming the social order. The Bugis kinship system is called *asseajingeng* as one aspect of *pangadereng* and its role is very important in terms of *mappasiala* (search for a soul mate) or marriage to build a family. The term *asseajingeng* consists of two words, namely *asse* which means close and *seajing* which means close, thus *asseajingeng* means very close kinship ties (Diparda Bone Regency: 5).

Basically, in the view of the Bugis people, in society there are two groups, namely *seajing* (relatives) and *tau laing* (other people) in the sense that they are not relatives because they are not related by blood. People who fall into the *seajing* group are also still divided into two, namely *seajing mareppe'* (relatives or close family) and *seajing mabela* (relatives or distant family). People who are still included in the *seajing mareppe'* also have a closer emotional relationship, so that if someone experiences difficulties or has urgent life needs, then the person contacted after the nuclear family is the *seajing mareppe*. People included in *seajing mareppe* will maintain each other's self-esteem or *siakkasiriseng* (each other's *siri'*), and with all *seajing*, they feel *masseddi siri'* (united in protecting their *siri'*). Errington (1977) suggests that everyone who is part of the *masseddi siri'* is bound by a strong emotional bond of *siri'* and a strong sense of solidarity. Every incident of *ripakasiri'* (humiliation) of one of the *masseddi siri'* units will trigger anger and defense of other members as an expression of solidarity between other members.

Such relationships are supported by the fact that in ancient times kin groups in the Bugis area each occupied a certain area which they called *kampong* (village). The village residents are led by a *tau matua* (parent) of the village who is the center of the *siri'* and also the top leader of his family. According to Errington (Melalato, 1997) that people who do not want to hear messages, advice and reprimands from their parents, there is a possibility that their parents will feel like they are being used and humiliated. Even if a person does not willingly accept the authority of his parents he can be considered a wild person who has no *siri'*.

It is to the village head or *tau matua* that the residents identify themselves, so that when there is a dispute with the *tau laing* (other people) they like to say *muissengpuasa, iyya to anuka*

wijanna Ianu (did you know that I am from Anu's village, a descendant of Anu). Such statements show a person's feelings of superiority towards his opponent and this is also a source of conflict. On the other hand, parents who have an *appadaoroaneng* (brotherly) relationship with another *tau matua* will have their brotherhood continued by their offspring. This brotherly relationship is conveyed through *paseng* (messages) to the *wija-wijanna* (descendants). People who obey the message will remind each other when there is conflict between them.

In *asseajingeng*, apart from *seajing mareppe'* (relative or close family) and *seajing mabela* (relative or distant family), the terms *rappe'* and *sompung lolo* are still known. *Rappe'* is a member of a blood relative, while *sompunglolo* or *siteppang* is a member of a blood relative who is related by marriage (Mattulada, 1995). The term *sompunglolo* in Bugis language consists of two words, namely *sompung* and *lolo*. *Sompung* means to connect, for example connecting a rope in the Bugis language is called *massompung tulu*. *Lolo* means young which indicates age, *lolo* is also interpreted as the placenta or placenta that covers the baby when it is born. The *lolo* referred to in the term *sompung lolo* is the placenta. When a baby is born, normally it is born together or united with the *lolona* (placenta). By analogy with that, The use of the word *lolo* in terms of kinship is defined as togetherness or unity. So the word *sompunglolo* means continued togetherness or unity between two families through marriage, because previously they were *tau laing* (other people), and later they were called *seajing* (relatives). If those who are married have previously been married, their kinship becomes even closer.

The term *siteppang*, the Bugis Bone people call *siteppa-teppangeng* comes from the word *teppang* which means to save, namely to put or store an object in a container, for example storing a book in a bag (*teppang bobbo' ri tase-e*). It can also mean entering or involving oneself in a group voluntarily. For example, when someone is walking, happens to see a group of people working together to clean the mosque, then the person concerned volunteers to join the group to clean the mosque together, then that action is called *nateppang alena* (entering or getting involved). Likewise, when someone witnesses a friend fighting, the person concerned spontaneously intervenes or helps one of the parties out of solidarity with the friend. it is also called *nateppang alena*, but in this context the Bugis call it *nateppang alena ri api mabbara-bara-e* (putting oneself in a burning fire), namely involving oneself in danger. The occurrence of *siteppa-teppangeng* is that two families voluntarily involve themselves together to unite their family members in a forum, namely marriage. The result of the marriage made them *seajing* (relatives).

2. Implications of the social stratification system in marriage

For the Bugis people, marriage means *siala* (taking each other). So, marriage is a reciprocal bond. Even though they come from different social statuses, after becoming husband and wife they are partners. However, marriage is not just the union of two brides and grooms, but rather a ceremony of unification in the union of two families who usually have a previous relationship with the aim of further strengthening it (*mappasideppe mabela-e* or bringing those who are far apart). Among ordinary people, marriages generally take place between close families, so they already understand each other beforehand. Marriage is the best way to make another person "not someone else" (*tennia tau laing*).

Bugis society pays great attention to ideal marriage. According to the Bugis, the most ideal marriage is a marriage at the horizontal family relationship level, in this case marriage between cousins.

- a. *Damn massaposiseng* (married with a cousin once), also called *assialang marola*. *Massaposiseng* unlucky marriages have often occurred from generation to generation, especially in noble families. With this kind of marriage, the assets of both parties are maintained within their own family. For the noble class, this marriage will maintain the purity of royal blood.
- b. *Damn massappokadua* (marrying a cousin twice) *assialanna memeng* (proper marriage) or *assiparewékenna* which means returning to relatives.

c. *Damn massappokatellu* (marrying with a cousin three times) is also called *ripareppekimabelae* (bringing closer relations).

For the nobility, another factor that must be considered is the suitability of degrees between men and women. In contrast to male nobles who are allowed to marry partners of lower status, female nobles are not allowed to marry people of lower status at all. The higher a person's nobility status, the stricter the rules applied. This still applies today. However, among the lower nobility, compromises became more and more likely to occur.

In the marriage process, the man gives the *sompa* (dowry) to the woman. *Sompa* literally means "offering") symbolized by a sum of *rella* money (i.e. rials, the Portuguese currency previously valid, among other things, in Malacca). *Rella* is determined according to the status of a woman and will become her property. Second, *dui menre* (literally meaning rising money) is "delivery money" or *dui balanca* (shopping money) from the man to the woman to be used for the wedding party. The amount of *dui menre* is determined by the woman's family. Before the Dutch colonial period, men from outside the area where women lived had to pay a *pallawa tana* (literally 'land barrier') to the local ruler in the amount of a *sompa*.

At the end of the 19th century, the size of the dowry (*sompa*) was determined according to a person's status. Each unit of dowry was called a *kati* (the "ancient" currency), one catty was worth 66 ringgit, the same as 88 rials. Each catty must be added with one slave, which is worth 40 rials and one buffalo, which is worth 25 rials. *Sompa* for high class noble women, *sompa bocco* or peak *sompa*, could reach 14 catties, while for women of the lowest level nobles only one catty, "good people" (*tau deceng*) half a catty, and for ordinary people only a quarter of a catty. This calculation system is still used today, but since Indonesian independence the ringgit currency (formerly worth 2.5 rupiah or 2.5 Dutch guilders) has been used as the unit of calculation; So one catty, which is worth 66 ringgit, is equal to 165 rupiah. Considering Indonesia's inflation rate since the 1960s and the decline in the value of the rupiah, it is clear that *sompa* money is no longer valuable. However, the *sompa* is still important, especially for families with high social status (Millar, 1989: 184).

Returning to the issue of marriage, in the Bugis community, this marriage ceremony is the most festive in the life cycle of the Bugis people. The marriage ceremony is the main medium for the Bugis to show their position in society. For example, by carrying out certain rituals, wearing certain clothes, jewelry and other trinkets according to their level of nobility and social status. Apart from that, the identity, status and number of guests present also reflect the extent of a person's social relationships and influence. The economic status of the groom's family can be seen from the large amount of *dui menre* they present to the bride (Millar, 1989).

The custom of settling down after marriage adheres to a bilocal pattern, where individuals have the freedom to choose a place to live, either in the wife's relatives' neighborhood, the husband's relatives' neighborhood, or *mallaing* (making their own house). However, there is a tendency that after the marriage takes place, the husband will stay temporarily at the in-laws' house, and from here they start looking for or making their own place to live. For married couples who have just got married and immediately have their own place to live (immediately separating from their parents) it is considered to be in a hurry. They still have to live together with their in-laws. For farming families, newly married daughters-in-law help their in-laws work on the rice fields. There are times when parents who have sons-in-law try to expand their land by buying new land or *matteseng* (working on other people's fields with a profit sharing system). This was done with the consideration that with a new son-in-law, one more person could work so that the land would be expanded.

Social Stratification in Bugis Settlement

Bugis houses are also classified according to the position or stratification of the occupants. The types of houses in question are as follows: (1) *Saoraja*, namely a large house inhabited by the royal family or nobility. Its characteristics include: having five or seven compartments, its *timpa' laja* (top) having five layers for the ruling king and three layers for other nobles. This house has a *sapana*, namely a staircase with a base and a top on the stairs. In the Bugis, a *saoraja*

house with more than seven plots, specifically the king's residence (Bone, Soppeng, Wajo) is also called salassa. (2) Saopiti, is a residential house, smaller in shape than saoraja, has no more than four plots, one or three roofs, does not have sapana. Usually inhabited by good people, rich people, or people who are in position and respected in society. (3) Bola To-Sama' or barung parung is the house where most people live. On average, it has three layers, has two layers of ridges and does not have sapana (Mattulada, 1985).

Bugis houses are built on poles (houses on stilts) which consist of three layers, namely: (1) rakkeang at the top of the house, located under the roof. This section is used to store rice and other food supplies. (2) ale balls, namely the rooms where humans live, which are divided into several special rooms. These rooms are for receiving guests, bedroom, dining room and kitchen. (3) awasao is the bottom part of the stage floor, used to store agricultural tools, chicken coops or other livestock for farming families. In pattasi/pakkaja (fishing) families, awasao is used to store fishing tools and other livelihood related activities.

Various innovations in the Bugis house model, as in other places, were initially only intended for the nobility. For example, only they can use rectangular or octagonal poles, while ordinary people can only use round poles. Various distinctive features were also added to the houses of the high nobility to show their social status. The most prominent characteristic is the number of planks that make up the front wall of the roof of the house (timpa' laja) from Malay (tebar screen): two layers for tau deceng, three for ana' cera, five for ana; mattola, and seven for the rulers of the main Bugis kingdoms (Pelras, 2006).

According to one Bone traditional figure, the house in the Bugis language, which is now called bola, was originally called sao, for example saoraja (sao = house and maraja = big). In this case saoraja means big house. Based on this information, according to the author, it was found that the term saoraja has two meanings, namely: (1) sao-raja which means the king's house or king's palace, and (2) sao-maraja, abbreviated as saoraja, also means big house. According to Asmat Riady, the term timpa' laja comes from the words timpa' which means open and laja' which means screen. This term emerged in connection with the habit of Bugis people who live in coastal areas who often see sailing ships anchoring from the rekkeang (the top of the house on stilts). So Timpa' Laja is a place to see sailing ships that are about to dock. This term is different from that put forward by Pelras who stated that the term timpa' laja comes from Malay, namely tebar Lajar.

With regard to the model of the Bugis house, the results of an interview with the Secretary of the Saoraja Bone Traditional Council show that in detail the model of timpa' laja, houses in Bone starting from Arung Mangkau to Tau Sama is as follows:

*Just overwrite it*5 or 7 tiers: symbolizes Arung Mangkau's house

*Just overwrite it*4-tiered: symbolizes the house of Arung Mattola

*Just overwrite it*3-tiered: symbolizes Arung Palili's house

*Just overwrite it*2-tiered: symbolizes Tau Deceng's house

Apart from that, there are still other rules, namely mallangga addeneng (using stair mats), which are permitted in the houses of the nobility. Likewise with malangga alliri (the baseboards of the house), it is only done by tau deceng, but tau deceng cannot be malangga addeneng. While you know the same thing, you can't do both.

As time goes by, nowadays there are no longer any restrictions on choosing a house model. However, for those who know the pangadereng rules, it is still a topic of discussion if a house model appears among non-nobles who adopt the noble house model. Responding to this, the Secretary of the Traditional Council, Saoraja Bone, stated: "Even if currently someone is building a house and adopting the noble house model, that is can no longer be prohibited. However, the person concerned cannot admit that this is the model of his descendant's house because he is not a nobleman, but only as a characteristic of the Bugis house."

Principles and Meaning of Social Stratification

1. The principle of hierarchy based on descent

Based on La Galigo and the myth about the ancestors of the Bugis people, initially there were only two types of humans, namely those with divine blood and those with red blood, who were classified as ordinary people, commoners, or slaves. In this text, the division between the two categories is absolute and cannot be mixed. In practice throughout history, marriage between the two groups was not only permitted but also occurred frequently, thus raising the status of the middle class who were between the highest nobility and the lowest serfs. According to Mattulada (1985), to understand the stratification of the Bugis people, as written in the lontara', in ancient times there were humans who were considered to manurung (people who came down from the sky), tau tompo pole ri toddang toja (those who emerged from below).

From white blood, social stratification is formed. A person's degree of nobility is determined by the proportion of white blood flowing in their body. All Bugis nobles with the titles Arung, Petta and Andi are descendants of To Manurung. The stratified structure of society is considered sacred or holy, not worldly or secular (Errington, 2013).

In the Bugis people's genealogy, the highest status is called ana' mattola, a child (ana') who has the right to inherit (mattola) his parents' throne as supreme ruler of the kingdom. The second layer is also divided into two degrees. The status of a child resulting from the marriage of a man with a higher status and a woman with a lower status will be in the middle layer between the status of his parents. So if an ana' mattola from one of these sub statuses marries an ordinary person, their child will be an ana' cera' siseng/seddi (first layer blood child). Ana' cera' siseng's marriage to an ordinary woman gave birth to ana' cera' dua (second layer blood children); mixing their offspring with ordinary women will become ana' cera' tellu (third layer blood children). The three positions of the ana' cera' layer filled the positions of middle class nobles.

Below them there are to sama (common people) or tau maradeka (free people) even among them there is a distinction between their ancestors who are still considered nobles, no matter how low their level and no matter how far their ties (tau tongeng karaja) and those who are truly descended from ordinary people (tau maradeka mattanete lampe').

2. Stratification of Bugis Bone society

The importance of hierarchy in traditional Bugis society is clearly seen by the existence of a number of certain signs or symbols that indicate their status, so that other people can determine the appropriate way to behave towards them. These symbols include trinkets of clothing and the architecture of their homes. Respectful greetings were carefully determined based on a person's level of nobility and age. Apart from that, there are also certain gestures and body positions when sitting or passing in front of or near a nobleman to show respect. Marriage, where status is confirmed and passed down from generation to generation, remains the main event for Bugis people to demonstrate their social status.

Furthermore, according to Mattulada (1955), during the era of kings' rule, when the Bugis-Makassar kingdoms were still sovereign, in general only two layers in society, namely the ruling layer and the common people, were controlled. Apart from the Anakarung layer, the ruling layer which can also be called the elite of society can also consist of the ordinary people (To Maradeka) who have demonstrated social achievements as follows: (1) To Panrita, namely those who come from both Anakarung and Maradeka who become scholars, religious leaders and other knowledgeable people, and have worked for the benefit of society; (2) To Sugi, namely rich people, both from Anakarung and Maradeka, who because of their tenacity in working have become rich and respected; (3) To warani, namely brave people who appear to defend the interests of the country and people in war against the enemy. These people, both from Anakarung and Maradeka, are called to warani who are respected and seen as honorable people; (4) To sulasena, namely people who have special skills, such as technocrats who never run out of initiative to seek efforts to improve society and the country.

3. Lasting social stratification

Tana Ugi in general, and Tana Bone in particular, are Bugis associations based on the principle of kinship alliance. They are not too tied to a particular area to carry out their calling in life. Wherever they gather together in a kinship association, and there potentially occurs Tana Ugi. This has been widely witnessed in various areas where there are Bugis villages. In such an association you will find:

a. Ajjoreng

Whether his name is Arung, Ponggawa or something similar, this figure is a leader who is used as the axis of integrative activities and the development of cultural life. The use of the term "axis of activity" is to denote a leader surrounded by many people who follow his will obediently. During the royal era, in the government structure of the Bugis Kingdoms, especially Tana Bone, the king and the government officials who helped him (pampawa ade') were called ajjoareng and became the axis of this activity. At that time, Ajjoareng held an official position as a power official.

b. Joa

During the kingdom era, the joa consisted of people from the Maradeka strata of society who showed loyalty to the ajjoareng. They are the ones who occupy the circle outside this maradeka circle, as the largest elements of society. From him, loyalty is always expected to provide vitality to the entire community. In the process of integrating activities between the central circle and the outer circle, a relationship of mutual support occurs for the smooth running of community life which is regulated by pangadereng which covers all aspects of life. People who feel happy with Ajjoareng will always give loyalty to him.

According to Tang (1997), the concept of ajjoareng and joa' has various meanings, depending on the role played by the perpetrator. An ajjoareng is usually from aristocratic social groups, but most of them are also achievers, for example people who have succeeded in becoming to sugi (rich people), to warani (brave) and to acca (clever and clever). In everyday conversation, an ajjoareng from the noble class, puang or puatta (lord or master), from the common people is usually called ponggawa (juragan). At this time it is no longer strange to hear the greeting "boss". The greeting to joa' is usually called ana' teacher or ana-ana' which is interpreted as subordinate.

The outward behavioral patterns of traditional leadership (ajjoareng) still exist in Bugis society. People who are used to this pattern accept it as a normal condition that has continued from past times. The upper class of the past occupied a new position in the new elite (Mattulada, 1995: 497) as follows: (1) The Anakarung who were loyal to the Dutch, as the upper class elite; (2) Intellectuals who received formal education and Islamic/Traditional ulama as well as leaders of social movements occupy the middle class elite; (3) Wealthy people, traders and other entrepreneurs occupy the position of the basic class elite.

4. Migrant as a strategy to increase social stratification

On the other hand, emigration can also be a way to improve the status of lower class people. According to Pelras (2006) the Bugis migrated as an economic strategy. In general, the reasons underlying the actions of Bugis people to leave their hometowns are related to efforts to find solutions to personal conflicts, to avoid humiliation, unsafe conditions, or the desire to escape either from unsatisfactory social conditions or undesirable consequences. acts of violence committed in their place of origin. However, such reasons alone do not seem to be sufficient as a basis for understanding why there have been so many Bugis settlements throughout the archipelago since the end of the 17th century. Nor can it explain the fact that despite constantly changing circumstances,

At the end of the 18th century, Bugis settlements existed in various places outside South Sulawesi. In Sumatra, a small group of Bugis people lived in Bengkulu, where some of them were entrusted with holding important royal positions during the British colonial period. In the 18th century, the Bugis, whose main activity was as traders, constituted the majority population in the Riau Islands, and held an influential position in the Riau-Johor sultanate.

Meanwhile, other Bugis people controlled some of the exports of tin and certain forest products originating from the Malay Peninsula. On the west coast of Kalimantan, the Bugis controlled trade around Pontianak and Mempawah. In the southeastern region of Kalimantan, Bugis settlements are found on Pulau Laut, while on the coast of East Kalimantan, especially in Pegatan, Pasir, Kutai, Samarinda, Bulungan, and Gunung Tabur, the Bugis controlled trade upstream of the river. Across from that place, namely in the western part of Central Sulawesi, many Bugis settlements have been found for centuries around Palu Bay, especially in Donggala, Banawa and Kaili. Apart from that, pockets of Bugis settlement can also be found in Sumbawa (which has long had close ties with South Sulawesi) and in Ende, Flores. Finally, important Bugis trading groups were found in several places on the island of Java, such as Surabaya, Gresik, and Batavia, as well as in many other trading ports where Bugis communities lived. Many Bugis settlements have been found for centuries around Palu Bay, especially in Donggala, Banawa and Kaili. Apart from that, pockets of Bugis settlement can also be found in Sumbawa (which has long had close ties with South Sulawesi) and in Ende, Flores. Finally, important Bugis trading groups were found in several places on the island of Java, such as Surabaya, Gresik, and Batavia, as well as in many other trading ports where Bugis communities lived. Many Bugis settlements have been found for centuries around Palu Bay, especially in Donggala, Banawa and Kaili. Apart from that, pockets of Bugis settlement can also be found in Sumbawa (which has long had close ties with South Sulawesi) and in Ende, Flores. Finally, important Bugis trading groups were found in several places on the island of Java, such as Surabaya, Gresik, and Batavia, as well as in many other trading ports where Bugis communities lived.

4. CONCLUSION

1. The stratification system of Bugis society still tends to be ascriptive based on royal lineage.
2. Vertical social mobility remains open for people with achievements and allows upward vertical social mobility which has implications for increasing social stratification.
3. Social stratification of Bugis society at this time
 - Whitewater (nobility)
 - Hajj Group and To Panrita (ulama)
 - To Sugi group (rich people) and civil servants
 - Pallaoruma (farmers) and Pakkaja (fishermen) groups

A new concept in this research that can be contributed to the development of sociology and anthropology is the concept of achievement. This research also found the concept that the main factor that determines social stratification is not economic factors but religious achievement.

5. SUGGESTION

1. It is recommended to conduct further and in-depth research in the wider community regarding the role of religious values or traditions in improving achievement.
2. It is necessary to carry out in-depth research on the magnitude of the role of geographic mobility in achieving upward vertical social mobility among migrant communities.
3. The results of this research differ from several previous findings which placed economic ability as the main factor in determining social stratification. In-depth research needs to be conducted on the possibility of a shift in the factors that are the main measurement in determining social stratification.

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