

Public and Domestic Roles of Bugis Women in *Pangaderreng*

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Abstract: *Feminist movement emerges from the women oppression that can be found worldwide. The oppression is due to the domestic workS assigned to women. However, this phenomenon is not observed in the life of Bugis women, even the domestic roles assigned to them as wife and mother have positioned them to a noble position, and provide balance in society arrangement. The pangaderreng values upon which the Buginese people thoughts and acts are based regulate the women behaviors in two different areas and provide them a chance in public area, including power and even become a queen. The same is true for domestic area, where they are given autonomy to manage affairs without oppressions.*

Keywords: public, domestic, Bugis women, *pangaderreng*

1. Introduction

Feminist anthropology views that class, race, culture, and history are the basic elements that contribute to the differences between women worldwide. In order to observe these differences feminist anthropology presents it from a perspective of comparison on how a woman different according to her culture and history (Moore, 1998:326). What stated by Moore had inspired authors to look more deeply into what make the Bugis women differet from women from other societies. Particularly when reading the background of the emergence of feminist movement that viewed that the women oppression in many regions worldwide is associated to domestic roles assigned to them and the presence of patriachial system. Whereas, the domestic roles in Buginese culture is an indicator to evaluate an ideal wife, with these roles they are valued and positioned in a noble position in the society, they are protected and maintained.

Several researchers have visited South Sulawesi and observed the life of Bugis women. They found no oppression and they said that Bugis women are different from women in viarious parts of the world, even they expressed their astonishment with the situation, for example, Ever Jan and Ian Cadwell as quoted by Rahman (212:12), that they found a picture of independent Bugis women in thinking and acting, and acknowledged as very independent and free women, even some of them lead the man. These facts are never found in other nations, and said that the social and cultural organization of South Sulawesi society is not biased toward gender, the role and position of women and men are equal. The same thing was expressed by Crawford and Events, Brooke, where they observed the ability of Bugis women in managing governance in a kingdom she leads, as quoted by Pelras (2006:189), as follow:

The women... are consulted by the men on all public affairs, and frequently raised to the throne, and that too when the monarchy is elective.... At public vestivals, women appear among the men; and those invested with authority sit in their

councils when affairs of state are discussed, possessing, it is often alleged, even more than their due share in the deliberations.....

All the offices of state, including even that of aru matoah, are open to women; and they actually fill the important posts of government, four out of the six great chiefs of Wajo being at present females. These ladies appear in public like the men; ride, rule, and visit even foreigners, without the knowledge or consent of their husbands. .

The expressions of astonishment and impression toward Bugis women above indicate that Bugis women also have a role in public niche. They illustrated the position of women in kingdom and opportunities given to them was equal to men, which enabling the Bugis women to participate in public niche.

The questions that come to surface are what values do the Bugis refer to, so that they can give roles to women that are equal to man? What values that can enable the Bugis women to take astonishing roles in public and ennobled in dimestic level? And how the Bugis women in this age play the public and domestic roles?

2. Study Method

a. Approach Model

The object of this study is the Bugis women and *pangaderreng* values related to the implementation of domestic and public role of women. Explanatory study case model was used to obtain the depth and wholeness of the studied object and understood as a unity context and related each other.

To find out the values underlying the roles assigned to the status of a Buginese woman, a review was conducted for previous studies regarding these values. This study also used a historical approach to reveal the historical facts of Bugis women in her actions and social situations faced in difference ages.

b. Study Type

This study was a qualitative study which provide a chance to holistic study, namely to observe the relationship between factors influencing an action and to understand the phenomenon according to emic view or Bugis women view regarding the values they believe.

c. Study Location

This study was conducted in Makassar City, South Sulawesi province. This location was selected according to the following considerations:

1. Makassar city is a metropolitan city, with its people activities involving men and women in almost all life sectors.
2. The existence of Bugis women in this city is fairly large. Bugis ethnic is the largest ethnicity in South Sulawesi Peninsula,
3. In this city, there are many social organizations, with members involving women. There are educational institutions with various qualities, and the emergence of institutions such as children daycare, laundry, etc.

D. Informants/Sample Selection Technique

The analysis unit in this study are Bugis women with the following criteria:

1. Women who has defined herself as Bugis women based on offspring and place of birth and nurtured in Buginese culture.
2. They have status as a wife or mother in a family, who also work in public field and get economic return, salary, or wage.
3. Live in Makassar, and or do their daily activities in Makassar.

E. Data Collection Method

1) Participants Observation

The authors, in possible time, took the role as participants observer, involving theirself as women who have also family where the household works are also the daily activities of the author. Therefore, the author had tried to do an approach by playing the role as an individu with same fate and have equal responsibility in doing these works. As Olesen suggested (Densin, 1994) that the qualitative feminist researcher should not avoid their own daily activities in providing the life problematic of women.

2) Interview

We interviewed 16 informants with in-depth interview using life story (history of life related to their role playing either in public area or in domestic area), as an attempt to know the individual experience particularly those related to their status with various roles in it.

Before the interview, an interview guidance was prepared according to the topics expected from the informants. The interview guidance consisted of questions outline, including the descriptive questions, structural questions and contrast questions that will be developed in the field, according to responses/answers from informants as explained by Spradley (1997:78).

3) Document Study

We used historical documents to find information regarding the traditional values from the informant ethnicity. This is important as research material to explore further the informants about their knowledge and perception on their ethnic values. Historical documents provide the depiction of Bugis women life in the past, prevailing values in certain periods, and socio-cultural situation where the women were. In addition, documents containing the study location photographs were also used, which were obtained from local government or internet.

4) Data Analysis Method

Data were analyzed through three activity flows that occur simultaneously, as proposed by Miles & Huberman (1992: 16-19), namely:

- 1) Data Reduction. This step consists of selection and simplification of data from interview by creating summary form sheet of interview and observation.
- 2) Data Presentation, by creating matrix to map the themes according to information details in data sheets that have been reduced.
- 3) Conclusion, The conclusion drawing is an activity of complete configuration, performed before, during, and after the study.

3. Results and Discussion

1) Pangaderrengas the Life Guidance of Buginese People

The Buginese values are written in *lontara* that explain the culture implemented in society organization, called *Pangaderreng*. It is this *Pangaderreng* that motivates all behaviors, manners, and actions of each individu in Bugis society life. The *Pangaderreng* substance is to maintain and grow the human values, which will maintain and functions as the backbone of *Pangaderreng*. The *Pangaderreng* is built on many interwitten elements that include *ade*, *bicara*, *rapang wari* and *sara*. These five elements are corroborated by the 'siri' bond. The elements that build *pangaderreng*, by Mattulada (1985:109,341) put the *Lontara Latoa* paragraph 31 as four principles that become ideal aspects of *pangaderreng*, namely:

- a) Principle of *deedmappasilasa'e* (balance=pertaining to adjust/consider problems), manifested in the harmonization in behavior and actions of human in treating thirself in *Pangaderreng*.
- b) Principle of *deed mappasisaue* (healing each other=bring together cases and sayings). Manifestation of 'bicara' that express the presence of legality and repressive which are very consequent to practice. Doing lash for each *ade*' violation. The saying of *siariwawongenng* (respect each other = between the high and the low) manifested in equal treatment, educate everyonbe to know the right and wrong.
- c) Principle of *Mappassenrupae* (equating = pertaining to equating a case to another). Manifestation of *bicara*aimed to maintain the continuity of existing patterns expressed in *rapang*.
- d) Principle of *mappallaisenng* (able to differentiate = differenatiate degree/rank each nation). Provide clear limitation regarding relationship between human and social institutions, so avoiding the chaos.

These four principles express self into whole system to develop individuals who stand above self values summarized in the concept of 'siri', namely the concept embraced by the Bugis Makassar in treating themselves and others in a society.

Pangaderreng rejects arbitrariness, ravishment, oppression and violence as elements in its system, which prevails for all levels in the life of society. It manifests in the presence of freedom to people, as an alternative to kill their king or leave the land when there is an oppression. This shows the deepest substance of *pangaderreng*, namely upholding the real human dignity. (Mattulada, 1985: 341)

In order to build individuals who uphold the human dignity, what fills an individual's heart is very important, as depicted in *Lontara Latoa* paragraph 50 (Mattulada, 1985: 114-116, 121):

"...that the heart is a vessel provided by Allah Taala. When you put a bad thing onto your heart, it is this bad thing that will be filled into your heart. When you put a good thing onto your heart, the good thing will be filled into it. Therefore, it is expected to have good heart behavior (deed) toward each other."

The good deeds are *honesty; righteous words; determination; siri; intelligence; and bravery* (Mattulada 1985: 139-141). These are among the content of *pangaderreng* which shape the Bugis individuals, namely individuals that uphold highly the dignity of human being.

2) Internalization and Socialization of Pangaderreng

Since dawn in their mother womb, the Bugis has started to be bound by *pangaderreng*. The bond gets stronger when he/she born and experiencing life in society. In education field, Buginese people have a high care for their children in order to have higher education and sharpen their ability.

a) In the Kingdom Environment

Since the kingdom period before the introduction of Islam, education in kingdom had been exist through traditional education that emphasizes physical ability, such as riding horse and attacking opponents. In addition, the royal children are also prepared with skill knowledge in managing kingdom. The governance knowledge is obtained from kingdom taught directly by their father, involving the children in all ceremonies and other kingdom activities. In *Latoa*, paragraph 147 and 242, as quoted by Mattulada (1985:311-313,442-430) explained the king responsibility toward royal children, namely maintain them and protect their 'siri' and guide and train them in governmental tasks in order to have skill in depending nation and king interest. Toward his people, the king needs to act like human, a human doing his responsibility to the country, namely to act based on five principles: fear to Allah Taala, 'Siri' toward human, fear of lies, love his people under his responsibility, establishing law, and implementing honesty toward anyone.

In addition to a father who teaches his children, there is a teacher called *gurunandi* who give a kind of private lessons to royal family (Pawiloy 1981: 20-33). Pabbicara to remind (educate) the king children and his own kids, during the time when they commit no mistakes, *Latoa* page 113 in

Mattulada, 1985:167). *Anreguru* in the palace is responsible to make the people in charge in the palace have morale personality, responsible according to *pangaderreng* as stated in *Latoa*, paragraph 209. Therefore, patterns based on *pangaderreng* in the palace environment are continuously implemented (Mattulada, 1985: 443-444).

Through traditional ways, the educational values for king candidate can be transferred to a child, as well as all levels in kingdom environment. The results of the education process is an individual that "*makkeade'ni ri alena*" (Bugis has been a culture in his body). When there are several royal princes to replace the king, the kingdom advisory body will choose the prince with proper ability as kingdom heir, without considering the gender, because prince or princess have the equal opportunity.

In addition to men kingdom found in history, there were also women names as king. This indicates that the crowned women king had abilities meeting the requirements to be crowned as the king.

b) In Common People Environment

Pawiloy (1981:29) explained that education source for Bugis and Makassar people is the *Lontarak Latoa* that contains *pangaderreng*, a guide that human in their life goal intend to always do righteous deeds. Through *Lontarak Latoa*, Bugis Makassar people are educated to recognize their way of life based on *pangaderreng*, namely the cultural norms that characterize the deeds in Bugis-Makassar ethnic. Through education based on *pangaderreng*, morale and adequate knowledge will be built.

In order to transfer the *pangaderreng* values to people, the individuals who take the role as the teacher are *palontarak, sanro, pinati*. Whereas in household, a mother controls the transfer of values contained in *pangaderreng*, therefore everyone should have known the content of *pangaderreng* so that she can teach and control her children behavior. The transfer process of these values is through model, self work, warning when violating, and behavior imitation (Pawiloy,1981:29).

One of the examples in socializing the *pangaderreng* values can be seen during a ceremony by reading *sure pangngaja* that contains *pangaderreng* values. The *sure* is delivered by a women in marriage party, circumcision party or quran reading graduation performed as the complement in the party. One of the themes in *sure pangngaja* is about the life after death, namely about the penalties for sinners and paradise return for good deeds (Pawiloy, 29).

Implementation of *pangaderreng* values is underlied by a principle that the base of *ade'* derives from balance (Bugis: *mappasilasa*), which in its implementation does not recognize child or grandchild (Bugis: *naiyya ade-e temma keanak, temmakkeappo*). In today terms "not selective", meaning that in the stipulation of prevailing norm, sanction for *ade'* violation will be given to anyone commit the violations. As practiced by Batari Toja (23rd Luwu King, 17th Bone King, and Soppeng King), who punished his own brother La Temmasonge by exiling him to Buton, because he kills a member of Ade' Pitu body of Bone Kingdom.

In such way *pangaderreng* become a life guide for all Bugis, either men or women. According to these values, Buginese people arrange their life, individual, in family, group, and nation.

3) Roles of Bugis Women Based on Pangaderreng

Masgaba (1996:52) explained according to *Galigo Epic*, that the term women is identical to the word *Awiseng* or *Makkunrai* which in daily life is considered as *Belo jajareng* (house decoration) or *Ati goari* (chamber content) or *Muttiana Jajarengnge* (house pearl). And to express the young Bugis women the term *Ulung Tepu* (Full Moon) is used or in other name *Dettia Mammula Cabbeng* (rising sun). In addition, some of the names to represent Bugis women refer to the position and nobility of women such as the name *Sulo matteppana lolangenge* (a torch shining country), *dewi riposalarang* (unforgettable beloved), *Reti toripatang ri nawa-nawa* (the one always remembered). It is usch the names given to women in *galigo Epic*.

In Lontara Latoa No. 179, women is considered as “glass” that is fragile and need to be maintained carefully. This parable is expressed in the saying of Kajaolalido with Arumpone as quoted by Mattulada (1985:210,255, 458) as follow:

Ianae bicaranna, nakko arung welam-pelang, bètuanna de'pa nallakkai, iko ttomatoaienngi, aggangka ulleanngi mmattuiwi apa' aitu riassenngi makkunrai ri-ebara'i kaca iana êngkana biritta tēmmadecenna, ri-ebara'ni to-mallèssè', narekko manèssai pangkaukèna, ri-ebara'ni padatosa kae rēppa'ni, de'na bua'buana, narekko mallakkaiwi, ri-ebara'niri-dampulu', nakko massasai lakkainna nagau mannèssai lakkainna iare'ga nasibawa, nainappa ppolakkaiwi natacko narampesa lakkainna, padani ebara'na, nakko malègga' dampulunna na-rita tona rēppa'na, de'na wèdding ri-dampulu',....

Meaning:

This is the talk, when *arung welang-pelang* (virgin woman king) without husband, you are the parents, do your best to protect her. Because the women, is like glass. When she has a good news, it is like it has a crack. When she has apparent behavior, it is like it has broken. It is useless. When she has a husband, she is like glued (glued for the broken parts). When she has a clash with her husband, because of a behavior known by his husband, or she did it together before they married, when that behavior is said by her husband, the parable is similar, when the glue removed, the broken parts are visible, impossible to recover....

These quotes give the depiction of Bugis women who can be a king, but her behaviors and actions should be protected according to society values so she can bring herself to a maximum level based on human morale potential, don't let her influenced by people with bad attitudes. For women holding power, they must be act respectful and careful because their acts really determine the *siri'* of the country. As stated in Latoa paragraph 196 emphasizing the strong warning on action that leads to adultery, because that action will bring shame to family and kingdom, as quoted by Mattulada (1985:220,267-269,443).

Culture has stipulated that women in the cultural life of Bugis Makassar as “family pearl”, which is always protected well from various insults. This manifests in the period of Japanese colonization in South Sulawesi, particularly Bugis land that never stepped back in facing the Japanese troops who try to took the women as their sex slaves. They never be loosed even if it demands sacrifice. The heavy punishments were always given by the Japanese government to Bugis Makassar because they defend their own and their family dignitu. During that time they were pressured with weapon power and significant economical pressure by Japanese government. Even if with simple weapon, namely badik, Buginese people never stepped back, they never be loosed when faced with the principle issues in their life (Abdullah 1985:163).

a) Public Role

To take the public role, Bugis women have been forged in their family, particularly for royal children where they have been taught how to manage country and do various physical skill trainings. The king takes the role as their teacher in addition of *guru nandi* who provide them with knowledge and *pangaderreng* values.

The results of traditional education taken by the Bugis women is the emergence of women kings and warriors. The *pangaderreng* values that have embedded into herself, present a wise, firm, smart and brave woman. Several names have been enshrined as Bugis woman kings that ever holded power in kingdoms in South Sulawesi. In Bone kingdom there were six queens: We Banrigau Makkalempie Mallajange' ri Cina 4th Bone King (1496-1516), We Tenri Pattuppu 10th Bone King(1602-1611), Batari Toja Daeng Talaga 17th Bone King (1714-1715)-(1724-1749) We Maniratu Arung Data 25th Bone King (1823-1835), Pancaittana Besse Kajuara 28th Bone King (1857-1860), dan Fatimah Banri 30th Bone King (1871-1895)(Wahyudi :Tribun Timur).

In Luwu Kingdom, from the 35 kings ever holded power, 8 of them were women, namely:: Simpursiang 3rd King, Risaung Lebbi 10th King, We Tenrirawe 14th King, Batari Tungke 22nd King, Batari Toja 23rd King, We Tenrileang 24th King, We Tenriawaru 28th King, We Kambe Opu Daeng Risompa 33rd King (Kusuma 1991:2-3).

As a king or warrior, they acted like men. Did diplomacy, led troops, and went to combat field. In situation when men are reluctant to wento to battle field, the women came to front to show their bravery. As done by We Mnriratu Arung Data 25th Bone King, formed women troop to provoke the men to join the war, and this strategy was successful in raising the men spirit to join war.

Bugis women during the struggle for independence came to front and directly involved to lead the warfare to fight the colonizer, in a war became war commander and do attacks against Netherland military bases. As what done by Besse Kajuara in Bone, Andi Ninnongi in Wajo, Opu Daeng Risaju in Luwu, Andi Depu in Mandar. Their sacrifice was not small in a situation that required them face the cultural body resisting their struggle. As what done by Opu Daeng Risaju,

separated from her husband by the cultural body (PSW Unhas 1991).

b) Domestic Role

Bugis women are family pearl, their adult signs are symbolized with marriage. Before the marriage, a woman should be a real woman (*mancaji makkunrai*), knowing the kitchen problems (*mancaji missengi dapureng*), becoming household manager (*mancaji I mattaro*), and become a friend in all situations (*mancaji baliperri*). From these four elements, the most significant indicator to represent the ideal wife is *misseng dapureng* (Idrus,2003:138-140). This explanation showed that domestic role is an important indicator to show the type of ideal woman in Buginese culture.

Bugis women are also taken identic to home, namely the ability of a woman in household to manage/maintan house. There several terms to illustrate this situation, such as the word *pangonro bolaorpajaga bili'* (house keeper) *ortau ri bola* (person in house) which means a wife who is always present in house and its surrounding. The same is true for their husbands which are called *panggulu bola* (household head) (ibid, Idrus, 2003:143, 328, 2006: 282).

The ideal characteristic related to the task of Buginese Women as mother is favoring the good and sincerity (*mancaji indo ana' tettong ridecengnge, tudang ri paccingnge*) becoming an individu that smart in putting, honest, economical and wise, as well as the husband partner in overcoming various difficulties and struggle in the life (*mancaji pattaro tettong rilempue punnai cirinna enrengnge lempu nawa-nawa mmewai sibaliperri waroenena sappa laleng atuong*) becoming the prode of her father, her brothers and sisters, and her husband to maintain her life dignity (*mancaji siatutuang siri na naenrengnge banapatinna ritomatoanna, risilessureng macoana letih" ga riworoanena*) (Mantik,2013).

During the kingdom age and continued to colonialization era, the domestic and public roles have separate implementation. When the Bugis women moved in public area, the domestic affairs were managed by people charged in the kingdom called *pattoribili'*, namely people from the near family of the king. In royal family or in *tau matoa* house, there were additional inhabitants namely the far family or not family that stayed for a while. These additionals inhabitants were those with lower status and chardge with daily home works (collecting firewoods, take water, peeling coconut, processing paddies, cooking, cleaning). They came theriself and did almost all of the household works, but they were not considered as house helper, and they were serviced by the tau matoa (Millar,2009:41). The relationship can be categorized as patron client relationship, each leading nobleman are in the center of network which bind to him several big followers. The single followers willingly stayed in their master houses to help them for household works. They were not paid, but foods, dresses, and home were covered by the patron (Pelras,2006:204).

Missengi deppureng, which is an ideal indicator for Bugis women as a wife, can be meant to know the know-how of

household affairs, even though the household works were done by other people under her liabilities, but the one who manage the implementation is the wife, which is the manager in the household to manage economical affairs and efficient, honest, and wise (Bugis; *mancaji pattaro tettong rilempue punnai cirinna enrengnge lempu nawa-nawa*),.

The explanation above, Bugis women play public roles and also domestic roles. Both of these roles are considered as noble role and put the Bugis women in a noble plase as long as the roles are implemented according to *pangaderreng* values.

4) Public and Domestic Roles of Modern Buginese Women

The life background of the 16 informants in this study showed that since in the childhood time, they have been trained in two areas, namely domestic and public areas. In addition ot traditional values they obtained from house according to their ethnical traditions, they also do domestic works, they also study in islamic-based formal school, and active as member/committee in religious social organizations.

Skills in handling various domestic works in addition to they were taught in household by their parents, many advices of their parents related to domestic and public roles. One of the advices said that "*assikolako tapi aja muallupai deppuremmu*" (continue your study but don't forget your kitchen/household). This is one of the parents advices that shape the personality of Bugis women, so that even they work in public field, and have high education but they keep give priority to their household.

Knowledge and skills in handling the domestic works were obtained from their family and surrounding ethnic environment. There were two cases that indicated domestic skills obtained through ceremonial events in their tradition. For example in marriage party, there is a tradition called '*lao turung*', a tradition in which people help each other to prepare marriage party. Family will come, women help to cook various foods that will be served in the party. It is in this situation they learn many things about domestic works.

Lessons from education and experience the informants obtained from formal education institutions, family and environment, have made the Bugis women as an individu that has knowledge and skills that can be implemented in domestic or public areas. Formal education and experience in organization activities have provided them with influence in determing the proper strategy to switch the domestic role playing, when the public role needs a priority. This situation of Bugis women is in accordance with Gidden view (2004:298-299) who views that social experience is a capacity to combine various activities with various strategies in harmony. The capacity give them an opportunity subjectively to dominate social classes in the society.

This study found a case that indicated that continuity in domestic works performed by the informants, until they enter the real household gave them experience and skills so that when they were faced to various problems, they can combine various acitivites in the two areas with various

strategies in harmony. In addition, they can get high status in society because of their ability to involve in public while their family is in harmony and prosperous.

Whereas the two cases that indicated a gap several years without domestic works, made the informants no longer skilled in managing household; so they get obstacles in their activities to take proper strategy, which has impacts on other aspects, particularly in managing their financial. In this case, the informants were trapped in debt, because the domestic role playing was handed to other people which need large money. Institutions emerging in Makassar to manage domestic roles, such as restaurants, laundry to wash clothing became the places for the informants in this case to fulfill their family domestic needs. And the intention to get good education for their children and themselves which also needs large money. The integration of the various needs without good experience in combining various needs in harmony can result in inappropriate strategy taking and resulted in chaos.

These cases proved that high education is not a guarantee that someone can perform domestic works with proper strategies. It needs continual trainings so that the activities of role playing can be combined harmonically with various strategies. *Missengi dappureng* (knowing the know-how of kitchen) as an ideal requirement for a wife is closely related to *mancaji pattaro* (managing financial). Bugis women who can not manage their household financial affairs are called *Makkunrai Madongo* (fool women).

4. Conclusions

- a) Domestic and public roles have been regulated in *pangaderreng*. Domestic role, which is an indication of an ideal woman, namely knowing the know-how of household management and represented in the term '*missengi deppureng*'. In public area it provides opportunity to women to occupy some important positions until becoming a king, and stresses to keep attitudes particularly those that can lead to adultery, because that thing can humiliate family and kingdom.
- b) Since past time, the *pangaderreng* values have been internalized and socialized to all society levels of Bugis. The same is true for the informants in their family and environment.
- c) In the implementation of domestic or public roles, informants in this study have experienced trainings that can shape skilled individuals in performing the roles.

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