

Creating Social Harmony With the Bissu Community in Tiba Sebelum Berangkat Novel by Faisal Oddang and Calabai Novel by Pepi Al-Bayqunie

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ABSTRACT

Research about the Bissu community has been carried out in various writings and forms. Research that related to the existence, role, and gender of Bissu has been done by Muh. Saidi with the title *Peran Bissu Dalam Masyarakat Bugis* in 2016, while research that related to social harmony has been done by Rayi Oktafiani Utomo with the title *Telaah Nilai Toleransi Dalam Novel Karya Ahmad Tohari* in 2020. This study was aimed to discussed about Bissu's social harmony in *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat Novel* by Faisal Oddang and *Calabai novel* by Pepi Al-Bayqunie so that quotes, dialogues, monologues, and discourses that contained in the both novel would be primary data sources meanwhile the literature also reliable sources from the internet would be the secondary data in this research. This research was descriptive qualitative. Qualitative descriptive was done by combining the overall content analysis and interpretation in the form of a description, then the tools to analysis the data was sociology of literature. Social harmony and the role of the Bissu as local culture preservers are part of the social process, so it would be appropriate to use the theory of the sociology of literature. This research then focuses on how the Bissu community utilizes ancient religious teachings, magic, and their role as leaders of the ancient Bugis religion to create social harmony. Thus, this research will produce additional treasures in the form of writings on identity and social harmony that are carried out uniquely by the Bissu community.

KEYWORDS

Bissu community; Social harmony; Tolerance; Solidarity; Social disharmony.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country with a diversity of tribes, races, ethnicities and religions. It also can be called as *kebinekaan* or multiculturalism. *Kebinekaan* can also be interpreted as an illustration of the identity of the Indonesian nation which is divided but still one (Winataputra, 2008). The concept of *kebinekaan* is a concept taken from *multikulturalisme* or multiculturalism which is adapted to the character of Indonesian society. The concept of '*bineka tunggal ika*' in diversity can be understood academically in the context of the generic concept of multiculturalism (Winataputra, 2008). *Kebinekaan* is the voluntary acceptance of other groups as equals as a whole regardless of differences in culture, language, gender, ethnicity, religion, race and between groups. However, they still respect differences in accordance with their respective natural existences and trust each other's differences between individuals morally and emotionally. The commitment to the *NKRI*, *Undang-undang Dasar Indonesia Tahun 1945*, *Pancasila*, the archipelago concept that unites Sabang to Merauke,

and Indonesian culture that embraces all the cultural diversity of all ethnicities in Indonesia are a strong indication that Indonesia does not adhere to the concept of America's melting pot or Malaysia's three ethnicity coexistence, but is an eclectic model of Canada's cultural mosaic with the concept of Unity in *Bineka Tunggal Ika Mpu Tantular* (Winataputra, 2008). Thus, the concept of *kebinekaan* will be appropriate when used to describe the diverse characteristics of Indonesian society.

Cultural diversity in *kebinekaan* is an ancestral heritage based on harmony. Cultural diversity can shape the mindset of society so that it is able to form harmony in society (Kurniawan, 2017). The formation of the mindset in question is the willingness to live side by side and mutual respect regardless of different backgrounds. Therefore, a high attitude of tolerance or *TL* and close solidarity or *SL* can create social harmony or *HS*. However, on the other hand cultural diversity can also trigger a conflict that creates social disharmony or *DS* among people. Differences and diversity of backgrounds can trigger conflict in society or social disharmony (Ismail & AG, 2011). Conflicts due to differences in background or cultural diversity can be caused by many factors, for example differences in opinions related to the interests of the general public. Conflict usually involves two parties who are at odds with each other about values or things that are considered higher (Darwis, 2013).

One of the conflicts that caused social disharmony occurred in Indonesian history in 1950. The *Bissu* community in South Sulawesi was one of the victims of the *Toba* or repentance operation that wanted Indonesia to become a country based on Islam or known as DI/TII (Azizah, 2019). This movement was led by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, while Abdul Kahar Muzakar was entrusted with being the deputy leader to carry out *Toba* operations in eastern Indonesia, South Sulawesi. The *Bissu* community who are ancient Bugis and believe in *Dewata Sewwae* are considered infidels because they do not adhere to the majority religion, are labeled as a genderless community, and perform various rituals and traditional ceremonies that are considered to deviate from religious teachings. The Kahar Muzakkar mob considered that *Bissu*'s activities of worshiping idols were not in accordance with Islamic teachings and gave rise to feudalism resulting in the eradication of religious activities, ceremonial instruments, and perpetrators (Lathief, 2004a).

The solution that can be offered to overcome conflicts due to the diversity of community backgrounds is to create social harmony. Ways to realize social harmony in society are to bring up an understanding related to high tolerance, upholding solidarity, respecting differences, encouraging fairness, non-discrimination towards other groups or individuals, and a willingness to work together among community groups (Pusat Penelitian Kebijakan Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan, 2017a). Social harmony can also be pursued through a positive attitude towards differences, an accommodative attitude, a democratic spirit, having empathy for others, maintaining law enforcement, transparency and information disclosure, and preserving the environment (Maryati & Suryawati, 2017).

Examples of social harmony represented in literary works can be found in *Tiba Sebelum Berangkat* novel (*TSB*) by Faisal Oddang and *Calabai* (*CLB*) by Pepi Al-Bayqunie. *TSB* tells the story of the past to the present life of Mapata and Rusming as priests of the ancient Bugis religion called *Bissu*, while *CLB* tells the life of the most popular *Puang Matoa* named Saidi Bin Rudding. The *TSB* novel is a form of effort to respond through personal views about events in the surrounding (Oddang, 2018). Pepi's reason for writing the *CLB* novel is as a form of respect and appreciation through stories in the form of pieces of memory as well as impressions while associating with the *Bissu* community environment (Al-Bayqunie, 2016). The people of South Sulawesi who adhered to the ancient Bugis religion at that time really appreciated and respected the presence of the *Bissu* community in their area. The cause of

the *Bissu* is appreciated and their presence is considered because they have an important role in various aspects of life such as religious rituals, customs and traditions.

RESEARCH METHODS

The sociology of literature is able to find hidden facts behind reality so that they can be raised (Suwardi, 2011). Literature sociology is used to analyze the symptoms and social phenomena contained in literature, including culture, art, language, religion or belief, organization, politics, economy, knowledge system, technology, belief and education. Human relationships with the universe can be generalized through cultural pathways (Malinowski, 1966). Therefore, the type of research used is descriptive qualitative research. Qualitative descriptive analysis is carried out by analyzing the content as a whole using interpretation in the form of descriptions described through written words without the presence of numbers or questionnaires (Ratna, 2011). This research data is referred to as unobtrusive data or data that is not taken directly in the field. Unobtrusive data is the process of obtaining data that is not done directly from the source to create a natural process (Hatch, 2002).

The primary sources in this study are dialogues, monologues, quotations and narratives or discourses that have elements of social harmony in the novels *TSB* by Faisal Oddang and *CLB* by Pepi Al-Bayqunie. Meanwhile, secondary sources are obtained from literature and sources from the internet which can be accounted for. Data sources are where data is found by utilizing appropriate methods, for example humans, artifacts or documents (Sutopo, 2002). The reason for using the *TSB* and *CLB* novels as the main source is because tradition and custom have always been the author's themes and characteristics. Culture has a role as something that unites, because it is always formed based on joint decisions (Amal, 1996). The data collection procedure in this study used a document study. The data collection procedure was carried out through four stages. First, prepare the novels under study, namely the *TSB* and *CLB* novels to be read carefully and thoroughly. Second, to find data in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels that represent the *Bissu* community and have elements of social harmony. Third, sorting and selecting data based on research focus. Fourth, presenting the results of the data that has been sorted.

The research data collection instrument is a tool that refers as a means of collecting data so it needs to be made. Researchers are one of the instruments that play an important role in this study. The task of the researcher in this research is to make a data collection instrument by finding the necessary data first, making a description or analysis of the data, as well as the interpretation carried out on text quotations as research data. First, research indicators in the form of social harmony and social disharmony are made to facilitate the process of data analysis. Second, data interpretation is carried out to get the essence of the phenomena in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels after making research indicators in the form of social harmony and social disharmony contained in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels. The data collection guidelines are divided into two focuses, namely social harmony and social disharmony, while there are three sub-focuses of the two focuses, namely tolerance, solidarity, and conflict due to differences in backgrounds.

In the section on checking the validity of the data, a validation process is carried out to test the accuracy of the findings in several ways. Validating data can be done through three stages (Creswell, 2014). First, it can be done by reading the text that will be examined carefully and repeatedly to get a comprehensive picture. Second, asking for reviews or peer reviews on the methods section to provide research interpretations from the supervising lecturer as an expert to examine the research process externally in order to reduce personal

or unilateral views. Third, examining the triangulation of theories, methods, and data to the supervisor lecturer as an expert to strengthen the validity of the data in the research process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Harmony

Social harmony can be meaningful as a condition where individuals live in harmony and in line with the goals of society. Social harmony is a process of mutual respect, expression, trust, admiration, peace, harmony, respect, generosity and justice for other people in society regardless of origin and origin of country or place of residence, weight, age, skin color, gender, marital status as well as social and other aspects (Sharma, 2014). The key to achieving social harmony is the behavior of the individual himself. Social harmony will be considered appropriate if individuals have an attitude of tolerance or are able to respect others to the same degree and have an attitude of solidarity or show trust in others because of the same emotional feelings.

Tolerance

Tolerance is taken from the English word "tolerance" which means letting. Tolerance has several forms, namely politeness and understanding social identity. When viewed through the values of character education, tolerance can be referred to as attitudes and actions to respect differences in religion, ethnicity, ethnicity, opinions, attitudes and actions of other people who are different (Utomo et al., 2020a). The indicators of tolerance are showing mutual respect, showing courtesy, understanding social identity, respecting various differences, respecting differences as individuals, avoiding conflict, appreciating cultural diversity, showing friendliness, understanding other people's attitudes, respecting decisions that are not approved (Utomo et al., 2020a).

Solidarity

Another manifestation of social harmony besides tolerance is solidarity. Solidarity is an attitude of mutual trust because there are moral and emotional feelings that can be felt together. Social harmony can occur in a society which is marked by the presence of solidarity (Mulya, 2015). When explained in more detail, solidarity can refer to relationships between individuals who are bound by emotional feelings as well as shared beliefs that are held and strengthened based on shared experiences (Johnson, 1994). The indicators of solidarity are having mutual trust, being loyal to friends, moral and emotional equality, having a moral and emotional relationship, showing solidarity, showing a bonded relationship on mutual trust, strengthening relationships based on experience, showing cooperative attitude, prioritizing democracy, having an attitude of responsibility, helping each other, mutual cooperation, working together, showing unified behavior (Utomo et al., 2020b).

Social Disharmony

Social disharmony is a negative trait and behavior resulting from prolonged horizontal conflict that cannot be resolved. Conflict usually aims to gain rare things such as value, status, power, recognition, and things that are considered to benefit individuals or groups. Conflict usually aims to gain rare things such as value, status, power, recognition, and things that are considered beneficial to individuals or groups. Conflict is not just a form to show power or superiority but also to subdue rivals with violence or threats (Nieke, 2017). Factors that cause social disharmony sometimes arise due to similarities in cultural, economic and educational backgrounds.

Conflicts that occur are usually caused by people who reject differences. Society considers a 'difference' as something that can happen at any time because it cannot be predicted. People are not used to finding something different so they are unable to tolerate differences. The cause of conflict between communities or individuals is usually due to the lack of knowledge possessed by the community in communicating and expressing opinions (Benyamin & Intan, dkk., 2014). Indicators of conflict due to differences in background are showing intolerance, hatred, blaming differences in educational backgrounds, not being able to express opinions, seeing differences as unpredictable and strange, not having a solutive attitude (Utomo et al., 2020c).

Social Harmony in Tiba Sebelum Berangkat and Calabai Novel

Based on the results of the analysis that has been done and the indicators that already explain before, it can be concluded that social harmony can be created through attitudes and behavior in the form of tolerance and solidarity. The attitude or nature of tolerance consists of politeness and understanding social identity. Examples of actions or behaviors that show courtesy and understand social identity include greeting, asking permission or saying goodbye, complying with the norms or rules that apply in society, speaking politely and politely, carrying out orders from elders or respected ones, listening when other people speak, respecting differences as well as appreciating them, respecting the rights and obligations of others, and not imposing personal will on others (Utomo et al., 2020a). Here are data with a review that explains the social phenomenon of attitude and tolerance in *TSB* and *CLB* novels.

Tolerance in Tiba Sebelum Berangkat and Calabai Novel

Bissu's services are needed by people from various tribes. The people who come to the *Bissu* are not only from the Bugis tribe but also come from other tribes. The *Bissu* not only served at the palace but also carried out the needs of community leaders' celebrations for the Bugis, Makassar or Chinese tribes who needed the services of the *Bissu* (Lathief, 2004b). On the other hand, *Bissu* also depend on residents who need their services to make a living. Social relations that need each other between *Bissu* and residents can create social harmony. Such an attitude of tolerance that can create social harmony relations is described or represented through the Abba figure who defends the *Bissu*. The role of *Bissu* is very important for the community when holding ceremonies to honor ancestors, gods of heaven and earth. This activity requires a lot of money, so it is usually only held by wealthy people. However, other residents usually participate to enliven when there are such celebrations and the cost of living for *Bissu* depends on the residents who use their services (Lathief, 2004c). The following data shows social harmony in the form of tolerance.

Abba yang seorang imam masjid dipaksa masuk hutan atau kalau tidak mau harus menyuruh semua warga untuk meninggalkan kepercayaan Bugis lama yang masih kental di kampung kami waktu itu. Puang baru saja dilantik jadi bissu ketika puluhan temannya dikejar oleh TII. Abba marah karena Bissu sangat dihormati dan berjasa banyak buat kampung kami. Abba pembela para Bissu, termasuk membela Puang (TSB/HS/TL/8/75).

(Abba who was an imam at a mosque, was forced into the forest or if he didn't want to he had to order all the citizens to abandon the old Bugis beliefs that were still strong in our village at that time. Puang has just been appointed as a *bissu* when dozens of his friends are chased by TII. Abba was angry because *Bissu*

was highly respected and contributed a lot for our village. Abba defended the Bissu, including defending the Puang)

Data (TSB/HS/TL/8/75) in the *TSB* novel describes the events experienced by the character Abba. Abba is an *imam* at the mosque in the village where *Puang Matua* Rusmi and Mapatta live. Abba's character is forced by a gurilla or DI/TII to enter the jungle. This happened because Abba preferred to defend residents who adhered to the ancient Bugis religion as well as *Puang* Rusmi as representatives of the *Bissu* community. Residents in the village will be forced to abandon their ancient Bugis religious beliefs if Abba does not obey TII's orders. At that time the people were afraid of mobs and soldiers, while mobs killed people who were caught still carrying out *Bissu* ceremonies or worshipping idols (Lathief, 2004d). Abba figures who adhere to Islam choose to defend residents who adhere to ancient Bugis religious beliefs because they know that the *Bissu* community is highly respected and contributes to the people in the village. Therefore, Abba decided to comply with the wishes of the gurilla to enter the forest and was forced to join the war.

The data also describes the attitude of tolerance or mutual respect for differences in beliefs that are depicted through the character Abba as a society when defending the *Bissu* community in the *TSB* novel. The Abba figure explained that *Bissu* was highly respected and contributed to helping many members of the old Bugis belief system who were still strong in the village at that time. The *Bissu* act as advisors, servants, and guardians of the *Arajang* which are sacred heirlooms (Lathief, 2004e). The attitude of the Abba figure shows that respecting the various beliefs held by other people is a form of equality. Accommodation in the form of tolerance is freedom to practice worship, respect the teachings or existence of other religions, freedom to embrace religion, and freedom to think (Setiarsa, 2018). This event shows the social harmony that exists between individuals and groups in the form of tolerance to accept all differences, especially respect for differences in religion. Thus, it would be appropriate if the attitude and behavior of the Abba character as a representative of an individual or community showed high tolerance for *Puang* Rusmi as a representative of the *Bissu* community in the *TSB* novel.

The following data in the *CLB* novel describe the new and different experiences that the main character named Saidi had regarding the *Bissu* community while in Segeri, South Sulawesi. It is told in *CLB* that the character Saidi decided to live with *Daeng* Madding as an adopted child in Segeri District after migrating from his native land in Lappariaja District, Bone Regency. Saidi realizes that in Segeri the *Bissu* and *calabai* have the same degree as the local people. When Islam and its teachings had not yet arrived in South Sulawesi, the ceremonial function of the *Bissu* gained an important position in society (Lathief, 2004f). The *calabai* are even allowed to dress up, grow their hair long, and mingle as they please. The following is data that shows the tolerance of the people of Segeri to the *calabai*.

Bagi Saidi, Segeri adalah tempat menyenangkan. Tempat yang memberinya ruang bernapas lebih bebas. Tak ada tatapan menghina, tak ada kata-kata menyindir. Tidak ada ejekan, tidak ada hukuman. Di sekolahnya pun demikian. Tidak ada yang merasa mulia. Duduk sama rendah, berdiri sama tinggi. Bahkan ada beberapa waria ikut paket belajar bersamanya. Semuanya berjalan normal. Dia bisa berdandan, bergaul bahkan memanjangkan rambut sesuka hatinya. Baginya, juga bagi calabai yang lain, Segeri adalah surga. Kata orang-orang, itu semua berkat kehadiran para bissu. Di tanah Segeri, bissu dihormati (CLB/HS/TL/11/84).

(For Saidi, Segeri is a happy place. A place that gives him more space to breathing . There were no contemptuous glances, no sarcastic words. No ridicule, no punishment. It's the same at school. Nothing feels noble. Sit low, stand equal. There were even several transgender women who joined the study package with him. Everything is running normally. He can dress up, socialize and even growing his hair as his heart pleased. For him, as well as for other calabai, Segeri is a heaven. People said, it's all thanks to the presence of the bissu. In the land of Segeri, bissu are respected)

Residents respect *Bissu* and *calabai* because of the roles and capabilities that *Bissu* have in various fields. The reason is that *Bissu* have many important tasks or roles to serve the community so they are required to be versatile, for example being advisers to the king, confidants, leaders of traditional ceremonies, and liaisons between humans and the Gods (Mappong, 2018). The pleasant situation experienced by Saidi when he was in Segeri seems to be inversely proportional to the situation when he was still in Bone. When they were in Bone *Bissu* and *calabai* they were often discriminated against, insulted or insulted, and seen as inappropriate. Therefore, Saidi feels that the tolerance shown by the people in Segeri has led to a new perception or view that the existence of the *Bissu* community is highly respected and valued. It is not surprising that most *calabai* call Segeri heaven.

The data also describes an attitude of tolerance in the form of non-discrimination. This non-discriminatory attitude is shown by the Segeri people. The Sigeri community respects the differences that *Bissu* and their community have such as identity, gender, and roles. This is evident from the attitude of the Segeri people who take advantage of and use the services of *Bissu*, such as asking for advice to determine a good date or to become the leader of rituals and religious ceremonies that will be held. Thus, the representation of the *Bissu* community in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels shows that the community highly appreciates and respects the role, identity and gender of the *Bissu* community because they are directly involved in various events and important moments in society.

Solidarity in Tiba Sebelum Berangkat and Calabai Novel

The data in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels not only prove the existence of an attitude or trait in the form of tolerance which can trigger social harmony, but also show an attitude of solidarity. The attitude of solidarity consists of mutual cooperation and egalitarianism. The examples of actions or behaviors that show mutual cooperation and are egalitarian, for example participating in various activities organized by the community, having an attitude of mutual trust, and being open (Utomo et al., 2020b). The following data illustrates the attitude of solidarity from the point of view of the main character in *TSB*'s novel, Mapatta.

Mapatta explained about a mutually beneficial relationship between the community and the *Bissu* community. The community really needs the services and presence of the *Puang* as *Bissu* leader for various purposes, for example services to lead various rituals, traditional ceremonies, and other important events. *Bissu*'s role as a ritual leader is needed, especially those related to religion. The community always uses the services of the *Puang* as the leader of various rituals that will be held or performed by individuals or groups. Therefore, half of a *Puang*'s life is spent serving the needs of the community in leading rituals or religious events.

Warga sangat cinta kepada bissu sebab bagi warga, bissulah penyambung lidah mereka kepada Tuhan—bahkan warga yang ingin berhaji kadang meminta pendapat bissu untuk menentukan hari baik untuk mengadakan syukuran sambil

membaca barzanji. Puang selalu sibuk dan tidak pernah lelah melayani kebutuhan masyarakat mulai dari yang sakit, yang ingin menikah, yang meninggal, yang ingin menanam padi, panen, mendirikan rumah, akikah, sunatan, semua pokoknya dan sepanjang waktu bissu hanya mengabdikan diri untuk warga, bissu tidak bekerja bahkan tidak boleh berkeluarga... (TSB/HS/SL/18/151-152)

(The community really love bissu because in their opinion, bissu is their tongue-in-cheek to God—even the community who want to make Hajj or pilgrimages sometimes ask bissu’s opinion to determine a good day to hold thanksgiving while reading *barzanji*. Puang was always busy and never tired of serving the needs of the community starting from people who were sick, those who wanted to marry, the dead, those who wanted to plant rice, harvest, build a house, to conduct akikah or khitanan. All the time Bissu only devotes themselves to the community, bissu does not work can’t even have a family).

The data (TSB/HS/18/151-152) explained that on the other hand *Puang* also needs help and support from the community because *Bissu* are prohibited from having a family and not working so that help and support from the community is important. Help and support from the community given to the *Puang* as a form of remuneration and thanks is usually in the form of alms. People who cannot afford to hold tribute ceremonies or rituals to their ancestors are usually busy and participate as a form of appreciation. The cost of living for *Bissu* largely depends on the parties, religious ceremonies and rituals held by the community (Lathief, 2004f). Thus, the solidarity that exists between *Bissu* and the community can be formed strongly because of social relations that need and trust each other to maintain the resilience of one another's lives.

The data also explains the depiction of the important role of *Bissu* leaders or *Puang Matoa* and members of the *Bissu* community for the community in various fields. The community often visits *Puang Matowa* at *Bola Arajange* beforehand to consult about auspicious days to take when holding a celebration or starting something and work that has an important and noble meaning, such as traveling, weddings and marriages (Lathief, 2004g). In essence, *Bissu* has a vital role when looking at the various services that can be performed and provided for the benefit of the community. Such a vital and important role of the *Bissu* is the reason the *Bissu* community is needed and liked by the community. People who come from various walks of life and adhere to various religions will be happy to involve the *Bissu* community in various things and various needs that have positive connotations or have good intentions and are beneficial to many people and individuals.

The following data provide an explanation in the *CLB* novel about *Puang Matoa*. *Puang Matoa* was said to be in the hospital due to his growing old age. *Puang* is not only sick because of his old age, but also suffers from chronic diabetes and a persistent cough. When *Puang* was being treated at the hospital, many people came to visit him. The situation when people want to visit the *Puang* is a gesture of solidarity. In the *CLB* novel, it is explained that the reason people from various walks of life or walks of life come to visit *Puang Matoa* at the hospital is because they want to thank them for the assistance and services that have been rendered. The people who receive assistance from the *Puang* feel grateful because the *Puang* and the *Bissu* can always be counted on when needed. Thus, the community will not forget the services performed by *Bissu*, especially those related to ceremonies and customs that are needed in daily life or in special situations.

Sementara itu, suasana di ruang rawat inap tempat Puang Matoa dirawat selalu ramai setiap hari. Begitu banyak orang datang menjenguknya. Dari pejabat hingga rakyat biasa. Dari orang kaya hingga miskin. Ini adalah bukti bahwa seorang calabai, sekaligus pemimpin tertinggi bissu, amat dicintai banyak orang. Sebagian besar para pembesuk pernah merasakan jasa Puang Matoa. Seorang pembesuk dari Makassar bercerita tentang penyakit kanker yang dideritanya, dokter sudah menyerah, dan berkat sentuhan tangan Puang Matoa, sedikit demi sedikit kesehatannya membaik hingga akhirnya sembuh total. (CLB/HS/SL/21/206-207)

(Meanwhile, the atmosphere in the inpatient room where Puang Matoa is being treated is always crowded every day. So, many people came to see him. From officials to ordinary people. From rich to poor. This is proof that a calabai, as well as the supreme leader of Bissu, is loved by many. Most of the visitors have experienced the services of Puang Matoa. A visitor from Makassar told me about the cancer he suffered, the doctor had given up, and thanks to the touch of Puang Matoa's hands, his health gradually improved until he finally recovered completely.)

The data (CLB/HS/SL/21/206-207) also conveys the meaning that *Bissu* do not only play an important role in traditional ceremonies and rituals but also have the ability and expertise to alleviate or cure illnesses suffered by the community, and are even experts in dealing with domestic affairs. The people really appreciate *Bissu* because they are considered as *manurung* or people descended from heaven who became the first leaders of several kingdoms in South Sulawesi so they have the advantage of knowledge of customs and family trees (Lathief, 2004g). These important roles of *Bissu* can be the basis or trigger for the emergence of social harmony in society. Thus, based on the data that has been analyzed, it shows that the *Bissu* community can trigger the emergence of social harmony in the form of an attitude of solidarity such as mutual trust, participating in various activities for the common good, and solidarity.

Social Disharmony in Tiba Sebelum Berangkat and Calabai Novel

In the past when the existence of *Bissu* was still complete so that it could spread widely in several areas of South Sulawesi, there were cases where the number of members of the *Bissu* community decreased drastically. This event is a real form of social disharmony due to historical conflict. The background to the cause of this incident was the movement to be able to form a state based on the rules of the majority religion. The movement is known as *Operasi Toba* or repentance. The movement sparked conflict from many parties because it was considered discriminatory against minorities.

The examples that include forms of threats include intolerance, hatred, radical action, racism, discrimination, violence, coercion, domination or discrimination from the majority against minorities so that their (minority) rights are marginalized, and low understanding of diversity or multiculturalism in the life of a plural society (Pusat Penelitian Kebijakan Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan, 2017b). The members of the *Operasi Toba* carried out various ways to destroy the *Bissu* community because of local beliefs. One of the ways to exterminate *Bissu* is to subject them to threats and torture both physically and psychologically in a cruel and vicious manner. This is proven in the following data.

Bissu dianggap menyimpang dari agama mayoritas orang Sulawesi Selatan atau sebetulnya menyimpang dari ajaran Islam yang sangat dijunjung tinggi itu maka

bissu diburu seperti musuh atau dianggap kafir dan bisa dibunuh serta darahnya halal dan tidak akan dibela oleh siapa pun. (TSB/DS/10/21)

(Bissu are considered to deviate from the religion of the majority of the people of South Sulawesi or say they deviate from the highly respected teachings of Islam, then bissu are haunted like enemies or considered infidels and can be killed and their blood is lawful and will not be defended by anyone.)

The data (TSB/DS/10/21) explains that conflicts can arise due to intolerance and hatred. Conflicts can also arise due to intolerance towards the beliefs held by other people. The *Toba* operation forced the *Bissu* to change religions so that they were not allowed to apply the procedures or rules of the ancestors in accordance with the teachings of the religion they adhered to. Such an intolerance towards religious differences among minority groups can lead to bigger conflicts if they cannot be resolved. The causes of conflict can arise not only because of intolerance and hatred, but can also result from the inability of society to communicate thoughts and opinions openly. People's lack of knowledge and ability to communicate to express wishes and opinions can trigger conflict between them (Benyamin & Intan, dkk., 2014).

In the novel *CLB* explains the scary impression attached to the name of a troop in the military named Momo Ansarullah. Momo Ansarullah is one of the most feared members of the DI/TII military wing. The Momo Ansarullah troops really respect and fight for Kahar Muzakkar's thoughts related to Islam. The loyalty of Momo Ansarullah members is very strong because the role they carry is very important as the core troops. One of the communities they target the most is the community of adherents of traditional beliefs. One of the traditional religions targeted by the Momo Ansarullah forces is the belief in *Dewata Sewwae* or commonly referred to as the ancient Bugis religion. Kahar Muzakkar considered that the activities of the *Bissu* worshiping idols were inconsistent with Islamic teachings and gave rise to feudalism (Lathief, 2004a). Its proven on the following data.

Dan, yang paling diincar setiap laskar Momo Ansarullah adalah komunitas penghayat kepercayaan tradisional, termasuk komunitas bissu yang seluruh anggotanya adalah calabai. Mereka laki-laki, tetapi gemulai seperti perempuan. Ajaibnya, mereka sangat "laki-laki". Tubuh mereka tidak mempan senjata tajam. Keris dan parang tidak bisa melukai mereka. Jangankan menyayat, menggores kulit mereka saja amat muskil. Itulah sebabnya menghabsi satu bissu atau calabai merupakan prestasi yang sangat membanggakan bagi setiap anggota laskar Momo Ansarullah. Termasuk Baso (CLB/DS/5/29).

(And, what each Momo Ansarullah troop is most interested in is a community of adherents of traditional beliefs, including the bissu community whose members are all calabai. They are men, but graceful like women. Miraculously, they are very "boys". Their bodies are impervious to sharp weapons. Keris and machete could not hurt them. Never mind slashing, just scratching their skin is very abstruse. That is why killing a bissu or calabai is a very proud achievement for every member of the Momo Ansarullah army. Including Baso).

Bissu and their community members as an important part of the ancient Bugis religious beliefs are the communities whose existence is most targeted for destruction. The extermination carried out by Momo Ansarullah troops was based on the assumption that the *Bissu* community did not adhere to the majority religion. Attitudes that show discrimination against individuals or groups like this can result from many factors, for example not being

able to accept a difference because it is considered strange or intolerant and not being able to place oneself to feel the feelings of other people or hatred (Pratama, 2020). Thus, through the description of the results of the analysis of these data it can be concluded that conflicts that give rise to social disharmony such as radical, discriminatory and coercive actions occur due to intolerant attitudes and behavior and hatred between groups or individuals.

CONCLUSION

In the quotations, narrations, dialogues, and monologues in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels, it shows that the *Bissu* community has tolerance as well as solidarity through their role and community service. Therefore, the community always respects and appreciates the existence of *Bissu* so that social harmony can finally be formed. The important roles and tasks carried out by the *Bissu* community, such as having direct contact with *Dewata Sewwae*, make people live in social harmony through tolerance and solidarity. This study uses the study of sociology of literature as data analysis. The *Bissu* community is part of a social phenomenon and literary works, especially novels, cannot be separated from social life, so it is appropriate to use the study of the sociology of literature.

The stories in the *TSB* and *CLB* novels tell about unpleasant incidents in the form of discriminatory conflicts experienced by the *Bissu* community in the past. The cause of this incident was because the *Bissu* were considered not to adhere to the majority religion, carry out traditional ceremonies and rituals that were considered infidel and labeled as a genderless community. Conflict is a form of social disharmony that society cannot avoid. The multicultural background of Indonesian society has a greater chance of causing conflict. Strengthening attitudes and actions related to tolerance and solidarity is a solution to overcome social disharmony.

Based on the conclusions that have been presented through the results of research and discussion, presenting several suggestions that can be used as material for consideration related to research with elements of social harmony. First, research originating from this novel is suggested to be an interlude or additional treasure in cultural documentation, especially research of local and regional color and research related to the *Bissu* community, social harmony and local culture and the study of literature or cultural studies. Second, this research is also suggested to be used as teaching material for literature at the advanced level. Therefore, through these suggestions this research is expected to be a contribution to education and teaching so as to be able to create a mindset in the form of maintaining or preserving local culture through social harmony. Third, this research is suggested as an additional reference or reference for further research or other research.

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