

Pasang Ri Kajang: An Oral Tradition in Conserving the Indigenous Forest

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Abstract. This study aims to understand and analyze the inheritance of the values of the Pasang oral tradition from the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous People for generations and how it affects the behavior of indigenous peoples in preserving customary forests. Data collection used observation, in-depth interviews and ethnographic documentation. Data analysis used data reduction, data presentation and conclusion drawing. This study concludes that the process of inheriting the oral tradition of Pasang ri Kajang in the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous community takes place naturally because Pasang itself is a tradition that is prohibited to be written down. The inheritance of the oral tradition of Pasang cannot be separated from the role of parents, who, from an early age, introduce children to the love of the environment. Customary institutions play an important role in socializing Pasang. Through traditional rituals, traditional institutions give messages to the community about the importance of loving the forest. Rituals that are closely related to the forest are held continuously, and this makes the inheritance of environmental messages in Pasang run naturally. The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people have distinctive behaviors and actions in preserving their environment. They have a deep understanding of the relationship between humans and nature, and that preserving nature is key to ensuring the survival of humans and other living things.

Keywords: Oral Tradition, Indigenous Peoples, *Pasang ri Kajang*, Indigenous Forest.

1. Introduction

Oral Tradition (or Oral Lore) in Indonesia is a rich and diverse cultural heritage, which includes folk tales, fairy tales, folk songs, poetry, and religious rituals. This Oral Tradition has become an integral part of the life of Indonesian people since ancient times, and has survived to this day. In oral tradition, there is a lot of information that is passed down from our ancestors and is considered very important for later generations to learn and memorize. It plays an important role in maintaining cultural identity and strengthening social bonds within indigenous peoples.

Oral tradition has different characteristics from other forms of culture, such as paintings or musical arts. These characteristics include being flexible and adaptable to social and environmental conditions, as well as its nature that continues to develop and change over time. Therefore, oral tradition is not only considered as cultural heritage, but also as an ongoing

process in life. Perceptions towards its surrounding nature and environment, knowledge of plants and animals found in the forest, sustainable forest management methods, as well as faith and beliefs in the forces of nature, are passed down from generation to generation through oral traditions. Oral tradition becomes the main medium for conveying values, beliefs, and knowledge that are passed down from generation to generation.

Leadership tradition in Indonesian indigenous peoples is also based on local wisdom which has been passed down from generation to generation. Among indigenous peoples, leaders are often based on leadership qualities that are measurable in terms of morality, ethics, wisdom, and the capability to maintain local oral tradition values. Leaders among indigenous peoples are expected to have knowledge of the local oral tradition, and be able to apply the values contained within the oral tradition in their leadership.

Within indigenous peoples, oral tradition is used as a means to transfer knowledge and values that form the basis of leadership. Folklore, folk songs, and religious rituals conveyed through oral tradition often contain teachings about leadership, morality, ethics, and wisdom.

The point is, oral traditions play an important role in forming social bonds within indigenous peoples. Through oral traditions, indigenous peoples can learn the interrelated ways of life, belief systems and values that form the basis of local community life. Oral tradition is also a means for indigenous peoples to learn about customary laws and religious rituals. Therefore, the preservation of oral traditions in Indonesia needs to be an integral part of national culture preservation efforts.

In Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi Province, there is a tribe that is determined to maintain culture with the principle of a simple life, through an oral tradition called *Pasang ri Kajang*. That tribe is the Ammatoa Kajang tribe. The Ammatoa Kajang tribe believes that they have a noble duty, maintaining the cool and tranquil life on earth. That noble task is translated into the principles contained in *Pasang* called tallasa kamase-mase (simple life). Simple life is fully practiced in an area called Rambang Seppang or Inner Kajang (restricted zone). Everyone who enters the Rambang Seppang area must wear black clothes, may not use a vehicle, may not use footwear, and may not carry electronic objects. Buildings within Rambang Seppang may not use manufactured materials, the houses are all uniform in shape and facing the sunrise.

Apart from Rambang Seppang as the area designated to carry out simple (life) principles as a whole, Ammatoa Kajang tribe's indigenous territory also includes Rambang Luara or Outer Kajang. Rambang Luara is an area utilized to meet daily needs such as agricultural lands, plantations and livestock grazing. Within Rambang Luara there is also Palleko'na Boronga (small-scale forest distribution) and Panganreang Gallarang (land that is prepared in order to fulfil the needs of traditional rulers). In both Rambang Seppang and Rambang Luara, there are areas designated as forest areas protected by the Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people. It is a sign that the Kajang people place the existence of the forest as something that has an important role in their lives. The determination of the Kajang people in maintaining culture with the principle of a simple life is the manifestation of a philosophy of life that has been passed down from generation to generation. Ethnoecological approach, the study of how traditional communities use ecological knowledge and live in harmony with their social and natural environment, explains how the Ammatoa Kajang tribe uses a value system called *Pasang ri Kajang*. *Pasang* is the overall knowledge and experience about all aspects as well as twists and turns related to life that were ordered orally by their ancestors from generation to generation.

Pasang is a way of life as well as a system of traditional knowledge of the community which originates from Tu rie A'rana (the one with a will) which contains values, traditional knowledge, procedures of life that govern the relationship between humans and God, human relationship and the relationship between humans and their natural environment. *Pasang* is also

very attentive about how to protect existing sources of livelihood, one of which is by protecting the forest.

For the Ammatoa Kajang people, the forest is the source of life for the Kajang indigenous people. It is a part of something sacred. The Kajang indigenous people manage and utilize the forest in accordance with the *Kamase-mase* principle of life. They only take wood from forest that they are allowed to take. According to Hijang, technically forest refers to a large area covered with trees. However, the forest in the Ammatoa indigenous region is different from the forests in other places, because the forest in that region is the result of determination in customary manner and not determination from the government [1]. The forest ecosystem is part of the Ammatoa people's structure of belief. It is believed to be the place where humans were born and where humans will return. The Ammatoa indigenous people believe that it was in this indigenous forest that Turie' A'ra'na made the earth for the first time.

Administratively, Rambang Seppang covers part of Tana Toa and Malleleng village. Rambang Seppang area includes Borong Karrasaya (sacred forest) and residential areas with strict customary rules. The mapping results from the Balang Institute research institute, outside the Rambang Seppang and Rambang Luara areas, there are 13 points in forest areas that are not national forests but are still preserved today. What is interesting is that of the numerous written legal sources that serve as a reference in managing forests in the form of laws, Government Regulations, Regional Regulations or other regulations, but instead it is *Pasang ri Kajang* that has been proven to be very effective in protecting their environment, especially indigenous forests [2].

This research wants to answer what factors influence the inheritance of the oral tradition of *Pasang ri Kajang* so that it survives from generation to generation. And how well it works in influencing the behavior of the Kajang indigenous people in protecting their native forest.

The author hopes that this research can provide new knowledge regarding the oral tradition culture of *Pasang ri Kajang* in protecting its forest. The purposes of this research are (1) to understand and analyze the influencing factors of *Pasang* oral tradition so that it survives passed down from generation to generation by the Ammatoa Indigenous Law Community (Ammatoa's MHA). (2) to understand and analyze how it works well in influencing Kajang people's behavior in protecting native forest.

2. Research Methods

2.1 Research design

The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach. In conducting field research, the researcher draw conclusions from three sources: (1) from what people say; (2) from the way people act; and (3) from artifacts that people use. In the beginning, any inferences regarding culture are just hypotheses about what people know [3].

This research was conducted in Tana Toa village, Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency. The research location was chosen based on its strong cultural characteristics. The Ammatoa Kajang tribe is one of the indigenous peoples who, until now, still maintains the oral tradition as a guideline for everyday behavior.

2.2 Data Collection

- 1) **Observations.** Observations will be focused on describing and explaining research phenomena. These phenomena include interactions and conversations that occur between the subjects studied. The two forms that will be observed, namely the *Pasang*

oral tradition and the application of the *Pasang* oral tradition to forest conservation (the behavior).

- 2) **In-depth interviews.** Data were collected using in-depth interviews. However, modern devices are prohibited in the Rambang Seppang or Kajang Dalam areas. So, the author used a mini USB recorder. In-depth interviews are by collecting data or information by face-to-face with informants in order to obtain complete and in-depth data. Interviews have been conducted once with 17 informants and have been done repeatedly and with high frequency with key informant. It aims to deepen the information to be extracted. Interview results were captured through key points, and interview recordings were transcribed in their entirety to maintain data security.
- 3) **Ethnographic documentation;** in the form of taking field notes, recording interviews and other ways to record research.

2.3 Data Analysis

- 1) **Data Reduction.** Data reduction is the first component of data analysis which emphasizes, shortens, focuses, removes unnecessary things and organizes data in such a way that the researcher's conclusions can be drawn [5].
- 2) **Data Presentation.** Data presentation is an assembly of information that allows conclusions. In short, it can mean a systematic and logical story so that the meaning of events becomes easier to understand.
- 3) **Conclusion Drawing.** At the beginning of data collection the researcher must have begun to understand what the meaning of the things he encounters is by recording causal rules, and as a proportion so that conclusions can be justified

3. Results and Discussions

3.1 The factors that influence the inheritance of oral traditions able to run naturally

3.1.1 Cultural Characteristics of Kajang Indigenous People

Indigenous people is a human social community (*paguyuban*) that is united because it is bound by common ancestry and/or certain territories, has its own riches, is led by a person or several people who are seen as having authority or power, or have values as a way of life, and do not have any desire to end oneself. The Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous People are indigenous people whose existence has been legally recognized. Through the Peraturan Daerah no.5/2015 for the Recognition of the Ammatoa Kajang Indigenous People (Regional Regulation), the Government of Bulukumba Regency has confirmed the existence and recognition of the territory of the Kajang indigenous people.

Pasang is a static and dynamic knowledge system. According to the saying "*Pasang ri Kajang anre nakulle nitambai, anre nakulle nikurangi,*" which states that *Pasang ri Kajang* cannot be added or subtracted, it shows that *Pasang* has a static nature. "*Manna kodi Pasang tonji, punna baji' la'bi-la'bi baina, mingka nukodia nipa' Pasangngi jako gaurangi,*" which means that even if something is bad, it is still *Pasang*; when something is good, make it even better; but when something is bad, never apply it, expresses the dynamic nature of *Pasang*.

The value of *tallasa' kamase-masea* specifically mention in *Pasang*: *Ammatengko nu kamase-mase, accidongko nu kamase-mase, a'dakkako nukamase-mase, a'miako nu kamase-mase. Anre kalumannyang kalupepeang, rie kamase-masea, angnganre na rie, care-care na rie, pammalli juku na rie, koko na rie, bola situju-tuju.* It means that you should stand up, sit down, walk, and speak simply. There is just simplicity; eat enough, dress enough, buy enough fish, grow enough vegetables, and build enough houses. Wealth is transient.

According to Hutomo, the scope of oral tradition are (1) Oral literature, (2) traditional technology (3) traditional knowledge, (4) religious elements, (5) traditional arts, (6) customary law.[6] In this case, *Pasang ri Kajang* functions as traditional knowledge and customary law. Then how the inheritance of the oral tradition of *Pasang ri Kajang* as a knowledge system and customary law can run from generation to generation.

Pasang ri Kajang cannot be written down because it will become a special taboo or *Kasipalli* for them. They consider it a taboo to write down *Pasang* because of their belief that their knowledge and traditions can only be learned and passed on directly from generation to generation orally. Oral traditions are their main way of teaching and preserving knowledge and values of their culture. The Kajang people have their concern that writing down the *Pasang* can open access for other parties who have no relationship or bond with their culture, and therefore causes the loss of authenticity and uniqueness of the *Pasang* as the teachings of the Kajang people. In addition, the Kajang indigenous people believe that *Pasang* can only be thoroughly understood if they are learned through direct experience under the guidance of people who are experts in that field. Knowledge and traditions obtained through writings are considered unable to provide the same experience and understanding as learning directly from people who understand traditions passed down from generation to generation with faithfulness to practice them in everyday life. Most of the knowledge and oral traditions are passed down orally from generation to generation, and are conveyed through stories, songs, *pantuns*, prayers and certain rituals. In general, the Kajang people learn from their elders who have extensive knowledge about *Pasang*, their culture and traditions.

3.1.2 The role of the family and indigenous institutions

The core teachings of *Pasang* itself consist of two things, namely teachings related to *Alang Caddi* (small realm) and *Alang Lompo* (large realm). The *Pasang* about *Alam Caddi* learns about spirituality, usually called *Patuntung*. The *Pasang* about *Alang Lompo* learns about the environment. The *Pasang* related to *Patuntung* cannot be learned indiscriminately. Only certain people can learn about *Patuntung*. When a person is considered mature enough in age and is prepared, then one may learn *Pasang* related to *Patuntung*. *Pasang* that learn about *Alang Lompo* is the *Pasang* about the environment. It contains teachings about practices in protecting nature, which are represented by protecting the forest.

The main factor that influences the inheritance of *Pasang* oral tradition is the role of the family and indigenous institutions. Galla Puto, one of the traditional leaders, explained about the role of the family in inheriting the *Pasang* oral tradition in protecting nature.

“From childhood to adulthood, children have been taught about Pasang slowly. For example, during elementary school, they are taught about manners on how to call parents politely and not to mention their name, then junior high school is taught about big rules until high school. Pasang will be delivered bit by bit starting with teachings about protecting nature. At the age of 12-13 years old, the child has been told about the boundaries of the forest and told not to go into the sacred forest because later he will get lost. When he entered the forest, he would always look for light, but when he returned he would see darkness”. (Galla Puto, 60 years old)

Galla Puto explained that there is not clear limit on when *Pasang* will be taught in a family. However, matters related to tradition, such as the rules that must be obeyed when entering the Rambang Seppang area, are basic things that their children need to know from an early age. The

tradition of removing sandals, wearing black clothes and prohibiting the use of mobile phones when entering the Rambang Seppang area has been applied to all members of the community without exception. If someone violates the *Pasang*, Ammatoa will call the parents and ask the parents why they violated the *Pasang*. There are two rituals that play a role in providing an understanding of *Pasang*.

1. Through ritual events; notified to the Kajang community and outside Kajang in every ritual, especially the Andingingi ritual. The Andingingi ritual is held in the area, so just before starting the ritual, it is conveyed that those present should protect the forest
2. Through a meeting in Baruga consisting of Customary Administrators and Customary Leaders discussing
 - a. Understanding of the tide, namely the regulations that must be changed. For example, in the process of marriage, the dowry is regulated in the pasang, but since the economic situation has changed, it is necessary to change the dowry.
 - b. Amendment Related to fines; in the form of money. For example, insults that equate humans with animals. Related to forests. Although customary forests are sacred forests, they can be used with their own rules.

Periodic evaluations with some Council members are carried out to maintain the integrity and enduring nature of *Pasang's* content (every three or seven years). To determine if they still possess and use the *Pasang*, an evaluation is undertaken. *Mange ri tausalama*, an indigenous ceremonial held in the forest, is the name of the language mastery ritual for the Kajang people. It is even referred to as the "pilgrimage" ceremony, which some Kajang people understand to be a journey to the sacred region. Ammatoa leads the ritual in his capacity as both the Turie' A'rana on earth's representative and the customary chief. Men who successfully complete the evaluation process are granted the title Puto, and women are given the title Jaja. Ammatoa is speaking with and seeking instruction from Turie'A'rana during the inauguration ceremony. Since Ammatoa serves as his representative to uphold and carry out *Pasang* practices in the Ammatoa customary area, his role and function in Ammatoa society become crucial. It says, "*Tugasa'na Ammatoa, nalarangngi annabbang kaju ri borong.*" [7]. The *Pasang* state above indicates that the Ammatoa's responsibility is to prohibit logging in the forest. This highlights the Ammatoa's responsibility as leader to forbid logging by groups both inside and outside the community that try to cut down the forest.

3.2 The Oral Tradition of *Pasang ri Kajang* and community behavior in maintaining the sustainability of indigenous forest

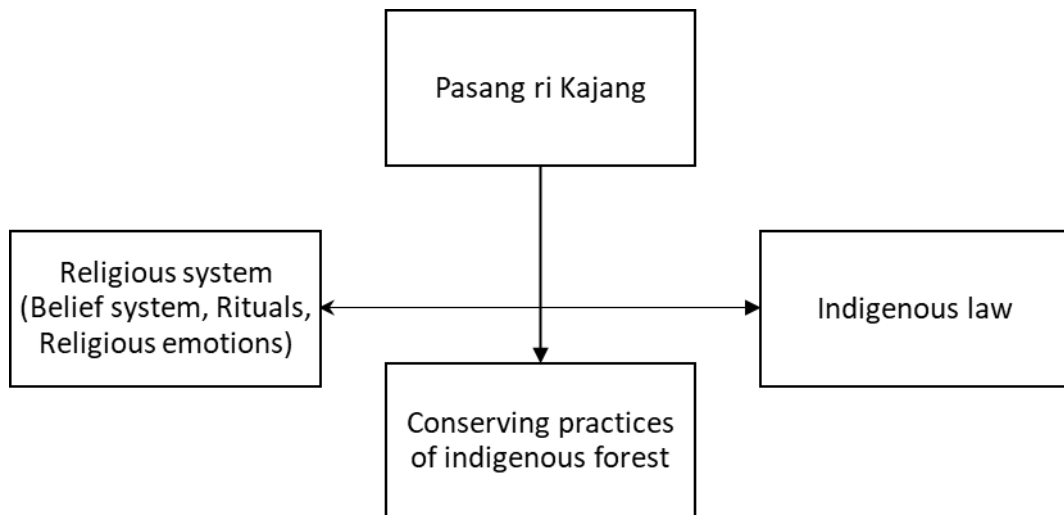


Fig.1. The relationship between Pasang and forest conservation practices in the Ammatoa kajang customary area
source: author

The figure shows the position of the Pasang as a source of teachings that prohibit cutting trees, catching shrimp, cutting rattan, and taking honey, which have a direct effect on the practice of conservation or protection of forests. The figure shows that Pasang also produces a legal system. There is a mechanism for trial and the purchase of sanctions for people who violate the prohibition against destroying the forest. Pasang also produces a belief system that places the forest as a sacred place inhabited by spirits. The forest also has an important role as a place to carry out various rituals. Thus, the Kajang people need the forest to carry out their rituals. The values in *Pasang ri Kajang* can be an illustration on how indigenous peoples and forests cannot be separated from one another. There are several factors that influence the behavior of indigenous peoples in conserving forests. Of course, it cannot be separated from the religious system (belief systems, religious emotions and rituals) and *Pasang* as indigenous law. The following list will highlight some of Pasang Ri Kajang's materials on forest preservation: The phrase "*Jagai linoa lollong bonena kammayya tompa langika siayang rupa taua siayang boronga*". In the Pasang sentence above, it is said to take care of the sky, earth, people, and woods, as well as the entire planet and everything on it. This highlights that nature is separated into three continents: the upper continent is known as *boting langi* (sky), the middle continent is known as *lino* (earth), and the lowest continent is known as *paratihi* (ocean).

3.2.1 Religious system

Islam is recognized as the religion of the Kajang people, however it has not influenced their everyday worship rituals. Ammatoa explains that the Kajang people practice a kind of worship that is slightly distinct from the practice of Islam. The Kajang people view Patuntung as a guiding principle that directs their way of life and must be believed, not as a religion. Pasang ri Kajang covers Patuntung.

The ritual system is part of the religious system. The ritual system shows how the Kajang indigenous people establish relationships and communicate with Tu'rie A'ra'na (God Almighty) and how they behave in protecting their nature. The ritual practices of indigenous peoples are very densely filled with forest conservation values. All major rituals in Kajang culture are performed in the customary forest area. According to Jumarlin, a government employee of the Provincial Forestry Service who is also a community member, there are two kinds of customary forests. Firstly, *the Parasanging Iraja* customary forest, meaning the western village. This forest is where ritual raw materials such as fish and wood are collected. Secondly, *the Parasanging Ilau* customary forest, meaning the southern village, this forest is where rituals such as Andingingi, Panganro', Paruntu' and the nomination of Ammatoa are performed. Rituals are usually held for days in the forest. Ammatoa allows customary leaders to take fish and wood as raw materials for the ritual.

The Andingingi is a ritual that is performed every year to cool the forest. In this ritual, Ammatoa prays to *Tu'rie A'ra'na* so that the earth will always be protected from disasters. Kajang people see the forest as part of themselves. This ritual is usually performed in a forest area in the Rambang Seppang area. Andingingi rituals are usually held at the end of the year or the beginning of the year, depending on Ammatoa's decision. All elements of the indigenous community are allowed to attend this ritual, unlike the Panganro ritual, which is only attended by a handful of customary leaders. The ritual usually starts in the morning before the Duhur prayer time arrives. It is not allowed to perform the ritual during prayer time because it is believed that it will bring illness. The customary leaders usually communicate to the people present during the Andingingi ritual to be careful and not to damage anything during the ritual. After Andingingi is carried out, it usually rains heavily as a sign from Tu'rie A'ra'na that he has granted people's prayers.

Religious emotions cause humans to have a sense and passion in religion. Religious emotions make objects, actions and ideas have sacred value [8]. The belief of the Kajang people said that, "*Don't go into the forest, because you will get lost*". The forest is a very sacred place because there is sacred stone in it.

"If there were people who took the wood, they will suddenly suffered from illness, and appearing bullets on their skin. Ammatoa usually treated them. But sometimes, after they suffered from the pain for so long, they suddenly died for unknown reason." (Nassa, 70 years old)

Nassa is one of the Kajang women who understands that the forest is a sacred place that should not be entered, and moreover, not entered for the purpose of cutting down trees. She has seen many people who violate this rule receive curses in the form of illness and death. She understands that the forest must be avoided because it will cause curses. Protecting the forest means not trying to enter forbidden forest areas.

3.2.2 Indigenous Law

Indigenous law applies both in Rambang Seppang and Rambang Luara. The area of Rambang Seppang is 500 hectares including forest areas in two villages (Maleleng and Tana

Toa) while the total area is 32,000 hectares. In Rambang Seppang, indigenous law applies as a whole. In Rambang Seppang all actions are regulated from waking up to sleeping. Starting from the rule of urinating must be facing the area or not.

“Indigenous forest is guarded because their leaves invite rain, their roots are a source of water. The forest as a blanket of nature. Because there are 4 things that are guarded in the region, wood, rattan, bee and shrimp. So in the region there are 4 corners that are guarded, in cooperation with the government (forest rangers). If someone lies, they can get leprosy or have a swollen stomach. If there is a violation, it is reported by the guard”.
(Ammatoa,2022)

Ammatoa explained that there are four corners that are guarded by indigenous institutions. The four corners of the area are guarded by *sulapa'na tanayya*. *Sulapa'na tanayya* consists of one *Tumutung* (chief) and four forest rangers. Each forest ranger is responsible for supervising the forest area divided by villages.

- a. Dalonjo oversees the forest in the North (Tanatoa, Pattiroang)
- b. Damangasalang oversees forest in the South West region (Bonto Baji, Sangkala, Lembang Lohe)
- c. Dakoodo oversees forests in the South East region (Tambangan dan Malelleng)
- d. Dangempa oversees forests in the East and North regions (Tana Toa and Batu Nilamung)

The main task of *sulapa'na tanayya* is to protect wood, rattan, shrimp and bees in the forest. When someone violates it and enters the forest, they will be fined or *dipasalla'* and if they repeat it again, Ammatoa will not discuss prison issues but *adat* issues (punish according to indigenous laws). Fines are the amount of money that must be paid if someone violates *Pasang*. *Pasang* strictly regulates the protection of indigenous forests.

According to *Pasang ri Kajang*, *appa solo ri ada'ia* means that there are four things that must be taken care of:

1. *Tabbang Kaju* (chop wood)
2. *Rao Doang* (catching shrimp)
3. *Tatta Uhe* (take rattan)
4. *Tunu Bani* (bees and their hives are not to be disturbed)

(1) *Tunu Bani* means burning the bees (to collect honey in nature, the community will make torches and smoke or heat the beehives until the bees leave and the hives are taken by the community to extract the honey). This tide prohibits the collection of honey in the customary forest. According to Ammatoa, the role of bees as pollinating insects is very important in the customary forest. As pollinating insects, bees ensure the regeneration of plants in the forest. Natural plant regeneration is important because planting is not allowed in customary forests. So it is very dependent on natural plant regeneration. (2) *Tabbang kaju* means cutting down wood. This tide strictly prohibits anyone from cutting wood in the customary forest. Wood trees are the most important part of the forest. The indigenous people of Kajang believe trees play an important role in ensuring the availability of water for rivers and springs. The river, which is the source of irrigation water for the rice fields of the Kajang people, is sourced from the customary

forest. Because there is a ban on cutting, planting is also prohibited in the customary forest. Because if someone plants something, then the planter has the potential to claim what he planted. Claiming the plants can be a way to claim the land where the trees grow. This will damage the social order that places customary forests as communal property. (3) Natta Uhe, meaning cut rattan. This tide prohibits anyone from cutting down rattan, bushes, and other vines in the customary forest. Rattan shoots are a source of food for several animals in the forest. Rattan and shrubs are also a source of nectar for bees, which play an important role as natural pollinators in the forest. The role of bees as insect pollinators must be maintained, and one way to do this is to ensure that their food sources are not disturbed. This is the reason why Ammatoa prohibits rattan from being cut down. (4) Rao Doang, meaning catch shrimp. This is a tide that prohibits anyone from catching all creatures that live in the river within the customary forest. Why are all animals that live in water not allowed to be caught? Because these creatures help the process of absorbing water into the soil.

There are 4 stages of sanctions imposed on violators:

1. *Nilangga* (warning)
2. *Cappa' Ba'bala* (light sanctions)
3. *Tangnga Ba'bala* (middle sanctions)
4. *Poko' Ba'bala* (heavy sanctions)

During the leadership of Puto Nyo'nyo, the late father of the current Ammatoa, sanctions were imposed in stages starting from nilangga to poko' ba'bala. However, under the leadership of Puto Pasala (the current Ammatoa), violations will be fined immediately. When someone has had a lawsuit and it reached Ammatoa, then it does not matter if he wins or loses in the case, he will suffer some losses because if he loses he will be subject to sanctions. And if he wins, he is required to pay *Pasekko*, which is a sign that the case has been decided or what is called a court decision fee of 6 million Rupiahs. *Pasekko* will be kept in Ammatoa. The amount of sanctions are various between 1,5 million Rupiahs to 12 million Rupiahs.

Indigenous sanctions are the most feared sanctions because if someone dies and there is no indigenous ritual, it will disrupt one's dignity. When indigenous sanctions are imposed, a person's right to get an indigenous procession is lost when he dies. Indigenous ruler will refuse to give the death ritual for the violator. When Ammatoa decides to impose indigenous sanctions, the violator and his/her family are not allowed to perform any traditional rituals until he/she dies. In Kajang, if someone dies and is not getting the indigenous procession, they feel abandoned.

3.3 Discussions

3.3.1 How the inheritance of oral traditions takes place from generation to generation

The findings reveal that Pasang ri Kajang can be passed down and survive from generation to generation due to the nature of the Pasang itself. As a knowledge system, Pasang should not be written down. There are some researchers who have attempted to record Pasang, but it has never been used as a reference by the Kajang indigenous people until today. A collection of information conveyed by elders related to Pasang is usually conveyed through informal meetings. Jumarlin, for example, explained that he learned about Pasang Ri Kajang from elders and community leaders while sitting down to relax. In fact, the knowledge from the elders would usually be delivered while chugging ballo' (a local drink made from tapped Nira water). According to Walter J. Ong, people in primary oral culture are those who are untouched by

writing. They learn many things and have and practice great wisdom but they do not study. They learn by apprenticeship, by hunting with experienced hunters, for example by becoming a "cantrik", which is still a kind of apprenticeship, by listening, by mastering sayings and ways of combining and recombining sayings, by mixing other formulaic ingredients, by participating in a kind of collective retrospection - not by "studying" in its strict sense [9].

The reasons for learning Pasang ri Kajang vary from one person to another. Ismail, a young man in charge of being a tourist guide, admitted that he got information about Pasang from his uncle, a Galla Puto, one of the customary leaders. Jumarlin, on the other hand, admitted that he learned Pasang because he wanted to work as a guide for tourists coming to Kajang. He also often helps accompany researchers who want to learn about Kajang. And for that, he needed a lot of information about Pasang as a source of knowledge and customary law to sharpen the information he would convey. Although Pasang is an oral tradition that may disappear one day, there is no obligation for the community to learn Pasang ri Kajang in an effort to maintain cultural values. According to Galla Puto, the main requirement to be a customary leader is to understand Pasang, thus requiring elements of society to understand and learn Pasang.

Pasang contains teachings about Alang Caddi and Alang Lompo. Simply put, Pasang is the science of spirituality and the science of daily interaction. According to Nurbaeda, not everyone can learn about the spirituality of Pasang. There are conditions that must be met by someone to learn the spiritual science of Pasang; namely, first, someone must have maturity in terms of age, usually above 50 years. Second, one must have a mature mind. Third, have a clean intention and heart. Fourth, a descendant of the Kajang tribe. When a person has finished studying the spiritual knowledge of Pasang, he must change the color of his clothes to black and must live and settle in Rambang Seppang, although it is not forbidden to live in the Rambang Luara area. This means that not many people know about the spirituality of Pasang. Meanwhile, Pasang, which studies everyday interactions, has been taught since childhood.

Starting from the tradition of entering Rambang Seppang, where people must wear black clothes, take off their sandals, and not bring technologically advanced devices such as cellphones, cameras, and laptops. Children from an early age are introduced to the environment when participating in traditional rituals, one of which is the Andingingi ritual. The Andingingi ritual is a traditional ritual to cool the earth that is performed once a year. This ritual is held in the forest. All elements of society, from children to the elderly, can participate in this ritual. People will prepare food from their homes and bring it to the forest. In the Andingingi ritual, Ammatoa reminds people that they should not take anything in the forest because they will get sick afterwards. They even consider that they should not enter the forest at all because there will be many incidents of people going missing when entering the forest. They even have to perform rituals so that the person can be found. And when found, the person has usually lost their sanity. Ammatoa explains that "the customary forest is protected because its leaves invite rain and its roots store water. The forest is nature's blanket. There are four things that are prohibited in the forest area: Tabbang Kaju, Rao Doang, Tunu Bani, and Tatta Uhe. If these four things are violated, there will be a penalty of 12 real or 12 million rupiah. This awareness then influences people's behavior to not enter and damage the forest.

So, there are differences in the inheritance of the values of the Pasang teaching itself. Although the entire next generation of the Kajang community, both Kajang Dalam and Kajang Luar, received the inheritance of the Pasang tradition, Pasang as a spiritual science cannot be simply passed on to those of Kajang descent. Even Kajang descendants must meet certain criteria to be

able to learn and master the contents of Pasang ri Kajang. The method of inheriting spiritual knowledge and knowledge about traditions and social interactions is also different. The knowledge of tradition and social interaction is passed on from an early age through direct messaging from parents to their children and through traditional rituals held by customary leaders that are full of symbolic messages. Messages are conveyed through stories flavored with the magical or supernatural.

3.3.2 How Pasang influence the behavior of indigenous peoples in protecting forests

The second finding is that indigenous peoples' behavior in protecting forests is a manifestation of their religious system, adherence to customary law, and the principle of living tallasa kamase masa. In this case, Pasang is the source of Kajang customary law that must be upheld. In terms of the manifestation of their religious system or belief system, indigenous people believe that the forest is a sacred place that should not be entered. According to Jumarlin, one of the factors that causes the forest to be sacred to the Kajang community is the belief that when humans build a place to live, there is a ritual performed to move the jinn into the forest so as not to disturb humans. If someone enters the forest and takes wood, they will develop *puru-puru disease* on the skin and then suffer from prolonged pain. Those with prolonged pain will usually come to Ammatoa and ask to be treated. This is where Ammatoa's role as a holy man, who is considered a healer of various diseases that cannot be cured medically, comes in. Ammatoa knows that the sick person has broken the rules by entering the forest. Usually, Amma will give a warning so that the person no longer enters the forest and takes wood. "*Tugasa'na Amma nalarangngi annabbang kaju ri borong,*" which means it is Amma's duty to remind people not to cut wood in the forest.

In terms of compliance factors with customary law, the Ammatoa community complies because of three things. First, the fear of being exposed to natural law or curses, that they will suffer if they violate, for example, hindered fortune, sickness, and others. Second, fear of being fined. Third, fear of damaging nature (ecological). According to the findings, since 2021, there has only been one case of forest-related violations, while in 2022, two cases of violations were found. Most violations were found in Borong Tattakang, a forest area bordering Borong Karama. The types of violations were logging and encroachment on forest areas bordering private plantations. Both cases were settled by customary law. In the case resolution mechanism, the forest supervisor, or *sulapa'na tanayya*, will usually report to Ammatoa regarding the violation and then resolve it using existing customary mechanisms. Even so, Ammatoa will still invite the Bulukumba Forestry Service, in this case the local forest police, to participate in the trial of customary law violations. Usually, violators will be fined up to 12 million rupiah for logging. Even so, the application of fines is not imposed just like that. Usually, Ammatoa will give a warning or *nilangga* before imposing a fine. The type of punishment will be decided through a trial mechanism involving customary stakeholders and community groups, as well as the local forestry service.

The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people have unique behaviors and actions in maintaining the sustainability of the forest and its environment. They have a deep understanding of the linkages between humans and nature, and that preserving nature is the key to maintaining the survival of humans and other living things. The following are some of the behaviors of indigenous peoples in maintaining the sustainability of the forest and its environment:

1. **Local knowledge and hereditary experience.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people have extensive and detailed local knowledge about the forest and its environment. This knowledge is often obtained through hereditary experience and various observations that

have been passed down from generation to generation. This knowledge includes how to plant, manage and use natural resources wisely. Local knowledge and experience passed down from generation to generation are very important in maintaining the sustainability of forests and their environment.

2. **Using natural resources wisely.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people understand the importance of using natural resources wisely so that the sustainability of the forest can be maintained. Therefore, they harvest wood and use other natural resources in an environmentally friendly and sustainable way. They avoid the usage of chemicals that are harmful to the forest, and help deal with forest damage in the event of a fire or natural disaster.
3. **Avoiding practices that damage the environment.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people avoid practices that damage the environment, such as forest fires, usage of chemicals that is hazardous for the land, deforestation and so on. They keep the environment clean and dispose of trash properly.
4. **Community participation in forest management.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people participate in the management of their indigenous forest independently, including in decision-making and monitoring the actions taken by other parties that affect their indigenous forest. This is done so that indigenous forests can be properly maintained and preserved.
5. **Raising awareness of the importance of forest preservation.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people also play an active role in raising public awareness about the importance of forest and biodiversity preservation. They provide counseling and teaching to the public about how to protect and use natural resources wisely, as well as provide concrete examples of how to use natural resources in an environmentally friendly way.
6. **Maintaining and strengthening local culture and local wisdom.** The Ammatoa Kajang indigenous people maintain and strengthen their local culture and local wisdom in maintaining the sustainability of the forest and its environment.

4. Conclusion

1. The inheritance of the oral tradition of Pasang cannot be separated from the role of parents, who, from an early age, introduce children to the love of the environment. Through traditional rituals, traditional institutions give messages to the community about the importance of loving the forest. Rituals that are closely related to the forest are held continuously, and this makes the inheritance of environmental messages in Pasang run naturally.
2. The existence of the oral tradition of Pasang ri Kajang as a religious system and customary law influences the behavior of the Kajang indigenous people in protecting the customary forest. Local knowledge related to how to protect the forest cannot be separated from the indigenous people's belief in the existence of the supernatural in the forest itself. It is forbidden to cut down and damage the forest, let alone enter the forest area. Pasang also strictly regulates forest destruction through fines and customary sanctions. The Rambang Seppang and Rambang Luara indigenous communities, which always obey the teachings of Pasang ri Kajang, certainly understand the consequences of destroying their customary forests. Even so, cases of forest destruction still arise in Kajang but in very limited numbers. Violations such as forest destruction are resolved through customary institutions while still involving the government. And of course, customary mechanisms are a better alternative to resolution than resolution through positive law in this country.

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