

THE PERCEPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL DEATH CEREMONY (*RAMBU SOLO*) ON TOP OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT FOR TORAJA MIGRANTS IN SANGATTA AND TANGERANG USING AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

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Abstract. The *Rambu Solo* is a traditional death ceremony carried out by the Toraja people to honor the spirits of the deceased. In reality, the implementation of the *Rambu Solo* Culture has a phenomenon where the economic is low, the *Rambu Solo* ceremony cost is very expensive, but it is still being held by Toraja people. The method used in this research is qualitative with an ethnographic approach. This research aims to learn from the Toraja people who have migrated and settled in Sangatta and Tangerang, why the *Rambu Solo* ceremony is still being held even though the implementation costs are very expensive, how their perception of the *Rambu Solo* customs, and how they manage their finances for the implementation of this traditional death ceremony by analyzing the behaviour of a group of Toraja people in Sangatta and Tangerang who already have families and are domiciled in the Sangatta and Tangerang areas. Based on the results of the interview, it is concluded that overall, the perception of Toraja migrants towards the *Rambu Solo* ceremony on top financial management is the *Rambu Solo* has important

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values so this ceremony must be preserved even though the costs incurred are very expensive. These share values are preserving of tradition and cultural heritage; the importance of spirituality, belief and perceptions of death and the afterlife (*Aluk To Dolo*); solidarity (mutual cooperation, caring, helping and share each other, consolidation of family and social network) (*Misa' Kada Dipotuo, Pantan Kada Dipomate*); respect for the ancestors; and recognition of social status, power (prestige) and social sanction (*tula*).

Keywords: *Rambu Solo*, Traditional Death Ceremony, Toraja Migrant, Ethnographic.

INTRODUCTION

According to 2023 BPS data, Tana Toraja and North Toraja Regencies, located in South Sulawesi, had a population of 257,901 people. BPS noted that in 2015, the majority (72.61%) of the livelihoods of the population in Tana Toraja were in the agricultural sector; 13.08% in the services sector, including: community, social and individual services; and the remaining 14.31% were in the industrial, trade and accommodation industries, transportation, mining and others. In other words, the majority of the population works in the non-formal sector so the income earned may not meet the (minimum) Tana Toraja UMK (Regency minimum wage) standard (2023), which was IDR 3,384,876. Furthermore, BPS 2023 data, the percentage of poor people in Tana Toraja Regency rose 0.3% from the previous year to 12.48% or 30,230 people earning below the UMK, who only had an average monthly income of IDR 399,202.

With this income statistic, the Toraja, as an indigenous tribe that inhabits the Tana Toraja Regency, has customs that are still adhered to today, namely in the form of unique traditional celebrations that require high costs, one of which is the celebration of the *Rambu Solo* (*Rambu*: Smoke, *Solo*: Bottom), which means sad ceremony, namely the term Death Ceremony, which, according to Kondongan (2019), can reach hundreds of millions to billions of rupiah. According to Narasani (2022), the *Rambu Solo* event aims to honor and send the spirits of people who have died back to eternity with their ancestors, called *puya* (heaven), according to *Aluk Todolo*'s (animist) beliefs. While nowadays, the majority of the religion in the Toraja tribe is Protestant (71%, BPS 2023), according to Arianti (2021), there was acculturation and changes in religious values in the *Rambu Solo* tradition. Economic capacity was another factor that influenced the shift in values in these

modern times. The main focus of implementing *Rambu Solo* has shifted slightly. The higher the family's economic life, the more luxurious the *Rambu Solo* tradition is held to show its social status (sense of prestige).

This ceremony is different for each group of society. If a noble dies, the number of buffalo slaughtered for the event is much greater than for non-nobles (Roosmala, 2009). Added by Tahirs (2020), for noble families, the number of buffalo can range from 24 to 100 buffalos; this is called *Sapu Randanan* (Mangopang,2018), which consists of various types of buffalo (female buffalo, male buffalo, sambao buffalo, white buffalo head, pudu buffalo). Meanwhile, middle-class residents must slaughter eight buffalos plus 50 pigs, and the ceremony lasts around three days. If the family of the deceased is unable to carry out the *Rambu Solo* ceremony, the family will keep the body in Tongkonan (a Toraja traditional house) until the family can provide a sacrificial animal to carry out the ceremony; it can last for years.

One of the things that makes the *Rambu Solo* expensive is the price of buffalo (*Tedong*) commodities in Tana Toraja, which is much higher than in other regions of Indonesia. The higher price of buffalo is mainly due to buffalo having a special meaning for the Toraja people. According to Mangopang (2018), apart from being a ritual, *Tedong* is one of the benchmarks for the wealth or success of family members holding the *Rambu Solo* ceremony. In Tana Toraja, buffalo is offered in various types. Here are the names of buffalo and their average prices in 2020 (Tahirs, 2020):

No	Name of Buffalo Type	Physical Characteristics of Buffalo	Price Range per Head (Rupiah)
1	<i>Tedong Saleko</i>	A buffalo with perfect stripes and the stripes are	500
2	<i>Tedong Bonga</i>	A buffalo that has stripes on parts of its body, including those with stripes only on a small part of its body.	70-200 million
3	<i>Tedong Pudu'</i>	A buffalo has a stocky body and a pitch-black colour and is strong in fighting. At the buffalo fighting event at	40-120 million

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No	Name of Buffalo Type	Physical Characteristics of Buffalo	Price Range per Head (Rupiah)
		the death party, the buffalo will appear as the strongest fighter.	
4	<i>Tedong Balian</i>	A castrated female buffalo has horns 2.5 meters long.	60-100 million
5	<i>Tedong Lotong Boko</i>	A buffalo with white skin but black shoulders that are symmetrical between the left and right.	60-90 million
6	<i>Tedong Sokko'</i>	A buffalo with horns that go downwards and almost meet at the lower jaw.	50-80 million
7	<i>Tedong Tekken</i>	A buffalo with 1 horn pointing upwards and 1 pointing downwards.	40-70 million
8	<i>Tedong Todi'</i>	A buffalo which is black but has white on its head or forehead	20-40 million
9	<i>Tedong Sambao</i>	A buffalo with the colour of the gloomy fur is neither black, nor red, usually called servant buffalo which is the cheapest buffalo	10-15 million

Arianti (2021) added that apart from the cost of purchasing animals, families must also prepare other needs, such as decorations, logistics, sound systems, and worker services, and must pay taxes. Based on the Letter of the Director General of Financial Balance Number S-41/PK/PK.4/2020 dated 25 September 2020 concerning the Second Amendment to Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2011) the levy rate for slaughtering Buffalo is Rp 250,000/head and Pigs is Rp 100,000/head.

According to Moga (2017), during traditional ceremonies, the family will receive gifts from the entire family and their relatives in the form of food, groceries, and animals,

which become symbols of each series of ceremonies carried out in Toraja. However, in the end, these gifts/ donations will become "indan" or debt for those who carry out traditional ceremonies. So, the more gifts you receive, the more you pay. The *indan* will be paid if the family who brought the gift carries out a traditional ceremony. According to Sukirman (2021), the *indan* are recorded by the person assigned on ordinary paper, which has no rules or standards for recording. The intended family is obliged to return it because it is customary law and because they bear a moral and social burden as long as he still has the debt. The return must be with the same value/size or a higher value/size. The Toraja tribe has the value said *Na po pa'dik pa'dikta* (there will be no end to giving to each other).

Because economic, social, and cultural pressures such as the *Rambu Solo* which have been explained above, according to Laendoto (2022), are one of the causes of many Toraja people migrating, they want to improve their standard of living, so that wherever the Toraja people migrate, they will work hard and persistent in obtaining a better income, so that they can finance the traditional ceremonies that are carried out or have prestige and achievements in society. Similar reasons also influence Toraja people to migrate; according to Paembonan (2022), apart from cultural demands and increasing achievement and prestige, the cost of living in Toraja is higher because it is a tourist area. The research results are also supported by Chairil (2001), who states that when people migrate because they experience difficulties in their place of origin, they want to get cash to finance their daily living and pay off debts.

The economic motive, the main factor in migration, should make personal financial management important for Toraja migrants. According to Hananto (2011), personal financial management includes money/fund management, spending and credit, savings, and investment. Masassya (2004) previously also divided income allocation into three main things, namely consumption, savings, and investment. However, in daily practice, income allocation has its own art of management, which varies according to habits, experience, or knowledge.

This research aims to learn from the Toraja people who have migrated and settled in Sangatta and Tangerang, **why the *Rambu Solo* ceremony is still being held even though the implementation costs are very expensive, how their perception of the *Rambu Solo* customs, and how they manage their finances for the implementation of**

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this traditional death ceremony by analyzing the behavior of a group of Toraja people in Sangatta and Tangerang who already have families and are domiciled in the Sangatta and Tangerang areas.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is qualitative with an ethnographic approach. According to Moleong (1990), the term ethnography comes from the words ethnos (nation) and graphic (describe), so ethnography in question is an attempt to define culture or cultural aspects. Meanwhile, Spradley (1997) added that ethnography is a building of knowledge that includes research techniques, ethnographic theory, and various cultural descriptions.

As defined by Cresswell (2015), Ethnography is a research method in the social sciences. This study believes strongly in immediacy, personal experience, and the ability to engage, not just observe; researchers are also trained in ethnography. The research focus in Ethnography includes an in-depth study of culture and language, a field or region, or a combination of historical methods, observation, and interviews. Ethnographic research design is a qualitative research process to describe, analyse, and interpret a pattern of diverse cultural groups whose behaviour, beliefs, and language develop over time.

The goal of ethnography then was to give an analytical description of other cultures (Barbour, 2007), an exploration of a particular phenomenon, rather than the testing of a hypothesis (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). The data consisted of unstructured accounts and the analysis, which provided interpretation of meaning, was done by the researcher, using observation, description, and explanation (Reeves, Kuper & Hodges, 2008).

In the research, we used a structured interview method to collect data from respondents. This research used a purposive sampling method using specific criteria, including (1) Toraja migrants who live in Sangatta and Tangerang (as domicile of researchers), (2) married and working, and (3) a minimum age of 30 years. From these criteria, the researcher picked the respondents of 5 (five) migrants living in Sangatta and 3 (three) migrants living in Tangerang who met the requirements as the research subjects. Choosing the respondents also related to the closeness between the respondents and the

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No	Description	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
2	Age	38	42	33	43	37	52	59	45
3	Married Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married

No	Description	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
4	Religion	Catholic	Protestant	Catholic	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant
5	Number of Children	3	4	1	3	2	1	3	3
6	Occupation	Manager in Mining Company	Senior Engineer in Mining Company	Superintendent in Mining Company	Senior Manager in Mining Company	Accounting Staff in Mining Company	Insurance Broker	Restaurant or Food Business	Micro Finance and School
7	Domicile	Sangatta	Sangatta	Sangatta	Sangatta	Sangatta	Tangerang	Tangerang	Tangerang
8	Hometown Name in Toraja	Sangalla	Toraja Utara	Toraja Utara	Sa'dan	Sa'dan	Sa'dan Balusu	Sa'dan Balusu	Sanggalangi, Desa Labo

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N o	Description	Migran t 1	Migran t 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5	Migran t 6	Migra nt 7	Migran t 8
9	Clan	Pararak	Poppan g	Ranga	Bulo	Bulo	Toding	Panum pun	Samma
10	The year they started migrating	1991	1991	2014	1996	2003	1999	1990	2002
11	Do you still have relatives in Tana Toraja?	Uncle and Aunt	Parent	Parent	Uncle and Aunt	Parent	Father	Parent	Parent
12	Family members who have died and the respondent were involved to be responsible for celebrating their <i>Rambu Solo</i>	Grandfather (2019) Father (2021)	Grandfather's relative (2015) Grandfather (2016) Father (2017)	N/A (Because grandparents died when the Respondent was a child)	Grandmother (2020)	Grandmother (2020)	Grandmother, Mother and Brother	Father (2 years waiting for <i>Rambu Solo</i> after he died) Grandmother (26 years waiting for <i>Rambu Solo</i> after she died)	N/A

No	Description	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
13	Family members, according to customary law, will be the respondent's responsibility to contribute on the <i>Rambu Solo</i> in the future	Mother	Mother	Parent	Parent	Parent	Father	Mother	Parent
14	Join with Community of Toraja	No	Yes as a Secretary	Yes as a Member	No	No	Yes (Spiritual Section)	No	Yes as a Treasurer

Using data obtained from respondents, researchers identified unique behavioural phenomena from Toraja Migrants in Sangatta and Tangerang. The researcher gave labels to the categories that emerged and used the list of categories to analyse and draw conclusions according to the research objectives regarding how the Toraja people who have migrated and settled in Sangatta in Tangerang interpret the *Rambu Solo* customs and how they manage finances for the implementation of this traditional ceremony.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ethnographic data was obtained from the interviews of 5 (five) Toraja migrants living in Sangatta and 3 (three) Toraja migrants living in Tangerang as well as from the researcher's observation of *Rambu Solo* through video. In this research, the interviews were conducted using open questions and had permission to be recorded.

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In this research, interviews were conducted using open-ended questions and the results of the interviews were divided based on the domicile of the respondents as shown in Table 2.

Table 2.1. Interview Result for Toraja Migrants in Sangatta

No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
1	Why is the <i>Rambu Solo</i> still being held by Torajans even though implementation costs are very expensive?	This <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a traditional party (custom law); as time goes by, this party is held for reasons of prestige .	In the past, the concept was " <i>Aluk To Dolo</i> ," namely the belief that the spirit of the slaughtered animal would guide the path of the deceased who was about to be buried. This ceremony is sacral and ritual . However, the concept is now more focused on prestige .	According to the Toraja people, the more animals sacrificed, the more provisions will be taken to " <i>puya</i> " (heaven) so that the deceased is not on the road. This ceremony is sacral and ritual . This is also show how Toraja people work together to ease the burden on bereaved families. This party is our way of honoring, appreciating, or saying	This is a traditional process in the context of a funeral. In my family, it is a sacred thing that we must respect . In the past, the noble caste was considered capable of carrying out this ceremony, and it has continued until now. It is a custom law .	When we talk about <i>Rambu Solo</i> , the meaning then and now is different. In the past, it was more about the customs and beliefs of " <i>Aluk To Dolo</i> ." The person who died had to be slaughtered by a buffalo as capital for his journey. However, now, it is more about prestige .

No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
				<p>thank you to people who have died.</p>		
2	<p>How is your perception regarding the <i>Rambu Solo</i>?</p>	<p>As a custom that must still be implemented, the <i>Rambu Solo</i> must be carried out. But there are things that are more prioritized. The money for this <i>Rambu Solo</i> can be used for children's education or positive things.</p>	<p>I am one of the modern ones who think it is more about being grateful that I could hold this event because it was through my parents that I could go to school and work as I do now.</p>	<p>Because I grew up and was born in Toraja, I understand that it is not something to be taken as a burden; it just depends on ability. The custom is not forced. I am where I am today because of my predecessors. This is also part of the way we share with the local community because the slaughter of these animals will be shared</p>	<p>In general, that <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a custom, and I am sure of it. I believe that donating to this event will not make you poor.</p>	<p>I wouldn't say I like customs like this. I had financial difficulties in college because I could not have a computer to study. Meanwhile, at that time, the <i>Rambu Solo</i> party was still being held even though it required a lot of funds. However, I support this custom.</p>

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No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
				and eaten together.		
3	How much does it cost for one death party?	It could be up to 500 million. If there are many family members, the costs will be even more.	If we want to compute it, the net amount is about 5 billion, or about 30 buffalo heads, and there might be thousands of pigs. The event is held magnificently because the grandparents are still nobility. Every child contributes in the form of buffaloes or money to help their parents in the implementation of the <i>Rambu Solo</i> .	It depends on the length of the event, how much food must be provided, and the type of casket.	I do not know the exact number, but it's clear there are a lot. In fact, many of the buffalo were not only from the nuclear family who prepared them but were also brought by other people " gotong royong " or mutual corporation .	The cost is approximately 1 billion rupiah, and the number of buffalo is around 20 heads. According to the family agreement , the number of buffalo will determine how many will be slaughtered, how many will be saved, how many will be slaughtered for events, and how many will be handed over to the local community.
4	How do you manage the finances for throwing a death party?	The first allocation is investment (50%) in a form of land and	For this reason, I allocate emergency savings funds (30%) for religion and social purposes.	Taken from savings and want to avoid going into debt to hold the party.	I think almost no one prepares for that. If there are no funds and the family	There is no special allocation for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> . I will spend money on the <i>Rambu</i>

No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
		<p>houses, savings (30%) then consumption (20%).</p> <p>There is no special allocation for the <i>Rambu Solo</i>, if there are donations I take them from the consumption post.</p>	<p>I separate it between personal <i>indan</i> and family <i>indan</i>. For personal <i>indan</i>, I will pay. For family <i>indan</i>, we shared the cost with the children equally.</p>	<p>I invested in a house and buffalo. if I need to make a sacrifice, I already have it; if I buy a big one, it is expensive.</p>	<p>agrees, we will postpone the ceremony. However, if many of the families decide to do it quickly and I need the funds, I have to find the funds, like it or not.</p> <p>Because of this, most people sell their assets and go into debt.</p> <p>If there are donations for the <i>Rambu Solo</i>, I will use the saving in my account bank.</p>	<p><i>Solo</i> based on my financial ability (no debt)</p>
5	<p>How do you contribute to the <i>Rambu Solo</i>?</p>	<p>I will help what can I do. So I never set a</p>	<p>We are just helping parents. We are still involved in</p>	<p>I contribute as much as I can.</p>	<p>It's not mandatory, but it has become a</p>	<p>Just to help/represent the mother.</p>

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No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
		special budget.	it, but not at excessive levels.		habit to help.	
6	What if the money is not collected and the <i>Rambu Solo</i> cannot be implemented?	It is common happened and it will turn into rumours.	There will be snide comments.	If there is a dead body in the house (it has not been celebrated yet), the family cannot hold a wedding party (<i>Rambu Tuka</i>) in that house.	The party can be postponed until funds are collected and all family members can attend. If the party is not held, the sanction will be gossip (rumours) However, there is a sacred belief that if the party is not held, there will be " tula, " whether in the form of bad fortune or bad fate.	Now, it's more about prestige and prestige. If you say it, it must be like a social sanction.
7	What are your suggestions for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> ?	It should be done without any coercion or prestige. If	I agree that the <i>Rambu Solo</i> still exists so that Toraja people do not be lazy (motivated to	This custom needs to be preserved because it is what makes Toraja	It should be a consensus throughout society that people who cannot	I support this tradition, but please do not make fun of those who cannot afford

No	Question	Migrant 1	Migrant 2	Migrant 3	Migrant 4	Migrant 5
		someone brings something to a place where someone is grieving, it should be given sincerely , not something that has to be returned again, which becomes an endless chain of debt.	be success). Sticking with the principle, he has to move “ten fingers” to live. It just needs change. I once proposed this to cultural observers in Toraja.	famous everywhere. My advice is to do it according to your financial capacity. Don't add to the financial burden because life goes on.	afford it should not be burdened or forced.	them. Conversely, some people elevate themselves, becoming prominent there. Those who are truly fortunate are praised , while those who are not so fortunate are feeling pity.

Table 2.2. Interview Result for Toraja Migrants in Tangerang

No	Question	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
1	Why is the <i>Rambu Solo</i> still being held by Torajans even though implementation costs are very expensive?	There is a culture of shame (<i>Sarohan</i>) if it is not implemented all out, and there is potential for rumours (gossip) . This leads to unhealthy rivalry .	The <i>Rambu Solo</i> can be a high motivation for Toraja children to try to study and become graduates; after graduating, they can migrate to pursue their dreams and become wealthy.	The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is the final expression of love and thanks from children to their parents, as demonstrated in such a ritual. Before the burial, the family gathers to discuss the specifics of applying the <i>Rambu Solo</i> . Usually, the children plays a significant role. The

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No	Question	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
			<p>The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a culture that means maintaining family status in the community and within the family. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> custom must be implemented in Tana Toraja.</p>	<p>custom is not enforced, but rather based on family consensus to do mutual corporation (<i>gotong royong</i>). Indeed, some people pursue prestige.</p>
2	<p>How is your perception regarding the <i>Rambu Solo</i>?</p>	<p>I think Torajans throw ceremony so much that even academy business can be put on hold for the party. I don't think that's good.</p> <p>Education should be prioritized over customs.</p> <p>When these Toraja people return home, they are embarrassed if they do not have buffalo to purchase for the <i>Rambu Solo</i>. He was grieving not because he had lost his family, but because he was</p>	<p>In general, after we migrated, we did not really understand the <i>Rambu Solo</i> customs. Even after we returned to Toraja, we still did not understand. So, Toraja people generally work hard to earn money for the burial of the dead, but that's the culture.</p>	<p>In principle, the implementations of the <i>Rambu Solo</i> means help each other. If I have a family member who is grieving, for instance, my family and I will collaborate and assist one another. Donating to a bereaved family does not obligate the item to be returned. We stand strong; the term is united in Toraja.</p>

No	Question	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
		unable to purchase a buffalo.		
3	How much does it cost for one death party?	When my grandmother died on her <i>Rambu Solo</i> , 17 buffalos were slaughtered; when my mother died on her <i>Rambu Solo</i> , 25 buffalos were slaughtered; and when my brother died on his <i>Rambu Solo</i> , 35 buffalos were slaughtered. So it all depends on the family agreement.	In Toraja, there is no minimum term for the number of <i>Tedong</i> slaughtered. That is because, based on what was agreed, that is what was cut. If it is the lowest caste, there is no need to slaughter the buffalo. But now, those who are successful are bringing the <i>Rambu Solo</i> , and it cannot be banned.	It depends on the agreement and the family's own capabilities, not forced, helping each other . The longer the party is held, for example, three days or one week, the greater the expenses compared to one day. On average, one buffalo costs more than 25 million per head.
4	How do you manage the finances for throwing a death party?	As far as I can see, these Toraja migrants are sometimes quite frugal . It's like if they look for money for five years, then come home for a week for a party, and the money is gone, even though it took five years to collect it.	There is no strategy because the <i>Rambu Solo</i> is not only a personal responsibility but a big family responsibility . Those who migrate must be contribute or “ gotong royong ” to support relatives who live in traditional homes because we have	There are eight people in our family and the <i>Rambu Solo</i> event will be shared together . The income is sufficient for family consumption. There is no specific savings for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> .

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No	Question	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
		In general, Toraja society is set aside routinely (saving) for customs.	agreed that relatives who live in that houses replace parents and grandmothers.	
5	How do you contribute to the <i>Rambu Solo</i> ?	I contributed to the <i>Rambu Solo</i> of my grandmother, mother and brother.	I contributed to the <i>Rambu Solo</i> of my grandmother and father.	I have not had any contributions because my parents are still alive.
6	What if the money is not collected and the <i>Rambu Solo</i> cannot be implemented?	You can wait for the ceremony to be held until the family gathering and the contribution budget for the party is ready.	The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is an obligation that must be carried out. At a minimum, the close family must be able to support the <i>Rambu Solo</i> event. If this is not done, it will become a discussion that will cause embarrassment for the family, it is called <i>siri</i> .	For Toraja migrants there are community contributions from the Indonesian Toraja Community Association (PMTI). So, for example, if you need a coffin, flower arrangements and the cost of sending the body to Toraja will be borne by the community.
7	What are your suggestions for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> ?	The <i>Rambu Solo</i> culture is preserved. I see that this is a good practice, particularly the cohesiveness. So it should be maintained as a custom from generation to the	In Tana Toraja, the <i>Rambu Solo</i> must be implemented, whereas in Tangerang, it is not implemented because government regulations limit the	The <i>Rambu Solo</i> should be preserved within community such as the Toraja Church.

No	Question	Migrant 6	Migrant 7	Migrant 8
		<p>next generation.</p> <p>The way to maintain with the lesson of Toraja language at home to family.</p>	<p>implementation of burial time.</p> <p>The migrant of Toraja think that this culture should be changed. But in reality, the costs continue to increase. It is about prestige.</p>	

In addition to the interviews, the researcher observed how the respondents perceived and interpreted the *Rambu Solo* customs, especially in the migrant area, and how they managed the finances for the traditional ceremony.

The researcher used the interview results, which were processed with observation activities and documentation data, to determine the value of each respondent. The results of this assessment are depicted in Table 3 of the following Data Analysis:

Table 3. Data Analysis

No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
1	Toraja Migrant in Sangatta	Migrant 1	<p>a. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a custom law and it's more about prestige.</p> <p>b. As a custom that must still be implemented but education more prioritized.</p> <p>c. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> can be costly up to 500 million (expensive).</p>	<p>a. Interpreting the <i>Rambu Solo</i> death ceremony in accordance with sacral traditional belief, namely <i>Aluk to Dolo</i>, which leads the corpse's trip to heaven and is viewed as a gesture of respect and thanks to the ancestors. However, it</p>	<p>There are 5 shared values that can be concluded from Toraja participants who migrated to Sangatta and Tangerang, obtained from</p>

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No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>d. For contribution, migrant will help what can she does..</p> <p>e. If she does not contribute to the death party, it will turn into rumours.</p> <p>f. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> should be implemented without any coercion or prestige so that sincerely given gifts to grieving people can be given.</p>	<p>gradually became more about prestige.</p> <p>b. The costs incurred for this death ceremony are quite expensive but all member family working together to bring the sacrificial animals.</p> <p>c. In financial management for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> event, there is no special allocation. They will share the cost and avoiding going into debt.</p>	<p>the results of interviews:</p> <p>a. Preserving of tradition and cultural heritage</p> <p>b. The importance of spirituality, belief and perceptions of death and the afterlife (<i>Aluk To Dolo</i>).</p>
2	Toraja Migrant in Sangatta	Migrant 2	<p>a. This ceremony is sacral and ritual with the concept of <i>Aluk to Dolo</i>, namely that the animal is slaughtered, and its spirit will guide the deceased's path to heaven. Now, the concept more focused on prestige.</p> <p>b. Being grateful that I could hold this event for my parents.</p> <p>c. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> can be costly about 5 billion (expensive) or 30 buffaloes. Every child help their parents for implementation the ceremony.</p> <p>d. There are savings for emergency funds of 30% including for religious</p>	<p>d. Contributions to ceremony are limited to helping/representing parents according to ability and not excessively.</p> <p>e. If someone cannot carry out a death party, he will be a subject to social sanctions in the form of rumours and gossip or even there will be "Tula".</p> <p>f. Migrants think the <i>Rambu Solo</i> should still implemented because it has become a custom. But, in practice, it should not become a place of prestige/social status.</p>	<p>c. Solidarity (mutual cooperation, caring, helping and share each other - <i>Misa' Kada Dipotuo, Pantan Kada Dipomate</i>), consolidation of family and social networks.</p> <p>d. Respect for the ancestors.</p> <p>e. Recognition of social status, power (prestige) and</p>

No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>and social purposes. For family indan, they shared the cost among other children.</p> <p>e. Just helping parents is not too much.</p> <p>f. There will be snide comments.</p> <p>g. Existence of the <i>Rambu Solo</i> is still maintained so that Toraja people motivated to be success for raising funds in order to finance the ceremony.</p>		social sanction (<i>tula</i>).
3	Toraja Migrant in Sangatta	Migrant 3	<p>a. This ceremony is sacral and ritual. The more animals sacrificed; the more provisions will be taken to "<i>puya</i>" (heaven). This is show people work together and their way of honoring, appreciating or expressing gratitude to the deceased.</p> <p>b. Ceremony part of the way we share with the local community.</p> <p>c. The ceremony's cost depends on the ceremony's length and how much food must be provided. The longer the ceremony, the more expensive it will be.</p>		

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No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>d. Set aside existing savings and want to avoid going into debt to hold the party.</p> <p>e. Contribution to this ceremony is limited to ability. Not overdoing it.</p> <p>f. This custom needs to be preserved because make Torajans famous everywhere but its implementation is adjusted to financial capabilities and should not add to the burden. Life must be go on.</p>		
4	Toraja Migrant in Sangatta	Migrant 4	<p>a. The death ceremony is a custom law process in the context of a funeral and is something sacred that must be respected.</p> <p>b. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a custom and donating to this event will not make you poor.</p> <p>c. The cost of the <i>Rambu Solo</i> are a lot expensive. But the family work together (“<i>gotong-royong</i>”) to bring in sacrificial animals (buffaloes) for the death procession.</p> <p>d. Not preparing funds for the <i>Rambu Solo</i>. If there</p>		

No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>are insufficient funds, the ceremony can be postponed or you can sell assets until you have debt.</p> <p>e. Contributing to the death party is not mandatory but has become a habit (custom) to help each other.</p> <p>f. If the ceremony funds have not been collected, the event can be postponed first. However, there is a belief that if you don't carry out the death procession you will get "tula" or bad fortune/fate and will be rumours.</p> <p>g. There should be a consensus throughout society that people who cannot afford it should not be burdened or forced to.</p>		
5	Toraja Migrant in Sangatta	Migrant 5	<p>a. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> used to be about custom and <i>Aluk to Dolo</i> beliefs, but it is now more about prestige.</p> <p>b. Even though the <i>Rambu Solo</i> costs a lot of</p>		

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No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>money, I still support it as a custom..</p> <p>c. The cost is approximately 1 billion rupiah (expensive) and according to family agreement..</p> <p>d. Spend money on the <i>Rambu Solo</i> based on financial ability (no debt).</p> <p>e. Just to help or represent the mother.</p> <p>f. Believing that this party exists solely for prestige and that if it fails to meet societal sanctions, it is merely a talking point.</p> <p>g. Support this custom, but not look down on those who cannot afford them.</p>		
6	Toraja Migrant in Tangerang	Migrant 6	<p>a. In Toraja, there is a <i>Saroan</i> culture, and there is potential for rumours (gossip) and unhealthy rivalry.</p> <p>b. Education should be prioritized over customs.</p> <p>c. The ceremony cost is equivalent to the number of buffalo slaughtered and depends on family agreement. It can be expensive.</p>	<p>a. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a culture that maintains the family's status in the community by expression of love and thanks to parents, culture of “<i>Siri</i>” thereby encouraging people to go all out in holding this ceremony.</p> <p>b. In the implementation of the <i>Rambu Solo</i>, all families will share and helping with each other.</p>	

No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>d. Toraja migrants are sometimes quite frugal.</p> <p>e. If you are not ready to hold a party, the event can be postponed until the contribution budget and the family gathering is ready.</p> <p>f. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a culture should be maintained, even though they look burdensome. However, we can only take it from a positive aspect, namely the value of cohesiveness.</p>	<p>The costs incurred for the <i>Rambu Solo</i> event depend on family agreement and according to ability.</p> <p>c. There is no special strategy/saving for death ceremony. All family members will share the costs of the ceremony.</p> <p>d. If the ceremony cannot hold immediately, it can be postponed, and the closest family will support the ceremony.</p> <p>e. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> tradition should be preserved within community. Even though it is a burden and prestige, it still has to be carried out and is a shared responsibility of the big family.</p>	
7	Toraja Migrant in Tangerang	Migrant 7	<p>a. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a culture in which the meaning is to maintain family status in the community and within the family, so this custom must be implemented. It can be a high motivation for Torajans to hard study/work for future prosperity.</p> <p>b. Toraja people generally work hard to earn money for the burial of the dead.</p> <p>c. The cost depends on the agreement and there is</p>		

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No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>no minimum cost and can be expensive.</p> <p>d. There is no special strategy for collecting funds for the ceremony. If we talk about traditional ceremonies, it will be the responsibility of the big family. They must contribute (“gotong royong”) to support relatives.</p> <p>e. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is an obligation that must be carried out and at least the closest family must support it. If this is not done, it will become a rumours that will cause embarrassment (“<i>siri</i>”).</p> <p>f. This culture is about prestige.</p>		
8	Toraja Migrant in Tangerang	Migrant 8	<p>a. The value is a feeling of love and final appreciation for parents through a ceremony. The custom based on family consensus to do mutual corporation. But, some people pursue prestige.</p> <p>b. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> is a ceremony in which families who are grieving are treated with an attitude of mutual</p>		

No	Subject	Respondent Number	Values from Respondent	Shared Values from Every Migrant Area	Shared Values from Two Migrant Area
			<p>assistance and cooperation. We stand strong; in the term.</p> <p>c. It depends on the agreement and the family's own capabilities, not forced, helping each other.</p> <p>d. The strategy for collecting funds for this ceremony is shared together according to the number of families.</p> <p>e. In Tangerang, if the family cannot finance the body's return to Toraja, the Toraja community in Tangerang (PMTI) will contribute to help.</p> <p>f. The <i>Rambu Solo</i> should be preserved through communities such as the Toraja Church.</p>		

Based on the data analysis above, there are five (5) shared values that can be concluded from participants who are Toraja tribe and have migrated from Tana Toraja to Sangatta and Tangerang, obtained from the interview results, namely: 1). Preserving of tradition and cultural heritage. The *Rambu Solo* ceremony is an important part of Torajan tradition and cultural heritage. Through this ceremony, cultural values and ancestral traditions are preserved and passed on to the next generation; 2). The importance of spirituality, belief and perceptions of death and the afterlife (*Aluk To Dolo*). For the Torajans, the death ceremony is an important time to prepare for the spirit

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leaving this world. The *Rambu Solo* helps Torajans to face death in a meaningful way and gives them confidence about the afterlife; 3). Solidarity (mutual cooperation, caring, helping and share each other, consolidation of family and social networks). The *Rambu Solo* ceremony is often a pivotal moment where dispersed communities/families come back together and strengthen their relationships to provide support, care and share in grief. It strengthens family consolidation, social networks and solidarity among Torajan community. Torajans have a timeless motto passed down by their ancestors to preserve the unity and integrity of life together, namely "*Misa' Kada Dipotuo, Pantan Kada Dipomate*", which means "United We Stand, Divided We Collapse"; 4). Respect for the ancestors. The *Rambu Solo* is also a celebration that emphasizes the importance of paying proper respect to ancestors; and 5). Recognition of social status, power (prestige) and social sanction (*tula*). The *Rambu Solo* ceremonies often reflect the social status and wealth of the deceased's family. The larger the ceremony and the number of animals sacrificed, the higher the social status shown. So the concept of the ceremony has shifted to a prestige event and if you do not fulfill this ceremony, there will be social sanctions (rumors) and some even believe in "*tula*".

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the interview, it is concluded that overall, the perception of Toraja migrants towards the *Rambu Solo* ceremony on top financial management is the *Rambu Solo* has important values so this ceremony must be preserved even though the costs incurred are very expensive and there is no special allocation in terms of funds for Toraja Migrants. These share values are preserving of tradition and cultural heritage; the importance of spirituality, belief and perceptions of death and the afterlife (*Aluk To Dolo*); solidarity (mutual cooperation, caring, helping and share each other, consolidation of family and social network) (*Misa' Kada Dipotuo, Pantan Kada Dipomate*); respect for the ancestors; and recognition of social status, power (prestige) and social sanction (*tula*). Thus, the *Rambu Solo* death ceremony not only has ritual value and hereditary beliefs, but also has a deep meaning in the maintenance of culture, spirituality, family/social solidarity, and status recognition in Toraja society.

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