

## INTISARI

Masyarakat Toraja mempunyai ikatan yang kuat dengan perangkat kebudayaan lama yang sampai saat ini masih diyakini oleh sebagian besar masyarakat seperti *aluk to dolo*, *tongkonan*, *rambu solo*, maupun *rambu tuka*'. Pada perkembangannya, berbagai perangkat kebudayaan tersebut ternyata bergeser pemaknaannya, bahkan dimanfaatkan oleh sekelompok masyarakat tertentu untuk memenuhi kepentingannya termasuk kepentingan politik. Merujuk pada fakta tersebut, maka dalam penelitian ini diemukakan rumusan masalah tentang bagaimana cara para aktor politik memanfaatkan budaya lokal (*rambu tuka*' dan *rambu solo*') untuk mewujudkan tujuan politiknya?

Banyak tulisan yang mengupas tentang budaya Toraja dan juga pergeseran budaya yang terjadi didalamnya antara lain dikemukakan oleh Theodorus Kobong (2009), Tino Saroengallo (2008), Edwin De Jong (2013), Sudarsono dan Ruwiyanto (1999: 265), Ihromi (1984: 21-22), Geertz (1995: 3), Malinowski dalam Susanto (1983: 122), Huntington (dalam Zuhro, et al, 2009: 32), (Suparlan, 2005) dan L.T. Tangdilintin (1985). Adapun dalam lingkup pemekaran daerah, beberapa penulis yang telah melakukan penelitian diantaranya adalah Mohamad Hatta (2007), Syauckani, et al, 2009: 27), Zuhro, 2009: 163). Pada prosesnya, penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan proses pengambilan datanya dilakukan melalui *snow ball*, wawancara, studi kepustakaan, dan fokus diskusi terbatas. Untuk menentukan keabsahan data digunakan metode triangulasi dengan informan yang terlibat mencakup tokoh agama, tokoh adat, tokoh politik, birokrat, akademisi (guru, mahasiswa), pemuda, dan masyarakat umum di wilayah Tana Toraja.

Berdasarkan hasil penelitian yang dilakukan selama lebih dari lima tahun (2009 hingga tahun 2014) dapat dikemukakan beberapa temuan yaitu: (1). Secara sosial ekonomi, masyarakat baik yang di Toraja Utara maupun Selatan tidak berubah. (2) Telah terjadi manipulasi budaya dan politik yang terungkap dari adanya manipulasi makna perangkat kebudayaan yang digunakan untuk kepentingan politik. (3) Telah terjadi perubahan makna budaya yang ditandai adanya praktik budaya pelaksanaan *rambu tuka*' dan *rambu solo*' yang kini disimbolkan oleh sedikit atau banyaknya hewan yang akan dipotong. Penelitian ini memberikan fakta baru bahwa secara *intangible* dalam jangka waktu tertentu ternyata budaya Toraja telah bergeser makna, kesakralan dan filosofis budaya Toraja telah terdegradasi oleh perkembangan jaman dan desakan kepentingan elit politik. Hasil penelitian ini dapat menjadi landasan bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk meneliti tentang bagaimana makna hakiki budaya Toraja dapat eksis kembali selaras dengan perkembangan jaman.

**Kata kunci:** Manipulasi, Politisasi, dan pergeseran budaya.

## **ABSTRACT**

*This study is focused on cultural practices of Toraja that experiencing a shift in meaning by political interests of local elites. In addition, this study is an exploration over the manipulation of cultural practices of Toraja, which later turn into a political transactions. Rambu tuka' (traditional feast) and rambu solo' (funerals) are used by the author as the processes of activities that being manipulated by the new social elite (new rich) with a new purpose such as imaging or to gain power. For focusing the study in order not to become bias, it is defined the problem formulation on how political actors used the local culture (rambu tuka 'and rambu solo') to achieve the political goals? In relation with that, to answer the problem formulation is defined as follows:*

- a. How do rambu tuka' and rambu solo' which has originally had a theological meaning either custom, structure, as well as symbol of society, later shifted into a political meaning?*
- b. How do the regional enlargement that is conducted by local political elite by mobilizing the political mass through local culture media?*
- c. How do local elites manipulate the local culture by using cultural instrument to achieve various positions in society?*

*The theoretical basis used in the this research is the theory of Koentjaraningrat and also of several theories that used as a support, such as Theodorus Kobong (2009), Tino Saroengallo (2008), Edwin De Jong (2013), and LT Tangdilintin (1985). On the other side, relate to the expansion of regions are used some literatures from Mohamad Hatta (2007), Syauckani, et al, 2009) and Zuhro (2009). The research methodology used in this study is qualitative by doing the interview and focus group discussions. As for the validity of the data is conducted through the method of triangulation. Besides, in its methodology is also used the snow ball method.*

*Based on the study that has been conducted, there is a fact that the culture selected by local elites to socialize the region expansion or political campaign by giving the material (donations) that morally binding. This facilitates the local elite to convey its political messages because the cultural practices make the society gathered colossal by themselves. The region expansion becomes the target of the political elite. The region expansion is promising the power, positions and job opportunity. Although, to obtain the approval from the central government is required the political support from the grassroots namely society. The fundamental findings from this study is the fact that there has been cultural manipulation, especially in customary celebrations and funerals by the local elite to achieve their interests. The political actors are involved and contributed to the shifts in shape and take advantage of the changes in cultural practices of traditional ceremony at Toraja. It is also found the fact that the support is based on ties constructed through the tongkonan become more defined than the voice support through other campaigns.*

**Keywords:** *Manipulation, Politicization, and Cultural Shifts*