

Accountability of the “Title” of Hajj in Bugis Culture: Social Interaction and Self-control

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to find the meaning of accountability for Hajj’s “title” or designation from the perspective of Bugis culture. This study uses an interpretive paradigm with a symbolic interactionism approach. The informants in this study were Bugis people who have fulfilled the pilgrimage which were chosen in purposive manner. The data were analyzed by using the action patterns of the informants, which were obtained through real-life observations, as well as from interviews to understand the responses and interpretations of the informants. The study finds that the “title” of Hajj was interpreted as an action based on social value as well as self-control in behaving in society.

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1. Introduction

Hajj is a form of individual and social accountability for Muslims to Allah SWT [1]. This also applies to the people of South Sulawesi, especially Bugis. For Muslims in general and Bugis people in particular, the implementation of the pilgrimage is the fifth pillar of Islam that completes worship after the creed, prayer, fasting, and zakat. The implementation of the pilgrimage in the holy land (Mecca and Medina) is the dream and aspiration of every Muslim. They will try to be able to fulfill the pilgrimage at least once in their lifetime. Likewise, the people of Bugis will be willing to do anything to be able to carry out the pilgrimage as a strong manifestation of Islam. In the phenomenon of existing society, it is not uncommon to find a Muslim willing to sell his valuable assets to be able to fulfill the pilgrimage. The ritual of fulfilling the pilgrimage resembles the reconstruction of the journey of the Prophet of Allah SWT.

There is an interesting phenomenon in the life of the Bugis social community. These phenomena include if we are in their environment, we often hear the mention (called “Hajj”) in front of their names for those who have completed the pilgrimage in Mecca. This has become a hereditary tradition for the Bugis people in Sulawesi, especially the Bugis people from South Sulawesi. The mention or call of “Hajj” in front of their name will always be there if they are in the Bugis community or when writing/inclusion of the name in the invitation. Even sometimes the mention of the word “Hajj” is omitted when

calling their names or forgetting to write them on an invitation as if they have ignored the politeness of the society. Not infrequently the neglect is offensive. However, some people do not care about the mention or call of Hajj in front of their names even though they have fulfilled the pilgrimage.

In addition, there is a unique-insight, of the call “Hajj” for young people who are getting married in the inclusion of names on the invitation. The inclusion of the “title” of Hajj in the writing of wedding invitations reflects social status among the Bugis people. Likewise, in the context of the Bugis cultural marriage proposal procession, the “title” of Hajj/Hajjah belongs to a person, especially a Bugis woman. It can be a determining factor –*an important point*– in the *dui’ menre’* agreement or dowry for the bride-to-be. The dowry for the bride-to-be will be higher when she has the title of *Hajjah*. Vice versa, it is a matter of pride for the bride-to-be if the groom-to-be has fulfilled the pilgrimage. To put it bluntly, the “title” of Hajj is a value-added in determining whether an application is accepted or not. This shows that the social value that is formed on the “identity” of the Hajj cannot be separated from the interaction of the “Hajj” symbol. These interactions will affect who, what, and how we do (Soeprapto, 2002: 183). Therefore, targeting the actions of the Bugis people on the symbol –title– of Hajj which is attached to their identity will give the meaning of accountability for the hajj symbol. The meaning of accountability in the context of this research can be used as a foothold in building the concept of accountability and provides insight into designing control mechanisms – both internal control and management control.

The relationship between accounting and culture is not a new discourse because accounting needs to be understood as a cultural formation in which accounting is present [2]. This has long been written by Gray (1988) which develops a framework to describe how culture has influenced national accounting systems. In short, Gray (1988) describes that cultural values that are carried out together in a country will change the accounting culture in turn which will affect the accounting system in that country. Based on the phenomenon of the Bugis society described above, this study aims to find the meaning of accountability for the “title” of Hajj for those who have fulfilled the pilgrimage from the cultural perspective of the Bugis people.

2. Method

In line with the aim of interpreting, this research uses an interpretive paradigm with a symbolic interactionism approach. Emphasizing human actions –responses, interpretations, actions–, the symbolic interactionism approach provides benefits for understanding human life. Is it not true that humans are social creatures? Our interactions will influence who, what, and how we do. Therefore, this study targets the actions of actors or subjects, namely Bugis ethnic people who have fulfilled the pilgrimage to the responsibility of the “title” of Hajj that they carry. The action of the subject certainly contains its meaning for each result of the interaction it does.

This research was conducted for 3 (three) months. The selection of informants was carried out through several criteria, namely, having fulfilled the pilgrimage, informants of Bugis ethnicity, and informants from different educational and occupational backgrounds, who were chosen deliberately. The heterogeneity of the informants was carried out to find

the variety of meanings that exist in the tradition of calling the “Hajj”. The third criterion is carried out to discover the various meanings that exist in the tradition of calling the “Hajj” in Bugis culture. In addition, the researcher's personal experience while interacting with this community group was also used as additional information for data analysis.

Researchers become research instruments. Researchers explore the meaning of the call from various circles of society, such as educator accountants, traditional traders, and accounting practitioners (public accountants and government accountants). Some of these researchers also act as informants – subjects in this social phenomenon –. Therefore, the observations made are observations of the “self” – thoughts, feelings, and reflections – of the researcher, who is also the informant. This is possible, individuals are key actors who play a role in people's lives in symbolic interactions. In line with the statement of Georg Simmel as quoted by Wignjosoebroto (in Soeprapto, 1994: xi) that all social phenomena and/or behavior originally started from what was in the individual's mind. In addition, the observations made are also “cross” observations. Likewise with interviews. Researcher A, who is also an informant, for example, was observed by researcher B, who is also an informant. Likewise, other researchers were also informants in this study. Interviews were conducted personally, either face-to-face or by telephone/ WhatsApp. Meanwhile, for informants who are also researchers, other than those who were interviewed directly by other researchers. Some directly write down their responses, interpretations, and reflections regarding the context of this research. The process of interpretation of the subject, the social interaction of humans as actors, human actions, and the interconnection of these actions will provide “meaning”, which will then be constructed into the meaning of responsibility-accountability, for the mandate of the “title” of Hajj.

As described by Burrell & Morgan (1979), a person will be able to understand the social world if he can gain direct knowledge about the subject being investigated. Furthermore, Sawarjuwono (2005) explains that the social interaction of each individual must be understood in its totality. This is known as the natural science model.

According to Behling (1980), the application of natural science models in social and behavioral science research has 5 (five) advantages. First, uniqueness: because every organization has its characteristics (unique), general behavior and organization may not necessarily apply to the entire organization. Second, instability: natural science phenomena which have regular characteristics and tend to be stable, are certainly different from social science phenomena and behavior that is always changing in the dimensions of space and time. Third, sensitivity: the behavior of people and organizations generally behaves sensitively. Fourth, it is less realistic: controlling variables can change known real phenomena. And fifth, epistemological differences: understanding of cause and effect applies in the natural sciences but will be less suitable if applied to the exploration of human behavior. This further emphasizes that in studying human behavior –including their actions-, the natural science way of thinking cannot be used. However, it also does not mean that research with a different approach or method – from the natural science way of thinking – is irrational and unscientific.

This research site is an overseas Bugis community group in the city of Palu, Central Sulawesi. Even though they have wandered overseas for a long time, this community group still maintains the culture of calling “Hajj” when interacting with fellow Bugis

people. The informants in this study were Bugis people who had migrated to the research site (Palu City). The researcher explores the meaning of the call from various circles of society, such as educator accountants, traditional traders, and accounting practitioners (public accountants and government accountants).

Table 1. List of Research Informants

No	Informant Name	Profession
1	HE	Educator and public accountant
2	JN	Educator
3	NY	Educator
4	MD	Educator and public accountant
5	MR	Educator
6	R	Practitioner and Educator
7	M N	Traditional Merchant
8	SD	Traditional Merchant
9	B	Government Accountant
10	HW	Housewife

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Calling “Haji” or “Aji” as Symbolism in Bugis Culture

The Bugis tribe is the dominant tribe that inhabits the Sulawesi area, especially South Sulawesi [2]. If we are on the island of Sulawesi, it is not uncommon to find the Bugis tribe in society. This is because the Bugis are known as master sailors and wanderers since time immemorial [7]. Their penchant for sailing and wandering is what makes them located in almost all regions of the archipelago, especially in the Sulawesi region.

One of the uniqueness of the Bugis people is their commitment to maintaining their identity, norms, and customs as well as the values of their local wisdom, even though they have been in overseas areas for a long time [7]. One of the cultures that the Bugis people maintain when they are in the social environment of the Bugis society is the tradition of calling “Hajj” (to someone who has performed the pilgrimage).

It should be understood that Hajj is the fifth pillar of Islam whose terms and implementation have been written in full in the holy book. Over time the pilgrimage has experienced fluidity when it is interpreted by Bugis people [8]. This is because the pilgrimage for the Bugis is no longer just the fulfillment of the fifth pillar of Islam, but there are also those whose implementation is obsessed with social aspects such as their desire to be called “Hajj” in the Bugis society. For example, for ordinary people, especially those from rural areas, the call “Hajj” is intended to show a symbol of their identity as hajj. For the Bugis people, the call “Hajj” is a pilgrimage identity for those who have fulfilled the pilgrimage. This calling “hajj” will be embedded in the name of a pilgrim like a title obtained by a scholar. This is as expressed by one of the following research informants:

“Ehh.... If we have gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, when we return home, it should be called “Hajj”, because it is not easy for people to go on a pilgrimage. So it must always include the name of the title of Hajj in front of his name”
(MN).

The enthusiasm and interest of the Bugis for Hajj are very high [8,9]. That's because according to Agustang (2018) and Subair (2018), in the implementation of Hajj, there are two important indications embedded in the Bugis community, namely increasing the level of piety and improving one's economic capacity. The following is a story related to the motivation to fulfill the pilgrimage by an informant who works as a traditional trader in Palu:

“Most people go to fulfill the pilgrimage because they are already economically capable and have received guidance to go to the holy land. Because there are also people who want to go but don't have enough money to go deposit. But some people are already rich, they can afford to buy houses and cars, but they have not received guidance to want to fulfill the pilgrimage. Alhamdulillah, I have been given guidance in the form of will and sustenance to go on pilgrimage to Mecca” (SD).

In addition, the implementation of Hajj is a form of individual and social accountability to Allah SWT [1], because the order for the implementation of Hajj has been mandated for all Muslims in the world as contained in the Qur'an and Al-Hadith. From the spiritual aspect, this pilgrimage has extraordinary allure, for example, the various spiritual values contained in the rituals of fulfilling the pilgrimage. These values include sacrifice, motivation, sincerity, obedience, commitment to work hard, self-introspection, and never giving up hope. And various other spiritual values.

3.2. The Meaning of the Name Hajj as a Social Value

Hajj in Bugis society, apart from being a pillar of Islam and obligatory worship, has also become a complex system [8]. According to him, someone who has fulfilled the pilgrimage, of course, will automatically receive a social award for his pilgrimage. The call for Hajj on him is a form of appreciation in the form of social values given by the community to him, so that person must be able to adjust his behavior to the social values obtained. With the social value obtained, a pilgrim becomes an upper class in that society. This phenomenon was expressed by several informants R, MS, and HW informants who work as accountants, educators, and housewives in the city of Palu, as follows:

“Usually, when people who have fulfilled the pilgrimage and they are called “Hajj”, their social status increases, for example when there is a party, they sit in the front and no longer in the back to wash dishes” (MS).

MS revealed that so far, people who have had the status of Hajj have social values in the Bugis society. One of the signs of social value for a person with Hajj status is the place provided by the Bugis community, for example being in the front row at wedding events and no longer obliged to help those who have a party to wash dishes in the back. Other similar expressions were also expressed by informants R and HW:

“..Those hajj pilgrims (as “Hajj”), usually when given an invitation, must be complete with the title of Hajj in front of their name, otherwise they will be offended. They may not be present at the party, and usually, they are on duty to pick up guests at party events” (R).

“iko iyya, ko engka undangeng botting, na de na lengka' asekku, manessani de ulaoo bottingenna, nasaba' de na sembarang ero enrekkang mekka'e. jaji cocok

memang ko perellu ki' runtu pengakuang hajji, tenia mi dui ipakengka, nyawa to' taruhanna" (HW).

The expressions of R and HW explain that if the mention of "Hajj" in a celebration invitation is given to a person on a pilgrimage, it must be said because otherwise, it will result in neglecting the invitation given and causing offense to them. Thus, it can be seen that if for some Bugis people the call or designation of Hajj is a prestigious social value, their social status will increase if the call or title of Hajj is mentioned. Based on the observations of researchers, in some Bugis people, the call or mention of Hajj is one of the aspects that motivates them to fulfill Hajj. They will like to be called "Hajj", otherwise will be disappointed if the title is not applied to them.

The phenomenon above shows that the influence of the call for "Hajj" on a Bugis motivates the implementation of Hajj to fulfill religious obligations and as an instrument to gain recognition of social values to gain convenience in carrying out social roles [10]. Kasman (2019) also said that the mention of "Hajj" also motivates a person to carry out economic activities based on the principles of work ethic, work efficiently and optimistically, as well as work in a lawful manner. According to him, the call "Hajj" has become a religious symbol that motivates the Bugis community to practice it.

The above phenomenon is also expressed by Agustang (2018) and Subair (2018) that indications of the social value of the title/call of Hajj can be seen in the Bugis cultural wedding ceremony, including: first, when the delivery and pick-up of the bride is carried out by the close family of the bride or other relatives, then those who receive the invitation are the hajj pilgrims. This is because for the owner of the event it is a matter of pride if the event is attended by pilgrims. Second, the kitchen work which is usually carried out by the bride's family, after the pilgrimage, is no longer in the kitchen sector but has changed to the front sector to pick up or arrange guests.

Researchers hope that the implementation of the pilgrimage is not included in the predictions of the Prophet Muhammad:

"From Anas RA, Rasulullah SAW said, One time will come when the rich at that time made the pilgrimage for sightseeing, the middle class made the pilgrimage for business, most of them made the pilgrimage for riya' and sum'ah, and the poor people made the pilgrimage to beg. (HR Al-Khatib).

The hadith of the Prophet Muhammad was also emphasized by Umar bin Khattab RA, who was a friend of the Prophet Muhammad:

"There are a lot of visitors to go to the Haram Mosque, but there are few who make the pilgrimage."

The stated hadith is a warning for all Muslims to continue to maintain the straightness of their intentions during Hajj.

3.3. The Meaning of the Name Hajj as Self-Control

Breaking down the results of interviews and research observations, there are different meanings obtained by researchers regarding the call "Hajj" for educated people. For intellectuals or those with a high level of religious understanding, the meaning of the call "Hajj" is like a sense of self-control that must always be maintained in society. This is also similarly expressed by Agustang (2018) that among educated people the call "Hajj"

becomes a motivation for them to always maintain their actions and attitudes. For them, the call “Hajj” is not so important. They will understand if one day they are called without the title “Hajj” because for them the call “Hajj” is a reminder for themselves to always maintain their attitude and character. After all, they have perfected their religion through Hajj. This was expressed by JN as follows:

“The call “Hajj” should be interpreted as a reminder to ourselves that we have fulfilled the pilgrimage. Therefore, when we are called “Hajj”, we should be able to guard and control ourselves from bad deeds or acts that violate religion, because we have perfected our religion by fulfilling the fifth pillar of Islam” JN.

MD (who works as an educator accountant as well as an accountant practitioner) has the same meaning as the expression above, that the call “Hajj” is a code for us to always control ourselves from various disgraceful acts. According to him, if he has fulfilled Hajj or when he calls himself “Hajj”, then it is interpreted as a code or signal for him to always keep his attitude, words, and actions in effect in society or when doing his job as an accountant. Here is an excerpt from his statement:

“When I am called “Hajj”, it is a sign that people will remind me that I have done Hajj. So, I have to keep my attitude, I can't do any cheating. Especially if it's a friend who reminds me with the phrase "uh...be careful, Lee, You are already Hajj (B)". It means that friends give me my code when I am on Hajj and I can't cheat. Must be good at self-control.

The same thing is also expressed in NY's expression when JN said that after the pilgrimage and receiving the “title” of hajj, NY's way of dressing changed. More Muslim.

“...if my dress style changes, it's probably because I'm already on pilgrimage. But, I don't think that's why I changed the way I dress. ...because I feel that dressing like this, covering the aurat is indeed a way of dressing in Islam.For me, “Hajj” is the perfection of my pillars of Islam. Physically, and materially, I am capable. So I have to fulfill it. For me, all Muslims are obliged to strive to perfect the pillars of Islam. That the fortune to the extent that the effort is God's will...”

Referring to some of the statements above, it can be said that the meaning of the “Hajj” symbol for some Bugis people is as a symbol or sign to control themselves from actions that are not approved by Allah SWT. The symbol of Hajj is a way or a sign to always protect themselves from disgraceful acts. This is also revealed in the command of Allah SWT in QS Al-Baqarah: 197 which means:

“(Season) Hajj is several months which is understandable, whoever sets his intention in that month will perform Hajj, then it is not maybe Rafats, be wicked and argue in times do the pilgrimage. And what you do is good, Allah will know it. Be stocked, and verily the best provision is piety and fear-Me (Allah), Oh people of understanding.”

While conducting this research, the researcher also found several informants in the Bugis community who did not want to be called “Hajj”, even though they have already fulfilled the Hajj. These informants are scholars whose professions are public accountants and educators. The following are the results of interviews with these Bugis scholars:

“For me, even though I have done Hajj, I don't need to be called Hajj, Hajj is an act of worship, and the one who knows my worship is Allah SWT, Rasulullah SAW has fulfilled Hajj many times but there has never been the word Hajj in front of his name, especially in my family I don't get used to this it” (IA).

According to IA, the designation of Hajj does not need to be mentioned in front of his name, IA tries to explain that he is not so obsessed with being called Hajj. This is an analogy that Rasulullah SAW has fulfilled the pilgrimage many times but never made explicit the title or call "Hajj" in front of his name. Therefore, IA does not want to be called "Hajj". MD also said the same thing. Here's the MD statement:

"If you want to be called "Hajj", it's okay, without being called "Hajj" it's okay also, Hajj is worship, not a title or what needs to be mentioned" (MD)

MD stated that the call "Hajj" to him was unnecessary because according to him, Hajj was not a title that needed to be mentioned, such as the title that a person gets after studying such as Doctor, Professor, or the like. For him, the call "Hajj" is just a tradition of appreciation in the Bugis society and does not need to be patented or treated for everyone. There is also one informant who also does not want himself to be called "Hajj" because according to him the call is a sacred thing and requires a guard or self-control if it is attached to him, even though he has fulfilled the pilgrimage. Here's the R expression:

"You don't need to be called "Hajj", I think what if you are called "Hajj", I feel that if you are called "Hajj", you must know yourself, maintain your attitude and introspect yourself, must be able to control yourself when dealing with or in the community, must be able to take care of our Hajj, so if you don't need to be called "Hajj"." (R).

From R's explanation above, it reveals the meaning that according to him the call "Hajj" is self-control so that he always performs the sacred deeds that Allah has commanded. R felt that he was not fully capable of doing this at that time. This is because R sometimes feels that he has unintentionally or unconsciously committed sins, both small and big, and considers himself out of control.

In general, the informants said that the call "Hajj" to them gave the impression of being a better Muslim and according to Islamic principles. This is also the same as the results of research conducted by Agustang (2018).

3.4. Transformation on the Call of Hajj

Haji or *Aji* is a call of honor for the Bugis community. It is a greeting that contains the value of honor. When we go to traditional markets, fish and vegetable traders will call potential buyers *Haji* or *Aji*. The term sounded so familiar to the ear. The call "*Haji* or *Aji*", shows a harmonious relationship between "Pak Aji" or "Bu Aji", with the traders. This is a form of respect or friendship that grows in the Bugis community. Thus the predicate of Hajj has been transformed, into a code of conduct and values. Hajj is not just carrying out the obligations of the pillars of Islam, but also shows the social status in Bugis society.

Hajj has also been transformed into an indicator of a person's success in carrying out his activities in society at once. This can be seen from the strong desire of the community to carry out the Hajj. This has changed people's view that awards will be obtained by increasing their social status in society. This is in line with the statement of informant A:

"In my village, when people have returned from hajj, their social status increases. Before Hajj, when there is a wedding, that person usually sits in the back seat. After becoming "Haji", they were able to sit at the front, side by side with community leaders."

For the Bugis community, the call “Hajj”, shows one's identity. The mistake of calling someone who has the title of Hajj can have an impact on, ignoring the Hajj or feeling irritated at someone who greets him. The *Haji* could pretend not to hear his name being called. They will like to be called *Haji*, and vice versa will be discouraged if they are not called *Haji*. For certain circles, who have a good understanding of their religion, the title of Hajj is an encouragement to maintain their behavior and actions. Hence, without being called *Haji*, he will understand it.

The results of this study indicate that human actions are also inseparable from the class structure in society. This structure may place us under certain limitations (Soeprapto, 2002:177). In the context of this study, the “title” of Hajj [perhaps] limits many of our actions or relationships. On the other hand, the "title" of Hajj can also allow people to have more resources such as more dowry or more pride.

From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, human freedom will always be limited and limited by our language and other symbols (Soeprapto, 2002: 179). In other words, human freedom is limited by the freedom of other human beings – creatures. Freedom and accountability (responsibility) are like two sides of a coin. But these two sides are not seen as a contradiction – a dichotomy –, one negates the other. Contradictions will force humans to struggle continuously to make choices, explained Faz (Faz, 2007:142). Furthermore, Faz (2007: 142) explained that in freedom, the values of goodness, truth, and beauty become meaningful.

4. Conclusion

Accountability is the “title” of Hajj in Bugis culture: social interaction and self-control. This study aims to find the meaning of accountability for Hajj’s “title” or designation from the perspective of Bugis culture. This study uses an interpretive paradigm with a symbolic interactionism approach. The informants in this study are the people of Bugis ethnicity who have fulfilled the pilgrimage which is chosen purposively. The informants have the initials IA, JN, NY, MD, MR, R, MN, SD, B, and HW. The informant profession in this study is dominated by educator accountants. The data was analyzed using the action patterns of the informants, which were obtained through real-life observations, as well as from interviews to understand the responses and interpretations of the informants. The study results found that the “title” of Hajj was interpreted as an action as a social value and self-control in behaving in society. The term hajj is a social value as a form of Bugis cultural appreciation because it requires great sacrifices to be able to carry out the pilgrimage. The sacrifice is in the form of property, time, and even life. In addition, the name hajj is self-control because it is a form of self-remembrance that has made perfecting worship fulfill the five pillars of Islam.

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In other words, human freedom is limited by the freedom of other human beings—creatures. Freedom and accountability (responsibility) are like two sides of a coin. But these two sides are not seen as a contradiction—a dichotomy—, one negates the other.

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