Munanese, muslim call for chapter

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Abstract

The tradition of the community could be a marker of identity in order to distinguish with others. Beatty (2001) found that the *slametan* ritual as Javanese identity that represents the philosophy of rukun (agreeing in differ). Similarly, Beidelman (1997) studied about how traditional values as Kaguru identity given to children at the time of initiation ritual of boys and girls. This paper will examine katoba tradition in Munanese society, an initiation ritual for boys and girls, which is called *pengislaman* ceremony. The way people see the obligatory of *katoba* in conjunction with the children's names in Muna, the way people interpret the meaning of katoba, and the practice of this ritual frame the identity as Munanese Muslim. The identity is confirmed and reproduced by the community in two ways, in the life-cycle rituals and inside and outside the culture central of Muna. The identity as Munanese Muslim identify in every stage of life cycle ritual and in the way people assert the ritual inside and outside Muna shows the process of continuing identity reproduction that never ended. By using interpretive perspective, I would argue that katoba tradition is to understand and interpret what they mean by Islam and Muna as wells. Katoba in Munanese society is the image of religion (Islam) and culture (Muna) at the same time. Therefore, undergoing katoba is becoming Munanese Muslim or Muslim Muna. Key words: religion and tradition, initiation ritual, Munanese Muslim, identity reproduction.

A. Introduction

Tradition with its elements inside is no doubt a marker of cultural identity of the community. Tradition becomes one way to express something that is considered important in society as a medium of communication to indicate the presence of (identity) themselves. Through traditions of symbols which are displayed, by meaning of symbols given by society and how people act or respond to the symbol underscore their identity. One tradition, which is a ritual proposed by La Fontaine (1985) stated that is an important element in society to affirm identity, as one way to position ourselves beyond identity. Identity refers to the limitation that distinguishes themselves with others. Hall (in Osmani, 2007: 68) provides that identity as a series of social and expectations relating to ourself and others that has been overshadowed by the similarities and differences. Tradition can be a medium for bridging two or more different entities. Thus, the identity identified from rituals states a clear distinction between itself and others.

In Muslim community, a tradition refers not only to Islam, but also culture as well. For people of Mandinga in Portugal, ritual "writing on hands" (bulusafewo) as the initiation of

children to learn the Koran, is an ethnic identity attachment as well as the practice of Islam (Johnson, 2006). Similarly, *jando* ritual after the boys are circumcised for Muslim community of Zanzibar is a marker of Muslim and tradition teaching (Cory, 1948). Status of Muslim in Muna is attached when a child pronounces two sentences syahadat. Two syahadat is the primary marker for a person's status in Muslim (Abu Shalieh, 1998).

By using interpretive perspective, this paper will examine one of the traditions in Muna society in Southeast Sulawesi, namely *katoba* tradition. *Katoba* is an Islamization ceremony intended for boys and girls in the age range of 7-14 years old. *Katoba* procession consists of three main points: *first*, repentance ordinance (*dotoba*); *second*, pledge of repentance and Islamization; and *third*, advice (*katoba*) which consists of three main advice, obedience to parents (*lansaringino*), purification (*kaalano oe*), and a balance in the relationship of three subjects (human, Allah SWT, and nature). *Katoba* is usually carried out at the age of puberty, where at that age children are considered capable of distinguishing good and bad deeds and has been able to also be responsible for their actions. Puberty is being celebrated in many cultures which are regarded as a period of transition that leads an individual from a position that does not have a position economically to be someone who has an asset socially and economically (Radin, 1957).

In other Muslim communities, Muslim status is attached to the practice of circumcision, as well as what can be found in Java, Madura and Sumatra societies. Java and Madura society calls good practice circumcision on boys and girls as circumcision or *supit* (Putranti, 2003; Darwin, 2001); Banjar Muslim community calls it *basunat* (Hasan, tt); Sundanese people call circumcision, both in boys and girls (Newland, 2000); Muslim communities in Bima calls *suna ro ndoso* (circumcision and leveling the teeth), in Ternate it is called *suna- suna* (Department of Education, nd), also in Muslim society of Zanzibar, East Africa, it is called *jando* (Cory, 1948). The practice of circumcision in some cultures above confirms that in many Muslim societies, *khitan* or *sunat* refers to a symbol of being a Muslim, which is a recognition of Islamic identity (Rizvi, 1999; Abu Shahlieh, 1998).

However, the tradition of circumcision in Muna society is not called as Islamization ritual. Traditional circumcision is simply referred to as *kangkilo* and thus is not an Islamization tradition. *Kangkilo* means as cleansing or purification which is is symbolized by the blood discharge from the children's genitals. Status of Muslim in Muna society is attached to a tradition called *katoba*, which is also named as Islamization ceremony. Why *katoba* become a

marker of Islam for the children how this tradition becomes reproduced identity inside and outside the culture central of Muna society has become an interesting theme to be discussed.

B. Katoba; Identity as a Muslim and Muna

Social identity discussed in this study is religious identity or Islamic identity or what it means to be a Muslim. Thus, Islam is a socio-religious identity. Islamic criteria are established by religion, what purports to be Islam and how the Islam is conceived. Islam, in this regard, is a condition where the community or a particular group is considered as Islam and how Islam is built.

Islam is interpreted differently by different communities. In Cirebon society, every ritual, either religious or non-religious, if Islam is performed with the intention to realize the worship of God, then thus worship is categorized and classified as Islam (Muhaimin, 2002). Similar with Tegalroso society, however small a Muslim performs his/her religious commitment, there would be none of the people who will deny their existence as Muslims (Pranowo, 2009: 365). Thus, the Islamic marker is not singular, because becoming Islam or Islamic fixed by community based on the history and culture of community. Viewing Islam examines at the level of "discursive tradition" (Asad in Anjum, 2007), on "practical Islam" (Ali, 2011), on "discourse" (Bowen, 1993). The concept of "discursive tradition" according to Asad refers to the aspect of how the authenticity of criteria applied and justified.

The identity of Muna society has already shown through naming and pronouncing each other. Each child's name in Muna, is always preceded by the word *la* for boys and *wa* for the girls. *La* and *wa* are a repsentation of the *syahadat*: *Asyhadu an(la) ilaaha illallah, (wa)asyhadu anna Muhammadarrasulullah*. Although no longer use the name *la* and *wa* as their first formal names, they still keep being addressed as such. Because thay act as the first marker and closely tie to a person's identity. They also become a reference for person among others.

Additionally, the way people attach the word *katoba* refers to the meaning of "culture". In Dictionary of Munanese Language (Kamus Bahasa Wuna), Imbo (2012) stipulates that *katoba* means "culture" and cultured means *ko-toba*, while a humanist is called *mangkutoba*. Therefore, doing *katoba* means undergoing a culture of Muna. In converse, not doing *katoba* means not undergoing a culture of Muna. In another explanation, a Munanese linguistics expert, Sidu Manarfa interprets the word as conversion or repentance process. This meaning is derived from the formation of word *katoba* with the root *toba* and thus given the prefix of *ka*-. On the other hand, Muna society calls *katoba* ritual as "Islamization ritual".

The naming of *katoba* refers to those meanings above albeit with different explanation but implying one thing that *katoba* refers to Munanese Islam. *Katoba*, however, is a culture of Muna society which clearly refers to the process of becoming Munanese Muslim, a social identity which refers to two things altogether: cultural identity and religious identity. So, be it is true when it is said that the identity is intentionally created by society in which these cultures grow and develop (King, 1982; Vickers, 1989; Hall, 1992; Eriksen, 1993; Kipp, 1993; Kahn, 1995, Picard, 1997; Wood, 1998).

Identity which has already inherent on the names of Munanese people culturally strengthens through katoba tradition. Through tradition, katoba is a medium for Muna society to to express the values that are considered important that underline their identity when dealing with other communities/societies. The way Muna society the obligatory of implementing katoba is adhered along with the children's names in Muna, and how people interpret the word katoba, shows a very important matter to frame one's identity as a Munanese Muslim.

C. Identity Reproduction among Munanese Muslim

Identity is constructed by community based on social dynamics of communities themselves, and dealing with larger social context. Construction of this identity is something that goes on continuously and sustainably (Pilliang, 2002: 10) and "something that is never perfect" (Hall, 1990). In this context, it is understood that identity is not a static entity, but continue to proceed along the dynamics of the community. Therefore, Islamic identity could undergo changes, questioned, debated, negotiated, and could even be replaced.

Katoba which is held by Muna society shows how their Islamic identity is affirmed in their culture system. This identity is eventually confirmed and reproduced by community in a way that may be different from the first. The assertion of this identity shown in the tradition of katoba is efforts aimed and reiterated by Muna community in their relations with one another. Reproduction of identity that increasingly emphasizes the importance of this tradition continues to be implemented by community. In this context, the identity reproduction is performed on two things: first, the identity of which is reproduced in life-cycle stages; and second, the identity of which is reproduced inside and outside of Muna. They will be described as follows:

D.1 Identity Reproduction in Life-Cycle Ritual

Katoba tradition becomes identity because it describes values that are considered important in society. Society needs a ritual to transfer while emphasizing values that are considered important and sacred by them. Slametan ritual in Beatty's findings (2001) is the

identity of Javanese society that represents philosophy of harmony (agreeing to difference). In Kaguru society, for example, tha transfer value is very important to the children given during initiation ritual of coming-of-age (Beidelman, 1997). During the ritual, a process of moral education is conceptualized or what is called Durkheim as indoctrination (Durkheim in Beidelman, 1997: 2).

Katoba ritual takes place at every stage of human life, beginning at puberty, marriage period, and before facing death. Before taking *ijab Kabul* (marriage vow), both bride and groom will be guided to pronounce *istighfar* as many as three times as a part of *katoba* procession. Pronouncing *istighfar* on pre-wedding ritual is *oral simbolic* to eliminate the sins and wrongdoings of the past and purify the couple before entering domestic life. Katoba which is carried out ahead of the marriage is an attempt to remove dirt (kita) which will contaminate the newlywed's household. Dirt meant is the sins and wrongdoings that have been done by each couple before they get married. The wedding vow (*ijab kabul*) granted without pronouncing *istighfar* is feared will include dirt or grime that are already attached to their bodies and hearts. Therefore, *katoba* in marriage is the basic foundation for achieving the sanctity of marriage, as well as physical and mental preparation when entering a new life.

Istighfar pronounced during last moments before death (sakratul maut) is also oral symbolic for a plea of forgiveness of sins ever done. When one is in a dying condition and unable to utter a word, a clerk or a family member will pronounce istighfar recitation repeatedly with the intention that the sufferer could be saying the word by heart. In Muna society, reciting or pronouncing istighfar recitation is also called katoba, although not through a complete procession as in coming-of-age initiation rites. Katoba in last moments before death is an attempt to reach the sacredness as a human condition before entering another realm.

Becoming Munanese Muslim is a very important value of Islamic teaching *katoba* which portrays itself as the center and axis of adhering to this identity. Why is the society not enough just to say it? Why should it go through a ritual? Lewis (1980: 118) explains that a ritual or ritual is able to to do something different than just words spoken or actions that just do. Through the ritual, values of becoming Munanese Muslim are more than just a formal status, moreover becoming a Muslim because of hereditary, therefore a child undergoing *katoba* at the age of puberty (*akil baligh*).

In religious life, religious experience is repeatedly presented in the form of cult (ritual), and this becomes the most essential thing for community. This ritual action, in this case, is a symbolic action (Dhavamony, 1995: 167). *Katoba* needs to be repeated periodically,

continuously, and in the cycles of human life which is very important, i.e. before adulthood, marriage, and death. Those three stages are the cycles of life which indicate vulnerability and danger to the changes in those life stages. Why *katoba* need to be repeated at each stage of the life cycle? Because each transition stage of human life is the stage where he/she enters the threshold of a new world with a new status and obligations as well. The phase transition is believed to be vulnerable and also dangerous, so people feel the need to celebrate the ritual.

Humans are always in two conditions, *sacred* and *profane*. Society according to Durkheim (1992: 72) is always located in the duality of symptoms, between *The Sacred* and *The Profane*. *Sacred* is related to the supernatural realm/transcendence realm while profane can be meant as *mundane/emondial realm*, where bias is also meant as *polluted* from the transcendent realm. Durkheim explains *The Sacred* as something holy, sacred, protected from infringement, and guarded their purity from pollution, sins, and defilement (*impure*), while *profane* is the state of mediocrity. Although the two are seen as two different things, they are not to be separated.

When humans are in a *profane* situation, they are in a prone condition to make mistakes and sins. In this situation, humans are vulnerable of being contaminated by dirty things. *Katoba* is implemented to restore and lead humans back to the *sacred* situation, conditions that make or restore them to the state as desired holy in a ritual. Collins (2005: 328) calls this condition as tensions that moves and makes the whole process becomes unbalanced, leads ones from one wotrld to another, and then back again. Life which is lived by humans in the realm of secular (*profane*) is something that is vague, unclear, and everything is set up, melted, and cleaned in a sacred ritual. The ritual presents itself as a mechanism of social reconciliation and reintegration after a period of imbalance or anxiety that occurs in life (Dhavamony, 1995: 182).

At one point in the *profane* world, humans need conditions that drive them to find their sanctity back. *Katoba* portrays itself as a place in order to achieve a sacred state to obtain its sacredness back. Society needs threshold condition (*betweeness*) to restore, to revitalize their life, so that they always remember to renew faith and religiousity. *Katoba* presents itself in every stage of human life as place which bridges between *profane* condition and to the *sacred* condition. In that context, *katoba* ritual needs to save humans who are in a state of *profane* who are vulnerable to dirt continuously. Humans need to pause from *profane* world, renew their faith condition in order to have the strength to live in the profane world, and these conditions will continue to be repeated in human life.

In addition, by revealing holiness, any object, but to remain as it is (the profane), it becomes something else (the sacred) (Dhavamony, 1995: 100-101). By contrast, it was in and through the profane the sacred declares itself. Ritual is performed to approach the sacred and thus introduced the sacred knowledge. Knowledge, advice, words spoken and presence in daily life may be one that is mediocre. However, when knowledge, advice, words spoken, and existence of a ritual, or a person mediumd in a sacred ritual, then he/she becomes holy as well. Holiness is not just physical, but also substantive, not just for the moment but also a mental provision at another time.

In that context, *katoba* ritual is held to provide and create human condition on the threshold situation or *between*, *bitwixt*. In the concept of Turner (1960), this is called liminal, which is a condition in which humans find themselves in situations of not being here, not being there, not being anywhere, and does not belong to and owned by anything and anyone. Liminality *katoba* first began when a child ties his/her finger with a white cloth prepared as setting and context to utter repentance. *Sacred* situation in *katoba* ritual is when a child pledges his/her *istighfar* and *syahadat*, and when in humility he/she is given a sacred advice. This is the situation where they review and cleanse themselves.

In Islam, human has always been between two tendencies, the tendency towards the spirit (purity) and tendency towards the body (dirtiness) (Al Azizy, 2010: 48). If human makes mistakes and sins, then he/she is more likely to be in dirty conditions. Conversely, if he/she does well, or at least does not make mistakes and sins, then he/she tends toward the sacred. In these two tendencies, humans require a certain mechanism to guarantee and control his/her behaviour that does not always fall into the state of dirtiness. Repentance becomes one important mechanism in order to bridge two sociocultural human lives; between *sacred* and *profane*. Muna society requires a certain mechanism to bring the situation into the thresholdness which can lead them to re-touch and re-approach things that are sacred.

Thus, becoming a Munanese Muslim is not static and constant. Being a Muslim is the axis and main shaft in *katoba*. As a shaft, it builds or forms a Muslim and it radiates or generates consequences to become a Muslim. Also, as a shaft it is a way back to repeat and establish and carry back the process of being Muslim. Construction of this identity is something that is ongoing and continuous (Pilliang, 2002: 10) and "something which is never perfect" (Hall, 1990).

A status of being Muslim is formally inaugurated since puberty, repeated and reiterated at the stage of marriage and dying, and is a process of becoming a Munanese Muslim which

continues to experience the process of reproduction. *Katoba* in this sense confirms that becoming a Munanese Muslim still continues when a man is born into the world, needed to be repeated and reconfirmed throughout his life until he leaves the world. Becoming a Muslim is reproduced by repeating and reiterating in any transition stage of human life.

D.2 Identity Reproduction Inside and Outside of Muna

Muna is a reference region of migrants. The villages are no longer consisting of homogenously native Munanese, but have become heterogeneously inhabited by diverse ethnics. Muna is thus not a rigid, closed, and isolated society. Any element of society and individuals invite anyone to come. Similarly, the natives let themselves socialize with individuals from other communities. In such context, an identity marker of Munanese Muslim becomes significant when they are among the other communities in their own area. Muna which becomes one of the migrants made reference to people of this region face a conflict with other communities, especially other Muslim communities who visit the region.

The presence of migrants from different regions, ethnics, and even from religious traditions makes *katoba* discovers a reason to make it remain established and survive. *Katoba* tradition has become identity marker of Muna society which distinguishes it from the outside. In the areas of migrants, the implementation of *katoba* becomes a kind of legitimacy that there are still many Munanese people live there and a strong Munanese tradition which is still practiced. *Katoba* in the above case is a form of resistance that is questioned by other Muslim communities in Muna or also Muslim communities in other regions.

Tradition of *katoba* becomes a marker that he/she is a Munanese, because they are the only person who organizes *katoba* among other ethnic communities, and more specifically is a Munanese muslim. *Katoba* ritual which is still held among non-Munanese communities also affirms the strong commitment by community to maintain this tradition. This is done to reproduce their identity as a Munanese and as a Muslim. Additionally, *katoba* also serves to unify ethnic differences even religious differences in society. Whoever he/she is, of certain ethnics or religions, a host in a village would normally invite all villagers to attend certain ceremonies, especially if held collectively. Even if they do not get invited, awareness of mutual assistance and cooperation among the village community are still strong so that they will come to help and attend the occasions, regardless of their ethnic and religion.

In the context of migration, Munanese people are known as the ones who like to leave their hometown, whether for work, school, or move off other islands in hoping for changing their fate. They can mingle with with other community groups and can also form a separate settlement if they move in larger groups. This clustered settlement is a form of *chain migration* as inexpensive, practical, and survival strategy, and allow the gradual adaptation before they live, study, and work permanently. These settlements in Kendari can be found in several areas, such as in Gunung Jati, Lorong jati, Andounohu, and in Jl. Wayong, as well as some other areas. Not only in the city of Kendari, the pattern of aggregation or living in groups is also a characteristic of Muna society in several other districts in Southeast Sulawesi. Only a small percentage of Munanese people settle by way of mingling with other non-Munanese residents.

Nowadays, the pattern of mingling with other ethnic groups has started to thaw with the increasing openness of opportunity to improve education for Munanese people in urban areas, the increasing of local economy, and the availability of access to housing in the form of BTN for new professions as a new addition to farmers, such as civil servants, police/military, small and large merchants, contractors and businesses (small and large), construction laborers, parking attendants, crew, cultivators, porters, and so on. Of the social structure in Southeast Sulawesi, Muna is included among those dominate the largest ethnic population, in addition to Buton, Tolaki, and Moronene. Similarly, Munanese language is the second largest local language after Tolaki-Mekongga (Sulawesi Tenggara dalam Angka, 2010).

When someone is out of his/her culture central, their identity becomes increasingly significant, both in cultural identity and religious identity. Because of its nature of attachment to identity, Munanese people who are outside of their native island feel the need to re-attach their identity by performing *katoba* ritual for their children. Munanese people who live in the city of Kendari or in other areas in Southeast Sulawesi will continue to perform *katoba*, if in the area they live there is Munanese Muslim clerk or *imam*. If they cannot find any of their kind, those Munanese people will go back to their hometown to perform such ritual. They are able to organize *katoba* if majority of family and relatives, and a person who can be relied upon are present. However, if majority of their family and relatives reside back in their hometown, these Munanese settlers will go back to their hometown and thus organize this ritual along with family and relatives altogether.

Munanese people who migrate out of Muna island and be successful in financial have the potential to become a patron for siblings, relatives, or other persons in need of protection and assistance. His/her house becomes a reference of the villagers who come to just stop because they do not have a home or family as a medium to stay, entrust their children to go to school in the city, or simply help work in the house. In Muna society, patron-client relationship occurs when one assists and serves in certain households and conversely, those who have a

home providing food and livelihood even send them to school. Those relationships also occur when one party gives something very valuable, both in the form of goods or services (see Ahimsa-Putra, 2007: 4). Those eventually lead to social, economy, and emotional attachments especially by the clients to their patrons. Conversely, the patrons need help and services by the clients to maintain their social position.

Scott (1972) explains that patrons' giving to the clients is a valuable thing, either in the form of goods and services, and, or in other forms. A patron gives viability to the client economic and social protection, or guarantee of a good relationship. While the client provides service, devotion, and assistance in various forms, such as daily housework helping, asking for help on certain things (usually done repeatedly), left their children at patron's home to attend school, serving at patron's home, and so on.

In such situation, any Munanese familial is not only bound by descent and marriage (affinity), but also by ties of patronage that binds socially and emotionally. No wonder if in Muna society, all those who are deemed to be the descendant of one blood, although not a close relative, but bound together by social relations of patronage and they would be referred to as a family (bhasitie). This patronage relationship is what allegedly to participate collectively in perpetuating the implementation of katoba, as well as indicating how important this tradition still maintained in Muna society. Thus, katoba held collectively will strengthen and reaffirm family ties that bind not only by blood and marriage, but also social and emotional ties that wrap the patronage relationship. Therefore, social identities shown in this katoba not only confirm the strength of the individual patron, but also the strength of the family as well.

These patrons, when they return home usually hold *katoba* collectively to invite relatives, family, neighbors, or anyone who wants to participate together in the ritual. Such patrons when organizing *katoba* can also be in charge of the ritual or referred as *puuno/*the tree of ritual. For those patrons, *katoba* either held at their residence in the city or at their hometown could emphasize their patronage existence. This fact indicates that *katoba*, in addition to assert social identity as Munanese Muslim, as well as a forum for reproduction of social identity of the patron who financially secure. *Katoba* as the stage of representation of social identity of Muna society among their large families or in other communities.

Additionally, *katoba* which is organized collectively will strengthen and reaffirm family ties that are not only bound by ties of blood and marriage. Organizing ritual by gathering the family and relative can create a sense of identity, sense of belonging anf solidarity (Viere, 2001). *Katoba* ritual becomes a forum of gathering among the children, grandchildren, nieces,

nephews, brothers, cousins, who live faraway from other or are estranged. *Katoba* is held at times that fit to congregate, such as after Eid-al-Fitr celebration becomes an opportunity for every individual to tie back their family ties.

Thus, Munanese people who remain living out of the island still keep the tradition by implementing it in their place, which is part of reproductive process of their Munanese identity as Muslims. Similarly, when when they return home to organize *katoba* ritual for their children also are part of how people reproduce their identity as Munanese Muslim. Reproduction is a way to represent origin culture in new environment (Abdullah, 2007). Identity reproduction is performed by individual or groups in adhering dan re-establishing the identity of their Munanese and Muslim in a broader context. People still organize *katoba* because they feel necessary in its function to re-establish their identity context to deal with other people. *Katoba*, in this case is important to represent the culture of their home among other communities or when outside of their culture central. Identity, in this case is to be significant for Munanese people when they are away from their cultural central or in the overseas.

Katoba as Muna Islamic identity is a value that indicates their religious manifestations. Identity as Munanese Muslim performed well in every stage of life-cycle and on how society insists ritual inside and outside of Muna shows a reproduction process identity which continues and never finished. Katoba which is practiced among Muna society asserts that Islamic Muna is an identity as well as a dynamic process. Islam is a social phenomenon as the result of human interaction in his life, both as an identity and as a process which is something that is constantly moving and changing. Munanese Islam is something that can always be discussed, questioned, and debated. Therefore, it can always be negotiated and reproduced. Identity is not only important and meaningful in Muna society, but also becomes more significant when dealing with people outside the culture central of Muna.

D. Conclusion

Munanese tradition of *Katoba* is to understand and interpret what it is meant as Islam and what is meant as Muna. *Katoba* in Muna society is a whole image of Islam and Muna altogether: Munanese Islam and/or Islamic Muna; becoming Munanese Muslim or Muslim Muna. A person can become a Munanese and is not automatically a Muslim, or a person can become a Muslim without becoming a Munanese. Nevertheless, with *katoba*, a Muslim can automatically become a Munanese or vice versa. This confirms the identity of Muna society that frames two social identities altogether: cultural identity (as a Munanese) and socioreligious identity (as a Muslim).

In addition, *katoba* is adhering identity of Munanese Muslim society which solidly continues to proceed along the human life. Being a Munanese Muslim is a continual process and identity adhesion process which needs to be repeated continuously. Comparing with Pranowo (2009) who discovered how Tegalroso society see diversity as a process of *'becoming'*, not a process of *'being'*, this study is far more different in many aspects. This study revealed that a process to become a Muslim is reproduced repeatedly, individually as well as socially continued. This social identity is a process that requires repetition-affirmation, affirmation-repetition, perpetual and everlasting until death comes. It remains practiced by society, either inside or outside their center of culture.

Katoba ritual still dominates the organization of social occasions in Muna society, either in the cities or mostly in the villages. There may be changes in form and orientation, but its function as a center or axis of Muna Muslim identity is something that cannot simply be lost, let alone be replaced. Katoba is still a primary option for initiation rites of coming-of-age ritual for boys and girls. Should this tradition be lost, not only are people losing a way of instilling cultural values and religion, but also lost a way of adhering social identity, solidly as a Munanese Muslim.

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