

Birgitt Röttger-Rössler • Hans J. Markowitsch
Editors

Emotions as Bio-cultural Processes

 Springer

 Universität Bielefeld
ZiF

Editors

Birgitt Röttger-Rössler
Max Planck Institute for
Social Anthropology
Halle, Germany
roettger@eth.mpg.de

Hans J. Markowitsch
University of Bielefeld
Germany
hjmarkowitsch@uni-bielefeld.de

*In memory of Dr. Johannes Roggenhofer
(1962–2008)*

ISBN: 978-0-387-74134-5 e-ISBN: 978-0-387-09546-2
DOI 10.1007/978-0-387-09546-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008937455

© Springer Science+Business Media, LLC 2009

All rights reserved. This work may not be translated or copied in whole or in part without the written permission of the publisher (Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, 233 Spring Street, New York, NY 10013, USA), except for brief excerpts in connection with reviews or scholarly analysis. Use in connection with any form of information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed is forbidden. The use in this publication of trade names, trademarks, service marks, and similar terms, even if they are not identified as such, is not to be taken as an expression of opinion as to whether or not they are subject to proprietary rights.

Printed on acid-free paper

springer.com

We highly appreciate the readiness of Springer Science+Business Media to publish such a broadly interdisciplinary work.

Halle, Germany
Bielefeld, Germany

Birgitt Röttger-Rössler
Hans J. Markowitsch

Contents

Prologue

Introduction	3
Birgitt Röttger-Rössler and Hans J. Markowitsch	
<i>Homo sapiens</i>—The Emotional Animal	11
Achim Stephan	

Part I: Concepts and Approaches

Emotions as Bio-cultural Processes: Disciplinary Debates and an Interdisciplinary Outlook	23
Eva-Maria Engelen, Hans J. Markowitsch, Christian von Scheve, Birgitt Röttger-Rössler, Achim Stephan, Manfred Holodynski, and Marie Vandekerckhove	
On the Origin and Evolution of Affective Capacities in Lower Vertebrates	55
Michael J. Casimir	
Emotions: The Shared Heritage of Animals and Humans	95
Hans J. Markowitsch	
Neurobiological Basis of Emotions	111
Irene Daum, Hans J. Markowitsch, and Marie Vandekerckhove	
Milestones and Mechanisms of Emotional Development	139
Manfred Holodynski	
Gravestones for Butterflies: Social Feeling Rules and Individual Experiences of Loss	165
Birgitt Röttger-Rössler	

Emotion by Design: Self-Management of Feelings as a Cultural Program	181
Sighard Neckel	
Emotion, Embodiment, and Agency: The Place of a Social Emotions Perspective in the Cross-Disciplinary Understanding of Emotional Processes	199
Margot L. Lyon	
On the Nature of Artificial Feelings	215
Achim Stephan	
Part II: Empirical Studies—Shame and Pride: Prototypical Emotions Between Biology and Culture	
“Honor and Dishonor”: Connotations of a Socio-symbolic Category in Cross-Cultural Perspective	229
Michael J. Casimir and Susanne Jung	
“Honor and Dishonor” and the Quest for Emotional Equivalents	281
Michael J. Casimir	
End of Honor? Emotion, Gender, and Social Change in an Indonesian Society	317
Birgitt Röttger-Rössler	
“Beggars” and “Kings”: Emotional Regulation of Shame Among Street Youths in a Javanese City in Indonesia	329
Thomas Stodulka	
The Search for Style and the Urge for Fame: Emotion Regulation and Hip-Hop Culture	351
Sven Ismer	
Shame and Pride: Invisible Emotions in Classroom Research	371
Manfred Holodynski and Stefanie Kronast	
Anger, Shame, and Justice: Regulative and Evaluative Function of Emotions in the Ancient and Modern Worlds	395
Eva-Maria Engelen	
Index	415

Contributors

Michael J. Casimir

Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Cologne, Cologne, Germany; michael.casimir@uni-koeln.de

Irene Daum

Department of Neuropsychology, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience, Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany; irene.daum@rub.de

Eva-Maria Engelen

Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany; eva-maria.engelen@uni-konstanz.de

Manfred Holodynski

Psychology and Sport Studies, University of Münster, Münster, Germany; manfred.holodynski@uni-muenster.de

Sven Ismer

Department of Movement Science, University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany; sven.ismer@uni-hamburg.de

Susanne Jung

Independent Consultant, Göttingen, Germany; susa_jung@web.de

Stefanie Kronast

Independent Consultant, Bielefeld, Germany; steffkro@gmx.de

Margot L. Lyon

School of Archaeology and Anthropology, The Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, Australia; margot.lyon@anu.edu.au

Hans J. Markowitsch

Department of Physiological Psychology, University of Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany; hjmarkowitsch@uni-bielefeld.de

Sighard Neckel
University of Vienna, Institute of Sociology, Vienna, Austria
e-mail: sighard.neckel@univie.ac.at

Birgitt Röttger-Rössler
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department I – Integration and
Conflict, Halle, Germany; roettger@eth.mpg.de

Christian von Scheve
University of Vienna, Institute of Sociology, Vienna, Austria
e-mail: christian.von.scheve@univie.ac.at

Achim Stephan
Institute of Cognitive Science, University of Osnabrück, Osnabrück, Germany;
acstepha@uos.de

Thomas Stodulka
PhD candidate in social anthropology, Germany; tstodulka@hotmail.com

Marie Vandekerckhove
PhD, Department of Cognitive & Biological Psychology, Faculty of
Psychology and Educational Sciences, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium;
e-mail: marie.vandekerckhove@vub.ac.be

Prologue

- Weisfeld, G. E. (1980). Social dominance and human motivation. In D. R. Omark, F. F. Strayer, & D. G. Freedman (Eds.), *Dominance relations: An ethological view of human conflict and social interaction* (pp. 273–286). New York: Garland STPM Press.
- Weisfeld, G. E. (1997). Discrete emotions theory with specific reference to pride and shame. In N. L. Segal, G. E. Weisfeld, & C. C. Weisfeld (Eds.), *Uniting psychology and biology: Integrative perspectives on human development* (pp. 429–443). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Whitehead, H. (1981). The bow and the burden strap: A new look at institutionalized homosexuality in native North America. In S. B. Ortner & H. Whitehead (Eds.), *Sexual meanings: The cultural construction of gender and sexuality* (pp. 80–115). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolf, J. (2003). Scanlon on well-being. *Ratio* (New Series), *XVI*(4), 332–345.
- Wolputte, S. van (2004). Hang on to your self: Of bodies, embodiment, and selves. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *33*, 251–269.
- Worthman, C. M. (1999). Emotions: You can feel the difference. In A. L. Hinton (Ed.), *Biocultural approaches to the emotions* (pp. 41–74). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wurmser, L. (1981). *The mask of shame*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Wyatt-Brown, B. (1982). *Southern honor: Ethics and behavior in the Old South*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yates, J. F., & Stone, E. R. (1992). Risk appraisal. In J. F. Yates (Ed.), *Risk-taking behavior* (pp. 49–85). New York: Wiley.
- Zammuner, V. L. (1996). Felt emotions and verbally communicated emotions: The case of pride. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *26*, 233–245.

End of Honor? Emotion, Gender, and Social Change in an Indonesian Society

Birgitt Röttger-Rössler

Abstract The intention of this chapter is twofold: (1) to present a general insight into the code of honor and shame in an Indonesian society, using the anthropological means of a “thick description” to illustrate some of the theoretical issues raised by Casimir and Jung in the introductory chapter to this part and (2) to analyze the relation between social and emotional processes of change. Two general questions are particularly relevant for this last point: What role do emotions play within the context of innovative individual acts that initiate or process social change? How are cultural models of emotions (and thereby emotions themselves) transformed within the context of changing conditions in society?

I tackle these issues on the micro level with an empirical case study illustrating what can be called “change in the making.” I present a social drama in which individuals involved in a social conflict give up their conventional normative behavior for emotional motives and by doing so inaugurate significant processes of social change. This also reveals how I approach my research methodologically. I take an actor-centered approach and try to discover how macrostructural phenomena are generated (i.e., simultaneously activated and modified) in daily social interactions. This demands a strong focus on individual life courses and life episodes leading to a stronger emphasis on idiosyncratic, individual-psychological aspects and their role in social processes.

One way to tap the role of emotions in social interactions is to perform systematic observation, documentation, and analysis of complex “social dramas” (Garbett, 1970; Turner, 1957, 1974; van Velsen, 1967). Although emotional phenomena are associated with each and every social event, they tend to remain latent within the normal routine interactions of daily life, making them difficult for an external observer to examine. In contrast, they can be accessed more easily during

B. Röttger-Rössler (✉)
Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department I – Integration
and Conflict, Halle, Germany
e-mail: roettger@eth.mpg.de

social conflicts or other exceptional events because participation in dramatic incidents also intensifies emotional involvement, generally making it more visible. Moreover, *emotional displays* serve as a central communication medium in social conflicts. This is why I have focused primarily on assessing cases of social conflict. I present only one of the more than 100 major and minor social dramas that I have been able to document during the course of my research.¹

Ethnographic Context

Understanding the following social drama requires some ethnographic background information, albeit in a highly compressed form. Most of my research in Indonesia has been carried out with the Makassar, an approximately two million strong people living along the southern coast and in the mountainous interior of the island of Sulawesi. Whereas fishing and trade play a central role along the coast, the economy of the highland Makassar is based on wet rice cultivation. Most Makassar practice Islam. However, although the coastal regions converted to Islam at the beginning of the 17th century, this religion only started to gain a weak foothold in the highlands at the beginning of the 20th century (Rössler 1997).

Makassar society is characterized by a strict hierarchical organization that can be viewed as feudal. In precolonial times, the Makassar had formed a powerful kingdom that controlled, at the peak of its power in the 17th century, a region extending from the Philippines to North Australia. This powerful, rigidly organized kingdom successfully resisted Dutch colonial expansion, and the Dutch managed to gain a foothold on Makassar territory only at the beginning of the 20th century. The old noble families continue to play an important role in this extremely status-oriented society, which is organized into a great variety of strata and substrata. Social status is based on individual descent, with the rank assigned to an individual being determined on the basis of the bilateral system of relatives—of both matrilineal and patrilineal origins. The single social strata are—at least theoretically—separated from each other along the lines of rank endogamy, with the norm being that a woman should never marry below her rank, significantly linking the two aspects of hierarchy and gender. This also offers some explanation for the strict rule of gender separation characterizing this society. It is applied particularly rigidly to young men and women of marriageable age to minimize the risk that they will form socially unacceptable intimate relationships. Marriages are arranged by the families, and the families generally try to marry their daughters to men of higher or at least equal rank. Violations of this norm are considered extremely shameful events, deeply affecting the reputation and honor of the respective woman's family. In Makassar society, as well in other Indonesian societies (Boelstorff & Lindquist, 2004; Collins & Bahar, 2000; Goddard, 1996), honor constitutes a mainly implicit category that becomes visible only through acts of improper conduct that elicit feelings of shame in the one(s) who have

misbehaved and feelings of “being ashamed” in the ones affected by the respective event. Honor is viewed as a quality that is basically available to everyone and that can be weakened or forfeited only by one's own misbehavior. What is significant is that individuals can show that they are “persons with no sense of shame” in both an active and a passive way. In the former, individuals directly violate social standards and behavioral prescriptions themselves; in the latter, they fail to react appropriately to norm violations perpetrated upon them by others—another way to display a lack of any sense of shame. It is these two sides that make the Indonesian concept of shame such a particularly effective social control mechanism.

Case Study: Badiah's Marriage

Dramatis Personae

The drama presented here focuses on Badiah, who was 17 years old in 1993 when the events described below took place. I have known Badiah personally since my first field trip to the highlands of south Sulawesi in 1984/1985 when she was 8 years old. On my second 1-year field trip in 1990/1991, Badiah lived in our household and helped look after our own two children. Badiah had lost both her parents when she was very young, and she and her three siblings (two sisters and a brother) were raised by relatives. When her oldest sister Mariamah got married, the three younger siblings moved into her new home. After completing his schooling, her brother Mangambi had entered a military career and was now living in Jakarta, from where he nonetheless continued to take an interest in the fate of his siblings in Sulawesi. He felt particularly responsible for his two still unmarried sisters and fetched them both to Jakarta in 1991 to find them husbands there. However, both were very unhappy on the main island of Java and returned to Sulawesi after only a few months. Other important relatives along with these three siblings are Badiah's aunt Nuri (mother-sister, MZ), her cousin (mother-sister-daughter, MZD) Tati, and two maternal uncles, Mawang and Majid. Two important outsiders are, first, the subdistrict head, the so-called *Kades* (*kepala desa*), who presides over the various villages and the community leaders (*kepala dusun*). The presiding *Kades* is not just the most powerful person on a subdistrict level because of his office within the modern Indonesian administration but also because of his high rank within the local nobility. The second important outsider is the *Camat*, Karaeng Masiki (Prince Masiki), an uncle of the *Kades*, who served as district head (*Camat*) for many years. Under the traditional political system of the highland Makassar, Karaeng Masiki would have been the ruler of the entire highland. A major proportion of the respect extended to this man and the power he is granted is based on this traditional claim to leadership.

Badiah's Marriage

In August 1993, I returned to Sulawesi for another field trip. Within a few days of my arrival, I met Badiah again in her cousin Tati's house in the village of Bontolowe. Badiah seemed changed completely; she looked dejected, miserable, and sick. I found out that she was 4 months pregnant by Ngai, the son of a trading family from the next village whom she had been meeting secretly for quite some time. Only a few close female relatives knew about her condition. They included Tati and Tati's mother Nampa as well as Mariamah (Badiah's older sister) and her aunt Nuri. These women were now considering what could be done to avert a catastrophe. They decided to get in touch with Ngai's mother immediately and make her aware of the situation. She should then put pressure on her family to officially ask for Badiah's hand as quickly as possible.

However, 2 days before the planned announcement of this official courtship secretly arranged by the women, Badiah's brother Mangambi turned up unexpectedly from Jakarta. He had been sent on military exercises to Sulawesi and had asked for a few days leave to visit his family. When his older sister Mariamah told him that Ngai's family was about to propose to Badiah, Mangambi made it very clear that Ngai was unacceptable. He said he would not even think about agreeing to a marriage between his sister and a man with such a bad reputation who was generally viewed as a good for nothing. In any case, his plan was to take Badiah back to Jakarta again and marry her there. Badiah burst into tears and threatened to kill herself if her brother insisted on taking her to Jakarta. The other women also tried to persuade Mangambi to give up his plan. They argued that there was no sense in taking Badiah back to Jakarta against her will; she would only be unhappy there. It would be better to accept the planned proposal because Badiah wanted to marry Ngai. Rejecting it would only lead to a risk of her eloping in order to get her own way. Mangambi was not very impressed by these arguments or by Badiah bursting into tears. He countered that there was no need to fear a marriage by elopement. He would set out for Jakarta with Badiah in 1 week, and until then they would simply keep her in the house and guard her carefully.

One night later, with the active assistance of her sister Mariamah, Badiah fled to the house of a distant cousin in southeast Sulawesi. The next morning, when Mangambi found out what had happened, he knew straight away that Badiah would never have been able to flee without help from within the family. He shouted at his sister Mariamah, calling her a person without *siri'* (honor, shame) and saying that by helping Badiah to flee she had brought dishonor upon the entire family. Mariamah then explained that Badiah was pregnant and needed to get married as quickly as possible, but that Mangambi, despite all the hints he had been given, apparently did not want to understand this. This admission triggered a fit of rage in Mangambi. He went on a rampage in his sister's house, smashing windowpanes and dashing chickens against the wall so violently that he broke their necks. Attracted by all the noise, the whole family and the neighbors gathered round. But Mangambi carried on raging and not even his older uncle was able to calm

him. In the meanwhile, the women decided to take the initiative: Tati and her mother went to the village head, and asked him to act as arbitrator. He took the women straight to see his uncle the subdistrict head (*Kades*), who presided in the neighboring village where Ngai's family lived. The *Kades* immediately summoned Ngai's family. After assuring himself that they were willing for their son to marry Badiah and to announce a proposal, the official used the authority of his office to act on behalf of the bride's family, specify the size of the bride wealth, and set a date for the marriage ceremony (*nikka*). Then, the village head took the two women back to Bontolowe and the house of Badiah's sister. They announced the decision of the subdistrict head to a still extremely aroused Mangambi and the others. No longer able to oppose a marriage proclaimed by the highest local authority, Mangambi calmed down, and his anger gave way to strong dejection. In the night, Mariamah told me later, she had heard Mangambi crying. The next day, he left the village. Badiah was fetched back and was married to Ngai within the week. The marriage ceremony was kept simple, with only a few guests and no marriage feast. Instead of her brother Mangambi, Badiah's uncle Mawang, the father of Tati and husband of Nampa, signed the marriage contract.

Interpretation

In my subsequent discussions of this case with the women involved, all emphasized that their compassion (*pacce*) with Badiah had motivated them to help her; that is, to keep her illegitimate pregnancy secret and arrange things so that the men in the family would be unable to react to this flagrant norm violation. To grasp the significance of this case, it is necessary to understand that illegitimate pregnancies belong to the category of so-called *siri' lombo* incidents; that is, they represent a particularly drastic violation of the honor, the *siri'*, of the girl's family. Even as late as the 1970s, such an offence to family honor could only be assuaged by killing the pregnant girl—assuming she had not been raped—along with the man responsible.

In general, illegitimate pregnancies are rare, and illegitimate births are almost nonexistent. This is due to the institution of *erangkale ri imang*, which translated literally, means "presenting oneself to the Imam." It is a special form of marriage by elopement in which women who have become pregnant outside of marriage flee to the Imam, admit their condition to him, and name the purported father. The Imam then immediately marries these women either to the father of the unborn child or—should this be impossible for whatever reason—another man. There are always enough impoverished men willing to enter into such a marriage because they would never be able to raise the necessary bride wealth to marry normally. Such a marriage is subject to the usual norms governing marriages by elopement. The couple has to hide from the girl's family until they permit their readmittance (*amnotere' haji'*). Because of the severity of the *siri'* violation in such cases, this generally takes several

years. During my field research during the second half of the 1980s, such women were still ostracized by the village community and not invited to any communal activities or feasts despite readmission to their families.

Two questions emerge from this context: (1) What led the women in Badiah's family to develop such compassion for her that they were prepared to cover up what still continues to be a major norm violation? (2) Why did Badiah not use the traditional means of fleeing to the Imam or eloping with Ngai to assert her interests?

We start with the first question. Insight into the women's motives for supporting Badiah can be gained from the history leading up to the event. I present this here in the form reported to me by Badiah's aunt (MS) Nuri.

Poor Badiah! She was never any trouble; she was always obedient and willing to help. Once, 2 years ago, she had a *pacar* [admirer, boyfriend] from Sironjong. He really wanted to marry her, but his mother didn't approve; she didn't want Badiah as her daughter-in-law. He then asked Badiah to elope with him, but Badiah refused. She did not want to cause her family any grief. Last year, Ngai started to become interested in her, and she liked him as well (*cinna-cini*). Ngai begged his parents to ask for Badiah's hand. But our men didn't want to know about it. Ngai was a good for nothing, they said, he was not capable of doing a day's work, and so on. But what young man is not a good for nothing before he gets married?... For months and months, I tried to persuade my brothers to accept a proposal from Ngai's family. But they had let their heads be turned by Mangambi's letters and all his talk about having a rich Javanese friend who was so keen to marry Badiah. But Badiah didn't want to marry anybody from Java and have to go and live in Jakarta. Why should she be forced to? I felt sorry for her (*paccengku ri Badiah*). Badiah should already have been married to Ngai a year ago, and then all this wouldn't have happened. Another thing: She hadn't been happy about living in her sister's house for a long time either (*kodi pa'mai'na*).

Nuri starts by considering Badiah's original irreproachability, namely, her rejection of a proposed marriage by elopement for the sake of family honor. (It is not unusual for Nuri to know about this intention to elope. It is mostly older female relatives who are involved in such incidents as accessories and assistants.) When, after a time, a new prospect emerged, somebody from a thoroughly acceptable family whom Badiah also wished to marry, the female elders in Badiah's family were immediately willing to support this plan. Another contributory factor was that the women, as Nuri's words reveal, also sympathized with Badiah's growing desire to be independent and raise her own family. Likewise, they could appreciate her reluctance to submit to her brother's plans and marry away from home. The women sent out informal feelers to see if Ngai's family would be willing to ask for Badiah's hand. Ngai's family confirmed that they would, expecting, in turn, an assurance that their official proposal would be accepted. Official marriage proposals are always preceded by such informal female "agency" to ensure a positive response because rejection of an official marriage proposal always represents a major loss of face for the family of a potential bridegroom. In Badiah's case, the women acting as agents were unable to give the desired assurance because the men in the family—predominantly Badiah's two uncles (mother-brother, MB) Majid and Mawang—were not prepared to accept Ngai as a suitor, which, in the women's opinion, was attributable

to the influence of Badiah's brother Mangambi. Put briefly: Badiah's pregnancy and subsequent flight was preceded by several months of internal family dispute over the potential marriage of Badiah and Ngai. In the women's opinion, it was predominantly lack of male insight into Badiah's situation that finally led her to be so intimate with Ngai that she became pregnant. For example, Nampa, the wife of Badiah's oldest uncle Mawang, commented:

It's obvious that desire will eventually awaken in two people who have been a couple (*pacaran*) for so long. If they had both been married straight away, this would never have happened. It was the men's fault; believing Mangambi and all his letters about rich Javanese suitors.

Badiah's older married cousins also thought she was not to blame. When talking to me, they stressed that Badiah had found it increasingly hard to live with her sister as the last unmarried girl in the house and to have to look after Mariamah's children and home.

However, we still have to ask why Badiah did not fall back on the traditional and much used means of marriage by elopement or at least—after becoming pregnant—*flight to the Imam* to assert her interests against those of her uncles and her brother. I posed this question to Badiah personally at a later time. She answered me in two short phrases: "I didn't want to; that [*flight to the Imam*] is an old-fashioned rule. The daughter of Bara' was also pregnant when she got married."

In this statement, Badiah evaluated flight to the Imam as an inappropriate move in modern times, and she rejected the attendant *siri'* components as being no longer appropriate feelings. She justifies this by referring to a celebrated case about a year before of a pregnant young woman who also got married with a normal marriage ceremony. Interestingly, this was a high-ranking member of the local nobility: one of the daughters of the highly respected Prince Karaeng Masiki and his likewise highly noble wife who were both exceptionally popular throughout the highlands. They were viewed as model personalities, as persons with a strong sense of honor who know how to maintain tradition while simultaneously setting the tone for conduct in the modern world. This prominent couple, of all people, had married one of their daughters at a late stage of pregnancy with a normal *nikka*—not quietly and discretely but with a lavish marriage feast. What motivated such unusual behavior in this noble couple? It was certainly the outcome of various social antagonisms and constraints to which Prince Masiki and his family were subject. Makassar nobility also has to function and find its place within the contradictions between local ethnic conventions or hierarchies and the values of the modern Indonesian state. In his position as a former *Camat*, that is, as an administrative representative of the Indonesian government, Prince Masiki was bound by national doctrines and directives, even when they clash head on with the normative standards of his people. Because representatives of the government are directed to do all they can to contain or prevent *siri'* conflicts on regional levels, Masiki was unable to react to the illegitimate pregnancy of his daughter in the traditional way by declaring her dead (expulsion) or even killing her.

Let us leave the regional and national sphere and return to the local level of the village. In the opinion of the village inhabitants, a precedent for their own case has been given on the highest level (i.e., by persons who function as models for others to look up to in this hierarchically oriented society). Others can now justify their actions by referring to it. In relation to this incident, it should also be noted that the village head and the subdistrict head (*Kades*), whom the women called on to intervene in the Badiah conflict, were immediately prepared to arrange a *nikka* for Badiah and Ngai. Regardless of what they may have believed personally, these two holders of office were not in a position to act otherwise. If they had rejected the petition by the women from Badiah's family and thus approved and activated traditional *siri'* rules, this would have been equivalent to compromising the high-ranking Prince Masiki who had set a clear, directive sign with the public marriage of his pregnant daughter. The precedent was particularly powerful because overt opposition to those of higher rank is unacceptable in this hierarchical society, and any attempts to do this would be evaluated as offending the honor (*siri'*) of one's superiors. This is what made it impossible for Badiah's male relatives to rebel against the ruling of the *Kades*. The women's initiative took the solution of the conflict out of their hands by referring it to higher authorities. The traditional rules on how to react to illegitimate pregnancies with schemas of "feeling dishonored" and anger (*siri'—larro*) on the emotional level accompanied by expulsion or killing of the guilty persons on the action level were officially annulled by the ruling of the *Kades*, who, in turn, was complying with national state doctrine. If Badiah's male relatives were to have insisted on this emotional and behavioral code, they would have been in direct revolt against the authority of the subdistrict head and thus guilty of *sala siri'* (i.e., a false sense of honor). To deny Badiah a legitimate marriage would have been not only to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the marriage of the Prince's daughter but also to oppose the doctrines of the national state.

How did these men cope personally with this situation? Did they find it difficult to suppress their suddenly forbidden feelings of dishonor and anger? Badiah's brother Mangambi, who had gone back to Java, later managed to reconcile himself with his sister by writing her a letter. Because he left the village immediately after failing to enforce his will, it is not clear whether he found the necessary emotion regulation particularly long lasting and difficult. This also made it impossible to see how far his drastic fit of anger was staged or felt deeply. This is in no way an irrelevant question because staging anger is a common means of demonstrating one's own feeling of honor in the Makassar context, without even considering that such an act can help evoke the socially expected feelings. In the present case, there are essentially four arguments indicating that Mangambi's anger probably was "authentic:" (1) his red-rimmed eyes, darkened face, and strained breathing—all indicators of strong physiological arousal; (2) his destruction of significantly valuable property (furniture, window panes, chickens); (3) the fact that he was not just concerned with the dishonorable behavior of his sister but also, to a major extent, upset by the setback to his own plans and status aspirations in the capital city that hinged on marrying Badiah to a wealthy gold trader; and (4) the extreme

tension and concentration to be seen in the body language and facial expressions of the other persons present, granting the entire scenario a threatening connotation that is difficult to put into words.

It seems that Badiah's older uncle Mawang had to perform some hard work on his emotions. Initially, he was highly aroused and angry, and he retired by himself for several days to a hut in his rice paddy. After his return, however, he was completely calm and interacted peacefully with everybody, including Badiah. Her other uncle Majid, in contrast, did not seem to need to carry out any hard "emotion work." In a personal talk about what had happened, he told me that the exaggerated reactions of his nephew Mangambi to Badiah's illegitimate pregnancy had initially prevented him from feeling any great anger himself. His main task had been to calm Mangambi and make sure he did not start assaulting anyone. When I asked directly whether the incident had made him *siri'* (dishonored), he answered:

I'm not allowed to be *siri'*. The *Kades* has ordered this. It also has its good side. In the old days, we would have had to kill Badiah or banish her. Who wants something like that? Nonetheless, I am shamed (*siri' - siri'*) because we were unable to marry Badiah in the same way as her sister Mariamah with a proper big feast.

This statement reveals the cultural feeling rules that specify the social contexts in which individuals may feel dishonored and react accordingly. Which events do and do not have the potential to violate honor is not something that the individual can decide on the basis of personal standards. The appropriate triggers are defined normatively. The events described here show that some of the behaviors in the domain of gender relations that function as triggers of *siri'* are undergoing a marked change. Within 6 months of Badiah's wedding, another girl in Bontolowe got married when she was pregnant, and up to 1997—that is, over a period of about 4 years—a total of six more girls in the village did the same. Since then, this number has grown even higher, and nowadays such incidents are no longer evaluated as a great scandal. Just as Badiah drew on the marriage of Karaeng Masiki's daughter to justify her own decision, her example went on to serve as a precedent in the village. The prince's daughter, in turn, had most certainly been reacting to events in the far more cosmopolitan university circles of Jakarta and the biographical decisions of persons with whom she had come into contact there, or perhaps she was only drawing on other earlier precedents within the nobility. Such case studies cast light on the complex biographical references unfolding along social networks that generate processes of change in society.

Discussion

How can we explain the relatively undramatic acceptance of this sudden rejection by the highest local authorities of a scenario that previously had been accepted as a critical trigger of *siri'* feelings and actions? In my opinion, two factors are particularly responsible for the apparent ease with which these not

inconsiderable changes in the domain of gender relations are accepted. The first is that *siri'* refers primarily to aspects of norm conformity and the social hierarchy and relates only indirectly to gender relations. If certain social events are defined by the appropriate authorities as no longer being legal triggers for *siri'* reactions (in both an emotional and a behavioral sense), it is precisely the *siri'* doctrine that obliges individuals to no longer allow themselves to be provoked by them. An insistence on traditional values in which an illegitimate pregnancy has to be viewed and avenged as a particularly drastic violation of family honor now becomes an act of opposition to the norm-defining authorities, represented here by the local nobility, and thereby a *sala siri'*, a reaction based on a "false sense of honor." The *siri'* complex as such is not affected directly here; initially, there is just a modification in the domain of *siri'* triggers. However, we have to ask when will the emotion model itself be modified or eliminated by changes in the antecedents? If the trigger factors, the antecedents, are conceived as a constituent element of the emotion process, the feelings triggered through the scenarios should also disappear or undergo major qualitative change—at least from a more long-term perspective. It probably makes a significant difference on a subjective level if the relatives of an unmarried pregnant girl perceive the situation as only shameful, unfortunate, and rather undesirable, but no longer have to fear the social exclusion, ostracism, and disgrace of an event that is evaluated as a flagrant norm violation requiring sanction. If the norms and values of society change from explicit behavioral rules to implicit behavioral expectations, it is always followed by marked modifications to the corresponding feeling models. It seems as if a process is taking place here that can be described as a gradual privatization of honor/shame (see also Scheff, 1988, 1990). Individual relatives of illegitimately pregnant girls will certainly continue to feel "dishonored" and "shamed" in the future and react with the corresponding anger toward the particular "delinquent." However, they will no longer be able to translate these feelings into the conventional compensatory acts of expelling, declaring dead, or even killing this delinquent. These action impulses triggered by incidents of *siri' lombo* have lost their legitimization. It is also worth considering the legal aspects here as well: According to customary law (*adat*), compensatory actions in response to *siri' lombo* violations (e.g., death or expulsion) are necessary and legitimate measures; but according to modern Indonesian criminal law, such actions are illegal and punishable. Nonetheless, charges and legal proceedings are rarely brought in *siri'* cases; and because of their status in customary law, punishment is comparatively mild, with offenders receiving 1 to 2 years of incarceration.² These changing conditions lead to a need for alternative forms of emotion regulation. One can almost say that conditions invert: Just as in the old days some people used to find it difficult to "build up" their arousal and really feel the anger expected of them, nowadays others find it necessary to "tone it down."

Another aspect that might be responsible for the ease with which these changes to the social feeling rules have become accepted is that being forced to expel or even kill persons one felt close to was always a cause of great

suffering for those performing the culturally prescribed behaviors in such cases. Hence, it is conceivable that the men (who are more strongly obliged to protect family honor than women) also view the abrupt change in the law abolishing *siri'* offenses quite simply as emancipation from the compulsion to act in a way they often perceived to be harsh. This reveals the relevance of a thesis presented by the historian William Reddy (1997). He proposed that human creativity results from the discrepancy between the subjective perception of a situation and societal "feeling rules." He claimed that although cultural codes shape the management of emotional experience as well as the communication of emotions they never completely form the emotional experience itself. This discrepancy generates the necessary tension from which the creative power to shape reality in humans emerges: their ability to change the world in which they live and the emotional codes that shape them (see also Röttger-Rössler, this volume, p. 165–180).

Conclusion

In the case study presented here, two indigenous emotion models are particularly apparent: *siri'* and *pacce*—honor and compassion. *Siri'* appears as an extremely complex emotion model encompassing to an equal extent the aspects of honor and disgrace, of shame and shaming. It is oriented directly toward compliance with social conventions and norms—thus specifically promoting social conformity. *Pacce*, in contrast, emerges on the performative level as an emotional scheme oriented primarily toward maintaining and strengthening interpersonal relations—hence promoting social cohesion. Compassion and sympathy establish or also express social closeness and motivate acts of solidarity that may be diametrically opposed to the *siri'* dictate of norm conformity. *Pacce* appears as an emotional force that often takes the sting out of the behavioral dictates of a strict social hierarchy, smoothing their rough edges and softening their blow. In the conflict presented here, *pacce* even led some of the female actors to support the deviant behavior of the main protagonist Badiah by boycotting maintenance of the social reputation and actions based on honor by other members of her family. It is interesting to see that it is women who have more strongly internalized the *pacce* model and the related behaviors of deescalating conflicts and strengthening social relations in their actual interactions, whereas men are more committed to the *siri'* model and thereby—for the sake of social conformity—the shaping of conflicts as well as the threat of social disintegration.³ The case of Badiah's marriage is prototypical in this respect. Through this gender-specific emotionality, men and women in this society seem to adopt different but mutually complementary roles in maintaining but also modifying the social system. Nonetheless, turning briefly away from these gender-specific aspects, it also seems generally more promising from the perspective of a theory of emotions to pay closer attention to socially binding emotions such as empathy and sympathy when studying human conflicts. These

emotions are crucial for acts of solidarity and often motivate behaviors that run counter to social norms. As a result, one significant issue in future conflict research will be to trace how far antagonistic tensions between social conformity and social cohesion in all cases and at all times provoke processes that change not only social structures but also their emotional codings.

Notes

- ¹ The empirical material reported in this chapter was gathered during the course of several field trips, mostly in the years 1989, 1990–1991, 1993, and 1997.
- ² For more information on the coexistence of national law, local customary law, and religious law in Indonesia, see, for example, von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann (2005); on the concept of legal pluralism in general, see von Benda-Beckmann (1994).
- ³ For a more detailed analysis of the *siri* and *pacce* model, see Röttger-Rössler (2004).

References

- Benda-Beckmann, F. von, & Benda-Beckmann, K. von (2005). Adat, Islam und Rechtspluralismus in Indonesien [Adat, Islam, and legal pluralism in Indonesia]. In M. Kemper & M. Reinkowski (Eds.), *Rechtspluralismus in der islamischen Welt* (pp. 89–104). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Benda-Beckmann, F. von, (1994). Rechtspluralismus: Analytische Begriffsbildung oder politisch-ideologisches Programm [Legal pluralism: Analytical concept or political and ideological program]. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 119, 1–16.
- Boelstorff, T., & Lindquist, J. (2004). Bodies of emotion: Rethinking culture and emotion through Southeast Asia. *Ethnos*, 69(4), 437–444.
- Collins, E. F., & Bahar, E. (2000). “To know shame”. *Malu and its uses in Malay Societies. Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 14(1), 35–69.
- Garbett, K. G. (1970). The analysis of social situations. *Man*, 5(2), 214–227.
- Goddard, C. (1996). The “social emotions” of Malay (Bahasa melayu). *Ethos*, 24(3), 426–464.
- Rössler, M. (1997). Facets of Islamization and the reshaping of identities in rural South Sulawesi. In R. W. Hefner & P. Horvath (Eds.), *Islam in an era of nation-states: Politics and religious renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia* (pp. 275–308). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Röttger-Rössler, B. (2004). *Die kulturelle Modellierung des Gefühls. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Methodik ethnologischer Emotionsforschung anhand indonesischer Fallstudien* [The cultural modeling of feeling: A theoretical and methodological contribution to ethnological emotion research based on Indonesian case studies]. Münster, Germany: LIT.
- Scheff, T. (1988). Shame and conformity: The deference/emotion system. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 395–406.
- Scheff, T. (1990). Socialization of emotions: Pride and shame as causal agents. In T. Kemper (Ed.), *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions* (pp. 281–304). New York: State University Press.
- Turner, V. (1957). *Schism and continuity in an African society*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Turner, V. (1974). *Dramas, fields, metaphors*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Velsen, J. van (1967). The extended-case method and situational analysis. In A. L. Epstein (Ed.), *The craft of social anthropology* (pp. 129–149). London: Tavistock.

“Beggars” and “Kings”: Emotional Regulation of Shame Among Street Youths in a Javanese City in Indonesia

Thomas Stodulka

Abstract Officially, street youths are as nonexistent as street children in Indonesia. Stigmatized by the media and most of their social environment and excluded from the “Indonesian national family” by the government, it seems almost impossible for these youngsters to develop any degree of self-confidence or emotional well-being on the streets. This chapter deals with the (sub-)cultural strategies of male street youths in a Javanese city of about one million inhabitants that enable them not only to cope with their hardships on the streets but also to create a collective identity—the “*tekyan*” identity. *Tekyan* means “a little, but enough,” and expresses the youths’ pride in being able to live independently. Without neglecting the physical and psychological suppression they experience in their numerous encounters on the city’s streets, I focus on the collective strategies of emotional regulation that transform initial individual shame in being a society dropout into a collective pride in being a *tekyan*, a street youth.

Introduction

“Street children” and “street youths” can serve as powerful catchwords for both social welfare organizations and social scientists. With their powerful media images, they are easy to activate as a politicized category to raise money or gain attention instead of being used to describe a specific, extraordinary way of life and the motivations or emotions of “real humans” (Adick, 1997; De Moura, 2002). In view of the universalized street child image and the numbers of children and youths living on the streets documented by international welfare organizations, Panter-Brick (2002, p. 153) argued that

very large estimates of the number of children in the street are produced to draw attention to the need for the agency’s work. At best, these estimates rest upon largely elastic and nebulous definitions of homeless and working children. At worst they are made up.

T. Stodulka (✉)
PhD candidate in social anthropology, Germany
e-mail: tstodulka@hotmail.com