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Duit Turus: A Solution to Conflicts in Dayak Traditional Marriages

Duit Turus: una solución a los conflictos en los matrimonios tradicionales Dayak

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ABSTRACT:

This study explored the position of Duit Turus in the Dayak tribe marriage and the philosophy contained in the symbol of the Duit Turus. Participants included the families of the groom, the bride, and people who have received Duit Turus. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation studies and analyzed from sociology and anthropology studies of Islamic law. The results showed that giving Duit Turus to the guests or witnesses in the Dayak wedding procession must be carried after an agreement between the two families of the bride and groom.

KEYWORDS: Conflict, Dayak, Duit Turus, Matrimonio, Conflict, Dayak, Duit Turus, Marriage..

RESUMEN:

Este estudio exploró la posición del Duit Turus en el matrimonio de la tribu Dayak y la filosofía contenida en el símbolo del Duit Turus. Los participantes incluyeron a las familias del novio, la novia y las personas que han recibido Duit Turus. Los datos fueron recolectados mediante observación, entrevistas y estudios de documentación y se analizaron desde el punto de vista de los estudios de sociología y antropología del derecho islámico. Los resultados mostraron que dar Duit Turus a los invitados o testigos en la procesión de bodas Dayak debe llevarse a cabo después de un acuerdo entre las dos familias de los novios.

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is considered as one of the most important and intense relationships among human beings (Buckley: 2006, p. 3). Furthermore, the quality of the relationship is normally redefined by the involved people and will determine the kind of family life that the couple will have. It is also worth stating that marriage is regarded as a universal phenomenon (Jansen: 2010, pp. 491-493). However, this does not mean that everybody in society gets married.

Instead, it implies that most people in a community are likely to marry at one point in their lives. In most societies, family and marriage are categorized as two complementary social institutions that can affect the way people live (Gin: 2015). By coming together through marriage, two people can start a family and accomplish common life goals. There is significant variation from one community to the other concerning how people marry and how many partners one can have in a family set up (Perdana & Emzir: 2016, pp. 33-40). However, the universal culture is that the people who agree to marry each other are expected to live as a family and work towards improving their lives and those of their families. How the marriage processes are conducted will, however, vary from one society to the other (Gelgel & Utama: 2018, pp. 164-174; Ahmad & Ahmad: 2019, pp. 746-778). Furthermore, it will be determined by the existing cultural values and norms that influenced how people interact, form social relationships, and start families.

In the Dayak context, marriage is always an ongoing topic of discussion. Furthermore, it is an important element of the community's socio-cultural systems. According to Nyalung and Sholahuddin (Nyalung & Sholahuddin: 2015, pp. 152-157), marriage is regarded as a practice that should maintain continuity in family. Besides, it enables two people to establish bonds that may last for the rest of their lives. As a result,

attempts are always being made to ensure that the marriages survive and those involved live a better life. The process entails setting cultural values and norms that should be adhered to before, during, and after the marriage. Perhaps one of the main elements that stand out during the Dayak marriage ceremonies is the issuance of the Duit Turus. In such events, Duit Turus is the money that is normally given to those who come to witness the ceremony. It is like a form of contract between the couple and the people who are attending the wedding in which the latter agrees to help in solving the conflicts that may affect the formers. Thus, it is imperative to study and understand the significance of Duit Turus in Dayak marriage rituals.

Marriage is a legitimate bond between men and women based on religious or state provisions to foster eternal and happy households. In a traditional marriage, some various requirements and stages must be carried out (Arfa & Marpaung: 2016; Villalobos & Ramírez: 2018; Villalobos et al.: 2019, pp. 65-77). Over the years, attempts have been made to examine the different elements that define traditional marriages across the world (Carter: 2017, pp. 1-14; Ahmad & Ahmad: 2018, pp. 44-49). Furthermore, scholars and experts strive to identify the unique elements in marriages in various cultures. Therefore, a study of the communication process among the Dayak Ngaju community in a wedding ceremony has been previously done (Sharma et al.: 2015, pp. 324-332, Ahmad & Sahar: 2019, pp. 1540-1543). In the marriage ceremony of the Dayak Ngaju community, the communication process was carried out to convey cultural messages with verbal and non-verbal language and symbols in the form of objects and events originating from the Dayak culture. This communication process is used as a medium of communication between humans and nature, humans and humans, and between humans and God.

In addition, studies related to the marriage of the Ma'anyan Dayak tradition indicate that the union can function as a form of community education. Within the Dayak context, Duit Turus is another important aspect of the marriage ritual. One of the requirements is a sum of money given to the witnesses and wedding leader as a symbol of gratitude. Generally, in traditional marriages in Indonesia, this money is given only to two people who are specifically appointed by both parties as witnesses to the marriages. After the marriage is over, the two witnesses are rewarded with money as an expression of gratitude from the bride's family. Although Duit Turus is important in the traditional marriage of Dayak Ngaju, no research has been done to explore the topic. In the conception of Dayak Ngaju society, the marriage agreement is an ancestral legacy that must be maintained and implemented by the Dayak Ngaju people, including the giving of Duit Turus to witnesses. If it is not implemented, then people do not follow the rules. This study, thus, investigates the role of Duit Turus and the relationship to the domestic conflict in the Dayak Ngaju wedding ceremony.

METHODS

The current study was done using the qualitative research method. In a qualitative study, the primary goal is to collect information that can be used to understand how a given group perceives a phenomenon (Suriansyah et al.: 2019, pp. 127-152). In the present case, the approach was used to explore the way the local population understood the subject of marriage with a particular focus on the Duit Turus. The qualitative method was selected in the present case for three primary reasons. First, it enabled the researcher to carry out an in-depth investigation of the subject by analyzing the feelings, attitudes, and behavior of the participants.

By working with different people, it was possible to know the extent to which marriage and Duit Turus were valued by the Dayak people. Second, qualitative research enables the investigator to encourage participants to provide additional information about the subject that is being studied (Silverman: 2011). The process entails asking additional questions that will ensure that the respondents explain their initial responses (Dien: 2020). Finally, the qualitative method was used so that the researcher could learn about the individual experiences of the participants concerning the topic being investigated. In this case, descriptive qualitative research was done to develop the discourse on marriage among the Dayak people. In this type of empirical research, the investigator interacts directly with the participants to gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter.

In this empirical legal approach study, the informants were five families who carried out the customary marriage process and five witnesses of the Dayak indigenous people in Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. The informants were chosen as representatives of the Dayak community who experienced and knew the scope of indigenous marriage and had a customary marriage span of between 1 and 20 years. The people who received the money were also involved in the research. The socio-cultural juridical approach was also used to assess the living values of the marriage tradition in the Ngaju Dayak community. In customary marriage testimony, parties who attend and receive Duit Turus are considered as witnesses to marriage and will be willing to guard the integrity of their union.

The researcher used the survey method to gather the information that is required to answer the research questions. The process entailed asking each of the respondents a series of questions about the topic of study. An interview with a question guide related to the scope of the research was used to explore information in-depth. Besides, data in the form of notes, documentation, and administration that corresponds to the problem under study were collected.

Finally, this study uses acculturation theory in anthropology research (Acculturation or Culture Contact), concerning social processes that arise when a group of people with a particular culture is confronted with elements of a foreign culture so that these foreign elements are gradually accepted and processed in culture alone, without causing a loss of cultural personality. Besides, the cultural theory is also used in this study. Culture is the origin of the Sanskrit word *Budhayah*, which means mind or reason. Koentjaraningrat (Koentjaraningrat: 1990) describes culture as a whole system, ideas, and tastes, actions, and work produced by humans in the community to guide daily activities and decisions.

Soekanto (Soekanto: 2002) defines culture to encompass all that is gained and learned by humans as members of society, which includes all ways or patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting. Besides, assimilation theory is used in connection with the social processes that occur in various groups of people with different cultural backgrounds after they interact intensively so that the distinctive characteristics of the cultural elements of each group change into mixed cultural elements. In addition to some of the above theories, the Islamic law theory 'Uruf in Ushul jurisprudence is used to illustrate that Islamic law deals with permissible and unauthorized customs.

RESULTS

Duit Turus And Traditional Marriage Among Ngaju Dayak Community

The Dayak people have a unique system of beliefs that incorporate their social and religious values. Central to this system is the idea of protecting cultural values and building reciprocal relationships that are based on trust. Furthermore, the community has rules and customs that are intended to teach members how to live and interact with each other. Generally, the beliefs are usually passed down from one generation to the other through oral teaching methods. One of the areas where the focus is normally placed when enlightening members about the culture of the Dayak people is the concept of marriage. The Dayak community values marriage and considers it as an avenue through which the continuity of the group can be guaranteed. Therefore, attempts are always made to ensure that marriages are done based on traditional norms. Furthermore, the families of the people who are getting married strive to agree on how it is to be done. The process entails discussing marriage elements and practices such as the provision of the Duit Turus to those who will attend the ceremony.

Giving Duit Turus to the guests in the Dayak marriage procession is one of the important conditions that has been established in the Dayak tribal customs. Duit means money, while turus is a Dayak term, meaning a wooden stick about two meters long. However, in the context of the Dayak community, guests present at the wedding ceremony directly witness the implementation of customary marriage. Because Duit Turus must exist as a condition of the union, Duit Turus has a very strong position and must be agreed by both families. The amount of Duit Turus is five hundred to one thousand rupiahs in the form of coins that are packaged in colored paper with beautiful accessories. Giving Duit Turus is carried out based on Dayak customary

law. The reason for giving Duit Turus to everyone who attended is symbolical that they were present and witnessed the wedding. All Dayaks who take part in a traditional wedding ceremony must know the meaning of the money. At the time of the traditional marriage procession, the symbolic meanings of the requirements requested in the customary marriage will be explained by Mantir or Damang, the head of the tribe. Therefore, after Duit Turus is given, the guests must keep it well at home.

The philosophical meaning of Duit Turus is as a sign of gratitude for the presence of the guests and also as a symbol of witness in the marriage process. The witnesses can be asked to attend again if there is a marriage conflict in the household. In such instances, the guests will be expected to give wise counsel to the couple, try to solve the conflict, and assist the husband and wife to live in harmony. However, if the peace effort fails to take place, and a divorce occurs, those who received Duit Turus must also be invited to witness the separation. The peace process of marital conflict will be conducted in the form of meetings which are coordinated by a traditional leader (Mantir and Damang Kepala adat).

Duit Turus In Dayak Traditional Marriage: The View of Islamic Law

The marriage custom among the Dayak people has stood the test of time and passed from one generation to the other. During each marriage event, the couple is expected to follow a set of rules and procedures, including the giving of the Duit Turus. Furthermore, the people who take part in the marriage procession act as witnesses and strive to assist in preventing divorce. Over the years, the impact of religion on Dayak marriage customs has been evident. In particular, Islamic law on marriage has played a key role in influencing how the events are conducted in the Dayak community. Before discussing Duit Turus in detail, it is important to understand Islamic marriage law. There are unique principles, pillars, and requirements that must be fulfilled in the marriage. If the requirements have been met, the beginning of the wedding plan is usually preceded by an application process (Bakry: 2013). In local indigenous communities, there is usually a dowry or other means of giving dowry with various customs that are not specifically regulated in the Islamic religion. However, there are no experts in Islamic law who prohibit diverse traditions that are generally accepted in the marriage, as long as the customary acts are deemed not to damage morals and human behavior.

This is the case with the custom of Duit Turus that occurs in the Dayak Ngaju community in the city of Palangka Raya. Duit turus means witness money. In the tradition of customary marriage law, the term turus is identified with witnesses who see in detail the implementation of customary marriage from the beginning to the end of a traditional marriage procession. In Islamic law or civil law in Indonesia, normally, there are only two witnesses involved in wedding processions. However, in the context of this customary marriage, all adults present at the wedding party are considered as witnesses and must receive Duit Turus. Because Duit Turus has a very strong position, the bride's family needs to sit together to prepare the money to meet the requirements for the marriage. In the study of Islamic law, tradition can act as a law. Tradition can be used as a basis for justifying community behavior as long as there is no legal norm that prohibits it. According to researchers, to prove whether or not there is a legal proscription that justifies or hinders an act of local tradition, it is necessary to have a research study, because not all customs in the community can be said to be permissible or not before seeing the behavior and the positive or negative impacts it causes.

The granting of Duit Turus as part of the marriage requirements may be carried out in Islamic law. Based on observations and research, no element burdened the bride's family because of the value of the Duit Turus is between five hundred and one thousand rupiahs. Most marriage ceremonies among the Dayak people are attended by close relatives whose numbers range from fifty to one hundred people. If the witness's money is one thousand rupiahs and is given to fifty or one hundred people, the total amount of money given is fifty or one hundred thousand rupiahs. Another reason for giving Duit Turus to all guests was to show the presence of togetherness and symbolic evidence of the arrival and witness of the wedding. Guests become witnesses, know both the bride and the bride's family, and understand the philosophical meaning of duit turus from mantir or Damang Kepala adat. The status of Duit Turus as a symbol of proof of attendance in the event of marriage in the study of legal anthropology can be linked to Islamic law. Normatively and empirically, the

customary marriage behavior in Palangka Raya can be legally justified. The laws guide how people behave in a different context, including during customary marriages. Thus, studying the laws in the context of the Dayak marriage provides a basis for understanding the significance of Duit Turus.

Philosophical Meaning of Duit Turus

The philosophical value of Duit Turus ⁸ provided by the bride's family to the invitees is a symbol of their presence in the marriage process. Furthermore, it shows the importance of togetherness in the diversity of ethnicity, race, and religion adopted. That is, if, in the future, there are domestic conflicts that cannot be resolved by the couple or the immediate family members, then the guests who received Duit Turus will be invited to help in addressing the issue. The parties who reconcile the conflict are called hakama or peacekeepers; they are wise people to conduct meetings to solve household problems faced by the family. Hakamain or a group of peacekeepers act as mediators in husband and wife disputes to reconcile the two. This unique tradition is carried out to the recipients of Duit Turus. If the group does not succeed in resolving the issue, then the husband and the wife will follow the Qur'an surah An-Nisaa' verse 34 and separate from each other.

¹² Based on the results of interviews with informants, the recipients of Duit turus have changed their role of being peace agents when resolving marital conflicts. It is said that many families were successfully reconciled when a case of divorce or separation is prevented. Thus, Duit Turus has both philosophical and cultural importance. The current study also illustrates that the Indonesian Central Kalimantan Dayak community has successfully managed to preserve their marriage traditions. However, further investigations should be done using a larger sample to gather additional information about the subject of Duit turus.

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the importance of Duit Turus among the Dayak people. Topics related to the Dayak community have been explored in previous studies. Dayak refers to a group of non-Muslim indigenous people of Borneo Island (Gorlinski: 2019). Traditionally, most of these people lived in the banks of larger rivers, where they engaged in subsistence farming activities to meet their daily needs. The community largely speaks the Austronesian language family that is linked to Indonesia. It is also imperative to state that Dayak may not refer to a single tribal or ethnic community. Instead, it is a term that applies to indigenous people lining in the Indonesian region (Minos: 2000).

One of the areas that researchers have explored when studying the Dayak people relates to their culture. In such studies, culture is considered to be the institutions, norms, and value systems that determine how people behave and carry out their daily activities (Usman: 2002). Furthermore, it relates to the ideas, actions, and decisions that can be attributed to the existing belief systems in a society. In this sense, culture gives members of a community a unique identity. The Dayak Ngaju people have several cultural systems and beliefs that have been maintained over the years. One of the primary reasons why the community has been able to maintain its culture is the argument that failure to protect such systems of beliefs and customs may lead to a disaster. Furthermore, cultural norms have been used as a way of ensuring that people live in harmony and engage in activities that will bring positive outcomes to society. Thus, cultural norms continue to be an important part of the everyday life of members of the Dayak community.

In the Dayak context, marriage is considered to be a union between a man and woman who make an exclusive commitment to live with each other (Adhikari: 2018, pp. 49-59). The union will naturally be fulfilled with the bearing and taking care of children. Marriage is generally an agreement between the bride and groom, with each party having specific rights and obligations that will ensure that they live in harmony (Harraway: 2015, pp. 159-165). Furthermore, it is a practice that is normally witnessed by different people, including relatives, friends, and religious leaders. The presence of these people in the ceremonies implies that they have witnessed the agreement made between the bride and the groom. Thus, they are expected to assist the married people to overcome challenges that may result in the breaking up of the families. The Dayak people believe that ¹⁸ marriage is a critical stage in a person's life as it may determine how people live

in the future (Veen et al.: 2018). It is anticipated that the bride and the groom will come together to form a peaceful family and support each other in their future endeavors. Thus, marriage ceremonies are usually done following Dayak customs and procedures. Furthermore, divorce is normally prohibited as the two parties are believed to have agreed to live together before the ceremony. Consequently, they must work with others, including those who attend the marriage ceremonies, to solve problems that are likely to culminate in divorce.

In some parts of Indonesia, for example, in the region of Central Kalimantan, there are still many people who adhere to the customs of the Dayak tribe as a way to preserve the culture, particularly in the wedding ceremony. There are several requirements for marriage that must be prepared, and one of them is Duit turus (a sum of money, usually coins, given to witnesses present in the ceremony). In the indigenous Dayak marriage in the city of Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, Duit turus is not given to two witnesses only, but to all those present to witness the marriage. The uniqueness of Duit turus in the event of the Dayak custom marriage is that the money is given to all adults present in the form of the one-thousand-rupiah coin that is neatly wrapped and packed. Duit turus has symbolized a strong commitment from the witnesses to the life of the bride and groom. For example, if there is a conflict that leads to divorce between the brides in the future, the witnesses will be invited back to attend to witness the peaceful effort and also give advice to both husband and wife to get along well. If the marriage conflict cannot be reconciled, then the divorce process must be witnessed by the recipients of Duit turus.

CONCLUSION

Marriage is one of the most important rituals in many communities around the world. The primary focus of this study was to examine the wedding ceremony in the Dayak community. In this customary marriage, there is a traditional event that is still preserved and related to the use of money, namely turus tajak. Turus Tajak is part of a series of marital events, according to Dayak Ma'anyan, where both parties and invitations provide voluntary cash assistance. Turus Tajak must be done as a condition of marriage requirements. In some cases, however, conflicts arise among couples who are married. In such instances, the witnesses who received Duit turus are expected to assist the husband and wife to deal with the problem that threatens their marriage. Duit turus remains an important element of the Dayak culture that should be protected. Furthermore, future studies may be required to explore the compatibility of the practice with the Islamic laws that influence the everyday lives of the Dayak people.

The importance of Duit Turus in a Dayak tribe marriage is based on customs that have been passed on for hundreds of years by Dayak tribal ancestors. The fulfillment of indigenous marriage by presenting Duit Turus is a must in every marriage. The amount of Duit Turus in Dayak tribe marriage is a symbol that a guest was a witness to the union and a potential helper during the process of handling marital conflict. As peacemakers, the recipients of Duit Turus must provide positive thoughts and advice so that the couple in a dispute can live in harmony. Thus, Duit Turus remains an important cultural element among the Dayak community members.

BIODATA

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