A'BAJI': A SOLUTION FOR MAKASSARESSE PROHIBITED ALTERNATIVE MARRIAGE (ACASE STUDY OF SILARIANGIN GOWA DISTRICT, INDONESIA)

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Abstract - This research aims to disclose the complex marriage system called silariangin Makasaresse society at Gowa district. Silariangis a violent against family's dignity due to it relates with Makassar people's local wisdom called siri'. This social phenomenon is crucial because it is a prohibited marriage tradition that occurs in Indonesia particularly in Gowa district. The research questions in this research are: (1) "How the alternative marriage silariangoccurred to Makassar community in Gowa regency?" and (2) "What is the solution of alternative marriage silariangthat occurred in Gowa regency?"The methodology of this research are literature review and in-depth interview. The literature sources are journals, research results andrelevant books. The interview was conducted on April 2015 and involved the doers of silariangand their family. They are: ANT (Anto), KK (Kiki), Mansyur, Singara, Mahmud, and Marni. The findings show that they did elopement which obviously would start a social conflict between two families, but the social conflict would be not exist if a'baji' as the solution against silariang was taken as both families expected. The main reason why ANT and KK decided to do elopement was because they did not get permit to get married at that time, and in general it was because how expensive the bride price which was not affordable for the man.

Keywords - Elopement marriage, silariang, social-conflict

I. INTRODUCTION

A marriage according to Haviland (1985:77) is defined as an official and valid contract and transfer between man and women who confirm their right to have sex and empathize that the women has fulfilled the conditions to childbearing. Furthermore, a marriage also means as a sharing task and responsibilities in a household. Basically, a marriage and family principal are claimed too essential, thus it cannot be shared to young couple's decision. The parents always believe that they are the only one who knows about the right match for their children. This kind of parentsbehavior often occurs on a country where adhere collective understanding like in Indonesia (Triandis, 1995). Mappiare (1983) defines that the process of date matching can be classified into two kinds, which are: (1) the selection based on the parents preference, (2) the selection based on the couple's preference alone. For the first type, the problem always emerges since the parent insists their willing on their children to married with their preference. For the second type, the problem may arise if the children preference does not meet with their parents criteria. For example, religion or social status between their families are different. When a marriage is associated with everything contains politic and economy stuff in which at the end it will lead to the term of spouse limitation. Then, this thing will produce an alternative marriage. The alternative marriage itself is defined as a kind of marriage that is far away from the category of ideal marriage. This kind of marriage is only an optional for them who want to get married with uncommonly way. The alternative marriages can be elopement, bride thief or marriage by abduction (Bates, Francis Conant &AyseKudat, 1974). Another researcher, Daniel Bates (1974) with Normative and Alternative System of Marriage among the Yoruk of Southeastern Turkey explains that Yoruk race society knows an alternative marriage which is elopement and marriage by abduction or kizkacirma. From the women side point of view, "elopement" or "marriage by abduction"is known as an effort to rush the women family. In women side, they even use harshness when they successfully arrest the man. In addition, sometimes it ends with a death when the abduction happens. Furthermore, in the case like marriage by abduction or kacirma, the man must had asked his friends' help before doing his action to kidnap the women. His friends are still so young and not from the women's family relatives. Right after spying the target, the man and his friends kidnaped the women and brought her to isolated place where the women would be raped by the man. Once the women's virginity is taken, the probability of women's family to ignore the man's proposal is small. Sometimes, the women will agree with the man to get married together because the option to go home after the women lost her virginity is the worst action to take for them. In Buginesse and Makassaresse, elopement or well-known as silariangis related with siri' value-a local wisdom which is followed by Makassaresse-. Silariangis claimed as a form of violence towards siri' (dignity) that belongs to women's family. Therefore, it may become a conflict betweenfamily. The bet for the family is their dignity which is should be maintained.
Siri' is about self-esteem. Hence, it must be respected through hard-working and achievements. In Makassaresse life, siri' is an honor action and these

understanding of siri' is related with the process of social institutions forming.See diagram 1.1 below:

Siri' sanctions	Level of *Siri'*		Levels of social norms	Level of cultural action
	Local language	Shame		
Heavier	Mate Siri'	Ma-Siri'	Custom	Cultural
Heavy	Tabbe Siri'	Ma-longko	Mores (behavior patterns)	Cultural Patterns
Easy	MetauMasiri'	Mangali	Folkways	Action patterns
Easier	Masiri'-siri'	Mawewe	Usage	Action

Diagram 1.1 The norms level and social institutions forming
Data source: Abu Hamid (2005:xvii).

The big influence of siri' towards elopement for Makassarese will force the family who gain disadvantages from that action to take actions such (1) the man who kidnaps the women will be killed as the worst possibility, (2) the women family will migrate to new village if they do not find the man who kidnap their daughter, (3) on the other hand, the man family will always be aware with the strike possibility from the women family (Tika, 2005). Based on the phenomenon above, thus the writer needs to elaborate this social phenomenon that occurs amid of Indonesia society as an issue which is appropriate to discuss so, it can produce solution to respond Indonesia dignity related with alternative marriage particularly one that is not ideal to do. This research took a case study of elopement (silariangin local language) which occurs in Makassar community atPattalassang, Gowa district

NO	NAMES	VILLAGES	YEAR
1.	Mursalin / Emawati	Panaikang	2007
2.	Jamaluddin / Sahari	JeineMadinging	2007
3.	Irwan / Irmayana	Panaikang	2007
4.	Asri / Rika	Timbuseng	2008
5.	Suprianto / Nuraeni	Panaikang	2008
6.	Syahrir / Nur Pat1 Rahma	Timbuseng	2008
7.	Mustari / Saenab	Pallantikang	2009
8.	Saharuddin / Ana	Timbuseng	2009
9.	Arman / Hamansiah	Pacellekang	2009

1.2.List of Silariang actors silariangPattallassang,Gowa District 2007 S/D 2011
Data Source:Pattalassang District office

Therefore, in this writing, the research questions are (1) how the alternative marriage (silariang) happens in Makassar community in Gowadistrict ? (2) What is the solution of alternative marriage (silariang) that happens in Gowadistrict ?. And the objectives of this research are (1) to disclose the process and reasons of taking alternativemarriage (silariang) for Makassar community in Gowa district. (2) To know the solution from alternative marriage (silariang) that happens in Gowa district. In addition, the research benefits are (1) it gives input in digging the Inonesian awareness about custom and dignity of Makassaresse, (2) as a reference which is beneficial to know the socialphenomenon that occurs amid of Indonesia society, and this research can be a reference to increase general knowledge that is necessary for each individuals and society as well which is related with some phenomenon that happens so everyone can avoid the unwanted things, (3) as a consideration for Ministry of High and Elementary Education and Mistry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, in applying the importance of education on cultural value and local wisdom in one community in order to appreciate diversity as Indonesia dignity.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Marriage Customs

Makassar's marriage customs are well-known in two categories which are "go up marriage" and "go down marriage". Go-up-marriage is a marriage that occurs between a women and a man in which the man has a higher social status. In contrast with go-down-marriage, it is a kind of marriage in which a women marry with a man who has lower status social than the women. Makassar Buginesse knows these terms of marriage therefore their social status should have been maintaining, and they cannot lower their status. It amis to expect a go-up-marriage kind of marriage for their family (SuhandiSuhamihardja, 1980:7)

2.2 Elopement

Elopement (in Makassar language, it is called silariang) occurs if a girl or a women with a boy or man run from their house without noticing their family to get married. Bertling explains that silariangoccurs when this couple decide to run on their own intention. According to these two elaboration of silariang, there is a definition consisted inside, which is the man and the women agree to run away from their house. Furthermore, Chabot emphasizes that whether the mutual intention is exist or not from the couple, it does not mean anything since the consequences are alike that is both of them remain creatsiri' which is shame. The tomasiri'-they are the people who burden the shame as the consequences from the elopement- will stab the tomanyyala (the man who does the elopement) with badik (a traditional kind of knife). Bertling divides elopement into two types. They are called silariangand nilariang. Silariangis an elopement when the condition is the man and the women agree to run away from their home together. On the other side, nilariangis lack of approval form one side whether the man or women. As described before, that in Makassar society, there is several levels in their social life. The difference on this level that is integrated with herediyis the big challenge for a manto marry with a women who comes from higher class.

The influence from this challenge causes a man from the lower class to marry a women from higher class is impossible from the way that society can accept. Thus, sometimes the elopement or silariangbecomes the only option for the couple but, it will create shame for both families. Moreover, bride price (in Makassar language, it is called sunrang) is one of the factors that will prohibit the establishment of marriage for the man who comes from a family with weak economy. He often cannot afford the dowry as the women family requests. Bertling also elaborates several factors that may cause an elopement action or silariang. They are: (1) opposing the choice from the parents preference. A women match can be selected from their parents which is not sometimes approved by the women because she already had her lover. Based on this situation therefore the elopement is the only way for the couple to get married. (2) Inability of man to afford the bride price requested from the women family. This situation interrupts the man and the women who is being in serious relationship. Hence, to avoid the high dowry, the couple prefer to do elopement. (3) The existence of different status or class. If the woman comes from prosperous family then, the man has a very little possibility to engage with the woman even though they already lived each other. Therefore, in tackling this obstruction, they are intent to do elopement. However, if the man comes from the higher social status than the women, there will be no obstruction for them.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a case study that will digest the knowledge about one phenomenon in order to obtain a new idea related with that phenomenon by using qualitative method.

3.1. Data Collecting Method

- Interview. The technique that was used in this interview wasin-depth interviewing. This technique was needed in order to obtain complete informationabout the object of research.
- Observation. The observation data consist of social and economy background of each research subject. For example, research subject history description, description about people who becomes the reference for the research subject.
- Documentation. This technique was used to obtain secondary data related with story and record about silariangin Gowa district.

Literature resources that were used by the writer are journals, research reports, relevant books, andinterviewees. The interview was conducted in April 2015 at Gowa district. Gowa district is an area which is near from Makassar city. The interviewees are Antoas young man who did elopement or silariangand was a student of third grade in private vocational high school in Pattalassang. He is a youth from BangkalaJe'ne village. The second interviewees is Kiki. She is the actor of elopement with Anto. Kiki was a third grade student in junior high school. Besides that, the interview also included imam village (the priest), Anto's parents; Mansyur Dg. Boko and Dg. Singara, and Kiki's parents; Mahmud and Marni.
The discussion related with the research questions one and two were done by analyzing and synthesis. The discussion with analyzing is a detailed elaboration on the case that the writer raised. Meanwhile, a discussion with synthesis is a conclusion forming based on the whole gained information.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Case and Process Description that Cause Elopement (silariang) in Makassar Community at Gowa District

ANT's (Anto) interest with KK (Kiki) was formed by their schools environment where ANT's school was next to KK's school. The opportunity for them to meet was when the break time, and they gathered in the same canteen that was located outside their school yard. The other at school, ANT confessed his love to KK. The flattery of ANT touched KK heart. Thus, KK accepted ANT's love as her first love. The successfulness of ANT confession was supported by his friends. ANT explained that: "... at first, because we passed each other when we went from and to school. Actually, her school was next to my school and was only separated by iron fence. Even though, there was canteen in the school, but we prefer to hang out outside the school. I did not know, there was something pushed me to seeing KK at that time. Finally, I tried to find out her telephone number. Through it, I could meet her very often. And of course, we were in relationship.." (Interview at Pattalassang, Thursday 17 April 2015). Their special relationship made their behavior changed from day to day. Both of them frequently met after school. They always waited each other at canteen or local residency around the school. The did not directly go to home but, the liked to hang out in front of Syech Yusuf to afternoon. In addition, if there was a wedding party at Pattallassang, they tried to arrange a meet up there. Their love story reached approximately 6 months. Their love were deeper than before. ANT's feeling that does not want to take KK love for granted made ANT decided to ask KK to build a household. After that, both of them stated their intention to their parents. It made their parents surprised. The couple did not get approval but, they were advised to think in a long term first. However they thought that their condition who were remain at school and lived by their parents were the factors for them to finally decided to do alternative marriage which is silariang. KK who was insane in love also

cannot stand to deny ANT's offer. For ANT, he ought to prove to their KK's parents that he was not joking with his feeling with KK. After considering several aspects rigorously, ANT and KK finally planned to run away from their home after school and to meet at the canteen. Both of them only brought a couple of clothes. When they met each other, they immediately went to village imam (the priest) at Paccellekkang. At the village imam's house, ANT urged his the truth so, the village imam took an action by informing ANT and KK's parents about their visiting, and the village imam tried tofind out the solution about how this couple's parents could take reconciliation (a'baji'). The village imam explained that: "... like usual, if there is something happens like this, I, the priest, must take a step to overcome it by telling their parents, particularly for the women's family to come over seeing their daughter and marrying their daughter or giving it to me as her marriage guardian..."(interview at Pattalassang, Friday 13 April 2015). By any chance, the distance of village imam's house and KK's house could be reached in 30 minutes only so, it did not require a longer time to come to the village imam's house. They came to discuss the matter carefully and the process of a'baji' (reconciliation) was offered. The village imam explained that "... now, the process of a'baji' was handled by the priest. KK's parents has given the hamlet anauthority to marry KK at his house. After they are married, unfortunately, the tradition still cannot let ANT to go to KK's house as he has to fulfill the requirements that KK's family asks before. Meanwhile, their marriage status has defined their official relationship as a spouse..." (Interview at Pattalassang, Friday 13 April 2015) KK had been married by the priest on March 02 2015 based on her parents approval to let the priest handled it at his house. The conditions as administration were fulfilled. However, the customs condition has not been done so, the spouse cannot come home to KK's family. The customs condition is elaborated as what the priest is meant in the interview. "...only the dowry that has not been afforded by the man. As it seems, the man family has not been ready to accept the request probably it is too high (IDR 18.000.000) while they just have IDR 5.000.000 even then they wait the money after harvesting. The bride price as IDR 5.000.000 is very little for the women family and cannot be compared with their daughter's value..." . (Interview at Pattalassang, Friday 13 April 2015). The hamlet became the mediator between KK's parents and told them that ANT's grandmother would pay about IDR 12.500.000 so, it minuses IDR 5.500.00 from IDR 18.000.000 in total. The minus would be switched with a plot. The administration would be processed by the hamlet as the man in charge of the village. In this case, the a'baji' (reconciliation) could not be finished if the man had not fulfilled all the requirements. During that time, the spouse stayed at the man's house. The consequences that happened before the a'baji' was done was the man could not go everywhere because it would give a bad impact to him. For instance, if the man was seen by any of the women's family member, the man would be killed because there was still no completion.

All the results from the interview explains that elopement or silariang is an alternative which is very easy to do for them who do not gain approval from both families although they love each other. Based on the case description and ANT and KK process in doing silariang, there are several thigs that can be concluded as the reason of why the actor had to do silariang in accordance with ANT – KK case. They are: (1) their relationship which does not get approval from their parents, (2) they are still a very young couple to build a household in which they should focus on their education first, (3) silariang is the a part of the local culture that becomes their choice to do it as well, (4) silariang is the easiest way to do at Pattallassang. In addition, there are also the general factors that may cause a couple to do elopement or silariang. They are: (1) the high bride price that is proposed by the women, and it cannot be afforded by the man, (2) there is a arranged marriage between the man or the women in which one of them is already had his or her own lover, (3) the couple is already did a unwanted and prohibited things by their law and religion such unwed pregnancy.

4.1.A. The Relationship Sociometri of Anto

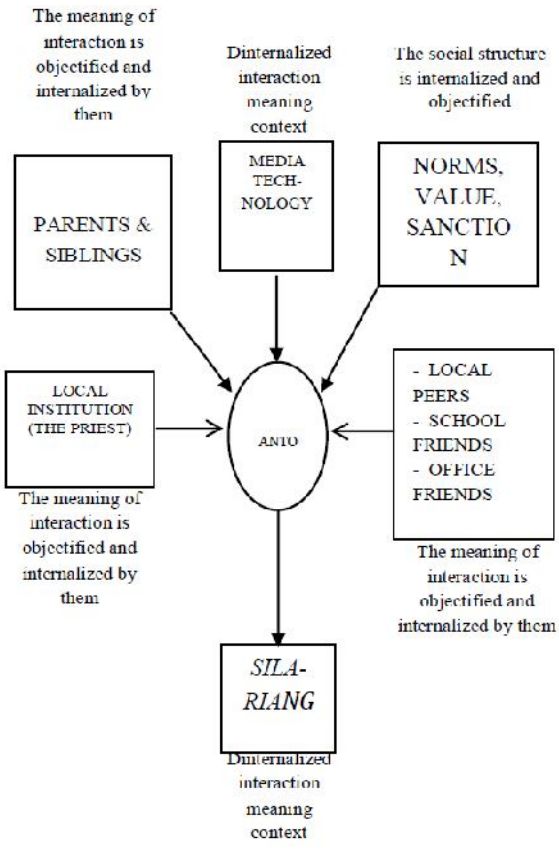


Figure 1. AntoSociometri Map

4.2 The Solutions of Alternatife Marriage like Silariang

Analyzing the case that occurred on ANT and KK in Gowa district, Makassar, Indonesia, it can inform us that both of them were agree to run away from their houses and did anelopement or silariang. The priest initiated to calm the situation before decided to marry ANT with KK. A'baji' is the process when there is a couple come to the priest to get married, and thepriest acts to reconcile the condition by inviting the parents. It aims to make a fruitful and win-win solution. After that, the process of a'baji' is done in which the man must fulfill all the requests from the woman family such pay the bride price and take care of the women to death. The process of a'baji' is a solution when the alternative marriage like elopement (silariang) is undertaken by the couple who is in love. This is particularly a solution for Makassar community in Gowadistrict in which at first, it leads a social conflict but, end up with mutual agreement when the a'baji' is done and accepted by the women's family.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION

Conclusion

ANT did not know much about customs of Makassar like his parents understanding. He only knew that when he was born, he had experienced a modern life, and a local wisdom or other culture never became his concern. He only obtained knowledge and education about women and man relationship mostly at his school. Even then, it was still lack of guidelines because it wasprovided in religion subject only. At school, the education about it was very limited. Even his environment in social life was rare to inform such this knowledge.

ANT did an elopement also with some consideration as well. He had prepared everything to do his plan. According to that, he explained that "...I always hear about people who did silariang in their village. And they got no problem with that. I asked that to my parents and I got satisfying answer. I knew that silariang is dangerous, but I also knew that it would be fine whatever the sanctions were. ANT case described ANT personal who did not know about norms and what value his family held in the context of Makassar community customs. His young age and his environment that were mostly affected with modern life style were the prominent factors for him why he was pushed to do elopement. Furthermore, he knew that his action was contradictive with the customs, but it would be finished by the people in charge.

Recommendations

Observing ANT case who did an elopement with its supporting factors why he embraced himself to take that way, it can be explained that ANT may lead a social conflict since it reaches a dignity (siri') in one family. Therefore, the process of elopement which ANT did needs an action which is called a'baji' in which this term is acceptable for the Makassar community in preventing the social conflict between families. A'baji' is a solution against social phenomenon that occurs to ANT in Gowa district, Makassar, Indonesia. In addition, the writer also recommend some preventive steps to decrease the probability of elopement that may be done by Indonesian youth. Therefore, the writer recommends to: (1) overcome the social conflict between two families that arises from the result of silariang by taking a'baji' action specifically for Makassar community in Indonesia. On the other hand, the recommendations for government are: (1) applying education about cultural value, customs, and local wisdom for every kinds and levels of education in Indonesia to strengthenthe character and mental of the society particularly on youth in order to make them more wise. (2) Fulfilling every Indonesians right particularly for Makassar community in Gowa district related to an individuals' welfare issues through economy assistance and facilities in planning and conducting a wedding. (3) Consolidating the knowledge and Indonesia society's understanding aboutculture and social phenomenon that occurs amidst of the society in order to form the country's character based on local wisdom and excelled competitiveness.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Alhamdulillahirobbil 'alamin. Praise is merely to the Almighty Allah SWT for the gracious mercy and tremendous blessing that enables the writer to accomplish this reserach entitled: A'baji': A Solution for Makassaresse Prohibited Alternative Marriage (A Case Study of Silariang in Gowa District, Indonesia). On this occasion, the writer would like to address high appreciation and give her gratitude to several individuals and institution who had assisted and inspired the writer in completing this research. They are:

1. The writer's family, the greatest honor and appreciation the writer dedicated to her beloved parents, the writer's husband Dr. NurYahman S.E,M.Si.The writer's sincere thanks and love are also dedicated to her beloved children, Rian Ramadhan S.E, RiniRezkyta S.E, S.S, Rio Januara S.E, S.S. Thank you so much from the writer's deepest heart.
2. Special gratitude alsoto Overseas Seminar Assistance Program Directorate General of Research and Development, Indonesia Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education who allows and assists the writer in composing and will give the writer a specialprivileges to vocalize this research.
3. The writer's colleague in Bosowauniversityfor always supporting and inspiring the writer.

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