

Elopement (DOPOFILEIGHOO) Tradition on the Muna Ethnic Society at Muna Barat Regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia



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ABSTRACT: This study discusses the factors that caused the Muna ethnic society to elope (dopofileighoo) at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. This research needs to be carried out because of several reasons, such as: First, the tradition of elopement (dopofileighoo) at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia has attracted the attention of many people, including the Muna ethnic society itself. Second, the factors that cause the Muna ethnic society to elope seem to be a very important and interesting topic to discuss. This study uses a qualitative description through the technique of interviews, observations, and document studies. The research data were analyzed descriptively, qualitatively, and interpretively. The results of the research showed that several factors that caused the Muna ethnic society to elope (dopofileighoo) tradition are as follows: (1) male's parents wanted a big party, (2) one of the male's or the female's parents did not approve their marriage, and (3) the female has been pregnant before the marriage party.

KEYWORDS: elopement, dopofileighoo, tradition, Muna ethnic society

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a permanent relationship between a male and a female that is legally recognized by society based on marriage regulations that apply to a particular society. The form of marriage depends on the local culture and will be different from other cultures. Marriage is generally carried out to form a family. A legal marriage bond is evidenced by the existence of a document in the form of a marriage certificate or marriage book for husband and wife.

Every ethnic group in the archipelago has different marriage customs from one another. In this study, it will be discussed one of the marriage traditions in the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. One of the marriage traditions on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia is the elopement (dopofileighoo) tradition.

In the past, elopement (dopofileighoo) tradition was very often carried out by the Muna ethnic society. The female's parents sometimes extend the engagement period, for example, because their daughter is not yet an adult. Usually, because the grooming candidate can't wait too long so that he tries to get in touch with his girlfriend through a family member or good friend to ask her to elope. If his girlfriend agrees, then they decide a good time and decide a place where they stay. The place that they can stay is the imam's home or the society figure's home. After that, the male goes to the imam's home or the figure society's home to wait for his girlfriend. At night, her girlfriend is picked up by a couple of families (a husband and a wife from the male's family).

The tradition of elopement at Muna Barat regency, especially at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency has attracted the attention of many people, including the Muna ethnic society itself. This is because the tradition of elopement causes many problems in the Muna ethnic society. These problems can generally be resolved properly through various customary settlements of the Muna ethnic society. However, elopement tradition sometimes creates new problems, such as conflicts between the female and the male families or conflicts with the third party. Therefore, elopement tradition is one of the problems faced by the Muna ethnic society. This is very disturbing to some parties, especially the female's family. The cause of elopement tradition can come from the female family or the male family. The Muna ethnic society elopes due to various reasons. The reasons may differ

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from one party to another. The discussion of the factors that cause elopement tradition on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi seems to be a very important and interesting topic to be discussed.

Based on the explanation above, the researchers are very interested in discussing the factors causing the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi to do the elopement tradition. The factors that caused the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency to do the elopement tradition will be discussed systematically in this article.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Concept of Marriage

The concept of marriage is explained in Law No.1 of 1974. This law does not only regulate civil relations issues, but this regulation also becomes the legal basis which is very closely related to the basic rights of a human child, or more to live. Society as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. The rights attached to the constitution relating to the provisions of Article 5 paragraph (1), Article 20 paragraph (1), and Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution concerning the basic right to form a marriage bond. The formulation of Law No. 1 of 1974 in Article 1 is: "Marriage is an inner and outer bond between a female and a male as husband and wife to form a happy and eternal family (household) based on the One Godhead."

Marriage is an agreement between a female and a male to build a household and should be recorded at the Office of Religious Affairs. The ceremony at the heart of marriage lies at the time of the marriage contract which is witnessed by members of the society. Marriage in the Muna society is very unique and has existed since time immemorial before the entry of Islam in Muna. After the arrival of Islam and the acceptance of this religion by all the people of Muna, the previous marriage system remained unchanged, especially concerning the issue of dowry. What has changed is only the consent process, which follows Islamic teachings as marriage in Islam. However, along with the times, the process and procedures for the wedding ceremony began to change. Meanwhile, in general, the marriage process for the Muna people consists of three processes, namely the process of kabhasano dhoa salama, kafofelesao, and kafosulino katulu.

Traditional Marriage

Traditional weddings in Indonesia are very diverse, some of the major traditional wedding customs that are often used to sanctify weddings are Javanese traditional weddings, Minangkabau traditional weddings, Betawi traditional weddings, Chinese traditional weddings, Malay traditional weddings, Sundanese traditional weddings, Batak traditional weddings. , modern weddings and many other wedding customs. As it is known that Indonesia has various tribes and cultures, so it is not surprising that we often see very unique traditional ceremonies. The wedding ceremony is a traditional ceremony that must be taken care of because that is where the identity will be reflected, and the unity of a family can reflect the unity of a country.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

Research design

This research is qualitative. Kirk and Miller (1986: 9) said that examines certain traditions in social science that are fundamentally dependent on observations of humans in their area. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin (2003: 4) explain that the findings in qualitative research are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation. Examples include research on a person's life, history, and behavior, the role of organizations, social movements, or their reciprocal relationships. Some of the data can be calculated as census data, but the analysis is qualitative.

Data Types and Sources

The type of data in this study is qualitative data in the form of narratives, descriptions, and points related to the issue of the tradition of elopement on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. Data sources consist of primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from observations and results of in-depth interviews with informants in the field relating to the implementation of the elopement tradition on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. Secondary data were obtained from books, manuscripts, results of previous research, and other documents related to the tradition of elopement in the Muna ethnic society. The primary and secondary data were analyzed descriptively using deconstruction theory. The theory was not tested but was used as an analytical guide to describe the factors that caused the Muna ethnic society to do the elopement tradition at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi.

Research Instruments

The instrument of this research is in the form of an interview guide in which was equipped with writing instruments and a recording device (recorder). In addition to the interview guide, as a research instrument, audiovisuals were also used in the form of a video camera/handy cam. Interview guides equipped with stationery and tape recorders were used when conducting in-depth interviews with informants about the problems discussed in this study.

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Determination of Informants

In qualitative research, the determination of informants is very important because the data would be obtained from them. In this study, the informants were determined purposively. Determination of informants is carried out based on several considerations, namely: (1) the person concerned has personal experience under the problems studied, (2) the age concerned is an adult, (3) the person concerned is physically and mentally healthy, (4) the person concerned is neutral, has no personal interest to vilify people, (5) the person concerned is a public figure, and (6) the person concerned has extensive knowledge about the problem being studied (Sudikan, 2001: 91).

Data collection technique

To obtain information, both in the form of primary data and secondary data, several techniques were used, namely observation, in-depth interviews, and document studies.

Observations were made several times by the way researchers directly observed the people who live around the research area, especially at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency to find out the people who were involved in the implementation of the elopement tradition. In addition, to use observational techniques in this study, researchers also used in-depth interview techniques to obtain detailed information or explanations about the factors that caused the Muna ethnic society to do the elopement tradition at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency.

The type of interview used was an unstructured interview. In this regard, the researchers can ask questions freely based on the main questions contained in the interview guide that has been prepared formerly. To avoid data distortion, the manual recording was carried out and recording was done by using a recorder. According to Sugiono (1992: 56), data collection through in-depth interviews can be ended if the information obtained is considered sufficient or has obtained adequate data.

Document studies were conducted to obtain secondary data from various documents related to this research. According to Gulo (2003: 123), documents are written records of various activities or events in the past. The documents used as secondary data sources in this study are (1) a book written by Couvreur (1935) entitled *Ethnografisch Overzicht van Moena* translated by Rene van den Berg (2001) entitled *The History of Ethnic Culture of Muna* (Berg, 2001), (2) a book which written by La Niampe, et al. (2018) entitled *Wuna Anaghainia*, and (3) a dissertation written by La Aso (2005) entitled "Ritus Peralihan pada Etnik Muna, di Kabupaten Muna, Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara: Keberlanjutan dan Perubahan.

Data analysis technique

In this study, data analysis was carried out descriptively, qualitatively, and interpretively. In qualitative data analysis, the data is described in the form of words or sentences. The data analysis procedure was carried out continuously during the research through three activity lines, namely (1) data reduction, (2) data presentation, and (3) data interpretation and concluding (Miles and Habermas, 1992: 89). Wuisman (2013: 32) states that interpretive analysis is essentially a redrawing of the meaning system that has been developed by the members of the human group concerned together and applies among them.

The process of data analysis begins with observations, followed by in-depth interviews, and cross-checking the data. The next step is to reduce the data which includes various activities, such as data selection, data focusing, simplification, coding, classification, pattern making, and description of documentation for conditions which has a subjective meaning. Then, the activities of presenting the data and interpreting the data are carried out by compiling narrative texts and causal plots.

RESULT OF THE RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

The factors that cause the Muna ethnic society to do the elopement tradition at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi

Based on the results of data collection in the field, several factors caused the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia does the elopement tradition are as follows: 1) The female's parents wanted a big party, 2) One of the female's or male's parents did not approve them to marry, and 3) The female has been pregnant before the marriage party. The three main factors will be described as follows.

The female's parents wanted a big party

The desire to marry is the instinct of every human being. Likewise, the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi wants a smooth and happy marriage. However, this desire sometimes has some obstacles and challenges. One thing that is quite a challenge for both the female and male who wants to get married is the desire of the prospective bride's parents to hold a big party. This is not a problem for the prospective groom or the family of a female who is economically capable or from a wealthy family. The males who have the ability in the economy of course also want to carry out a big party when they want to marry. On the other hand, for the male who has an economic shortage or does not have enough money to hold a big party, this will be an obstacle in holding a marriage. The desire to hold a big party for the bride's family or parents becomes an obstacle for the prospective groom to get married. The male usually finds it difficult and unable to hold a large party in a wedding party. The males usually have

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to go to work first to earn some money to fulfill the wishes of the prospective bride's parents. This usually lasts a very long time, so the male has to wait quite a while.

Too long to wait and the desire to get married soon led both parties, namely the prospective bride and groom, to be forced to find other alternatives so that they could get married soon. One alternative that is usually done by the Muna ethnic society is to elope. Forcibly, the prospective groom usually takes the initiative to carry away the prospective bride (his fiancé) based on mutual agreement. The goal to elope is so that they are taken care of and mated quickly so that they can become legal husbands and wives.

The phenomenon above is reinforced by information from the informant, La Moloku (76 years old), a traditional leader of the Muna ethnic society at Lombu Jaya village, Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. He revealed that:

"There are many factors that cause the prospective groom to take his fiancée away from the Muna tribal society, especially in the village of Lombu Jaya. One of them is the desire of the girl's parents to hold a wedding with a big party, even though the man who proposes is from among the poor or who is not financially capable, so the marriage is delayed or even canceled. Because the female and the male (prospective groom and bride) are impatient to wait a long time and they want to get married soon, they are forced to elope. (Interview 19 November 2021).

Based on the information above, it can be understood that the desire of a female's parents to carry out a big party at his/her daughter's wedding is one of the reasons for the occurrence of elopement in the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat society of Muna Barat regency. This is also supported by the results of an interview with the informant, Wa Kota (56 years old), as one of the perpetrators of elopement. She said that:

"We used to elope because my husband didn't have enough money to hold our wedding party. There are many costs involved in the wedding ceremony, such as money to propose, which is 12 bokas, buying materials for the party, and the processes are very long-winded. We both agreed to elope and it worked. We are now married and thank God we now have 8 children. The cost of our wedding was not too big, only adjusted to the customs of the Muna ethnic society. (Interview November 19, 2021).

Based on the information above, it can strengthen the previous information that one of the factors causing elopement is the desire of the girl's parents to hold a wedding which requires a large amount of money and cannot be prepared by the prospective groom. Under the deconstruction theory that other things can be overhauled in a discourse. According to this theory, elopement is carried out as a result of demands to marry a large party that costs a lot of money. That is, when the budget for marriage is afforded by the prospective groom, then there will be no elopement. In a sense, the prospective bride and groom will marry normally as usual without going through elopement. Based on this information, it can also be said that the insufficient cost of the wedding party that must be prepared by the prospective groom to hold a party as desired by the prospective bride's parents is one of the factors for elopement.

The parents of the prospective groom or bride do not approve of the two prospective brides. There are many barriers to marriage, including the blessing of parents. The blessing of parents in marriage is very much adorned with the news of the absence of marriage. However, different things are found on the Muna ethnic society. The disapproval of one of the parents in marriage does not prevent both parties (bride and groom) from getting married. This disapproval led them both to elope or commonly known as *dopofileighoo*. *Dopofileighoo* tradition can be said to be one of the traditions of the Muna ethnic society, whose process has been regulated. In a sense, various things related to *dopofileighoo* tradition have been explained in the traditions of the Muna ethnic society.

To get the blessing of marriage is not a difficult thing if the wishes of children and parents are different in terms of the criteria for a life partner. From an Islamic religious perspective, there are four criteria for choosing a good partner in a marriage, namely religion and morals, economic circumstances, handsomeness or beauty, and social status or family circumstances. When the criteria desired by parents are different from the criteria desired by the child, then this is generally one of the causes of parental disapproval in marriage. This disapproval is a challenge and obstacle for the two prospective brides (bride and groom) who want to get married. This disapproval sometimes causes the marriage to be annulled, and each one looks for another life partner who meets the criteria of the parents. However, this disapproval sometimes does not prevent the prospective bride and groom from continuing to carry out the marriage. One of the paths taken by the Muna ethnic society, especially at Sawerigadi sub-district of Muna Barat regency is *dopofileighoo* or elopement. Derrida in his theory of deconstruction has mentioned that certain pressures make some parties do something out of the ordinary. In other words, they were both forced to find other alternatives so that they could get married soon. One alternative that is usually done by the Muna ethnic society, especially at Sawerigadi Sub-district, Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi is to elope.

The statement above is in accordance with the information from La Moloku (76 years old), a traditional leader of the Muna ethnic society at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency which stated that:

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“Elopement (dopofileighoo) is also common because both parents or one of the parents of the female and male do not approve of their relationship, even though the female and the male have loved each other and want to get married soon. Because the male and female couldn't take it anymore and wanted to get married soon, they were forced to elope.”, (Interview, 20 November 2021).

Based on this information, it can be understood that the disapproval of both parents or one of the parents is one of the reasons for the occurrence of elopement on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. This is also supported by the results of an interview with Wa Kota (56 years old), as one of the perpetrators of elopement. He said that:

“My parents did not agree with our marriage, so we had to elope. Instead of committing adultery and we already want to get married soon, so we just elope, later it will be approved too”, (Interview 19 November 2021).

Based on this information, it can be understood that one of the factors causing elopement is the disapproval of both parents or one of the parents. This means that when both parents or one parent approves of their child's marriage relationship, there is no need to elope. In a sense, the girl and boy will marry normally as usual without going through elopement. This is also supported by the results of an interview with La Salamati (52 years old), as one of the informants that:

"Parental approval is very important. Many marriages are canceled because their parents do not approve. Children do not dare to marry if their parents do not approve. However, sometimes it is also found that children are forced to find other ways when they are not approved, usually, they elope. Their desire is very big to get married”, (Interview 21 November 2021).

Based on this information, it can be understood that one of the causes of elopement is the disapproval of both parents or one of the parents. When waiting for parental approval, which is not known when it will come, usually the two girls and boys who already have a great desire to get married can't stand it anymore, so they elope. By elopement, they hope that their parents will immediately approve or immediately marry them.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the disapproval of both parents or one of the parents in marriage is one of the factors causing elopement or dopofileighoo tradition on the Muna ethnic society at Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. Moreover, if the disapproval of both parents or one of the parents is very large, both the female and the male are in good health. The male and the female have been loved each other and can't stand it anymore to get married. This is what led them both to elope (dopofileighoo) on the Muna ethnic society.

The female has been already pregnant before the wedding party was carried out

One of the 'disgraces that are happening now is a female who has been pregnant before the wedding party is carried out. This can happen to any society, including in the Muna ethnic society. The Muna ethnic society considers that getting pregnant out of wedlock is a 'big disgrace, which brings shame and tarnishes the good name of the family. This is understood by the entire Muna ethnic society.

Considering that getting pregnant before marriage is a shameful thing, the Muna people generally hide it and try to keep it from being known by others. One way to do this is to elope or commonly called dopofileighoo. The male who has impregnated her must be responsible and they decide to elope in order not to be heard by the common people in the society. If the female's parents feel embarrassed and worried that many people in the society will find out, then one solution is to elope. This statement is reinforced by the information from La Moloku (76 years old), one of the traditional leaders of the Muna ethnic society at Sawerigadi Sub-District of Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi who stated that:

“Prospective brides who are already pregnant (before marriage) are sometimes found on the Muna ethnic society at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency. This is a disgrace and shame for the family, especially the bride's family. This is an accident that is difficult to explain. Finally, because the woman was already pregnant, they were forced to elope.”, (Interview 19 November 2021).

Based on the information from the informants above, it can be understood that the prospective bride who is already pregnant can be one of the triggers for elopement on the Muna ethnic society, especially at Sawerigadi Sub-district of Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. This is also supported by the results of an interview with Wa Huslia (56 years old), as one of the female's traditional leaders who live at Sawerigadi Sub-district of West Muna Barat regency of Southeast Sulawesi. She said that:

"There is a woman who was pregnant before she got married, so the solution is that she and her boyfriend should run away (eloped) to Pak Imam's house," (Interview 21 November 2021).

Based on the information provided by the informants above, it can be concluded that one of the factors causing elopement is a female who has been already pregnant (before marriage). In a sense, if she is not pregnant, then they will not be burdened to get married immediately or to elope. This is also supported by the results of an interview with La Moloku (76 years) a traditional leader of the Muna ethnic society who said that:

"Parents must pay attention to their child's association, especially when hanging out with men because if their child is pregnant out of wedlock, usually the marriage process is not normal, such as through elopement," (Interview 19 November 2021).

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Based on the information from the informants above, it can be said that one of the causes of elopement is the presence of a female who has been already pregnant before marriage. This is because the female already wants to build a new household. After all, she is already pregnant, no longer going through a long process. This phenomenon has been explained in the deconstruction theory that sometimes someone tries to be critical and fight against what is customary in society.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion of this research, it can be concluded as follows: 1) Elopement (dopofileighoo) tradition is one of the traditions of the Muna ethnic society at Muna regency of Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. Various matters related to elopement tradition and its consequences have been regulated in the customs of the Muna ethnic society. 2) The Muna ethnic society does elopement tradition due to various reasons. Three factors that cause the Muna ethnic society to elope (dopofileighoo) are: (i) The female's parents wanted a big party, (ii) One of the females or the male's parents do not approve of their marriage, and (iii) the female has been already pregnant before the wedding party.

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