

Cultural Love and Prestige: Doi Menre at a Wedding in Kajuara

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Abstract—Money on the wedding event in Bugis tradition experienced a shift of meaning, no longer as a form of women's appreciation but served as an arena of prestige, with a high number of offered money (*doi menre*) positively and negatively impacted. This study aims to determine, (i) Dominant Factors to determine the amount of money on marriage, (ii) Impact of the money on marriage. Determination of this type of informant research using purposive sampling technique. The technique of purposive sampling is a technique of determining samples with certain considerations, where researchers tend to choose informants with the following criteria: parents who have married off their children from various social status, unmarried men and women, married couples and community leaders. The number is 27 people from five villages in Kajuara Sub-district. The results of this study indicate that: (i) the dominant factors for determining the amount of offered Money on marriage are education, heredity, occupation, wealth, marital accommodation, family standards, and capital. (ii) The impact of money on marriage is divided into two, both positive and negative. The positive impact is high work ethic of man, loyal, not easy to do polygamy, and a low divorce rate. While the negative impact that is sometimes beneficial for parents of women, but a disadvantage for women. They are family prestige, individual prestige, lying, unfair competition, indebted, late married, spinster, forced marriage, pregnant out of wedlock and even criminality.

Keywords—money on the panels, marriage, Bugis family

I. INTRODUCTION

The marriage process in each region is always a very interesting thing to discuss. Both in terms of the cultural background of the marriage, as well as in terms of the complexity of the marriage itself. A marriage happens not only to unite two people who love each other but also to unite the whole family of a married couple. More than that there are values that cannot be separated from being considered in marriage, such as social, economic, and cultural values of each male and female family.

The marriage system as one of the universal cultural elements for humanity in the world turns out to be an interesting object to be studied because the marital procession of the community has differences between one region and another. The marriage process in Bone District has a marriage system that is not the same as in other

regions, as well as in the determination of offered money (*Doi Menre*) [1].

Bugis Bone marriage is one of the marriage processes in Indonesia which is quite unique and involves a lot of emotions. From the ritual process to the completion of the wedding reception will involve the entire family related to the two bride and groom pairs. Coupled with the cost of dowry, *Doi Menre*, and high wedding accommodation costs [2].

This *Doi Menre* tradition in Bugis Bone-Kajuara society is believed to be able to support one's status, depending on how much *Doi Menre* will be given. The middle-lower class people can quickly get low appreciation from other communities due to *Doi Menre* was given by men. Aside from social status, *Doi Menre*'s amount can be seen from the luxury of a wedding party [3].

Doi Menre also often be made competition for some individuals and as a place of prestige, so that the victims are always the daughter of a family. *Doi Menre* is no longer a dowry but opium in a marriage. It is certainly not prohibited, as long as it is agreed. In fact, *Doi Menre* is often a scourge for men who will marry Bone-Kajuara women because their numbers are often felt to be suffocating.

The phenomenon that occurs in Kajuara when *Doi Menre* is often competition for one's social level. When a girl is proposed by her lover with a 1-hectare dowry or garden and *Doi Menre* constitute about 100 million rupiahs, for instance, news about *Doi Menre* is easily spread among the people in the region. One week later another girl in the same village is also proposed by hers. The family of the later girl would ask *Doi Menre* for 150 million rupiahs. The reason is, to exceed the number of existing *Doi Menre* because they feel that they have a higher status with the first family.

A poor man may want a rich wife and marry her, maybe his family does not mind, but denouncing and accusations will lead to the family of the woman. The good name of the female family will be tarnished. Therefore, sometimes the family of the woman is well aware of the man family status. If a woman's beauty allows her to marry a man with high status, there may be a grunt among women about the condition of husbands such as jealousy from others. In fact, marriage itself can be seen as a suitable exchange, even

though it is not a wise term. On the contrary, if a rich woman who is married to a handsome lower-class man, it often happens that the man will be criticized by the community, and it will lead to the worst condition where the man is classified as a treasure hunter.

Doi Menre was indeed finally determined based on the agreement of both parties. However, the female family had previously 'installed' the nominal which would later be furtherly negotiated. So it is not purely based on the consensus of the bride and groom [4]. The women sometimes did not determine the amount requested, but nowadays more women are expected to ask for a large amount of *Doi Menre*. This situation was not found in the past, but today *Doi Menre* is a problem [5] It is said, the higher the education of a woman, the higher her *Doi Menre*. The matter of *Doi Menre* is often a barrier for men to delay their intention to propose to the woman even though marriage is a good thing in the community. "Shouldn't good intentions be facilitated," that is the custom that has become a tradition among the Bugis. We must not blame culture and local tradition. That is what makes each region have their own characteristics and will certainly maintain the peculiarities of the region. It is difficult to avoid that which is ingrained and quite thick, but traditions like this should be done with consideration.

Doi Menre became problems for Bugis Bone women and men in Kajuara Subdistrict who were unmarried. After the observation, it was true that *Doi Menre* was problems not only for the local community, especially unmarried men and women but also for other communities in different regions who have the interest to marry Bugis Bone women.

In fact, there are several cases in Kajuara related to *Doi Menre*. It was found during observation that there is a couple of lovers who had loved each other for years but failed to marry because of *Doi Menre*. The man only is able to bring *Doi Menre* as much as 60 million, while the female family requested 80 million. By 20 million, the man's application was refused. Another case showed that there were pregnant out of wedlock, some were willing to owe for *Doi Menre*, some were married to high *Doi Menre*, even some were willing to lie for *Doi Menre* because of their surrounding family who already have high *Doi Menre*. Even the neighboring village, in Bengo Subdistrict, there was a case of a 25 years aristocracy woman who married a 75-year old man, became a record breaker with *Doi Menre* about 1.4 Billion rupiahs.

From the story above it can be illustrated that how influential *Doi Menre* was on the wedding event in Kajuara. Therefore, *Doi Menre* problems will be the main study in this research and its impacts on society will be discussed in more detail.

II. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Dominant Factors to determine the amount of *Doi Menre* in the marriage of the Kajuara District of Bone Regency.

Some of the interviews result from the informants that the researcher obtained; it can be said that where a person's social status becomes a benchmark for the *Doi Menre* amount, people with low, medium and high social status are classified with also different amount [3]. Lower social status

is required to ask for a minimum of 50 million rupiahs, during a high social status of at least 100 million rupiahs. The social status here means family background, occupation, education, and income. Rich people will be expected to have more luxury wedding reception compared to those of poor people. Marriage accommodation also becomes a benchmark in determining the size of the *Doi Menre*. Not only that, but sometimes *Doi Menre* also follows the development of the price of goods.

In Kajuara, many cases showed that some high social status could be obtained with a high amount of *Doi Menre*, not as solid as before. There were several cases where a rich man who came from lower family background class married with a noblewoman who has been shown by an "Andi" title in her name. "Andi" title in the name of an individual in Bugis Makassar means that he or she comes from a noble family. Other cases showed that a rich man who only graduated from elementary school married with a woman who graduated from university.

Based on the results of the study, it can be attributed to Bourdieu's theory which says that when a person has economic capital (money), then he is the one who will master the arena [6]. In this case of *Doi Menre*, it has meant that anyone who has money is the one who is married, so when they have no money, they are not married. As per the data from the informant, it can be said that, with money, marriage is easy to realize, high social status can be obtained, meaning that this custom is not as solid as it once was. This proves that the theory put forward by Bourdieu is in line with what happened to the Kajuara community related to *Doi Menre* problems. Bourdieu said that the split between money and culture, between things that are commercial and pure things, create discrimination. Economic capital can be a power relation (violence in social space or daily life such as education, work, social organization, and even the construction of tastes and beauty).

It constitutes that the three Capitals were sparked by Bourdieu. The first is Social Capital, the second is Cultural Capital, and the third is Symbolic Capital or commonly called Economic Capital. Of these three capitals, according to Bourdieu, it is believed that the economic capital is the most dominant factor of these three capitals in determining the marriage case [6]. This is based on the results of research in Kajuara where rich people are not easily rejected, because they are able to bring high *Doi Menre*, but people who do not have the ability in this matter to backfire in marriage, because it is difficult to meet the demand of the menre requested by the female family. This resulted in so many couples who love each other has to cancel their marriage because of the inability of the men to bring the requested money.

B. Impact of *Doi Menre* in Marriage in Kajuara District, Bone Regency

From the results of interviews with several informants, where the informants showed that *Doi menre* to the Kajuara community is very varied. It is considered to be very important and things that must be prioritized above everything. *Doi menre* is interpreted as the groom's money to prospective brides, that must be given to the female family. In Bugis Makassar, there is a saying that *Doi Menre* must be consumed by fire or in other words, the whole amount of money must be used for the reception party. The high *doi*

menre in Kajuara brings good positive effects such as a high loyalty of husbands and not easy for them to do polygamy, so the divorce rate in Kajuara is low. Besides the positive impact, it also has negative impacts, such instead of supporting the family of the women, it brings harmful for the daughter of a family such as being pregnant out of wedlock, spinsters, willing to lie, debt, unfair competition, late marriage, even forced marriage. This can be proven based on data obtained from the District Office.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF POPULATION OF FIVE VILLAGES IN KAJUARA

No	Village	Total Population		Total
		Man	Woman	
1	Awang Tangka	672	873	1.545
2	Tarasu	1.853	1.654	3.507
3	Pude	1.231	1.214	2.445
4	Gona	1.617	1.858	3.475
5	Ancu	649	683	1.332

It can be seen from the table, of the total population of 1,545 people in Awang Tangka village, the number of married people in one year, in 2016 only 16 people, while in Tarasu Village of the total population of 3,507, only 25 were married. In Pude Village within 6 months that are January, May, In July, August, October and December, there was only one married person per month, whereas in February, March, June, and September none were married. Only in April and November, there was more than one marriage. So for only one year, there were only 11 people who got married. In the other hand, the village of Gona actually experienced an increase compared to other villages, from 3,475 people, 44 were recorded as married, while Ancu village was recorded as the village with the least number of married people in 2016, recorded only 7 people, out of 1,332 people. This proves that the number of marriages in a year is small, this is due to *Doi Menre* which is difficult to fulfill by men, because of the high amount of money requests by the female family.

Based on the results of the data above in 2016, it shows that in Awang Tangka village, only 16 people get married in one year, where the average age of marriage is 32 years, while the average age is 20 years for married women. Moreover, in Tarasu village, the number of married people is 25, while the average age is married 35 years for a man and the married age for women is 29 years old. Likewise in the village of Pude, the number of married is only 11 people, while the married age of men is 35 years and the average age of women is 24 years.

In Gona village, there were more married compared to those in four other villages. In Gona, there were 44 married, but the average age of married men was quite high compared to other villages. The average age of married men was 41 years, while the average age of marriage is 29 years. This is because of the high amount of the *Doi Menre*.

Most of the men in these regions will work hard to make money, in order to fulfill the demand. They want to marry the women they love so that they are willing to leave their hometowns, migrate to other cities and even move to other countries. Some of them tried to survive in their respective regions, as in the Gona region, which is the majority as farmers. The farmers in the regions in average harvest rice twice a year. When the seasons arrive, many of them decide to get married because of the income of harvesting is quite large.

Different in Ancu village, which is a coastal area, the majority of which are fishermen. When the west season arrives, it is difficult to find a marriage in the village, because their income decreases. There is no sea activity in this season as the risk of high sailing accidents because of strong winds and big waves. This is consistent with the data that the number of married people in Ancu village is only 7 people in a year, where the average age of married men is 39 years, and the average age of women is married 23 years. On average, the number of married age for men from the five villages in Kajuara Subdistrict is 36 years old, while the average age of married women is 25 years.

This shows that the male work ethic is high, to fulfill the high *Doi Menre* in Kajuara. It can be seen from the data that the average age of married men is quite mature, almost entering forty. This happens as most of them are busy to make money. Some of them prefer to marry women from other cities because the culture does not require them to pay much money. However, some are still loyal to her lover in their hometown, make them eager to make money, then go home to the Bugis land proposing to their loved ones. In the other side, women in Bugis Bone will wait for their loved man and become ages.

In addition, there is also a problem in Bugis women custom to wait for a man to propose instead of being active to find a husband themselves. In this case, high *Doi Menre* sometimes makes the women have less possibility to get married sooner. From the data, it is also shown that the number of old virgins is quite high. If they got married at the ages of forty or above, there is a higher risk to get pregnant or giving birth. Whereas according to the marriage law number 1 of 1974 article 7 paragraph 1, the age of men is married at least 19 years, while the age of women is married 16 years.

Moreover, data in table II below showed that the highest divorce rate is at the Village level. There are in the Ancu Village that is 6 couples, then the second position with the number of divorces of 4 couples, namely Tarasu village, then followed by Awang Tangka and Pude Villages which are 2 couples, while the least the number of divorces is in Gona Village, which is only one couple.

TABLE II. DIVORCE FIGURES FROM FIVE VILLAGES IN KAJUARA DISTRICT 2016

No	Village	Number of Divorces
1	Awang Tangka	2 couple
2	Tarasu	4 couple
3	Pude	2 couple
4	Gona	1 couple
5	Ancu	6 couple

According to the results of the study, where *Doi Menre* become marriage problems, in Kajuara Subdistrict itself, *Doi Menre* is a boomerang in marriage. People who do not have money are not married, whereas people who have money will choose which women they want to marry because in Kajuara money is the main factor in getting married, while love is ignored. It is impossible for getting married in South Sulawesi, without the presence of *Doi Menre* in the Bugis tribe as this part of culture determines who our partner [5].

The high rate of *menre* in South Sulawesi has a positive impact on divorce, where the divorce rate is low. Because of

the high rate of menre, men would not think of polygamy or divorce their wives. Looking for a new wife means having to find money again to fulfill the high request of *Doi Menre*. It makes the husband and wife in Kajuara loyal to each other compared to other regions.

In relation to the culture of *Doi Menre* to marry a Kajuara woman, if the number of *Doi Menre* requested is able to be fulfilled by the prospective bridegroom, this will be a prestige (honor) for the female family. In this case, the honor is a sense of appreciation for prestige, recognition, acceptance, fame, dignity, attention, position, appreciation or good name, given by the prospective bridegroom to the woman he wants to marry by giving a magnificent party for his marriage through the *Doi Menre*. Whereas the family of the male party fulfills, the amount of menre that is set by the family of the woman is also considered as a form of appreciation or prestige [7].

Besides that, the high amount of the *Doi Menre* in Kajuara increases the work ethic for men because the economic situation is very influential in marriage. As men have to prepare for menre, they also have to prepare twice the amount of expenditure needed by their own family. Not only that, but men are also loyal, not easy to divorce, and also not easy to do polygamy.

In the case of women who get pregnant before getting married, some of the family are willing to borrow, to lie and even forced the marriage. Love becomes a threat to parents. This is in line with the theory proposed by Maslow in stating that: People who fall in love must fight the storm of anger, violence, seclusion, and their own fear of marriage [8]. To avoid this, the selection of soul mates is often controlled, so that there is no freedom to love for the youth. Parents have dominant participation in choosing the marriage partner and are almost said to be overweight in the matter of arranging *Doi Menre* in a marriage. Therefore people who love each other but are constrained in *Doi Menre*. Falling in love is socially not considered important, but many among young people run it and choose to marry without a family blessing. As a result, if people choose the right to choose their own mate, then the types of dowry are lost and *Doi Menre* marriage as an element in the marriage agreement.

Thus, when *Doi Menre* is associated with Love, it is considered a threat to the stratification system in many communities in Kajuara. In other hand, love sometimes acts as a motivation for men to work, willing to leave the yard, migrate to other countries even to meet the demand *Doi Menre* from the family of the woman he loved. For them, love needs sacrifice and love is a spirit. This shows the high

work ethic of men, but parents warn against using love as the basis for choosing a mate. So that the courtship is willing to sacrifice his self-esteem to unite their love. Some are retreating and choose to separate from their boyfriend because they are unable to fight the wishes of their parents. Some even impregnate their lovers because they are not able to bring *Doi Menre*. The high *Doi Menre* bring a lot of consequences to the Kajuara community, both the positive impact especially the negative impact.

III. CONCLUSION

Based on the results above, it can be concluded as follows: Determination of *Doi Menre* in the Bugis community in Kajuara District Bone Regency is a part of a culture that cannot be avoided and still run in this region. The process of determining *doi menre* depend mostly on parents' decision. This brought both positive and negative impacts on society. The positive impacts such a low rate of divorce, low number of polygamy and high work ethic of men to work hard for getting much money to fulfill the demand from their loved women family. In other hand, the negative impacts also resulted in a high number of *Doi Menre* such as a low number of married people and a high number of aged in getting married which can be harmful to women in term of giving birth dan their health.

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