MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN MINANGKABAU CULTURE: TEMPORARY MINANGKABAU PEOPLE’S PERCEPTION

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Abstract
Minangkabau people tend to marry between close families in one village and mamak plays a very important role in marital affairs. In line with changes in various aspects of life, there are also changes in the marriage culture. This study aims to describe the perception of the marriage system in temporary Minangkabau society. This research is qualitative research with a descriptive method. Data was collected using a questionnaire filled out by 60 informants. Informants are spread over the core Minangkabau i.e. Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak 50 Kota as well as overseas (Daerah Rantau) and coastal areas (Daerah Pesisir) i.e Padang City, Pariaman City, and Painan City). Percentage techniques are used to get the characteristic tendency. The results of the study reveal that there are variations in the response of the Minangkabau community, both as a whole, based on luhak, as well as overseas and coastal areas. The highest tendency to be matched by mamak and married to people from Minangkabau is in Luhak Tanah Datar and the Daerah Rantau and Pesisir (93.33%) and the lowest tendency is in Luhak Agam and Luhak 50 Kota (73.3%). However, overall Minangkabau people tend to be matched by mamak and married to people from Minangkabau (83%). In addition, in general, Minangkabau people marry other Minangkabau people to understand Minangkabau customs and regulations and to preserve the culture. However, because of the times, many Minangkabau people have married people outside the Minangkabau, partly because of the tradition of wandering.

Subject Area: culture.

Keywords: Minangkabau character, marriage culture, Luhak, overseas and coastal areas

1 Introduction
Indonesian society consists of various ethnic groups scattered throughout the archipelago. Each tribe has its character and character. Indonesia is a country that has cultural and ethnic differences in the unity of the Republic of Indonesia with the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika". This difference gives rise to the character or character of each tribe and race (Sayuti, 2021).

Minangkabau is an ethnic group that adheres to a distinctive customary system, namely the family system according to the female lineage called the matrilineal system (Asmaniar, 2018). They believe that marriage is one of the important events in the life cycle to form a new family for successors. For men, marriage is a way to enter a new environment, namely the wife's family. On the other hand, for women's families, marriage is a way to add members to their extended family.

Minangkabau people strongly believe in the role of the family in shaping character at the individual level. This individual character, in turn, will shape the nation's character. The beliefs of the Minangkabau people who show the role of the family in character building can be seen from two expressions. First, the speech of aie tuturan atok turunyko ka palimbahan (‘the water from the roof descends into the sewage’). That is, the character or temperament passed down from parents to their
children. Second, the speech of *jatuah buah kayu indak jauh dari batang induaknya* ('the fruit does not fall far from the parent stem'). That is, the fruit of wood means offspring, while the trunk is like a mother and father. So this expression means that the character of the wood also decreases to the seeds of the fruit.

Third, the speech of *talua induak ayam jatuah ka ikuanyo* ('a mother hen's egg falls into her tail'). This means that a chicken egg will fall on the mother's tail as well, not through another chicken's tail. The word egg is interpreted as a child, while the chicken is interpreted as a mother/parent (Sayuti, 2021). More than that, More than that, marriage is considered a very important event in people's lives. Marriage is not only a legal bond between a man and a woman but also binds parents, siblings, and even the families of both parties (Yaswirman, 2013). This is natural because the Minangkabau philosophy makes people (tribes) live together so that household problems become a shared business (Abadi, 2021).

There are two types of marriages in Minangkabau society, namely (1) ideal marriages, namely marriages between close families such as children from nephews and (2) taboo marriages, namely marriages that should not be carried out, such as between men and women of the same mother or father, and alone siblings. In this conception of an ideal marriage, traditional Minangkabau people tend to marry between close families in one village, for example, a woman marries a member of her father's family (*pulang ka bako*) or a man marries his uncle's daughter (*anak mamak*) (Asmaniar, 2018; Azami & et.al, 1978).

However, as in other aspects of culture, the form of marriage in Minangkabau has changed. In traditional societies, each country generally prioritizes endogamy (ie marriage with people in the same region/nagari). However, in modern society, especially those who have been influenced by urban areas and education have practiced endogamy (a marriage between people from different regions), in traditional societies, a husband does not play much of a role in the wife's family. In fact, she assumes a bigger role in the family of her people because she is the one who plays the role of *mamak* who manages the assets of the people for the welfare of her people, including the economy and education of her nephews. At present, the husband's role is getting bigger in his wife's family, especially in the nuclear family. The husband is responsible for his family, the economy, and the education of his children (Navis, 1984).

The big question is whether the trend of changing marriage customs is evenly distributed among Minangkabau people in various regions in West Sumatra. This is important to study because the territory in Minangkabau customs is divided into two, namely (1) core areas (*luhak inti*) and (2) coastal areas and overseas areas. For this reason, it is necessary to make a study to describe the perception of the marriage system in the temporary Minangkabau society.

2 Literature Review

The purpose of marriage for the Minangkabau society is as follows. Marriage is a fulfilling custom. That is, marriage is considered a custom that must be lived by every indigenous human being. For a girl's family, marriage aims to get offspring who will continue the family and be the recipient of the inheritance (Azami & et.al, 1978).

There are two types of marriage in Minangkabau society. First, the ideal marriage is a marriage between a close family and married to a respected person both economically, socially, and educationally. Second, forbidden marriages are marriages between blood relatives (men and women of the same mother or father), let alone siblings. In this ideal conception of marriage, traditional Minangkabau people tend to marry between close families in one village, for example, a woman marries a member of her father's extended family (*pulang ka bako*) or a man marries his mother's daughter (*anak mamak*) (Asmaniar, 2018; Azami & et.al, 1978).

In line with that, Mansoer (in Wahyuni, 2017) mentions that marriages between residents of different villages rarely occur. Marriage in Minangkabau is generally exogamous according to ethnicity and endogamous according to nagari. Therefore, ties and blood relations between residents are very close. Thus, marriage further strengthens the kinship system that is grown in togetherness.
In traditional Minangkabau marriages, the mamak has the authority to determine the marriage, with whom, when, and how the marriage will be carried out. That is, a child does not have the right to find a mate of his own. He only obeys all the decisions of his family (Wahyuni, 2017).

In the KBBI, perception is defined in two meanings, namely (1) as a direct response (acceptance) of something; absorption and (2) a person knows things through his five senses; ((KBBI) Online). In technical terms, According to Asrori (2009), perception is an individual process of interpreting, organizing, and giving meaning to the stimulus that comes from the environment in which the individual is located which is the result of the learning process and experience. Individual and cultural factors influence a person's perception of an object. The environment determines how a person perceives content. On the other hand, individual differences in sensory and cognitive apparatus, the peculiarities of personal history, and the uniqueness of space and time open questions about subjectivity or objectivity of perception and the problem of individual dissimilarity or universality of perception (Démuth, 2013).

Furthermore, Minangkabau cultural issues have been widely studied, among others Asmaniar (2018); Azami & et.al (1978); Fiddini, Zakaria, & Rokhim (2019); Sahputri, Agustono, & Zuska (2021); Satrianingrum & Setyawati (2020); Sya, Zuriyati, & Attas (2021); Trisman (2006); Vane & Malihah (2020); Wahyuni (2017); Wiswanti, Kunto, Ar Rizqi, & Halim (2020); Wulandari, Eriyanti, & Frinaldi (2019). This research is different from previous research because it examines the perception of the Minangkabau people related to marriage, in various regions (luhak and daerah) in West Sumatra. This research is a continuation of Sayuti (2021) research that examines the character of the Minangkabau people related to human rights in various regions (luhak and regions) in West Sumatra.

3 Methodology

This research is qualitative research using descriptive methods. This research uses a qualitative case study approach, which is qualitative research that seeks meaning, investigates processes, and gains a deep understanding and understanding of individuals, groups, and situations (Emzir, 2010). The number of informants is 60 people. The informants spread over: (1) the luhak inti (core areas) of Minangkabau include Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak 50 Kota and (2) Daerah Rantau dan Pesisir (coastal and overseas areas) covering Kota Padang, Kota Pariaman, and Kota Painan. To represent the offshore and coastal areas, informal ones are used in urban areas because the Minangkabau people in urban areas come from various regions in West Sumatra, especially those from overseas areas. Data collection using a questionnaire with six characteristic aspects, namely ideology, politics, social, culture, human rights, defense, and security. The data were processed using descriptive statistics in the form of percentages who answered agree and disagree with the statement on each aspect to conclude the tendency of the response of the informants to the characteristics of the Minangkabau community.

4 Results and Findings

The statement in the cultural aspect to respond by the informants are Minangkabau people matched by Mamak and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. The character of the Minangkabau people on the cultural aspect according to the Minangkabau community is seen in Table 1.

| Category          | f  | %  |
|-------------------|----|----|
| Agree             | 50 | 83 |
| do not agree      | 10 | 17 |
| **Total**         | 60 | 100|

Table 1. Distribution of Frequency and Percentage of Minangkabau Characters
Table 1 shows that 60 informants spread across the regions: (1) the core Minangkabau includes Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak 50 Kota and (2) coastal and overseas areas include Padang City, Pariaman City, and Painan City. The character of the Minangkabau people taken is some of the Minangkabau people in urban areas, especially the city of Padang, which represents the Overseas and Coastal Regions. This data tells us that 50 informants (83%) stated that Minangkabau people matched by *mamak* and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. Another 10 people (17%) stated that Minangkabau people are no longer matched by *mamak* and are married to people who are not from the Minangkabau tribe.

More specifically, based on the background of the area of origin, the tendency of the informants' answers to show the following findings. Table 2 shows the character of the Minangkabau people on the cultural aspect according to 15 informants in Luhak Tanah Datar.

| Category       | F  | %  |
|----------------|----|----|
| Agree          | 14 | 93,3 |
| do not agree   | 1  | 6,67 |
| Total          | 15 | 100 |

Table 2 shows that of the informants from Luhak Tanah Datar, 14 of them (93.3%) stated that Minangkabau people were matched by *mamak* and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. Meanwhile, 1 person (6.67%) stated that Minangkabau people are no longer matched by *mamak* and are married to people who are not from the Minangkabau tribe.

Table 3 shows the character of the Minangkabau people on the cultural aspect according to 15 informants in Luhak Agam.

| Category       | F  | %  |
|----------------|----|----|
| Agree          | 11 | 73,3 |
| do not agree   | 4  | 26,7 |
| Total          | 15 | 100 |

Table 3 shows that from 12 of the informants in Luhak Agam, 11 of them (73.3%) stated that Minangkabau people were matched by *mamak* and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. Meanwhile, 4 other people (26.7%) stated that Minangkabau people are no longer matched by *mamak* and are married to people who are not from the Minangkabau tribe.

Table 4 shows the character of the Minangkabau people on the cultural aspect according to 15 informants in Luhak 50 Kota informants.

| Category       | F  | %  |
|----------------|----|----|
| Agree          | 11 | 73,3 |
| do not agree   | 4  | 26,7 |
| Total          | 15 | 100 |
Table 4 also shows that from the informants in Luhak 50 Kota, 11 people (73.3%) stated that Minangkabau people matched by mamak and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. Meanwhile, 4 other people (26.7%) stated that Minangkabau people are no longer matched by mamak and are married to people who are not from the Minangkabau tribe.

Daerah Rantau and Pesisir communities represented by informants from the city of Padang. This is done with the consideration that the people of Padang City come from various regions in Minangkabau. Apart from being part of the Daerah Pesisir, the Minangkabau people in the city of Padang have also mingled so that there is a mutual influence between them. Table 2 shows the character of the Minangkabau people on the cultural aspect according to 15 informants in the Daerah Rantau and Pesisir.

Table 5.
Distribution of Frequency and Percentage of Minangkabau Characters of Daerah Rantau and Pesisir

| Category      | F  | %    |
|---------------|----|------|
| Agree         | 14 | 93.3 |
| do not agree  | 1  | 6.67 |
| Total         | 15 | 100  |

Table 5 also shows that from the Daerah Rantau and Pesisir informants there are 15 people. Of the total informants, 14 of them (93.3%) stated that Minangkabau people were matched by mamak and tended to marry other Minangkabau people. Meanwhile, 1 other person (6.67%) stated that Minangkabau people are no longer matched by mamak and are married to people who are not from the Minangkabau tribe.

Discussion

The tendency of perception of the Minangkabau community in general and the tendency of the Minangkabau community from four different regions about marriage can be seen in Graph 1.

Graph 1.
The tendency of Perception about a marriage of the Minangkabau Community as a whole and in different regions

Graph 1 shows that there are variations in the responses of the Minangkabau community, both as a whole, based on luhak, as well as daerah rantau and pesisir. The highest tendency to be matched by mamak and married to people from Minangkabau is found in Luhak Tanah Datar and the Daerah
Rantau and Pesisir (93.33%). The lowest trend is in Luhak Agam and Luhak 50 Kota (73.3%). However, overall Minangkabau people tend to be matched by mamak and married to people from Minangkabau (83%). This trend is also seen according to Luhak and Daerah (region) Rantau and Pesisir, all of which are above 70%. However, not all respondents said that the characters of the Minangkabau people were matched with other Minangkabau people. This is also influenced by the development of the times and the leeway to find a mate by his mother. So nowadays, in general, the matchmaking applied by mamak to their nephews is rarely found, but there are still places and customary provisions from mamak who still hold tightly to the culture and still apply matchmaking events for their nieces and nephews. According to research by Azami, et al. (1978), the role of mamak in marriage in Minangkabau is very important from before, during, and after the wedding ceremony. A mamak functions as a mentor and mentor to the closest maternal line family members. His job is to "float", meaning to nurture, nurture, and lead the life and happiness of his niece and nephew of his entire family (Mansoer 1970 in Wahyuni, 2017).

In addition, in general, Minangkabau people marry other Minangkabau people, in other words, every single child or girl child is encouraged to choose a partner who is also a Minangkabau. This aims to understand the customs and regulations in Minangkabau and to preserve the culture where marrying a fellow Minangkabau is also known as marrying a tribe member, which means marriage between a man and a woman who are both Minangkabau descendants. According to the research results of Azami et al. (1978), the purposes of marriage for the Minangkabau are as follows. The first goal is to fulfill the custom itself. For a girl's family, marriage aims to get offspring who will continue the family and be the recipient of the inheritance. Four ideal marriages are preferred by Minangkabau people, although not mandatory: (1) marry a mamak child, (2) the son-in-law of a respected person, and (3) tribal exogamy (married not from the same tribe) and village endogamy (married to people from the same village).

Asmaniar's research (2018) found that in Minangkabau culture, marriage is one of the important events in the life cycle and is a very significant transitional period in forming a small group of new family successors. According to the mind of the Minangkabau people, the most ideal marriage is a marriage between a close family, such as a marriage between a child and a nephew. A cultural value cannot be separated from the concept of adat that has been rooted in the ancestors who are the reference for social life, the people who own the culture highly uphold the values contained in their culture from generation to generation (Hidayatulloh in Sya et al., 2021). Satrianingrum & Setyawati (2020) found that the parenting pattern applied by Minangkabau ethnic parents is to collaborate and balance between customs and religion. Children in the Minangkabau tribe are not only raised by the nuclear family but there is a role for mamak in nurturing children. However, because of the times, many Minangkabau people have married people outside the Minangkabau, one of the reasons is that Minangkabau youths find their partners in the areas where they migrate.

5. Conclusion
There are variations on the Minangkabau community's perception of marriage, between those in Luhak inti, as well as in the daerah Rantau and Pesisir. The highest tendency of perception for mamak matchmaking and marriage with other Minangkabau people is in Luhak Tanah Datar and Rantau and Coastal areas (93.33%) and the lowest trend is in Luhak Agam and 50 Cities (73.3%). However, overall Minangkabau people tend to be matched with mamak and married to Minangkabau people (83%). In addition, in general, Minangkabau people marry other Minangkabau people to understand Minangkabau customs and regulations and to preserve their culture. However, because of the times, many Minangkabau people married outside Minangkabau people. One of the driving forces for this tendency is the tradition of wandering.
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