

The Role of Uncle (Atoin Amaf) in Belis Transactions on Wedding Customs

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Abstract

This research is conducted to determine the Role of Uncle (*Atoin amaf*) in Belis Transaction in Marriage Culture of Naibenu mainly in Naibenu Sub district North Central Timor regency. The method used is qualitative method with the aim to describe the role of Uncle in this belis transaction phenomenon in a natural manner and in as it is by using transcendental phenomenology approach namely the researcher puts aside any assumptions concerning the studied phenomena by conducting *epoche* that is containment initial knowledge so that the researcher is able to understand and describe any arising general meanings as well as any meanings behind the phenomena taken from life experiences of informants. The data collection technique is conducted by using in-depth interview by listening directly to any related informants. Also, the researcher conducted an observation to make sure the data validity obtained and conducted documentation in the forms of photographs and recorder records. The sample collection technique was by using *Snow ball* because the research has yet understood properly concerning the situation and location characteristics. Therefore, the researcher through new main informants was directed to main informants. Results of the research show that in belis payment process in marriage culture found in Naibenu, the one has the right to speak in decision making process is Uncle (*atoin amaf*) from the party of Bride. Om also serves as the marriage witness and guarantor from both bride and bridegroom.

Keywords: *Cultural Marriage, Role of Uncle, Belis Meaning.*

INTRODUCTION*

Naibenu is an area that is still very strong holding tightly its traditional culture. This can be seen from their society daily life, all matters are always preceded by ritual / traditional ceremony. Because for Naibenu people, traditional culture is their ancestors' inheritance that must be maintained. One of which can be found in case of marriage. Naibenu society considers that marriage is one of the most important stages in human life, therefore marriage is a sacred thing. Marriage is not merely concerning an union between two brides, but it is also an union of two brides' families. In the marriage process, it also always involves both family parties. Therefore, it is not surprising that the process is made as good and as sacred as possible

For that end, the State also regulates by determining laws and regulations with the aim of providing legal protection for those who are engaged in marriage bonds. For that reason,

According to [1] it mentions that "marriage is the bond of inner birth between a man and a woman as a husband and a wife with the aim of forming a family (household) as a happy and an eternal one based on the Belief in the God the Almighty.

In the marriage process, it should pass several stages, namely before marriage, during marriage, and after marriage. In various tribes, there are many similarities in this process, but its name varies according to local terms. In ancient times before marriage took place, there was usually a process with the purpose to get to know each candidate both in an open and secret manner, as in Naibenu. Usually, the more active one is always the male family to find a soulmate of his son and the male would be just questioned merely about his willingness. This is because in the past, the social life between women and men was severely restricted. Today, however, it has given to children the freedom to choose their partners.

The marriage custom in Naibenu is carried out through various stages. Each stage has a very deep meaning and is full of various symbols. The prevailing marriage ceremony is a manifestation of the prevailing family and beliefs

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relationships in the society. The marriage custom as a family bond means as a relationship between the woman and man families. And as a bond of trust, it means that people believe that by being obedient and loyal to custom, they can live in a safe and secure life. Thus, the hereditary customs from their ancestors is considered as an obligatory benchmark or rule to implement. Therefore, marriage in Naibenu can not be conducted in one tribe or clan (endogamy), it is considered still inbreeding. Therefore, men in Naibenu are always looking for couples from other tribes (exogamy).

The Naibenu community embraces the Patrilineal System. Therefore, a customary marriage ceremony contains certain rules in patrilineal family system, meaning that after the marriage, the bride uses her husband's clan. In this marriage ceremony, it can also be seen that the society upholds their social values and are not prioritized on any individual values. For example, the value of mutual cooperation as the effort to prepare *belis* is the responsibility of the whole family. *Belis* is a dowry that must be submitted by the bridegroom to the bride. The meaning of *belis* is as a tribute to the women and to build a familial relationship between men and women. The demand for the *belis* payment in the marriage process followed by reply the *belis* by the woman party presents high moral values namely that *belis* is not a price of a woman who must be paid and women can be treated casually

According to [2] expressed in one of his principles that: "Meanings and symbols enable people to carry out human actions and interactions in a unique way." The meaning is clear that there is a unique interaction in the marriage custom done in every procession. It is also illustrated in every procession of customary marriage in Naibenu, which is always performing custom ceremonies or special rituals and it is conducted based on the decision of Om (*Atoin Amaf*). Therefore, from the phenomenon of the according to [3] "*belis*", although it has noble objective namely to raise the dignity and the dignity of a woman, but "*belis*" can also be a source of problems in the household which ultimately it can create violence against women. This can happen when the demand of *belis* are too high beyond the financial capabilities of a man and his family. In addition, according to [4] expensive "*belis*" will have many impacts in the society, namely it creates a man's psychological burden to marry a woman from a high social

strata so that many women are ultimately unmarried because of too high "*belis*" factor, there are also many women being pregnant without any legal marriage; there are also many women married with men from other religion; *belis* can also be a cause of a husband abandoning his wife and children; and it can also provide burden to family economy.

However "*belis*" here, if the prospective husband has not or cannot afford to pay the "*belis*" by cash then, the prospective husband may owe to his prospective wife until they become legal husband and wife then, the debt remains valid until the husband can pay it off. If the husband dies before finishing the "*belis*" then, the *belis* still remains and that one replacing to pay the "*belis*" is the husband's family, it can also pay by the husband's children. If in the middle of the debt repayment time, the husband cannot pay or cannot afford, then the wife will be taken back by the wife's family. So that she can re-follow her previous clan.

According to [5] "The customary inheritance rule is the legal rule concerning how from a century to century, there is a continuation and transition of tangible and intangible property from one generation to another generation. The meaning is clear that the inherited customary tradition is already an unwritten legal rule, but it must be carried out, as well as the payment of *belis* in marriage.

According to [4] the marriage system at Naibenu with a practice of giving pricing on the *belis* conducted by the community as a custom in the marriage customary tradition, today it has many pros and cons. The current practice of *belis* provides some impacts, ranging from increasing economic capitalism until providing identity contestation. This is because, lately the essence and value of *belis* have changed and it tends to be more commercial. Even some people may consider it as an ordinary symbol and equipment, such as in Lamaholot area, which impose elephant ivory, and as a method of *belis* payment. *Belis* has provided its great challenge for any party having willingness to marry. This also leads to unlawful marriages emerging more as a fight against unresolved poverty problem.

According to [4] in East Nusa Tenggara, there are various kinds of "*belis*" used in the form of gold, silver, money, or animals such as buffaloes, cattle, or horses. In certain areas, "*belis*" can be also in the form of special goods. In further according to [6], the forms of *belis* can be in the form of livestock and some objects such as

tetafa (spear and sword), *kokoek* (breast milk substitute) and *dode diku* (reply the belis); these have function as marriage authorization instruments, present economic functions, social functions, moral functions and symbols of women status having meaning as a recognition on a woman dignity who is respected by the giving belis. This is the same as in Naibenu, the forms of belis can be in the form of *mutih* (a kind of necklace in the neck), *Inuh nakaf* (a kind of crown usually used in the head), *Noen fatu* (silver money of Queen Wilhelmina) and cows. These forms of belis present their own meanings.

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent of Om (atoin amaf) role in the traditional marriage in Naibenu. Besides, it can also understand the role and intervention of Om (atoin amaf) in marriage in Naibenu society.

Based on the background problem, the researcher focuses on the research as a limitation in the research namely: The role of Om / Uncle in the belis transaction on customary marriage

Problem Formulation

Based on the research background, then the research problem can be formulated as follow: How is the role of Om in *Belis* Payment Tradition in Customary Marriage in Naibenu Community?

MATERIAL AND METHOD

This type of research uses qualitative method, which is used to examine the object condition pattern in a natural manner. In the research procedure, the researcher produces descriptive data in the form of written words and oral taken from the observed people and their behavior.

The qualitative method used by the researcher aims to describe the role of Om in the belis transaction on the marriage customs. The researcher thinks that the qualitative method used here has not been able to explain in detail to obtain the depth of information. Therefore, the researcher used a phenomenological approach of Transcendental where the researcher puts aside any preconceptions about the role of Om (Atoin Amaf) in the payment of belis transaction on the marriage customs in Naibenu by epoche namely the researcher rules out the whole experience to maximally obtain informants' experiences. The use of this approach aims to obtain empirical data through natural meanings based on experience, knowledge and awareness of the informants. The phenomenological approach is more appropriate

to be used in this study because, the meaning revealed in this study, does not just look at any visible meaning of the phenomena, but it also reveals any meanings behind the phenomenon seen from the role of om.

The researcher selects Naibenu as the research location for the following reasons:

1. In Naibenu sub-district, the people are very strongly upholding the ancestors' traditions, even the traditions or customs inherited from generation to generation have been regarded as dogma, although it is not written.
2. In the process of cultural marriage in Naibenu, it is still conducted traditional considered as local wisdom so that it is required to be maintained.
3. The studied research problem is well-adjusted to any development issues related to the role of om (atoin amaf) in the payment of belis at the research location.

The informants in this research are the atoin amaf (s) and traditional leaders who obtain experiences or are considered to know the phenomenon or categorized able to provide information related to the phenomenon. Because the researcher does not know exactly any people who can be used as the informants on the location, then the research was using snowball sampling.

Data Collection

The data collection techniques conducted by the researcher is in-depth interviews with the informants. During the interviews, the researcher used field notes to deepen and re-study any data obtained. In conducting the interviews, the researcher as the interviewer did not dominate, even interrogate the informants, so that there is an interactive dialogue between the researcher and the subjects examined.

The researcher also conducted observations observing social situations or phenomena associated with the research problems. This observation was conducted to obtain data and information through observation directly or indirectly on the objects in the research location. In the observation process, the researcher directly looked at by himself, listened, measured, on what happens in the field including the informants' attitudes and behavior as well as any individuals or groups involved in the existing environment. In doing the observation, the researcher did not just observe, but also asked any initial questions in the field of research to the informants. This was as consistency for the

interviewing techniques. So in the interview technique, the questions would be given the same as the questions on the observation. This serves to see the temporality of understanding with time difference but with fixed questions. Results of the observations conducted by the researcher then are compared to the interviews given by the informants on the reviewed issues.

The researcher also recorded any records because the dialogue was done using *dawan* language. Therefore, it is necessary for the records so that the researcher could re-listen to listen again when processing the data. The researcher also made photographs or shooting while at the research location. Taking photos was also important because the photos served as physical evidences to conduct research as well as supporting data in providing information related to the results of research. Evidences of interviews with informants are also documented.

According to [2] The researcher used analytical technique that analyzes the phenomenology of being addressed by Moustakas. This analysis technique is used in order to obtain an overview of the phenomenon of a situation or event including problems as the focus of research. This analysis technique is important because the researcher can determine any weaknesses, obstacles or maybe any positive things in order to obtain a conclusion about the principal problems that are examined. Therefore, the data analysis method used is Van Kaam phenomenology data analysis method.

Theoretical Review

According to [7], Symbolic Interactionism is based on ideas about individuals and their interactions with society. The essence of symbolic interactionism is an activity served as human characteristics, namely communication or human exchange of meaning. The symbolic interactional perspective tries to understand human behavior from the subject's point of view. This perspective suggests that human behavior should be seen as a process that allows people to shape and regulate their behavior by considering other expectations as their interaction partners. They provide definitions to others, situations, objects and even themselves that determine human behavior. As affirmed by the According to [7] blumer, in the view of symbolic interactionism, the social process in the life of group creates and confirms the rules, not the other way around. In this context, according to [7] meaning is constructed

in the interaction process and the process is not a neutral medium that allows social forces to play its role, but rather the actual substance of social organization and social power.

According to [8] the main references to the symbolic interaction theory, is: *Mind, Self, and Society*. Mead agrees with the virtues and priorities of social world, namely stating that consciousness, thought, self and so forth come from social world. Mead in the symbolic interactionism theory provided more attention to macro-level phenomena. The assumption in symbolic interactionism is the meaning formed in a society that is constructed by individuals who anticipate other individual responses. Because in the community development, interaction shapes behavior.

According to [8] this symbolic interactionism is a theory that provides an understanding on the messages conveyed in symbols that are exchanged to provide an understanding of meanings contained in the interaction of such symbols in society. The public can also read and filter any presented meanings contained in the symbols which then enter in individual mind with the interaction pattern by the giver and receiver as well as the environment. That way, it will be transformed into everyday behavior without any element of coercion. But it can be denied that the environment also participates in processing individuals to interpret any meanings to be interpreted. The intermediate interpretation process between stimulus and response serves as a key position in the symbolic interactionism theory. It is true that these theory adherents have also the attention to the stimulus and response. But their attention is more emphasized to the interpretation process given by the individuals on the coming stimulus.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Naibenu Sub-district people also still maintain and uphold customs as their cultural heritage taken from their ancestors. All activities undertaken by the community are always associated with customs based on the traditions of their ancestral traditions. It can be seen from any activity or ceremony, always preceded by traditional rituals. Naibenu people in general all have tribes. Each tribe has a traditional house or called as Naibenu: "*Uem Leu or Uem Tola*". This place serves as a meeting hall for every customary ritual affair, even customary marriage. Naibenu people are also like one big family

although they have different tribes. It can be seen from the intimacy atmosphere in interacting with each other. Anyone who visits at home, is always served with betel nut and drinks. It is a sign that we are received in kinship at home.

In Naibenu, there are two kingdoms namely Bobo, and Meko. Naibenu people every year, still include provide tribute in the form of harvest results to the king. Almost 99% of Naibenu people are Catholic. In Naibenu sub district, there are 3 *Kapela* (Sunsea, Sunbaki and Nelli), and 2 Catholic Churches (Bakitolas and Manamas). The language used in Naibenu in general is *dawan* language, and some speak Indonesian. However, in government affairs, they always speak Indonesian.

The people livelihood is mostly farming, as almost all Naibenu people own land. While entrepreneur or trade is only on micro businesses such as kiosks and sellers of betel nut and other agricultural products, but these are in small quantities. The farming model undertaken by the Naibenu community is also up to now by *Tebas - Bakar* (Logging – Burning) system. This is done every year by the community in groups by moving land areas.

Marriage According to Naibenu Community Custom

Naibenu people strongly uphold their prevailing customs in society. This can be seen in any events that are always preceded by a traditional ceremony. Of course, this cannot be separated from marriage. For the Naibenu community, marriage is a very important event for a person or society in general. Because marriage is an important life-level for a person's life so that they obtain a decent, harmonious, peaceful life and give birth to good offspring. A marriage is also important because through marriage, there will be a union of two different human beings both physically and psychically. Therefore, marriage ceremony takes place with a special ceremony that takes quite a long time and proper preparation so that all rituals can go well.

In the culture of Naibenu society, there are two aspects of endorsement at the marriage ceremony, namely, cultural ceremonies (customs), blessings in the church (religion). These two aspects are so important as the basis for legitimating one's life in obtaining "new positions" or social status in family, relatives and society.

Through the marriage ceremony carried out on the basis of Naibenu customs, it forms kinship between male and female families. Marriage is an important phenomenon in human life, because the marriage aims to regulate sex, provide protection to children born through the marriage, meet the needs of a life companion, wealth, prestige, rise in society, and maintain relationships between relatives. Indigenous marriages in Naibenu, must follow every custom procession. Because every procession has a contained meaning and noble values that are still held firmly by the community.

In the marriage customary procession, the bridegroom is obligated to obey and adhere to every customary rule of the bride in each procession. Because if it violates, it will be imposed a fine, as a penance for violation or non-compliance and disrespect toward the bride custom. The paid customary fine is actually a kind of test to test the man adherence. Therefore, in any custom procession, it will make the situation tense and complicated so that the bridegroom will be imposed by fines. But the fine is not a *belis*. It is just a kind of customary sanction for the mistakes made.

In Naibenu customary marriage, the one having important role and right to speak and make decisions regarding all customary affairs is *om (atoin amaf)*. Om (atoin amaf) plays a very important role, because it can also take any attitudes to cancel or postpone marriage, although the bride has agreed.

There are stages in the marriage at Naibenu namely: door knocking, *hela keta* and making proposal (traditional night) and blessing in church. The most important stage in Naibenu's customary marriage is the proposal. Because at this stage, the groom is required to pay or hand over the *belis* to the bride. Therefore, the *belis* given must also be in accordance with the agreed one.

In a marriage in Naibenu, it will be preceded by a customary marriage which is passed by rituals that are still upheld firmly and valid until today when there is a marriage. Knocking the door is the stage where the bridegroom with his biological parents visit the bride house. In the encounter, the groom's family will convey the intent and seriousness on the relationship of his son with the girl. Furthermore, it will be agreed on time for the next procession namely *hela keta* as: a custom procession which is usually done in the river flow. This procession implies that there may be an ancestor of these

two families that there is no unresolved conflict or dispute, then through this procession, it will reconcile that the household life formed will not get any misfortune from the ancestors. If the *hela keta* procession has already carried out, it will be determined more time for the adoration or custom night event. This event is the essence of the marriage customary affairs in Naibenu, because at this stage the bridegroom will present the belis. These stages must be passed because each stage has its own meaning. Therefore, every bride, who is about to marry, must follow each of these stages

Any taken processions will certainly be costly, timely and take much energy both from the bride and groom. But, for Naibenu people, it has become a consequence for the bride who is about to marry. The results of the research found in the field, especially in the belis payment that, the determination of belis value in Naibenu follow the belis from the bride's mother. This determination of belis value is also discussed by Om (*atoin amaf*) in the customary marriage.

Traditional marriage in Naibenu when closely examined, then in fact the marriage take place between the om from the bridegroom and the om from the bride, because they are in an agreement, while the bridegroom and the bride are only served as an exchange tool, even the birth parents just follow every procession there. The role of Om (*Atoin Amaf*) from the two brides is very important, since all decisions are subject to the Om's agreement of the two brides.

The customary night procession will only take place, if Om (*Atoin amaf*) from the two brides is present in the event. If one of the brides has no *atoin amaf*, then it must still exist and is usually seen from any near family tree as om. In addition, if the om of the bride is still small or can not speak custom, then he remains to serve as the witness.

The customary night or evening procession will begin with the customary language, and this is usually a rhyme or figurative language of both *atoin amafs* from the two brides. In the interaction, one done by the two *atoin amaf* serves also as the law namely, the bride is always right, therefore, if the verse or figurative language mentioned by om (*atoin amaf*) from the bride can not be answer or answer in a wrong manner, then usually it is imposed by customary fines, and that it does not include the belis. Therefore, usually the om (*atoin amaf*) from the bride plays her role in such a way that it can get a custom fine. The late

arrival of the groom had already been subject to customary fine.

The data obtained by the researcher show that in Naibenu it has never had any couple threatened to have no ability to carry out the marriage, but the tension on the customary night events are always created to be an excuse, so that the following thing is speak about belis.

Belis Transaction and Role of Uncle (*Atoin amaf*) in Naibenu

The marriage process in Naibenu is unique. Although the girl is brought about from the womb and is financed by her biological parents until she is adult, but when married, the one having the right to deal and speak formally in the marriage procession is om (*atoin amaf*) of the bride. Om (*atoin amaf*) is the brother of the bride's mother. This Om is the customary decision-maker. While the bride's biological parent, can only give recommendation to om (*atoin amaf*) before the formal procession in the custom procession. Customary communications, therefore, conducted in marriage often result in many conflicts. This conflict arises because in the custom communications by the om (*atoin amaf*), often decide according to their wishes. Decisions taken by Om are sometimes not approved by the parties who want to marry, however it can not be disputed because it is considered against om (*atoin amaf*) which indirectly against and violate custom. Because in this position, Om (*Atoin Amaf*) is considered as the king (*Usif*).

Om (*atoin amaf*) has a very important authority, because it not only plays a role in customary rituals, but also has the right to speak and determine the belis value. Therefore, in determining the belis value, the *Atoin amaf* often confound each other and complicate the atmosphere because the communication uses figurative language. In the communication, if the bridegroom can not answer or do not understand the figurative language expressed by *Atoin Amaf* or answer in wrong way, it will be subject to customary fine. The customary fines become the right of *atoin amaf* and are not shared.

Custom communication conducted by the om (*atoin amaf*), is to bargain to agree on the belis value that will be paid. The bargaining, shows that the belis actually has been commercialized and see more on economic side. The communication made about the belis value to the transaction belis, no longer see at love and affection aspects from the bride.

The form of belis in Naibenu is actually: *Inuh / muti, inuh nakaf, noen uf, lapeo, petak kolo* and cow. The forms of belis are in the form of goods and animals to be used for payment belis. Antiquities used for the payment of belis also contain the meaning, namely to tie the kinship bonds both parties who will hold a marriage.

Inuh / muti / molo: is similar to a necklace; in the form of seeds in large-sized strands. This *inuh* is usually worn in the neck. *Molo* is usually in wear on customary night as the belis. But nowadays, this thing is more difficult to be used as an accessories. If it is as custom, it is not as original as the first one. It is only in the form of imitations used as accessories. Only at that time.

Inuh nakaf: it is similar to a crown that looks like a horn usually in wear on the head. Today, the object is also used as accessories in custom events, or when there is a traditional dance. This object is also nowadays, more difficult to find out. If there is any, then it is just imitation using as a decoration.

Noen uf: it is a large silver and round shaped with diameter of ± 15 cm. *Lapeo*: small silver money. *Petak Kolo*: silver money of queen Wilhelmina. *Hela keta*: rituals or ceremonies in traditional marriage that is usually done in the river.

The role of Uncle (Atoin Amaf) begins at the *hela keta* event. At that time, Atoin Amaf plays a very important role, because the customary rituals are held to reconcile the ancestors from both sides who may have disputes in past time, as well as to talk about the proposal event that also in the discussion, it talks about belis.

The role of atoin amaf here often creates problems, because often atoin amaf, do not know about the bride relationship, however they have the right to speak. In addition, because atoin amaf is given full authority to determine the belis value, Atoin amaf determine high belis value.

In any family gathering, atoin amaf is the one with authority to discuss about the procession in the customary night later. All decisions taken are required the presence of atoin amaf. Because if atoin ama is not present, then it has been violated.

Today, the role of Uncle (atoin amaf) can already be represented by a spokesman. Therefore, these spokespersons usually play a role to create a strategy that creates tensions

leading to disputes between two big families. This is deliberately done to be a reason to be able to talk about belis. The procession of belis submission always listens to the direction of the spokesmen. The spokesman is believed to be eloquent in speech and able to speak in figurative language. The role of atoin amaf is represented by the customary spokesman, also often obscures the customary values. Because the spokesmen often, in the role to discuss is looking more at the economic value in determining the belis. In addition, the spokesman actually does not have much understanding on the exact situation of both families, as well as the bride's relationship.

The spokesman that is presented in marriage, usually because the bride has no atoin amaf, or because the bridegroom comes from another region, or also because atoin amaf of the bride can not speak custom. Therefore, there is often a bribe because the decision taken by the spokesman, is not appropriate.

The role of atoin amaf / spokeman is following their own versions. This, of course, will obscure the customary value from the family. Therefore, there is a shift on the authenticity of belis value and its meaning presented in the custom of marriage Naibenu, especially in the procession of belis payment.

The role of Atoin amaf really shows up during the proposal evening. At that time, atoin amaf is really appreciated like an *usif* (king) because all decisions are by the hands of the atoin amaf. Therefore, on customary evenings, the atoin amafs usually cheats to each other so that it can look for any chances in order to get any reason to fine the bridegroom.

The decision of atoin amaf to impose a custom fine on the groom is usually because there are several reasons namely: if before the marriage, the bride is pregnant, come late and have passed the agreed time, atoin amaf from the bridegroom is unable to answer the figurative language expressed by the atee amaf from the bride, or there is a disrespectful attitude in the show. These things are then the reasons to talk about belis, the men are fully subject to the decision of the atoin amaf from the bride. The customary fines given by the atoin amaf, contain meaning to test the groom's compliance with the bride. However, today, the customary fines are done at different points of view. This is because atoin amaf sees more only on the economic side.

CONCLUSION

Naibenu people are still very strong upholding their tradition. It can be seen in various affairs, always preceded by traditional ceremonies or rituals. The Naibenu community embraces the patrilinear marriage system. Therefore, when married and paid belis, then the bride should enter the bridegroom's tribe. Almost the entire Naibenu people are Catholic then, the type of marriage is monogamy. Therefore, a man is only entitled to marry a single woman.

Marriage for the Naibenu community is to form a family and birth offspring. Therefore, to establish marriage, it must follow existing processions in accordance with the Naibenu community tradition. The traditional processions done for the Naibenu community are the gateways to the real marriage. Because through the processions, it will solve any things giving obstacles and ensure the comforts at the marriage period later. This means that marriage will be sanctioned and admit when it has completed customary affairs.

The marriage validity for the Naibenu community will be achieved if it has been through two things namely customary affairs, namely customary processions and religious affairs namely blessings by the pastor.

The forms of the actual belis can be in the forms of *Inuh / muti, inuh nakaf, noen uf, lapeo, petak kolo* and cow. And the real meaning of belis payment for the Naibenu community is a customary tradition of the ancestors who need to be maintained and kept. The role of Om (Atoin Amaf) in the transaction belis on Indigenous Marriage is as a decision maker. In that sense, all customary affairs in the processions are required the presence of Om. All decisions are discussed formally by Om (atoin amaf). The decision taken by Om, is an obligatory and must be followed by both bridegroom and bride. The role of Om is also not only on the customary affairs, but will be the guarantor when doing the blessing by the pastor in the church.

There are shortcomings in this study namely time and cost constraints. This is because all main informants work as farmers, so the researcher faced difficulty to set face-to-face time. Therefore, the researcher suggests for those who want to conduct further research to examine about the new household life formed if the marriage affairs ignore the role of Uncle

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