Social Solidarity in Manyaratuih Hari (The 100th day) Tradition in Taluak Community Tanah Datar Regency West Sumatra

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Abstract: The background of this research was the interest in seeing Taluak community’s social solidarity in carrying out manyaratuih hari tradition. Manyaratuih hari (the 100th day) is a tradition held on the 100th day of the death of a family member on which the family serves meals to the invited community members. Carrying out manyaratuih hari is an obligation because this traditional belief is a custom in Taluak community. Based on the observation, this research revealed the face of the community’s social solidarity in this tradition. A qualitative research method with ethnography was used in conducting this research. The result showed that the community’s social solidarity in carrying out manyaratuih hari was performed in the stages of (1) Preparing manyaratuih hari such as providing money, mamanggia (invitation), making temporary kitchen (bauang-bauang), building a tent, finding bamboo reeds, bamboo shoots, fire woods, and cooking some food, (2) Holding manyaratuih hari; serving the food, giving bawokan (by the guests), welcoming and taking bawokan from the guests.

Keywords: Social Solidarity, Manyartuih Hari Tradition.

INTRODUCTION

Solidarity can be defined as a respectable character (belief), carrying the same fate or feeling and loyalty in a group (Khairulyadi et al., 2022). Meanwhile, social is something related to community, there is communication in the efforts to support the development and prioritizing public interest (Alwani & Erianjoni, 2019). Social solidarity is togetherness between the individuals, the groups, or an individual and a group, based on the moral values and beliefs held together and strengthened by the same emotional experiences (Putri, 2021). The nature of forming social solidarity is diverse (Irfan, 2017). In a modest society, solidarity is based on kinship values and shared-manners (Putri, 2021). Value can be defined as the belief or viewpoint embraced by community members (Rolitia et al., 2016). However, in modern society, there are varied contributions to forming social solidarity, one of which is a high level of dependency on one another (Saputra et al., 2021).

The face of solidarity can be seen in the culture of a society (Berutu et al.,...
In Minangkabau society, especially Toluak community, there is a local culture that still lasts and is maintained. The focus of this article is on manyaratuih hari tradition, because it is the peak day of the death ceremonial tradition in Toluak community (Putri, 2020). Manyaratuih hari has been conducted since a long time ago and has become local customary law in the community. Customary law can be defined as unwritten regulation on which the community consciously believes, honor, and obey because it is already considered a law (Shebubakar & Raniah, 2021). Due to this consistency, manyaratuih hari, will always be performed when one of the family members in the community passes away. The implementation of manyaratuih hari does not consider stratification or social class. Whether the family is wealthy or poor, they have to do it.

To do so, the mourning family will serve meals for the invited community members. The minimum cost for holding manyaratuih hari is about Rp 3,000,000, to Rp 4,500,000 (Hartati, Bundo Kanduang, 2020). This fund is required to buy the equipment and materials which is quite big for Toluak community’s economic income which is considered rather low. The data obtained from the guardian of the village’s office showed that 75% of Toluak people are ordinary farmers whose maximum income is Rp 400,000 per week or about Rp. 1,600,000 per month and 25% of the rest of them have other occupations (The guardians of the village, 2020). Hence, the mourning families need financial help from other relatives to hold manyaratuih hari tradition.

There is a binding rule set to maintain the existence of this tradition. The rule is a penalty that is given if there is a contravention of the custom (Kuswicaksono, 2021). The customary penalty is considered a law penalty that is arranged by the traditional authorities as the effort to solve various problems occurs in the community (Alfadrian et al., 2019). Hence, community members who do not obey the rule will be given a penalty. In the implementation of this unwritten law, social punishment such as public shaming and criticism will be perceived by a family that does not obey the rule (Ubbe, 2016).

Based on reality, each family should conduct manyaratuih hari when one of the family members passes away. This rule can be such a burden in the case of a poor family. Hence, a question arises on how the mourning poor family holds manyaratuih hari.

So far, there has been a lot of writing on the theme of social solidarity. Such as social solidarity in the Ambur Salim Tradition (Rizaldy et al., 2021), social solidarity in the Samadiah Tradition (Kurniawan & Suharman, 2022), a form of
solidarity in the Ngenger tradition (Suliyati, 2021), Rengkong as a symbol of farmer solidarity (Indriawan et al., 2021), social solidarity in petik laut culture (Rahayu et al., 2022), Social Solidarity Values in the Mbolo Weki Tradition (Jumiat et al., 2023), Maulid Tradition: Strengthening the Solidarity of the Acehnese People (Fatia, 2021). Based on the literature review, it can be seen that much research on the theme of solidarity has been carried out before. However, there has been no research that specifically examines social solidarity in manyaratuih hari ceremonies. Therefore, it is important to carry out this research to fill the space of existing research.

METHOD

This research was qualitative with an ethnography method (Siddiq & Salama, 2019). Ethnography is particular research that involves the ethnographer participating as a good undercover or undisguised observer to keep track of what happens in the community’s daily life (Achmad & Ida, 2018). Materials and data were obtained by using observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation study. The informants were niniak mamak (respected traditional male leaders), bundo kandung (respected traditional female leaders), sumando (brothers-in-law), tuangku (respected religious leaders) and the community members who held manyaratuih hari tradition. The collected data were then classified, and grouped based on the aims of the research to answer the questions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Taluak community members help and support each other, and also work together in welcoming and holding manyaratuih hari. The tradition is held in this way based on the nature of humans as social beings (cannot live alone or need each other). Human depends on each other, to maintain and keep good relationship with one another. Koentjaraningrat says that one of the forms of mutual help is when accidents, natural disasters, and death happen (Hekmatyar & Vonika, 2021). The culture of mutual assistance is not a new habit in human life. This way will not disappear from both traditional and modern society. Every person has relatives, best friends, groups, working environment, etc. Society awareness arises due to the sense of inability to live alone without any protection from society and the surrounding environment. They also realize that they depend on each other in every aspect of life (Laiya, 1983).

Solidarity needs mutual assistance, and support from others is part of human beings (Xu & Zhao, 2023). Mutual help is the form of people’s concern about each
other which is molded by social interaction. It can also be defined as an attitude or action carried out by community members in terms of helping each other and working together to solve certain matters. This attitude has an important role in holding manyaratuih hari tradition. The feeling of togetherness arises due to social manners from each individual to lighten the burden that is being carried by another individual in the community. The advantages of mutual help are finishing the work faster, creating strong comradeship and togetherness among the community members, moreover it will create peace in society.

**Social Solidarity in Preparing Manyaratuih Hari**

**Preparing cost**

In preparing manyaratuih hari, cost is the main aspect to be considered. If the mourning family is not wealthy, the relatives will support them with some amount of money to buy the materials and equipment required (interview session with Arjiwan (43 years old), Arlinda (45 years old), Edimun (45 years old), Nasip Selamat (48 years old) and Kairul (62 years old)).

The willingness of the relatives to help is a form of collective awareness of them. Emile Durkheim states that collective awareness is an understanding owned by people in a community, it is open and dynamic (Ahmad, 2021). The feeling that arises due to bereavement makes them help each other in holding manyaratuih hari tradition.

Bambowo Laiya also states that unity in comradeship can be seen in wedding ceremonies and funerals (Laiya, 1983). Someone will donate to his/her blood relatives or in another chance will receive help from his/her relatives as well. In conducting manyaratuih hari, this situation will be more obvious when family and relatives help each other by donating some money.

**Mamanggia (Inviting people)**

The next stage is mamanggia or inviting people to come to manyaratuih hari. This term is used to send invitations orally/directly to relatives; this invitation is about working together to hold manyaratuih hari ceremony. Mamanggia is done by visiting both female and male relatives’ houses. It can also be done when they happen to meet the relative anywhere by chance. The relatives and other community members that have been invited (grandsons/granddaughters, sons/daughters, nephews/nieces, uncles/aunts, brothers/sisters-in-law and also neighbors) will come to help with the preparation of manyaratuih hari ceremony.
The willingness of the invited relatives and community members to come and help each other is the form of society’s collective life by which they want to maintain the culture based on the conditions and complexities in the society. In each community, it is constructed to be a regulation (Rahayu et al., 2022). The existence of this awareness makes them help each other in preparing manyaratuih hari ceremony.

**Building a Temporary Kitchen**

A temporary kitchen or what is called bauang-bauang by the society, is one of the most important things in conducting manyaratuih hari. This kitchen is used to cook the meals that will be served to the society. The people who are involved in building this kitchen are sumando. Sumando is the brother-in-law of a married female. This is due to the relationship based on marriage [Asril (50 years old), Enek (52 years old)].

It can be analyzed by using mechanic solidarity proposed by Emile Durkheim. Mechanic solidarity which occurs in society is characterized by the same patterns of social relation, based on the same local values that are adopted from generation to generation in a society (Gischa, 2019). Manyaratuih hari is a shared responsibility that is embraced by the community members. The existence of awareness shown by the people makes the ones who have a relationship with the dead person help each other in preparing the manyaratuih hari.

**Building Tent**

The tent is functioned as a shade for the guests. They will have the meal under this tent. It can also be an alternative if the house is not spacious enough to accommodate many guests.

Building the tent that will be used for manyaratuih hari is not different from building the temporary kitchen. Both of the activities are done collaboratively. The willingness of the relatives to work together arises because they have awareness and high responsibility due to the sense of belonging (Sabri et al., 2019). This mutual help does not need certain skills or certain people, because everybody can help in the various stages of building it.

**Collecting Firewood, Bamboo Reeds, and Bamboo Shoots**

Firewood, bamboo reeds, and bamboo shoots are the equipment and ingredients needed for manyaratuih hari. People do not need to buy those materials because they are available on society’s farms or fields. It is also done to lower the cost of this ceremony. The people who are involved in gathering these materials are sumando and other relatives.
Solidarity can be formed by the same feeling of sympathy [17]. Due to that reason, there is a pure manner with no force, by which people do something for others in the term of a deep sense of family and in the form of having the same fate. Meanwhile, empathy is the same feeling that is perceived by others. This feeling arises due to the concern for others that creates a reciprocal relationship.

Cooking

Manyaratuih hari is a tradition that is held by serving meals to the invited guests. Hence, the mourning family has to cook. Their relatives such as amai (mother), bako (father’s family), anak pisang (the children of a brother), and neighbors come to help cook the meal that they will serve in the ceremony.

Mutual help is an understandable process of cultural heritage, as community wisdom in responding to the era that is getting more modern day by day [18]. A community’s local wisdom results in a culture because they have things in common such as the same region, identity, habits, values, manners, and the feeling of unity.

The willingness to help in cooking the meals for conducting manyaratuih hari resulted from kinship or family relationships. This tradition is a shared tradition. Bambowo Laiya says that family solidarity and kinship can be seen obviously in some events such as wedding parties and funerals. On these occasions, all relatives will gather. Thus, in conducting manyaratuih hari, all females who are related to the mourning family will come to help cook the meals.

The help offered by someone in conducting manyaratuih hari is also based on the reason that she/he also wants the same help when it happens to them someday. This principle is called reciprocity where there is a reciprocal exchange between individuals or groups [19]. In other words, someone expects the same action someday.

Social Solidarity in Holding Manyaratuih Hari Tradition

Manyaratuih hari tradition is held on the 100th day after the funeral. The implementation of it is divided into 2 categories, alek siang (day event) and alek malam (night event). Alek is a concept used by the society to describe a party, celebration, or commemoration. Day event is for females, it means the females come during the day; starting from after dhuhr prayer (noon prayer) in the afternoon to after magrib (sunset) prayer in the late afternoon. Meanwhile, alek malam or night event is for the males and they will come after Isha prayer (night prayer) in the evening.
The forms of solidarity in holding *manyaratuih hari* are divided into several things:

**Serving the Meal**

The meal served in *manyaratuih hari* is cooked by the mourning family. In the day *alek* when it is the time for females to come, the meals will be served by females. Meanwhile, in the night *alek* when the males come, the meals will also be served by males. The males are the *sumando*. Moreover, they are also the ones who clean up the dinner after finishing the ceremony.

This team work in serving the meals is one of the ways in creating harmony in order to maintain the unity in the community. This mutual help gives contribution to prevent split-up in the community. The quality of collective manner is reflected from awareness, understanding, feeling, intention, and attitude carried by a person or a group [20]. Shared-awareness of the relatives in serving the meals is resulted from caring and trusting. It is in line with Emile Durkheim’s statement that collective awareness is all shared-trust and feelings in a community.

**Giving Bawokan**

People who attend *manyaratuih hari* tradition bring different *bawokans*. *Bawokan* is a term for something brought by the guests and given to the mourning family. There are some differences in the bawokan. These differences are because the quantity and kinds of bawokan are already settled by niniak mamak (local male authorities/the traditional male leaders) in a customary deliberation.

Families from the same tribe will bring bawokan that consist of one liter of rice, which is put in a bowl and wrapped by a scarf. For the ones who are not from the same tribe, their bawokan is in a small talam (tray) consist of rice and cake or rice and eggs. Meanwhile, amai-amai (the old women) bring talam tinggi (bigger tray) consist of many kinds of food such as fried chicken, fried fish, fried fish with chili, fish-shaped cakes, fried banana, fried mashed-banana, lidah-lidah, petai chili sauce, omelet, and a bowl of rice. The amai who bring talam tinggi have already been given kain. Kain is a term for some amount of money (Rp 20.000). The kain is given to those amai-amai on the funeral day. Giving kain is a symbol that the amai-amai have to bring talam tinggi on the upcoming 100th day (*manyaratuih hari*).

The invited community members who come to *manyaratuih hari* bring many kinds of food for the mourning family. As the gift to this kindness, the host also gives some kinds of food. The food that is brought by the guests is not fully taken by the host; it is only half of them. After that,
the half-empty tray will be fulfilled with the meals prepared by the mourning family.

Marcel Mauss states that every gift is a part of balanced exchange system by which it becomes an honor for both sides to be involved in the process. The kain given to amai-amai requires them to pay back by giving some materials which have a little bit higher price than what they receive before. The kain makes them cannot avoid the event, if they do so, it is considered offensive towards the mourning family.

Welcoming and Taking the Bawokan.

Bawokan which is brought by the invited community members on manyaratuih hari will be welcomed by the mourning family. Then, the mourning family will take out the food from bawokan and fulfill it again with some food cooked by the mourning family.

When researcher attended manyaratuih hari tradition, it could be seen clearly that the bawokan was welcomed by the host. Then it was brought into the house. There was a room for placing the bawokan. There were some women who were ready to take the food out and load it again with other meals. There were many kinds of food in front of those women for fulfilling the bawokan. Some of them were already packed, and the rest of them were not.

Mutual help is done sincerely to make others feel at ease, but there is also a social obligation that forces someone who has ever received some helps to do the exact same things. Thus, this action becomes a habit and spreads widely all over the region. Hence, this mutual help is an effort to develop caring and sense of kinship with one another without any direct material reward or fringe benefits. On the other side, a person who has ever received a help has an intention to do the same someday, thus there is a balance action in the form of assistance.

Social solidarity of Taluak community in welcoming and holding manyaratuih hari tradition is formed because of the bond among the community members. It is developed by the same action and responsibility. The mutual help such as building a tent, collecting bamboo reeds, bamboo shoots, and fire woods, building a temporary kitchen or what is so-called bauang-bauang, cooking, serving the meals, giving and taking bawokan, cannot be separated from the bond and the concern when they are involved in the same activities and responsibility on which they have sympathy for the mourning family. Finally, this mutual help in manyaratuih hari tradition is a form of social solidarity.
CONCLUSION
Based on the result of the discussion above, it can be concluded that social solidarity of the society in manyaratuih hari tradition is formed at the moments of: (1) Preparing manyaratuih hari tradition, this stage consists of providing money, inviting relatives and other community members, building temporary kitchen or bauang-bauang, building a tent, collecting bamboo reeds, bamboo shoots, fire woods, and cooking; (2) holding manyaratuih hari tradition, this stage consists of serving the meals, giving bawokan, welcoming and taking out the bawokan from the guests. Social solidarity in manyaratuih hari tradition occurs due to kinship bond, reciprocal principle, and awareness from the relatives to help the mourning family hold manyaratuih hari tradition.

Family values are a value that is considered sacred for society and is considered to be able to unite them into one whole as a system. All levels of society continue to mingle and cooperate in carrying out their activities/work, the work is carried out collectively and full responsibility is what underlies how strong the feeling is the togetherness of fellow members.

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