

LIVING LAW AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Weaving Skills as a Marriage Requirement in Sade, West Nusa Tenggara

Arif Sugitanata*

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email: arifugitanata@gmail.com, *Corresponding Author

Siti Aminah

Sultan Zainal Abidin University, Malaysia

Email: si3866@putra.unisza.edu.my

Ahmad Muhasim

Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Indonesia

Email: ahmadmuhasim@gmail.com

Abstract

Weaving skills as a marriage requirement in the Sade Muslim Society is one of the customary rules—living law—that remains to exist currently, although it is not stated according to Islamic law or state law in the place. Departing from that uniqueness, this study aims to explore the reasons behind that term. Data was collected through interviews and observation in the field. Inspired by Turner's symbolic anthropological theory, this study shows that the enforcement of customary rules—the prohibition of marriage for girls who do not yet have weaving skills—is interpreted as a form of cultural preservation. It is an effort to strengthen the micro-economy of the society with the hands of Sade women, which later becomes beneficial for their position in the family after marriage. Furthermore, the meaning of this customary rule is to preserve the identity of the Sade society which features the maturity and independence of women before going married.

[Ketrampilan menenun sebagai syarat perkawinan di Masyarakat Muslim Sade merupakan salah satu aturan adat yang masih hidup hingga saat ini, meskipun tidak diatur menurut hukum Islam atau hukum negara di tempat tersebut. Berangkat dari keunikan tersebut,

penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali alasan di balik istilah tersebut. Pengumpulan data lebih banyak melalui wawancara dan observasi di lapangan. Terinspirasi oleh teori antropologi simbolik Turner, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penegakan aturan adat yang melarang pernikahan bagi anak perempuan yang belum memiliki keterampilan menenun dimaknai sebagai bentuk pelestarian budaya. Ini merupakan upaya penguatan ekonomi mikro masyarakat dengan tangan-tangan perempuan Sade, yang nantinya bermanfaat bagi posisi mereka dalam keluarga setelah menikah. Selanjutnya, makna dari aturan adat ini adalah untuk melestarikan identitas masyarakat Sade yang menonjolkan kedewasaan dan kemandirian perempuan sejak sebelum menikah.]

Keywords

Marriage requirement, prohibition of marriage, Sasak Sade, weaving skill

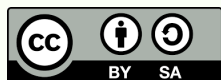
Article History

Received 29 December 2021

Approved for Publication 30 June 2022

To Cite this Article

Arif Sugitanata, Siti Aminah, and Ahmad Muhasim, "LIVING LAW AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: Weaving Skills as a Marriage Requirement in Sade, West Nusa Tenggara," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 15, no. 1 (2022): 145–61, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2022.15108>.



Copyright © 2022 by Author(s)
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Introduction

Despite the complexity of the customary marriage procedures, the Dusun Sade people continue to preserve and maintain their marriage-related cultures.¹ The Sade community upholds the customs of the Sasak (the original inhabitants of the island of Lombok) by

¹ Fachrir Rahman, *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam Di Nusa Tenggara Barat, Mataram: Alam Tara Institute*, 2014.

enforcing them to this day.² This caused Sade village to become one of the traditional villages and one of the most popular tourist destinations, as determined by the local administration. The weaving culture practiced by Sade women is one of the most firmly held traditions.³

In the marriages of the Sade people, especially the women, the passion for preserving this weaving culture is institutionalized. In current-day Dusun Sade, one of the customary rules prohibiting the marriage of untrained weavers is the ban on girls' marriage. According to Islamic teachings, weaving skills are not actually a prerequisite for marriage validity. However, this is a customary rule among the local populace.⁴ This requirement is institutionalized in the form of a marriage restriction for girls who lack the ability to weave.

Based on the results of initial observations, the people of Sade respect *awiq-awiq* (local customary rules)⁵ regarding the prohibition of marriage for girls who do not have weaving skills yet. The traditional leader of the Sade community encourages the community to carry out traditional rituals, one of which is marriage. The legitimacy of traditional leaders can decrease if the traditional leaders are not responsible for the *awiq-awiq*.⁶

The prohibition to marry for girls who cannot weave is quite paradoxical if we look at the current context where in general traditional prohibitions have begun to be abandoned by switching to modern culture. Based on this, this article explores the reasons why there are marriage rules for girls who do not have weaving skills in the Sade community and what this means for the Sade people. This article is inspired by the theory of symbolic anthropology popularized by Turner. This paper shows that the marriage rules for girls who do not have weaving skills are a representation of the will to preserve local culture. In addition, this concept is inseparable from the aim of strengthening the position of women in the family in the future.

² Adrian Widisono, "The Local Wisdom on Sasak Tribe Sade Hamlet Central Lombok Regency," *Local Wisdom: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Kearifan Lokal* 11, no. 1 (2019): 42–52, <https://doi.org/10.26905/lw.v11i1.2711>.

³ Mardiyanti, "Kain Tenun Tradisional Dusun Sade, Rembitan, Pujut, Lombok Tengah, Nusa Tenggara Barat" (Yogyakarta: Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 2016).

⁴ Interview with KS (Initials of Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village on 31 March 2020.

⁵ Tuti Mutia et al., "A Study on Bayan Community Perception Towards Awiq-Awiq Local Wisdom Based Forest Management," in *1st International Conference on Social Knowledge Sciences and Education (ICSKSE 2018)* (Atlantis Press, 2019), 47–50, <https://doi.org/10.2991/icskse-18.2019.8>.

Actually, in the Indonesian context, the customary requirements in marriage have been studied a lot, including Annafi,⁷ Toifur,⁸ Sodikin,⁹ Wibowo¹⁰, Ahmad,¹¹ Fauzi,¹² Syafingi,¹³ and Chafidoh.¹⁴ These researchers have explained the prohibition and harm of the prohibition of traditional marriages. Their studies prescribe these customary prohibitions from the perspective of Islamic law (*fiqh*) so that the analysis tends to be contradictory to Shari'ah norms. Slightly different from this group, Minhaj's research¹⁵ instead explained that *salep tarjeh* marriage (a ban on marriage between male relatives from the wife's side and female relatives from the wife's side, including siblings, uncles, and even

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Annafi explained in his research, from the perspective of Islamic law, that the prohibition on marriage applies *pegito* contrary to the Sharia, as there is no evidence in the existing texts that the prohibition on marriage has been like *pegito* abolished or annulled. The oath taken by the ancestors is not consistent with the Sharia. See Adzim Annafi, "Larangan Perkawinan Pegiton Di Desa Kepau Jaya Kecamatan Siak Hulu Ditinjau Menurut Hukum Islam" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, 2019).

⁸ Thoifur, "Larangan Perkawinan Beda Awu Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Desa Bogorejo Dan Desa Dadapan Kecamatan Sean Kabupaten Rembang)" (Semarang, 2019).

⁹ Sodikin concluded that in Islam, the prohibition against marrying women who are orphans is contrary to the prevailing rules, resulting in difficulties and dilemmas for couples who are going to get married. See Sodikin, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Larangan Menikahi Wanita Yang Salah Satu Dari Kedua Orang Tuanya Sudah Meninggal" (Semarang, 2018).

¹⁰ Wibowo, using the 'Urf approach, argues that the prohibition on marriages in the month of Muharram as a form of community obedience is an urf fasid and a special urf because it prioritizes tradition which is customary law and ignores the benefit of the marriage. See Chrisna Wibowo, "Analisis 'Urf Terhadap Ketaatan Masyarakat Dalam Adat Larangan Perkawinan Bulan Muharram (Studi Kasus Pada Masyarakat Ketonggo Bungkal Ponorogo)" (Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, 2019).

¹¹ Achmad with the Saddu Az-Zari'ah approach concluded that there are many disadvantages and discrepancies between the Prohibition of Marriage in the Asrah Inner Tradition and the goal of Shari'at, namely protecting one's ancestry. See Asrori Achmad, "Analisis Saddu Az-Zariah Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Dalam Tradisi Asrah Batin (Studi Kasus Di Karanglangu Dengan Desa Ngombak Kecamatan Kedungjati Kabupaten Grobogan)" (Semarang, 2019).

¹² Fahrul Fauzi, "Larangan Perkawinan Sepersusuan Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Medis," *Tahkim: Jurnal Peradaban Dan Hukum Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): 39–58, <https://doi.org/10.29313/tahkim.v3i2.6352>.

¹³ Syafingi analyzes how the practice of prohibiting Ngalor-Ngulon marriage in Javanese Custom in Leses Village, Klaten Regency Perspective *Sadd Ad-Dzari'ah*. See Chalwan Syafingi, "Larangan Perkawinan Ngalor-Ngulon Dalam Adat Jawa Di Desa Leses Kabupaten Klaten Perspektif Sadd Ad-Dzariah," *MISYKAT Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Quran Hadist Syari Ah Dan Tarbiyah* 5, no. 2 (2020): 99–114, <https://doi.org/10.33511/misykat.v5n2.99-114>.

¹⁴ Chafidoh pointed out that the ban on Selen's marriage is included in the category of 'urf fasid' where the people of Wringinharjo Village, Gandrungmangu District believe that Selen will have a negative influence on the household and this can cause shirk. See Chafidoh Imroatin, "Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Selén Perspektif Hukum Islam" (IAIN Purwokerto, 2020).

grandchildren) in Islamic law can be implemented because *salep tarjeh* marriage is not included in the category of marriage prohibition mentioned in an-Nisa' verses 22-23. In addition, based on a normative-juridical approach, Jaya once wrote that there is no prohibition on same-office marriages.¹⁶ There is also research from Gultom regarding the prohibition of marriage in Toba Batak custom.¹⁷ All of these studies try to look at the conditions for marriage according to adat from a *fiqh* point of view. Departing from this, this paper looks at it from a legal anthropological point of view. Therefore the academic question to be answered is why the prohibition on marriage for girls who do not have the ability to weave still exists in the Sade Muslim Community.

This research is field research. Data were collected through observation and interviews. Interviews were conducted with residents of Sade Village and traditional leaders. The collected data is then identified and described qualitatively.

Portrait of the Marriage Process of the Sasak Sade Community

Dusun Sade is included in 21 hamlets in Rambitan village. The Sasak Sade community is one of the Sasak communities in the Rambitan village area, namely Rambitan, Telok Bulan, Lentak, Selok, Penyalu, Peluk, Rebuk, and Rumbi. The Sasak Sade community is a Muslim population.¹⁸ Emotionally all of these communities claim to be descended from the same ancestor, namely the Kiyangan Wall Stone.¹⁹ It can be said, Dusun Sade still maintains the authenticity of its traditions and culture as Sasak culture, for example, *alang* (barn), a relic in the form of a traditional building *bale rumput tinggal* (bale gunung rate), and *berugak* as well as ritual cultural customs (ritual mole monte) as one of the ethnic identities. Until now, Dusun

¹⁵ Ahmad Minhaj, "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Salep Tarjeh Di Desa Langkap Kecamatan Burneh Bangkalan" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2018).

¹⁶ Hervianis VirDYa Jaya, "PERSPEKTIF HUKUM ISLAM TERHADAP LARANGAN MENIKAH SATU KANTOR (Studi Analisis Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 13/PUU-XV/2017 Terhadap Pembatalan Pasal 153 Ayat (1) Huruf f Undang-Undang No. 13 Tahun 2003 Tentang Ketenagakerjaan)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung, 2019).

¹⁷ Sholihin Gultom, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Pernikahan Dalam Adat Batak Toba (Studi Kasus Masyarakat Muslim Desa Setia Kecamatan Pahae Jae Kabupaten Tapanuli Utara)" (Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, 2014).

¹⁸ Arif Sugitanata, "Memberikan Hak Wali Nikah Kepada Kyai: Praktik Taukil Wali Nikah Pada Masyarakat Adat Sasak Sade," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 12, no. 2 (2020): 161–72, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12204>.

¹⁹ Heri Zulhadi, "Adat Perkawinan Endogamy Masyarakat Sade Desa Rambitan Kecamatan Pujut Kabupaten Lombok Tengah Menurut Pandangan Hukum Islam." (Mataram:, 2015).

Sade is never empty of visitors because it is well-known as a tourist attraction, both local and foreign.

In the traditional marriage ceremony of the Sade people, the bride-to-be and groom-to-be must complete a number of steps in order to legalize their marital status according to both custom and religion. In the Sade culture, the bride is typically abducted in secret by the groom. The arrangement of customary marriage procedures that commonly occur in Sade Hamlet is as follows: *pesopok janji*, *bebait*, *nyelabar*, *membait bande*, *bekavin*, *ngantung aji kerame*, and *nyongkolan*.

Pesopok janji (making a promise) is a binding agreement between a man and a woman to get married after going through negotiations and taking promises together. A promise can be regarded as a fiancé procession.²⁰ *Bebait* (to pick up) is the habit of taking or better-known kidnapping/running away girls by men for marriage. Usually, the process of kidnapping the bride is done secretly. During the kidnapping period, the bride-to-be may not be taken to the man's house, but taken to another family's house. This series is called *besebok* (hiding).²¹ The following are common habits that are carried out when kidnapping/escaping the bride: (a) the prospective bride must be taken from the parent's house, it is not allowed other than that; (b) the bride-to-be taken is ready and willing to the man who has run away so that it doesn't seem to be imposing; (c) when taking the prospective bride, it is not permissible during the day but must be done at night, namely after sunset until 23.00 o'clock; (d) involve a woman in escaping her idol to avoid negative impressions from society; and (e) the kidnapping must be immediately notified to the woman's family that their child has been kidnapped to be married.²²

The next day after the kidnapping, the women's family will come looking for (chasing) the missing girl with a dagger or spear. When in the middle of their journey they met with a messenger from the male side to tell them about this interesting event. This process is also called *spreading the marriage message*, which means to determine with certainty

²⁰ Zuhadi.

²¹ M Arifin and Praktik Merariq Zuhdi, "Wajah Sosial Masyarakat Sasak," *Mataram: LEPPIM LAIN Mataram*, 2012.

²² Arifin and Zuhdi.

without any doubt that the woman is really legally married based on the prevailing traditions and without any coercion from anyone.²³

After spreading the message agreed upon by the woman's family, then the man's party comes to the woman's family to discuss matters related to the burden of costs that will be requested by the woman. In *membait bande* (taking things) it is decided *pisuke* (amount of money has to be paid by the man to the woman's family) and collect payment. There is no definite standard for a minimum or maximum amount of money for *pisuke*, usually around five, ten, up to 25 million, or even more depending on the agreement of both parties.²⁴ *Bekawin* means the marriage contract, where the bride and groom make wedding vows, namely *ijab* and *qabul* like marriage in general (the agreement from the couple). *Ngantung aji krame* is a tradition of giving material or financial goods from the man to the woman, which will later be returned to the man. This set of materials is called *aji krame suci lambang adat* (the symbol of tradition).²⁵ The magnitude *aji krame suci lambang adat* happened in Dusun Sade is *aji telung dase telu* (thirty-three), the intention is the amount of a set of materials submitted during the process *ngantung aji krame*.²⁶

Begawe (traditional wedding party) is an event held in connection with the marriage, commonly referred to as the reception. *Begawe* in the Sade community is a friendly event and serves as a strengthening of the kinship and kinship of the party holding the reception. The main basis for fostering and maintaining unity in social life for the Sasak Sade people is the mutual cooperation system, also known as mutual cooperation *begawean bareng-bareng* in order to maintain and preserve the soul and spirit of togetherness this *gotong royong* (working together) is instilled.²⁷

Nyongkolan (traditional parade) is the end of a series of marriage activities for the Sasak community in general. *Nyongkolan* is carried out jointly by all members of the family and the community, namely coming to the bride's house using traditional attributes, such as traditional clothes, and local music that reflects local culture. *Nyongkolan* aims to publicly

²³ Sudriman, *Prosesi Perkawinan Masyarakat Gumi Sasak* (NTB: KSU Primaguna, 2012).

²⁴ Interview with KS (Initials of Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 20 2020.

²⁵ Ahyar Ahyar and Subhan Abdullah, "Sorong Serah Aji Krama Tradition of Lombok Sasak Marriage to Revive Islamic Culture," *El Harakah* 21, no. 2 (2019): 255, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v21i2.6961>.

²⁶ Interview with KS (Initials of Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 20 2020.

announce that the bride and groom have entered into a marriage bond and apologize and pay respect to both parents and the family. In this *nyongkolan* process, the entire community and the bride and groom wear traditional clothes made by the local community from woven products. The bride and groom are accompanied by gamelan and other arts and are attended by the community/family.²⁸

Weaving Skills as an Economic Commodity and Cultural Identity of the Sade Society

The Sade people have started weaving activities since at least 1907. Woven products use cotton as raw material. The Sade people usually get cotton directly from the gardens belonging to the local community. However, as a result of the rapid development in Central Lombok, cotton is rarely found in community plantations. Currently, the Sade community obtains cotton from markets in the surrounding area, such as Pujut. The cotton taken from the residents' gardens is first dried in the sun to dry for several days. After drying, only then is the cotton refined with traditional tools to become a thread.²⁹

The ancestors of the Sade people were skilled at making their own yarn from dry cotton. As for the spinning process, the Sade people use a simple loom made of wood.³⁰ The process of spinning these threads takes a long time. This is because cotton needs to be spun and trimmed first into yarn. Fine cotton is processed into spun white yarn by the technique of rolling the yarn using a traditional wooden tool. This traditional spinning tool has a shape like a pole which is inserted by two transverse wood on four sides at the top end. The results of the spun yarn are used as materials in the manufacture of woven fabrics and are also marketed or sold by the Sade people to other weavers.³¹ Picture 1 below shows a portrait of a Sade girl spinning yarn with a traditional spinning tool.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Sudriman, *Prosesi Perkawinan Masyarakat Gumi Sasak*.

²⁹ Interview with KS (Initial Name of Indigenous Resource Person and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 19 2020 M. / 4 Jumadil Awal 1442 H.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*



Picture 1: Traditional cotton spinner and Sade girl

In terms of coloring woven textiles, the Sade people use natural ingredients. The basic ingredients in question are in the form of leaves, fruit, roots, and even the cuticle of particular plants (trees). For example leaves of the *Indigofera* plant are for dark color, turmeric for yellow, noni for red, green from winged bean leaves, and pink from coconut fiber. Today, the natural ingredients utilized by the Sade people are still preserved.³²

There are several motives resulting from the weaving skills of the Sade people, such as *kembang komak*, *kain selot*, *ragi genep*, *tapok kemalo*, *kain bereng*, *krodat* and *batang empat*. Each motif on the various woven fabrics has its own significance. They are not only constructed to resemble the lines on traditional textiles. When starting a household boat without any disturbances, such as straight lines on woven textiles, the Sade considers the beginning of making line motifs to be a symbol of life. A straight line represents eternal life and an abundance of blessings. As with a straight line, the to-be-accomplished tasks can bring about harmony.³³

Habits in weaving skills are accompanied by a desire to create clothing to cover the body for daily activities among the Sade people. This woven cloth is utilized in traditional ceremonies as a tool. The *awiq-awiq* (traditional rules) that apply to the Sade community, particularly women, originated from the tradition of weaving that has lasted so long. The implementation of these customary rules has repercussions for Sade women as well. If they lack the ability to weave, they are not permitted to enter into a marriage. This means that

³² *Ibid.*

all Sade women are culturally encouraged to be skilled weavers. According to the evidence, Sade women are taught to weave between the ages of seven and eight. Some eight-year-olds already possess basic weaving skills. Thus, by the time they reach the age of seventeen, Sade women have mastered a variety of motifs.³⁴ According to Sade Hamlet, who is also a traditional leader, most women in Sade have been able to weave since childhood, having been taught by their mothers. This is supported by customary laws prohibiting the marriage of young women who cannot yet weave.³⁵

The conclusion is that Sade's woman has been taught to weave from an early age. This is also supported by an ancient tradition that has become the norm and whose validity continues to the present day: a girl without weaving skills is not permitted to marry.³⁶ According to Turner,³⁷ the meaning derived from a culture or set of customs can be viewed in three dimensions. The first is the exegetical dimension, which refers to the meaning derived directly from the source in relation to the cultural behavior (*amiq-amiq*) under study. The exegesis consists of the symbol-related information provided by the informant or extracted from a narrative story. The second dimension is the operational one, in which the meaning obtained is not limited to the informant's words or information, but rather is derived from the behavior of the ritual activities performed during the ritual. This implies that the context in which the symbol is used must be understood in order to determine its practical functions.³⁸ The third is the positional dimension, which is the meaning derived from a comprehensive comprehension of the symbol.³⁹ It is possible for a symbol to have multiple meanings, so it is necessary to examine it broadly, across symbols.⁴⁰

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Interview with D (Initial Name of Interviewee Girl of Dusun Sade) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 20 2020.

³⁵ Interview with KS (Initial Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 20 2020.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Santri Sahar, "Kebudayaan Simbolik Etnografi Religi Victor Turner," *Sosioreligius* 4, no. 2 (2019): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.24252/sosioreligius.v4i2.13320>.

³⁸ Victor Turner and Victor Witter Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, vol. 101 (Cornell University Press, 1970).

³⁹ Victor Turner, "Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Ithaca and London" (Cornell University Press, 1974).

⁴⁰ Y Wartaya Winangun, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas Dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner* (Kanisius, 1990).

We utilized the exegetical and operational dimensions from the three previously listed dimensions. From these two perspectives, we analyze the findings regarding the causes and significance of the ban on marriage for girls who lack weaving skills. After conducting interviews and making observations, it is possible to interpret the Sade people's marriage ban for untrained weavers as a means of cultural preservation and strengthening the local community's microeconomy. As a means of cultural preservation, the Sade respects their ancestors tremendously. This is evidenced by the existence of ancient dwellings of the formerly indigenous Sasak people as well as long-standing customary laws. Since the founding of Dusun Sade in 1907, the people of Sade have been weaving, and at that time, the customary rules prohibiting the marriage of girls who cannot weave were in effect. The following is a statement from the Sade traditional leader:

As relics of our ancestors, we preserve the traditions and cultures of Sade Hamlet with great care. Every year, we hold a meeting to discuss whether or not the existence of tradition and customary rules has changed. We continue to preserve these traditions and culture despite the global influence of modern technology that has entered various hamlets around Rembitan, particularly Dusun Sade, which is also a central Lombok tourist attraction.⁴¹

Since ancient times, it has been a customary rule among the Sade to forbid the marriage of young women who have not yet mastered the art of weaving. On the grounds of respect for the ancestors, the hamlet chief and the Rembitan Village apparatus uphold these customary rules as a form of cultural preservation. As described above. Traditional rules are not codified in statute, but the community adheres strictly to what constitutes the rule in social life. Especially for the people of Dusun Sade, the traditional rules prohibiting the marriage of untrained weavers remain in effect today.

In order to foster a love for their own culture and as a form of community cohesion, the Sade adhere to the applicable customary rules, including the prohibition of marriage for girls who do not possess weaving skills, and the position of traditional leaders is also highly respected.⁴² As a traditional leader and also the leader of Sade Hamlet, Mr. KS is always

⁴¹ Interview with WH (Initial Name of Resource Person Secretary of Rembitan Village) at the Office of the Head of Rembitan Village, December 21.

⁴² Interview with AM (Initial Name of Community Speaker) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

attentive to the maintenance of a tradition or custom. Traditional figure is an honorific title among the Sade used to designate a local leader during birth, marriage, and death ceremonies.⁴³ This perception regarding the status of traditional leaders is the foundation of the Dusun Sade people's respect for traditional leaders. In the current era of globalization, traditional leaders of Sade play a central role in preserving and sustaining the existence and authenticity of cultural traditions through *awiq-awiq*.

In addition to being a means of cultural preservation, weaving is a source of income for the Sade. Each Dusun Sade home displays a variety of textiles and garments woven by Sade women. In contrast to other villages, none of Sade's women have worked abroad as TKW (Women Labor). A single Sade woman assists her family in producing and selling woven textiles to travelers. Therefore, there is no reason for Sade women to become migrant laborers, as they already earn a living through their own weaving abilities. As the statement from the girl Sade mostly traditional figures do not allow the girl to be migrant workers, in order to preserve the tradition alive. For economic reasons, the traditional leader coordinates the selling of woven textiles to tourists.⁴⁴

The ability to weave is a form of economic defense for the Sade people, as evidenced by the description provided previously. According to the last interview's excerpts, a girl from Sade did not state that she did not wish to become a migrant worker; rather, she indicated that customary norms encouraged her to continue weaving. This indicates that the economic value of weaving skills and cultural preservation are interdependent factors.

Weaving Skills as a Symbol of Empowering Sade Women

In relation to women, we also discovered that the significance of being able to weave is the ability to create a belt that she will use as a waist bolster after giving birth and getting married. Indigenous leaders and parents of the Sade community have long since made provisions for females to be able to create childbirth-supporting belts.⁴⁵ The traditional leaders and parents of the Sade community have long since made provisions for girls to be

⁴³ Interview with Y (Initial Name of Interviewee Girl of Dusun Sade) in Dusun Sade, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁴⁴ Interview with SA (Initial Name of Interviewee Girl of Dusun Sade) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁴⁵ Interview with KS (Initial Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

able to make traditional belts childbirth-supporting for a woman—to strengthen the waist so that giving birth will not be too painful.⁴⁶

The Sade girls are not burdened by these societal norms. In fact, the Sade girls appear appreciative that they were taught to weave at a young age. This rule applies only to women at first glance, but Sade women do not view this culture as a form of objectification of women. In the context of symbolic anthropology, the above-mentioned reasons for the Sade people to continue enforcing the ban on marriage for girls who cannot yet weave are a habit that has been considered normal, and the women themselves understand its significance. This ability to weave is a norm and a benefit for the Sade community.

Ideal rules of customary law justify the Sade community's continued enforcement of the ban on marriage for girls who cannot yet weave. There is a message that serves as a symbol for enhancing the role of Sade women in the home. The requirement for Sade women to be able to weave is evidence of their unique identity. When husbands/fathers are engaged in farming or other work, wives also weave. This demonstrates that women can not only manage the kitchen but also contribute to the family's economic well-being. So that the husband/father who is the head of the family and breadwinner has no reason to discriminate against Sade women.⁴⁷ In addition to demonstrating her identity, a Sade girl's weaving skills demonstrate her maturity and independence. A Sade girl is not considered mature and marriageable if she lacks weaving skills.⁴⁸ As a criterion for women's maturity in the Sade community, the ability to weave is directly acknowledged by the inhabitants.⁴⁹

Customary rules prohibiting the marriage of girls who lack weaving skills have no effect other than to increase women's independence. Due to this tradition, all Sade women have had the ability to weave from a young age and have been able to produce and sell their woven goods, allowing them to be considered independent.⁵⁰ These customary rules

⁴⁶ Interview with Y (Initial Name of Interviewee Girl of Dusun Sade) in Dusun Sade, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁴⁷ Interview with H (Initial Name of Community Speaker) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁴⁸ Interview with H (Initial Name of Community Speaker) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁴⁹ Interview with N (Initial Name of Interviewee Girl of Dusun Sade) in Dusun Sade, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

⁵⁰ Interview with KS (Initial Names of Traditional Leaders and Head of Sade Hamlet) in Sade Hamlet, Rembitan Village, December 21 2020.

are progressive in that they empower women. In the context of symbolic theory, the significance of women's independence is derived from *aniq-aniq*, which is used to strengthen the resilience of the Sade Community (social resilience). In the public and private spheres, it depicts women as leaders⁵¹ who play an important role in preserving cultural customs and building the local economy. Thus, the prohibition on marriage for girls who lack the ability to weave is an element of the evolution of the role of Sade women. So that Sade women can contribute to their families and communities.

Conclusion

Based on research findings, the Sade community continues to enforce a traditional rule that is regarded as ideal, which prohibits the marriage of girls who lack weaving skills. According to researchers, the enforcement of these customs has become a symbol of efforts to develop the role of Sade women in the domestic sphere, which further strengthens the position of Sade women in determining the age of marriage. The meaning of the customary rules prohibiting the marriage of untrained weavers for the Sade people represents the identity of Sade women, who are mature and self-sufficient. The autonomy of women is institutionalized as a cultural imperative in local customary institutions, specifically *aniq-aniq* regarding the prohibition of marriage for girls who lack skills. The slow and controlled pace of globalization and social change in the Sade community demonstrates the strength of customary authority and the people's adherence to ancient customs. This ancient custom has survived to the present day because it has a positive effect that can be described as quite sophisticated: women's empowerment.

References

Abubakar, Fatum, Euis Nurlaelawati, and Ahmad Bunyan Wahib. "Interpreting 'Bulugh': Enhancement of Women's Right through Management of Marriage within Salafi Community in Wirokerten Yogyakarta.?" *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 1 (2022): 139–63. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.139-163>.

⁵¹ Fatum Abubakar, Euis Nurlaelawati, and Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, "Interpreting 'Bulugh': Enhancement of Women's Right through Management of Marriage within Salafi Community in Wirokerten Yogyakarta.?" *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 1 (2022): 139–63, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.139-163>.

- Achmad, Asrori. "Analisis Saddu Az-Zariah Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Dalam Tradisi Asrah Batin (Studi Kasus Di Karanglangu Dengan Desa Ngombak Kecamatan Kedungjati Kabupaten Grobogan)." Semarang, 2019.
- Ahyar, Ahyar, and Subhan Abdullah. "Sorong Serah Aji Krama Tradition of Lombok Sasak Marriage to Revive Islamic Culture." *El Harakah* 21, no. 2 (2019): 255. <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v21i2.6961>.
- Annafi, Adzim. "Larangan Perkawinan Pegiton Di Desa Kepau Jaya Kecamatan Siak Hulu Ditinjau Menurut Hukum Islam." Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, 2019.
- Arifin, M, and Praktik Merariq Zuhdi. "Wajah Sosial Masyarakat Sasak." *Mataram: LEPPIM LAIN Mataram*, 2012.
- Fauzi, Fahrul. "Larangan Perkawinan Sepersusuan Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Medis." *Tahkim: Jurnal Peradaban Dan Hukum Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.29313/tahkim.v3i2.6352>.
- Gultom, Sholihin. "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Pernikahan Dalam Adat Batak Toba (Studi Kasus Masyarakat Muslim Desa Setia Kecamatan Pahae Jae Kabupaten Tapanuli Utara)." Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, 2014.
- Imroatin, Chafidoh. "Tradisi Larangan Perkawinan Selèn Perspektif Hukum Islam." IAIN Purwokerto, 2020.
- Jaya, Hervianis Virdya. "PERSPEKTIF HUKUM ISLAM TERHADAP LARANGAN MENIKAH SATU KANTOR (Studi Analisis Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 13/PUU-XV/2017 Terhadap Pembatalan Pasal 153 Ayat (1) Huruf f Undang-Undang No. 13 Tahun 2003 Tentang Ketenagakerjaan)." Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung, 2019.
- Mardiyanti. "Kain Tenun Tradisional Dusun Sade, Rembitan, Pujut, Lombok Tengah, Nusa Tenggara Barat." Yogyakarta: Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 2016.
- Minhaj, Ahmad. "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Larangan Perkawinan Salep Tarjeh Di Desa Langkap Kecamatan Burneh Bangkalan." Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2018.
- Mutia, Tuti, Sumarmi Sumarmi, Syamsul Bachri, and Budidjanto Budidjanto. "A Study on Bayan Community Perception Towards Awiq-Awiq Local Wisdom Based Forest Management." In *1st International Conference on Social Knowledge Sciences and Education (ICSKSE 2018)*, 47–50. Atlantis Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icskse-18.2019.8>.
- Rahman, Fachrir. *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam Di Nusa Tenggara Barat. Mataram: Alam Tara Institute*, 2014.
- Sahar, Santri. "Kebudayaan Simbolik Etnografi Religi Victor Turner." *Sosioreligius* 4, no. 2 (2019): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.24252/sosioreligius.v4i2.13320>.
- Sodikin. "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Larangan Menikahi Wanita Yang Salah Satu Dari Kedua Orang Tuanya Sudah Meninggal." Semarang, 2018.
- Sudriman. *Prosesi Perkawinan Masyarakat Gumi Sasak*. NTB: KSU Primaguna, 2012.

- Sugitanata, Arif. "Memberikan Hak Wali Nikah Kepada Kyai: Praktik Taukil Wali Nikah Pada Masyarakat Adat Sasak Sade." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 12, no. 2 (2020): 161–72. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12204>.
- Syafingi, Chalwan. "Larangan Perkawinan Ngalor-Ngulon Dalam Adat Jawa Di Desa Leses Kabupaten Klaten Perspektif Sadd Ad-Dzariah." *MISYKAT Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Quran Hadist Syari Ah Dan Tarbiyah* 5, no. 2 (2020): 99–114. <https://doi.org/10.33511/misykat.v5n2.99-114>.
- Thoifur. "Larangan Perkawinan Beda Awu Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Desa Bogorejo Dan Desa Dadapan Kecamatan Sean Kabupaten Rembang)." Semarang, 2019.
- Turner, Victor. "Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Ithaca and London." Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Turner, Victor, and Victor Witter Turner. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Vol. 101. Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Wibowo, Chrisna. "Analisis 'Urf Terhadap Ketaatan Masyarakat Dalam Adat Larangan Perkawinan Bulan Muharram (Studi Kasus Pada Masyarakat Ketonggo Bungkal Ponorogo)." Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, 2019.
- Widisono, Adrian. "The Local Wisdom on Sasak Tribe Sade Hamlet Central Lombok Regency." *Local Wisdom: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Kearifan Lokal* 11, no. 1 (2019): 42–52. <https://doi.org/10.26905/lw.v11i1.2711>.
- Winangun, Y Wartaya. *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas Dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner*. Kanisius, 1990.
- Zulhadi, Heri. "Adat Perkawinan Endogamy Masyarakat Sade Desa Rambitan Kecamatan Pujut Kabupaten Lombok Tengah Menurut Pandangan Hukum Islam." Mataram, 2015.