

## Round 1

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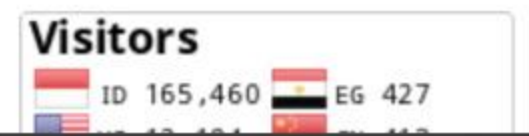
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5. Analytical discussion needs to be made.
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**THE KAWENG TURUNG REALITY TO THE MONGONDOW  
COMMUNITY OF NORTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA**

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**Abstract:** This research examined the *kaweng turung* reality in the Mongondow community, related to the acceptance of traditional and state institutions to this practice and the role of the Religion Ministry in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area. Initially, the term *kaweng turung* was not known in Mongondow marriage custom. It was known after the reformation, and it became a tradition due to the effect of accelerating global information acceptance. Interestingly none of the traditional institutions categorizes it as a custom violation. It was even accepted as a "public secret," meaning that the customary institution was obliged to carry out the duties of the traditional marriage procession, as opposed to the family's decision to *kaweng turung* even though the secret was known to the customary officer. Therefore, the Religion Ministry has a central role in overcoming this reality by making traditional and religious institutions partners in the socialization of pre-marital education, specifically concerning the harm of *kaweng turung* to perpetrators, the state, and religion. **OULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD AT ALL!**

**Keywords:** Reality, *Kaweng Turung*, Mongondow Customs, the Role of the Religion Ministry

**Abstrak:** Tujuan artikel ilmiah ini untuk menjelaskan realita *kaweng turung* di masyarakat Mongondow khususnya pada aspek penerimaan lembaga adat dan negara terhadap praktik tersebut serta peran Kementerian Agama di wilayah Bolaang Mongondow Raya dalam menanggapi realita tersebut. Hasilnya, dalam adat perkawinan Mongondow tidak dikenal istilah *kaweng turung*, ia baru dikenal dan mentradisi setelah reformasi karena efek akselerasi penerimaan informasi global, menariknya lembaga-lembaga adat tidak ada satu pun yang mengkategorikannya sebagai pelanggaran adat, bahkan ia diterima dengan keterangan sebagai "rahasia umum", dengan artian bahwa lembaga adat berkewajiban untuk menjalankan tugas dalam prosesi adat perkawinan, adapun keputusan keluarga untuk *kaweng turung* bukanlah menjadi kewajiban lembaga adat meskipun rahasia itu telah diketahui oleh petugas adat. Untuk itu, Kementerian Agama memiliki peran sentral dalam penanggulangan

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realita *kaweng turung*, dengan menjadikan lembaga adat dan agama sebagai mitra kerja sosialisasi pendidikan pra perkawinan khususnya berkenaan dengan kemudharatan *kaweng turung* bagi pelaku, negara, dan agama.

**Kata Kunci:** Realita, Kaweng Turung, Adat Mongondow, Peran Kementerian Agama

## Introduction

Mongondow is one of the largest indigenous communities in North Sulawesi Province, established from a royal system called Bolaang Mongondow. These two syllables specifically indicate the people's identity, for example, *bolaang* depicts those at sea, while *mongondow* are individuals residing in the forest or mountainous areas (*Bolaang Mongondow Tribe and Culture*, 2017).

As the largest tribe, the majority are Muslims who believe in the adage, "the Mongondow tradition is based on *shara'*" which is in accordance with *kitabullah*" (Dipalanga, 2013). In marriage practice, two models are sanctioned by custom, namely *mogantung* as a form of normal conjugal process according to *shara'* law, although with fairly strong customary management. Furthermore, *tangag* is an elopement marriage due to disapproval by the couple's parents, delay, or even the rejection of the wedding day. It is also caused by the fact that the groom's family is unable to pay the marriage assets (*tali*) requested by the brides', thereby causing both of them to secretly visit the traditional head or *shara'*, employee to get married (Waluyo & Silvana, 1999, p. 41).

The changing times and global communication have led to the emergence of a new marriage practice that seems legitimate in accordance with the Mongondow custom, namely *kaweng turung*. This type of marriage occurs when one is pregnant out of wedlock and is a disgrace to the family?????. A procession is carried out by custom, religion, and state to cover the shame. Afterward, the marriage process is completed by obliging the groom to leave the house and divorce his wife in their perception. This was not in accordance with the state perspective because it was not submitted to the Court of Religion.

This reality is scientifically examined in this research, specifically the marriage practice based on the Mongondow tradition. In addition, the possible acceptance of this custom, society, and even the state toward the *kaweng turung* reality, was also investigated. It further examined the role played by the Religion Ministry, specifically the Islamic community guidance section and the Office of Religious Affairs in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya work area, to overcome the *kaweng turung* reality. [Has not demonstrated why it is important to study](#)

## Methodology [integrated into intro??](#)

This is a qualitative research, which was fully implemented in the field in 2021. The object location is Bolaang Mongondow Raya, covering the Southern, Eastern, and Main Regencies, including Kotamboga City. Data was acquired through systematic observation (Hardani et al., 2020, p. 131) to examine the customary marriage practice. Furthermore, interviews were held with religious and customary leaders at random locations, as well as documentation by the traditional administrators or the *Penghulu* from the Office of Religious Affairs. An examination was later carried out, classifying and validating the acquired information based on the urgency of the research problem and then concluding the validated results (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015, pp. 123–124). Finally, descriptive analysis was performed based on an Islamic law approach.

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## Result and Discussion?????

### A. Marriage in the Mongondow Tradition

Before explaining the marriage law in the framework of the Mongondow custom, it is necessary to emphasize the parental or bilateral kinship system in the community, including its classification; *Tonggolaki* is the smallest group that consists of members of the immediate family, namely father, mother, and unmarried children. This is followed by *Tonggoabuan*, a larger group similar to the *tonggolaki* with the addition of married children and their grandparents. The *Motoleoadi* is a large kinship group consisting of siblings, paternal and maternal cousins, and uncles (Saud et al., 2004, p. 36).

These kinship groups tend to help each other. They were developed because the Bolaang Mongondow community has large socio-cultural potential, namely *moposad* (mutual cooperation) for the betterment of their socio-economic status (Rommy Y. Hiola et al., 2002, p. 8). According to Dachrud (2016), their motto is *mototompian* (mutual improvement), *mototabian* (love each other), and *mototanoban* (remember each other). Therefore, when extracted from the marriage dimension, the Mongondow customary law plays an active and effective role by cooperating to ensure the successful organization of the wedding events.

Aringking et al. (2021, p. 65) stated that both Muslims and Christians engage in the traditional processions. The customary practice performed by the Christian community only includes marriage and mourning or death, besides from these, it is unpreserved.

Irrespective of the fact that the implementation of the wedding procession is filled with traditional nuances, they strictly adhere to the essence of religious teachings, for example, not marrying those who are forbidden in Islam (Surah 4:23). The Mongondow tribe is careful (*ihitiat*) in strengthening the teachings of this religion and implementing it, hence, they are traditionally prohibited from marrying family members up to the fourth generation. In a circumstance where love exists among families who intend to get married, then before the procession of the marriage contract, it must first be preceded by the traditional ceremony known as *bontow in bi'ian* to break these ties by the traditional elders (*toga monaba*). Similarly, after all these have been carried out, it is followed by a continuation of the marriage process (Saud et al., 2004, p. 52).

Meetings and collaborations held during traditional and religious processions are divided into three parts, namely before, during, and after the entire marriage activity. The customary process, which is regarded as the custom's main feature, is usually written in Mongondow language and performed before signing the marriage contract. The ceremonial procedure (Rajafi, 2021a) is as follows:

1. *Moguman* is a proposal made by either a male or female family member. During this process, certain values, namely honesty, wisdom, and openness, are highly prioritized, specifically when bargaining about the cost of the wedding ceremony, dowry (*dati*), marital assets (*tali*), including the prospective wife's needs (*ukud- ukud*). The unique outcome of this process needs to be reported by the *toga monaba* to the village leader (*sangadi*) for approval;

2. *Tompo Una Yoko* involves the delivery of a machete as a form of antidote during the climax of the wedding ceremony. This tool is handed over and received by traditional elders from the groom and bride's families. It is then mounted on the king's pole in the form of yellow bamboo and placed in the bride's house while reciting prayers (*itum-itum*) in Mongondow language. Unfortunately, this *tompo una yoko* ceremony is rarely practiced in this era;
3. *Mongatod Kon Yoko* is a process of delivering assets for the wedding ceremony, and it is only performed when the *moguman* has been ratified by the sangadi. These are in the form of *tali*, *dati*, *gu'at*, and *toga monaba*, usually delivered by friends and relatives while escorting the groom to the bride's house where the marriage is being held.

During this process, there is usually a review of the social status and perfection of the face and body of the proposed bride and her family. Moreover, if she is beautiful, highly educated, and a Civil Servant, or from a respected and rich family, and the asset delivered along with the dowry will be slightly expensive (Lapanca, 2021).

Saud et al. (2004, p. 56) stated that the entire marriage process is known as *tonsingogon haimbuloyan*. The Penghulu from the Office of Religious Affairs mandates that two individuals, namely the prospective groom and bride, are present, alongside a guardian who will marry them off, two witnesses, a dowry, and a statement (*sighat*) of consent. One unique act that is performed during the process is the bai'at. It involves reading two sentences from the creed and Islamic confessions in Arabic guided by an Imam or local religious leader, both to the prospective groom and bride at the place of the marriage ceremony and bridal chamber, respectively. Additionally, the sermon is read, and then the marriage contract is read and signed by the guardian and the groom, respectively.

The most unique and interesting part of the ceremony is the marriage contract, which depicts the validity of the union in front of the community and the groom's capability. This leads to the emergence of *mogama*, the final procession of the entire series of marriage ceremonies. Mawikere (2020, p. 174) stated that this event is not only a traditional ritual carried out based on special terms and conditions rather, it is a divine will that triggers love and affection between husband and wife, togetherness, as well as an attitude of serving and complementing each other, and a sense of responsibility.

There are 13 (thirteen) religious processes full of philosophical values. According to Malla (2020), these are as follows: *pangkoy gama'* (grab tree, meaning permission to "take" the bride from her parents to be introduced to the groom's family), *polampangon kontutugan lanag* (leaving the bride's house), *polampangon kontubig* (journey through the river), *poponikan kon tukad* (climbing the stairs), *Lampang kon tanom* (the bride arrives at the terrace of the groom's house), *pilat in payung* (umbrella is closed), *pilat in siripu* (take off sandals), *ilitu'an* or *bahasa'an mopoliu'* (the bride and groom are welcomed by being asked to sit down), *pilat in kokudu* (take off the hood or veil), *pinogapangan* (giving awards to female companions), *pinomama'an* (eating together), *pokilimumugan* (asked to rinse mouth), and *pobuian* (customary enforcers from the bride's side begged to say goodbye after the event has ended with the closing prayers).

There are marriage events that violate the custom, therefore, certain regulations are needed always to keep them in check. Nadjamuddin et al. (1984, p. 22) stated that there are at least three customary violations of marriage that are commonly resolved, and they are as follows:

1. *Sirodah* is when a man showed up unannounced at the woman's home to seek her hand in marriage. This problem is resolved by persuading the man to cancel his intention or sanctioned in the form of *tali ugat in buta*, namely a certain quantity of customary firmness asset that needs to be possessed because both parties intend to get married without their parents' consent.
2. *Tanga* or elope. Referring to this problem, the custom requires the imposition of *tali ugat in buta*, and both parties need to apologize to their parents.
3. *Momaluy* means raping someone else's wife, and with considers to this issue and was decided. This means that this heinous act was triggered by the fact that the rapist must be angry with the woman's husband and needs to be *mogompat ko lipu* with *butun iata*, a heavy penalty imposed by the traditional rulers. Furthermore, they are usually expelled and ostracized from the community or village where the incident occurred.

The aforementioned three customary violations show that currently, the only solution in the community, is *kaweng turung*. It is described as a marriage practice that became a tradition after the reformation era due to the rapid impact of global information. When its source was traced to the traditional elders, it was discovered that the term *kaweng turung* was not derived from the native Mongondow language. Rather it was absorbed from that spoken in Manado City, daily.

Furthermore, this practice does not only occur in the Mongondow community, it also extends to the Gorontalo area where it is regarded as a tradition (Sayiu & Faisal, 2020). *Kaweng turung* is an intentionally "forced" marriage between a woman who is pregnant out of wedlock and the man responsible or with another who is willing to marry her to protect the family's good name.

Consequently, after the marriage contract has been signed and the wedding reception procession completed, the man or husband immediately leaves the woman's family home and is prohibited from returning, either to meet his wife or child after birth. A "hanging" marital status is left because the marriage was not terminated by state law but was "considered" as divorce in the family's understanding (Rajafi, 2021d).

In essence, *kaweng turung* was unknown to officials from the Office of Religious Affairs or the elders in traditional institutions, although the "accidental" intention to wed would have been made known during the initial consultation on marriage registration. Therefore, after they have officially registered, they will receive a prospective bride and groom course (*suscatin*) related to the prohibition in the event of any bad intentions, such as leaving a partner after the contract had been signed.

Those who intend to get married – in a *kaweng turung manner*– are expected to engage in the process according to state and Islamic law because they have already been registered with the local Religious Affairs Office. They also have the right to obtain a marriage book and customary law enforcement and recognition



services through these processes and the reception events. They are regarded as some form of "announcement" that men and women are officially and legally married (Rajafi, 2020).

### **B. The Kaweng Turung Reality in Mongondow Community**

Mawikere (2020, p. 25) stated that the Mongondow community did not shut off themselves from change, specifically when it had to do with the people's livelihoods and welfare. However, these can be accepted in the customs context if the elders respond appropriately to renew customary marriage practices and processions, even when it is highly urgent.

The type of *kaweng turung* practiced in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency is explicitly unacceptable and even prohibited by religion, custom, and the state. This is because it violates the norms of sacred marriage and is based on honesty. Concerning the event that occurred in the community, Mr. Rais as the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs, Pinolosian District, South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, stated that the practice of *kaweng* (wedding processions) was still carried out in an orderly manner based on customs, religion, and state law. According to Rajafi (2021d), when it is *turung*, the husband leaves the house of his wife. This process is usually performed secretly after the completion of the marriage process.

Even though it was rejected from a regulatory perspective, it is practiced in the South Bolaang Mongondow community. It is considered by some a concrete and instant solution to maintain the family's good name. Rais and Rajafi (2021d) stated that since serving as head of the Office of Religious Affairs in Pinolosian District and before the issuance of Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning marriage which raised the minimum marital age for women from 16 to 19 years, not less than three cases have been reported every year, even more than in each village confirming *kaweng turung*. After the enactment of the new Law on Marriage, some of them preferred to perform **underhand???** or *Siri* weddings (based on *syara'* only). This is because they usually find it difficult to request a marriage dispensation letter from the Religious Courts and prefer to register with the Office of Religious Affairs.

A similar circumstance is experienced in Kotamobagu City. Hamri, a traditional leader, stated that in principle, *kaweng turung* practice is unknown in the Mongondow custom. However, because it is repeatedly performed in the community, specifically in Kotamubagu City, it was "justified" (Rajafi, 2021a). Intan further stated that the community viewed this practice as likely to occur in problematic marriages because the women got pregnant out of wedlock, which was understandable (Rajafi, 2020). To cover up this disgrace, marriage rites need to be performed immediately between the two parties, and afterward, only the men or newly married husbands leave their partners (*turung*).

However, because custom is a sacred element other than religion in the Mongondow community, its entirety in marriages held in Kotambuga City, including those considered problematic, are also carried out in a structured manner guided by the traditional elders. There are no dissimilarities at all because they have similar rights. Karim et al. (2021) stated that referring to the cultural aspect of *BoBahasaan* as a characteristic of wisdom and wise language adopted from the

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Mongondow community in Kotamubagu, including literary and philosophical values, whenever there is a problem, including in marriages. The traditional elders can handle the situation wisely, thereby preventing any form of violation.

The Mongondow community in East Bolaang Regency also has a similar perception that *kaweng turung* practice seems to be a new "solution". Towards the end of November 2021, one of the informants reported that in the Tutuyan area, a Mongondow traditional marriage process is usually carried out due to certain "accidents," namely women getting pregnant out of wedlock. At that time, a traditional procession for the wedding was performed, but in a more minimalist and simple manner. The *mogama* custom held after the marriage ceremony is also carried out in a sitting area, where the family members approach the bride to give her some money, although not much as a symbol. Less than a week after the wedding procession, the informant provided new information that the husband had left the house and his wife (*turung*).

One of the community leaders in the village confirmed the reality associated with the number of *kaweng turung* cases in East Bolaang Mongongo. Rajafi (2021c) stated that Moh. Makmur, the Head of the Islamic Community Guidance Section of the Religion Ministry Office in this regency, explained that this practice is not justified in Islam. However, some short-sighted people are comfortable with receiving a marriage book, and the community witnessing the arrival of their child after the marriage procession is enough for them, even though, finally, they are abandoned by their partner (*turung*).

There is not much information about *kaweng turung* practice in the community. However, some stories are told in the local villages that explain it, and one of the *turung* has even been advised after marriage. The reason this custom is not widely practiced in the community is that the people are already aware of the fact that it is wrong. However, there is a need to acknowledge that the term "not much" is not based on documented data at the Office of Religious Affairs or the Religion Ministry. Due to the awareness that this practice is a sin, anyone who commits it has sinned twice. The first is adultery, and the second is marrying with intentions not justified by the *Shari'ah* (Al-Husaini, 2005, pp. 671–672).

Therefore, in East Bolaang Mongondow, the most dominant choice is to continue with the marriage because both parties are regarded as perpetrators of adultery, which is perceived as some form of social consequence. After a few days of the wedding procession, the couple usually moves out of the area within a few months – to Manado. An example is visiting their parents and family members in their hometown after the wife or partner has given birth. However, a *turung* may occur afterward, specifically in a marriage between a pregnant woman and a man who is not responsible for the pregnancy.

Kosel (2010) and Manoppo et al. (2020) reported that the Bolaang Mongondow Regency, including its encounter with Islam, is the center of civilization in North Sulawesi. There is a slight difference in responding to *kaweng turung* case in the community. Presently, this practice is an open secret that the public understands, including living with their pregnant partner based on the marriage bond or leaving them afterward (*turung*).

Kifli Lamusa, the Head of the Islamic Community Guidance Section of the Religion Ministry, Bolaang Mongondow Regency, stated that *kaweng turung* is highly practiced in the work area (Rajafi, 2021b). It was measured by his personal experience as the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs as well as verbal reports from other Heads during job evaluations. This is why there are several marriages involving young women who already have children in a particular village. The information obtained during the guidance of the prospective bride and groom before the wedding turned out that the person concerned had previously been *kaweng turung*.

According to Kifli, *kaweng turung* is commonly based for two reasons. First, due to the forced marriage caused by adultery resulting in pregnancy and its rejection by the male's family. Therefore, the marriage is held only to cover up the shameful act. Immediately after the wedding party, the man and his family leave (*turung*) the bride. Second, it could mean that the pregnant woman had sex with other men, and because he was the last, it is assumed that he is responsible and needs to marry her under the condition that he will leave when the wedding is over (*turung*).

Regarding the custom's response to such pregnancy-related cases, it is a violation that upholds the traditional adage in accordance with *shara'* and *shara'* based on *kitabullah*. However, because social facts depict certain necessities, the customary institution continues to organize marriages involving traditional procession as a ceremonial activity. It is philosophically meaningless, and such organizations do not engage in secret conversations between the two families who agree to practice *kaweng turung*. Therefore, it is understandable that in Bolaang Mongondow Regency, it is a public secret. The sake of a legal change of status from single to married safeguards the family's good name.

Lastly, in the North Bolaang Mongondow Regency, there is a unique social fact that depicts the practice of "deviating" in marriage is not only associated with *kaweng turung* rather, it is also related to the iddah period practiced in a particular sub-district (Saputera & Lamunte, 2020). At first glance, these results show some elements of misunderstanding about marriage laws based on religious and state texts. However, further research needs to be carried out on this last argument, considering that the great kingdoms of the Mongondow people also existed in Northern Bolaang (Tungkagi, 2019).

Regarding *kaweng turung* practice in North Bolaang Mongondow, Supriadi Goma (Rajafi, 2021e). According to the sub-district head in West Bolangitang District, it is undeniable that it still exists and occurs in the community due to being accidentally married. This is aimed at maintaining the good name of the immediate and extended families and the clan and an administrative solution to the perpetrator's status and that of the child.

There is no exact number of these practices. Based on the observation in virtually all villages, there was a particular story comprising activities associated with the aforementioned three cases. All of them were performed through a custom procession organized by a traditional institution, including the acquisition of a marriage book from the Office of Religious Affairs. The groom's final decision to *turung* is an open secret and not the responsibility of the custom and the Office of

Religious Affairs because it is accomplished after the marriage ceremony. Supriadi stated that even some wedding procession was lavishly and festively performed, but after a few days, it was discovered that the groom had left his wife.

It turns out that there is still a particular area, namely Paku Village, West Bolangitang Subdistrict, that is quite firm in the implementation of this custom for adulterers in the community. Therefore, they are not allowed to walk down the aisle or wear traditional clothes during the wedding, their parents are also not allowed to accompany them during the marriage contract process. In other villages, there was a consensus about some form of *kaweng turung* perceived as a solution without having to make a fuss.

The earlier mentioned explanations thoroughly describe the existence of *kaweng turung* in all areas of the Mongondow community as a social reality. The reason is to maintain the dignity and good name of the family. As a social necessity, traditional customary institutions need to continuously carry out their duties professionally in guiding marriages but without "ignoring" its impact - whether through communication and agreement between the two families – usually in the form of a *turung* decision.

### **C. The Role of the Religion Ministry in the *Kaweng Turung* Reality**

Organizationally, the Religion Ministry at the Regency/City level that handles marriage related issues is situated in the Islamic Community Guidance Section, while the technical implementers or an extension of work functions at the Religious Affairs Office are located in the subdistricts (*Islamic Community Guidance (Bimas Islam)*, 2022). Its main task in this context is based on Religion Minister Regulation No. 34 of 2016 that the service, supervision, recording, and reporting of marriage-related issues and reconciliation and providing guidance services for *sakinah* families are carried out in this office.

To optimize this task, a sixteen-hour course needs to be held for the prospective brides and grooms, guided by the *Penghulu*, before the marriage registration and pre-wedding education for students, and scholars, by a Facilitator from the related ministry or office (Salma & Rajafi, 2020). Based on this work agenda, the textual focus of the Office of Religious Affairs is not aimed at recording and documenting the various marital problems in the community, including the *kaweng turung* reality. Therefore, it is only natural that there is no definite documented data regarding the number of *kaweng turung* events in each area during observations.

Based on the results of an interview held with several Section Heads of Islamic Community Guidance and Heads of Religious Affairs Offices in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area, it was discovered that they had made several efforts to render educational services or courses for prospective brides and grooms as well as teenagers in schools, including those who accidentally got pregnant. However, pre-marital education for adolescents has not been implemented optimally, for example, in Bolaang Mongondow Regency, where *kaweng turung* incidence is high. In 2019, this activity was performed only three times, and it was targeted at students in high school or madrasah aliyah, while in 2020 and 2021,

none was carried out at all due to the diversion of the budget as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Furthermore, to suppress these problems, the Religion Ministry, through the Office of Religious Affairs, optimized the implementation of Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage in the community, which mandates underage prospective brides to obtain a dispensation letter from the Religious Court before the ceremony occurs. The result turned out to be inversely proportional, rather than minimizing the marital problems, there was an increase in the number of those applying for dispensation letters in the Religious Courts. For example, at the Kotamubagu City Religious Court, the data on marriage dispensation requests granted increases every year. In 2019, 2020, and 2021, 54, 58, and 137 applications were granted, respectively (Kotamubagu Religious Court, 2021). Meanwhile, in 2020 and 2021, at the Lolak Religious Court, Bolaang Mongondow Regency, as many as 329 and 388 applications were granted, respectively (Lolak Religious Court, 2021).

Based on the data above, the work formula adopted in the field by the Religion Ministry did not produce an optimal solution (Khair & Zaki, 2018, pp. 479–480). In this case, the Office of Religious Affairs essentially plays a noble role related to ensuring the interests and needs of the Muslim community are realized and sustained as well as the enforcement of the government system. Therefore, the duties of the Islamic Community Guidance section of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs need to be maximized by not being passive or semi-active but has to progress and play an active role, specifically in tackling marital problems in the society. This is accomplished by at least carrying out appropriate documentation and data collection used as a basis of job executors' evaluation and carrying out research on new regulations from the responsive Religion Ministry.

The active role of this ministry is needed by the wider community, specifically Muslims, in a bid to improve socio-religious conditions, which at any time may clash with the effects of globalization. Therefore, the work reference of the Religion Ministry in the context of the *kaweng turun* reality is inspired by the rules of Islamic law, which requires *shalih li kulli zaman wa Makan* (Al-Sya'rawi, 1997, p. 11464). This is also associated with the existence of goodness in every era and different loci, even being a pioneer for happiness in this world and the hereafter.

The Religion Ministry in Bolaang Mongondow Raya needs not to work alone to achieve this vision. The work scope requires correlation and collaboration with external parties or institutions, such as developing intensive communication with traditional and community leaders such as Sangadi, Imam, etc. Moreover, these voices and actions have a strong influence on society, and it led to the formulation of responsive solutions to the cultural customs of the Mongondow community.

Moh. Makmur (Rajafi, 2021c) stated that these external parties, such as traditional and religious leaders, are the frontlines who can explain and confirm aspects of success in marriage. Therefore, the desire to have sex outside of marriage will be well negated, and another impact is that the practice of *kaweng* descent will not be realized in society. This was adopted by the Islamic Guidance Section at the Religion Ministry, East Bolaang Mongondow Regency, during the work agenda of

socializing the prohibition of underage marriage, as well as the obligation to obtain a dispensation letter from the Religious Court.

It was also conducted by Kifli Lamusa (Rajafi, 2021b) in Bolaang Mongondow Regency. According to Kifli, unfortunately, because of the vastness of their working area, coupled with the lack of personnel at the Office of Religious Affairs, the Religion Ministry's communication with traditional and religious leaders is still ceremonial. It has failed to implement solution-based field actions in the community because these works need to be supported by an optimal budget. Kifli further stated that the overall incidence of mating in the Bolaang Mongondow Regency was categorized as high. The data shows that every year the number continues to grow, for example in 2020 and 2021, there were 1345, and 1473 recorded events, respectively (Religion Ministry of Bolaang Mongondow Regency, 2021). Based on the information above, as well as field findings related to the occurrence of these marriages, it was concluded that the number of *kaweng turung* events in the area was indicated to be high. Furthermore, traditional and religious figures, as well as the general public, stated that the practice was categorized as an open secret.

Overall, the earlier mentioned reasons are similar, based on the field experiences of the implementers (Office of Religious Affairs) in all districts and cities in Bolaang Mongondow Raya, including the Guidance Section of the Islamic Community at the Religion Ministry. Therefore, support is needed from the local government to ensure that this practice that seems to have been "traditionalized" is negated. This needs to be effected in the moral and material aspects of marriage education for students and youth who are most prone to "calamities" in relationships, thereby resulting in accidental marriages.

These requirements are in line with Rogga (2001), stating that there are three main elements involved in establishing an effective work environment, namely the optimal job function of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs in tackling problems associated with marriages. These are in the form of 1) leadership support, starting with the Regent or Mayor, Head of the Office of the Religion Ministry, Sangadi, and Pak Imam; 2) employees or workers, namely those who serve in the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs; and 3) support of the diverse units, sections, or divisions, in this case, external parties such as traditional, religious, and community institutions that actively participated in the program.

The heavy task alleviated by the synergies between the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs, traditional and religious institutions based on the support of local governments in *kaweng turung* issue lies in efforts to change the community mindset, including the fact that "it is common secret," thereby yielding to certain mistakes made in marriage. Accordingly, mainstream thinking needs to be countered by new thoughts that lead to certain benefits. This is realized through the intensity of community empowerment – like a non-formal education about the dangers of early or underage marriage, including other dangerous impacts in the form of *kaweng turung*, besides this program is specifically for teenagers.

The concept of togetherness and mutual need for each other is referred to in the study of ushul fiqh, as well as in line with the rule of *ma la yatimmu al-wajib*

*illa bihi fahuwa wajib* (Al-Ghazali, 1431, p. 271), that the obligatory implementation of a system, is imperfect assuming one of the elements are lacking. One element also has the same law, namely mandatory. This means that creating awareness about marriage is an inherent obligation of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs. The avoidance of traditional and religious institutions during the process makes it ineffective. Therefore, synergizing with these parties is also a mandatory factor that needs to be looked into by the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs in pre-marital education for teenagers.

Based on this rationalization, the Religion Ministry in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area – particularly the Islamic community guidance section and the Office of Religious Affairs – plays a central role in this task. They are not textually stated in the rules of their main duties and functions but are contained in religious and social responsibilities, which have a greater value compared to routine tasks that are based on written regulations that are only beneficial to themselves and the institution.

This central role is manifested in at least three main actions, namely 1) The Ministry of Religion should build an optimal work commitment and serve the community in terms of realizing good socio-religious activities; 2) Supervision and recording of marriage events, both contracts, and mediation of marital problems, needs to be properly documented to ensure the results are used as a reference in work evaluation and formulation of solutions by the leadership; and 3) Build a network with external parties from the Ministry of Religion, specifically with leaders of traditional, religious, and social institutions or organizations.

The Ministry of Religion's central role explanation in tackling the problems of *kaweng turung* in the Mongondow community emphasizes that this office is perceived as the leader who should organize the socio-religious work system, as well as collaborate with external parties. This aids in understanding the stipulated plans and workflows to minimize or even eliminate the practice of *kaweng turung*. Surprisingly, such a conception is in line with the rules of Islamic law, which emphasizes that *hukm al-hakim yarfa' al-khilaf* (Al-Bassam, 2006, p. 689), meaning decisions made by leaders - with a good organizational system - can negate cross-disputes in the community. This is also consistent with Putri and Fatahurrazak (2020, p. 78) theory that leadership, supported by adequate organizational capacity, aids in realizing the implementation of good work procedures. Meanwhile, weaknesses are the beginning of the program's downturn and the failure to realize ideal work procedures.

The service is the main role in terms of realizing a good socio-religious community. Socialization was used to offer a detailed and logical explanation of the disadvantages of *kaweng turung*, therefore, pre-marital education needs to be intensified. For example, the psychological impact on the abandoned spouse and child, the breakdown of the divorce system because of the possibility of not having a certificate that should be obtained in the Religious Courts, or even just going to file for official divorce arrangements. However, after holding the status of "unclear" or "hanging divorce" for quite a long time, it is a form of sin to play with one's sacred intentions (*mitsaqan ghalizhan*) and abandonment after signing the contract. The prevention of emergent harm is a basic guide of Islamic law that requires *jalb*

*al-mashalih wa dar'u al-mafasid* (Al-Asmari, 2000, p. 44). This leads to the realization of benefits and the technical prevention of harm, relating to the instructions of *dar'u al-mafasid muqaddam 'ala jalb al-mashalih* (Al-Zuhaili, 2006, p. 197), meaning that if there is a meeting between benefit and harm simultaneously, then preventing damage and harm should be preceded rather than presenting benefit.

### Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis, two conclusions were drawn. First, the term *kaweng turung* is not a Mongondow language rather it is new as well as absorbed from the language spoken in Manado daily. It is a tradition throughout the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area due to the rapid acceptance of post-reform information from various available sources and freely open media. This practice has become an instant solution for some people to maintain the good name of their families due to promiscuity that resulted in unwanted pregnancies, with the option of either marrying the man responsible or another and after the wedding reception, he leaves his wife and family. It has now become a "public secret" in the community, even traditional elders who are members of customary institutions and marriage registrar employees from the Office of Religious Affairs are aware of the "accident" through the information conveyed to them. However, they are expected to continuously carry out their duties professionally while "turning a deaf ear" about the possible occurrence of *turung* after the wedding reception. Second, related to the effects of psychological harm on perpetrators and children when they are born, poor administration of marriage and divorce by the state, as well as an act of sin in the context of religion, the Ministry of Religion has a central role to play in terms of responding to and overcoming the problems of *kaweng turung* by collaborating with customary, religious and social institutions as a good partner in pre-marital education activities and also a form of excellent service in realizing an ideal socio-religious community. Moreover, the Ministry of Religion should also be a data bank for documenting events related to marriage and their various causes and effects, which can be used as a study-based evaluation material for the new regulations that are solitary and responsive, including eliminating the practice of *kaweng turung* in the community.

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## **THE *KAWENG TURUNG* REALITY TO THE MONGONDOW COMMUNITY OF NORTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA**

1. The article should range between 7000 – 8000 words, including the abstract, table(s), and bibliography.
2. The abstract should be around 120 – 200 words.
3. The abstract should contain the problem statement, aim, methodology, result, and implication.
4. Subchapters in the article should follow the author's guidelines.
5. Arabic words should be written using the Turabian transliteration style.
6. Please use Mendeley (or any reference manager software) for referencing.

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**Abstract:** This research examined the *kaweng turung* reality in the Mongondow community, related to the acceptance of traditional and state institutions to this practice and the role of the Religion Ministry in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area. Initially, the term *kaweng turung* was not known in Mongondow marriage custom. It was known after the reformation, and it became a tradition due to the effect of accelerating global information acceptance. Interestingly none of the traditional institutions categorizes it as a custom violation. It was even accepted as a "public secret," meaning that the customary institution was obliged to carry out the duties of the traditional marriage procession, as opposed to the family's decision to *kaweng turung* even though the secret was known to the customary officer. Therefore, the Religion Ministry has a central role in overcoming this reality by making traditional and religious institutions partners in the socialization of pre-marital education, specifically concerning the harm of *kaweng turung* to perpetrators, the state, and religion.

**Keywords:** Reality, *Kaweng Turung*, Mongondow Customs, the Role of the Religion Ministry

**Abstrak:** Tujuan artikel ilmiah ini untuk menjelaskan realita *kaweng turung* di masyarakat Mongondow khususnya pada aspek penerimaan lembaga adat dan negara terhadap praktik tersebut serta peran Kementerian Agama di wilayah Bolaang Mongondow Raya dalam menanggapi realita tersebut. Hasilnya, dalam adat perkawinan Mongondow tidak dikenal istilah *kaweng turung*, ia baru dikenal dan mentradisi setelah reformasi karena efek akselerasi penerimaan informasi global, menariknya lembaga-lembaga adat tidak ada satu pun yang mengkategorikannya sebagai pelanggaran adat, bahkan ia diterima dengan

keterangan sebagai “rahasia umum”, dengan artian bahwa lembaga adat berkewajiban untuk menjalankan tugas dalam prosesi adat perkawinan, adapun keputusan keluarga untuk *kaweng turung* bukanlah menjadi kewajiban lembaga adat meskipun rahasia itu telah diketahui oleh petugas adat. Untuk itu, Kementerian Agama memiliki peran sentral dalam penanggulangan realita *kaweng turung*, dengan menjadikan lembaga adat dan agama sebagai mitra kerja sosialisasi pendidikan pra perkawinan khususnya berkenaan dengan kemudharatan *kaweng turung* bagi pelaku, negara, dan agama.

**Kata Kunci:** Realita, Kaweng Turung, Adat Mongondow, Peran Kementerian Agama

## Introduction

Mongondow is one of the largest indigenous communities in North Sulawesi Province, established from a royal system called Bolaang Mongondow. These two syllables specifically indicate the people's identity, for example, *bolaang* depicts those at sea, while *mongondow* are individuals residing in the forest or mountainous areas (*Bolaang Mongondow Tribe and Culture*, 2017).

As the largest tribe, the majority are Muslims who believe in the adage, "the Mongondow tradition is based on *shara'* which is in accordance with *kitabullah*" (Dipalanga, 2013). In marriage practice, two models are sanctioned by custom, namely *mogantung* as a form of normal conjugal process according to *shara'* law, although with fairly strong customary management. Furthermore, *tangag* is an elopement marriage due to disapproval by the couple's parents, delay, or even the rejection of the wedding day. It is also caused by the fact that the groom's family is unable to pay the marriage assets (*tali*) requested by the brides', thereby causing both of them to secretly visit the traditional head or *shara'* employee to get married (Waluyo & Silvana, 1999, p. 41).

The changing times and global communication have led to the emergence of a new marriage practice that seems legitimate in accordance with the Mongondow custom, namely *kaweng turung*. This type of marriage occurs when one is pregnant out of wedlock and is a disgrace to the family. A procession is carried out by custom, religion, and state to cover the shame. Afterward, the marriage process is completed by obliging the groom to leave the house and divorce his wife in their perception. This was not in accordance with the state perspective because it was not submitted to the Court of Religion.

This reality is scientifically examined in this research, specifically the marriage practice based on the Mongondow tradition. In addition, the possible acceptance of this custom, society, and even the state toward the *kaweng turung* reality, was also investigated. It further examined the role played by the Religion Ministry, specifically the Islamic community guidance section and the Office of Religious Affairs in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya work area, to overcome the *kaweng turung* reality.

## Methodology

This is a qualitative research, which was fully implemented in the field in 2021. The object location is Bolaang Mongondow Raya, covering the Southern, Eastern, and Main Regencies, including Kotamboga City. Data was acquired through systematic observation (Hardani et al., 2020, p. 131) to examine the customary marriage practice. Furthermore, interviews were held with religious and customary leaders at random locations, as well as documentation by the traditional administrators or the *Penghulu* from the Office of Religious Affairs. An examination was later carried out, classifying and validating the acquired information based on the urgency of the research problem and then concluding the validated results (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015, pp. 123–124). Finally, descriptive analysis was performed based on an Islamic law approach.

## Result and Discussion

### A. Marriage in the Mongondow Tradition

Before explaining the marriage law in the framework of the Mongondow custom, it is necessary to emphasize the parental or bilateral kinship system in the community, including its classification; *Tonggolaki* is the smallest group that consists of members of the immediate family, namely father, mother, and unmarried children. This is followed by *Tonggoabuan*, a larger group similar to the *tonggolaki* with the addition of married children and their grandparents. The *Motoleoadi* is a large kinship group consisting of siblings, paternal and maternal cousins, and uncles (Saud et al., 2004, p. 36).

These kinship groups tend to help each other. They were developed because the Bolaang Mongondow community has large socio-cultural potential, namely *moposad* (mutual cooperation) for the betterment of their socio-economic status (Rommy Y. Hiola et al., 2002, p. 8). According to Dachrud (2016), their motto is *mototompian* (mutual improvement), *mototabian* (love each other), and *mototanoban* (remember each other). Therefore, when extracted from the marriage dimension, the Mongondow customary law plays an active and effective role by cooperating to ensure the successful organization of the wedding events.

Aringking et al. (2021, p. 65) stated that both Muslims and Christians engage in the traditional processions. The customary practice performed by the Christian community only includes marriage and mourning or death, besides from these, it is unreserved.

Irrespective of the fact that the implementation of the wedding procession is filled with traditional nuances, they strictly adhere to the essence of religious teachings, for example, not marrying those who are forbidden in Islam (Surah 4:23). The Mongondow tribe is careful (*ihitayat*) in strengthening the teachings of this religion and implementing it, hence, they are traditionally prohibited from marrying family members up to the fourth generation. In a circumstance where love exists among families who intend to get married, then before the procession of the marriage contract, it must first be preceded by the traditional ceremony known as *bontow in bi'ian* to break these ties by the traditional elders (*toga monaba*). Similarly, after all these have been carried out, it is followed by a continuation of the marriage process (Saud et al., 2004, p. 52).

Meetings and collaborations held during traditional and religious processions are divided into three parts, namely before, during, and after the entire marriage activity. The customary process, which is regarded as the custom's main feature, is usually written in Mongondow language and performed before signing the marriage contract. The ceremonial procedure (Rajafi, 2021a) is as follows:

1. *Moguman* is a proposal made by either a male or female family member. During this process, certain values, namely honesty, wisdom, and openness, are highly prioritized, specifically when bargaining about the cost of the wedding ceremony, dowry (*dati*), marital assets (*tali*), including the prospective wife's needs (*ukud- ukud*). The unique outcome of this process needs to be reported by the *toga monaba* to the village leader (*sangadi*) for approval;



2. *Tompo Una Yoko* involves the delivery of a machete as a form of antidote during the climax of the wedding ceremony. This tool is handed over and received by traditional elders from the groom and bride's families. It is then mounted on the king's pole in the form of yellow bamboo and placed in the bride's house while reciting prayers (*itum-itum*) in Mongondow language. Unfortunately, this *tompo una yoko* ceremony is rarely practiced in this era;
3. *Mongatod Kon Yoko* is a process of delivering assets for the wedding ceremony, and it is only performed when the *moguman* has been ratified by the *sangadi*. These are in the form of *tali*, *dati*, *gu'at*, and *toga monaba*, usually delivered by friends and relatives while escorting the groom to the bride's house where the marriage is being held.

During this process, there is usually a review of the social status and perfection of the face and body of the proposed bride and her family. Moreover, if she is beautiful, highly educated, and a Civil Servant, or from a respected and rich family, and the asset delivered along with the dowry will be slightly expensive (Lapanca, 2021).

Saud et al. (2004, p. 56) stated that the entire marriage process is known as *tonsingogon haimbuloyan*. The Penghulu from the Office of Religious Affairs mandates that two individuals, namely the prospective groom and bride, are present, alongside a guardian who will marry them off, two witnesses, a dowry, and a statement (*sighat*) of consent. One unique act that is performed during the process is the *bai'at*. It involves reading two sentences from the creed and Islamic confessions in Arabic guided by an Imam or local religious leader, both to the prospective groom and bride at the place of the marriage ceremony and bridal chamber, respectively. Additionally, the sermon is read, and then the marriage contract is read and signed by the guardian and the groom, respectively.

The most unique and interesting part of the ceremony is the marriage contract, which depicts the validity of the union in front of the community and the groom's capability. This leads to the emergence of *mogama*, the final procession of the entire series of marriage ceremonies. Mawikere (2020, p. 174) stated that this event is not only a traditional ritual carried out based on special terms and conditions rather, it is a divine will that triggers love and affection between husband and wife, togetherness, as well as an attitude of serving and complementing each other, and a sense of responsibility.

There are 13 (thirteen) religious processes full of philosophical values. According to Malla (2020), these are as follows: *pangkoy gama'* (grab tree, meaning permission to "take" the bride from her parents to be introduced to the groom's family), *polampangon kontutugan lanag* (leaving the bride's house), *polampangon kontubig* (journey through the river), *poponikan kon tukad* (climbing the stairs), *Lampang kon tanom* (the bride arrives at the terrace of the groom's house), *pilat in payung* (umbrella is closed), *pilat in siripu* (take off sandals), *ilitu'an* or *bahasa'an mopolitu'* (the bride and groom are welcomed by being asked to sit down), *pilat in kokudu* (take off the hood or veil), *pinogapangan* (giving awards to female companions), *pinomama'an* (eating together), *pokilimumugan* (asked to rinse mouth), and *pobuian* (customary enforcers from the bride's side begged to say goodbye after the event has ended with the closing prayers).

There are marriage events that violate the custom, therefore, certain regulations are needed always to keep them in check. Nadjamuddin et al. (1984, p. 22) stated that there are at least three customary violations of marriage that are commonly resolved, and they are as follows:

1. *Sirodah* is when a man showed up unannounced at the woman's home to seek her hand in marriage. This problem is resolved by persuading the man to cancel his intention or sanctioned in the form of *tali ugat in buta*, namely a certain quantity of customary firmness asset that needs to be possessed because both parties intend to get married without their parents' consent.
2. *Tanga* or elope. Referring to this problem, the custom requires the imposition of *tali ugat in buta*, and both parties need to apologize to their parents.
3. *Momaluy* means raping someone else's wife, and with considers to this issue and was decided. This means that this heinous act was triggered by the fact that the rapist must be angry with the woman's husband and needs to be *mogompat ko lipu* with *butun iata*, a heavy penalty imposed by the traditional rulers. Furthermore, they are usually expelled and ostracized from the community or village where the incident occurred.

The aforementioned three customary violations show that currently, the only solution in the community, is *kaweng turung*. It is described as a marriage practice that became a tradition after the reformation era due to the rapid impact of global information. When its source was traced to the traditional elders, it was discovered that the term *kaweng turung* was not derived from the native Mongondow language. Rather it was absorbed from that spoken in Manado City, daily.

Furthermore, this practice does not only occur in the Mongondow community, it also extends to the Gorontalo area where it is regarded as a tradition (Sayiu & Faisal, 2020). *Kaweng turung* is an intentionally "forced" marriage between a woman who is pregnant out of wedlock and the man responsible or with another who is willing to marry her to protect the family's good name.

Consequently, after the marriage contract has been signed and the wedding reception procession completed, the man or husband immediately leaves the woman's family home and is prohibited from returning, either to meet his wife or child after birth. A "hanging" marital status is left because the marriage was not terminated by state law but was "considered" as divorce in the family's understanding (Rajafi, 2021d).

In essence, *kaweng turung* was unknown to officials from the Office of Religious Affairs or the elders in traditional institutions, although the "accidental" intention to wed would have been made known during the initial consultation on marriage registration. Therefore, after they have officially registered, they will receive a prospective bride and groom course (*suscatin*) related to the prohibition in the event of any bad intentions, such as leaving a partner after the contract had been signed.

Those who intend to get married – in a *kaweng turung manner*– are expected to engage in the process according to state and Islamic law because they have already been registered with the local Religious Affairs Office. They also have the right to obtain a marriage book and customary law enforcement and recognition

services through these processes and the reception events. They are regarded as some form of "announcement" that men and women are officially and legally married (Rajafi, 2020).

### **B. *The Kaweng Turung* Reality in Mongondow Community**

Mawikere (2020, p. 25) stated that the Mongondow community did not shut off themselves from change, specifically when it had to do with the people's livelihoods and welfare. However, these can be accepted in the customs context if the elders respond appropriately to renew customary marriage practices and processions, even when it is highly urgent.

The type of *kaweng turung* practiced in South Bolaang Mongondow Regency is explicitly unacceptable and even prohibited by religion, custom, and the state. This is because it violates the norms of sacred marriage and is based on honesty. Concerning the event that occurred in the community, Mr. Rais as the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs, Pinolosian District, South Bolaang Mongondow Regency, stated that the practice of *kaweng* (wedding processions) was still carried out in an orderly manner based on customs, religion, and state law. According to Rajafi (2021d), when it is *turung*, the husband leaves the house of his wife. This process is usually performed secretly after the completion of the marriage process.

Even though it was rejected from a regulatory perspective, it is practiced in the South Bolaang Mongondow community. It is considered by some a concrete and instant solution to maintain the family's good name. Rais and Rajafi (2021d) stated that since serving as head of the Office of Religious Affairs in Pinolosian District and before the issuance of Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning marriage which raised the minimum marital age for women from 16 to 19 years, not less than three cases have been reported every year, even more than in each village confirming *kaweng turung*. After the enactment of the new Law on Marriage, some of them preferred to perform underhand or *Siri* weddings (based on *syara'* only). This is because they usually find it difficult to request a marriage dispensation letter from the Religious Courts and prefer to register with the Office of Religious Affairs.

A similar circumstance is experienced in Kotamobagu City. Hamri, a traditional leader, stated that in principle, *kaweng turung* practice is unknown in the Mongondow custom. However, because it is repeatedly performed in the community, specifically in Kotamubagu City, it was "justified" (Rajafi, 2021a). Intan further stated that the community viewed this practice as likely to occur in problematic marriages because the women got pregnant out of wedlock, which was understandable (Rajafi, 2020). To cover up this disgrace, marriage rites need to be performed immediately between the two parties, and afterward, only the men or newly married husbands leave their partners (*turung*).

However, because custom is a sacred element other than religion in the Mongondow community, its entirety in marriages held in Kotamubagu City, including those considered problematic, are also carried out in a structured manner guided by the traditional elders. There are no dissimilarities at all because they have similar rights. Karim et al. (2021) stated that referring to the cultural aspect of *BoBahasaan* as a characteristic of wisdom and wise language adopted from the

Mongondow community in Kotamubagu, including literary and philosophical values, whenever there is a problem, including in marriages. The traditional elders can handle the situation wisely, thereby preventing any form of violation.

The Mongondow community in East Bolaang Regency also has a similar perception that *kaweng turung* practice seems to be a new "solution". Towards the end of November 2021, one of the informants reported that in the Tutuyan area, a Mongondow traditional marriage process is usually carried out due to certain "accidents," namely women getting pregnant out of wedlock. At that time, a traditional procession for the wedding was performed, but in a more minimalist and simple manner. The *mogama* custom held after the marriage ceremony is also carried out in a sitting area, where the family members approach the bride to give her some money, although not much as a symbol. Less than a week after the wedding procession, the informant provided new information that the husband had left the house and his wife (*turung*).

One of the community leaders in the village confirmed the reality associated with the number of *kaweng turung* cases in East Bolaang Mongongo. Rajafi (2021c) stated that Moh. Makmur, the Head of the Islamic Community Guidance Section of the Religion Ministry Office in this regency, explained that this practice is not justified in Islam. However, some short-sighted people are comfortable with receiving a marriage book, and the community witnessing the arrival of their child after the marriage procession is enough for them, even though, finally, they are abandoned by their partner (*turung*).

There is not much information about *kaweng turung* practice in the community. However, some stories are told in the local villages that explain it, and one of the *turung* has even been advised after marriage. The reason this custom is not widely practiced in the community is that the people are already aware of the fact that it is wrong. However, there is a need to acknowledge that the term "not much" is not based on documented data at the Office of Religious Affairs or the Religion Ministry. Due to the awareness that this practice is a sin, anyone who commits it has sinned twice. The first is adultery, and the second is marrying with intentions not justified by the *Shari'ah* (Al-Husaini, 2005, pp. 671–672).

Therefore, in East Bolaang Mongondow, the most dominant choice is to continue with the marriage because both parties are regarded as perpetrators of adultery, which is perceived as some form of social consequence. After a few days of the wedding procession, the couple usually moves out of the area within a few months – to Manado. An example is visiting their parents and family members in their hometown after the wife or partner has given birth. However, a *turung* may occur afterward, specifically in a marriage between a pregnant woman and a man who is not responsible for the pregnancy.

Kosel (2010) and Manoppo et al. (2020) reported that the Bolaang Mongondow Regency, including its encounter with Islam, is the center of civilization in North Sulawesi. There is a slight difference in responding to *kaweng turung* case in the community. Presently, this practice is an open secret that the public understands, including living with their pregnant partner based on the marriage bond or leaving them afterward (*turung*).

Kifli Lamusa, the Head of the Islamic Community Guidance Section of the Religion Ministry, Bolaang Mongondow Regency, stated that *kaweng turung* is highly practiced in the work area (Rajafi, 2021b). It was measured by his personal experience as the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs as well as verbal reports from other Heads during job evaluations. This is why there are several marriages involving young women who already have children in a particular village. The information obtained during the guidance of the prospective bride and groom before the wedding turned out that the person concerned had previously been *kaweng turung*.

According to Kifli, *kaweng turung* is commonly based for two reasons. First, due to the forced marriage caused by adultery resulting in pregnancy and its rejection by the male's family. Therefore, the marriage is held only to cover up the shameful act. Immediately after the wedding party, the man and his family leave (*turung*) the bride. Second, it could mean that the pregnant woman had sex with other men, and because he was the last, it is assumed that he is responsible and needs to marry her under the condition that he will leave when the wedding is over (*turung*).

Regarding the custom's response to such pregnancy-related cases, it is a violation that upholds the traditional adage in accordance with *shara'* and *shara'* based on *kitabullah*. However, because social facts depict certain necessities, the customary institution continues to organize marriages involving traditional procession as a ceremonial activity. It is philosophically meaningless, and such organizations do not engage in secret conversations between the two families who agree to practice *kaweng turung*. Therefore, it is understandable that in Bolaang Mongondow Regency, it is a public secret. The sake of a legal change of status from single to married safeguards the family's good name.

Lastly, in the North Bolaang Mongondow Regency, there is a unique social fact that depicts the practice of "deviating" in marriage is not only associated with *kaweng turung* rather, it is also related to the *iddah* period practiced in a particular sub-district (Saputera & Lamunte, 2020). At first glance, these results show some elements of misunderstanding about marriage laws based on religious and state texts. However, further research needs to be carried out on this last argument, considering that the great kingdoms of the Mongondow people also existed in Northern Bolaang (Tungkagi, 2019).

Regarding *kaweng turung* practice in North Bolaang Mongondow, Supriadi Goma (Rajafi, 2021e). According to the sub-district head in West Bolangitang District, it is undeniable that it still exists and occurs in the community due to being accidentally married. This is aimed at maintaining the good name of the immediate and extended families and the clan and an administrative solution to the perpetrator's status and that of the child.

There is no exact number of these practices. Based on the observation in virtually all villages, there was a particular story comprising activities associated with the aforementioned three cases. All of them were performed through a custom procession organized by a traditional institution, including the acquisition of a marriage book from the Office of Religious Affairs. The groom's final decision to *turung* is an open secret and not the responsibility of the custom and the Office of

Religious Affairs because it is accomplished after the marriage ceremony. Supriadi stated that even some wedding procession was lavishly and festively performed, but after a few days, it was discovered that the groom had left his wife.

It turns out that there is still a particular area, namely Paku Village, West Bolangitang Subdistrict, that is quite firm in the implementation of this custom for adulterers in the community. Therefore, they are not allowed to walk down the aisle or wear traditional clothes during the wedding, their parents are also not allowed to accompany them during the marriage contract process. In other villages, there was a consensus about some form of *kaweng turung* perceived as a solution without having to make a fuss.

The earlier mentioned explanations thoroughly describe the existence of *kaweng turung* in all areas of the Mongondow community as a social reality. The reason is to maintain the dignity and good name of the family. As a social necessity, traditional customary institutions need to continuously carry out their duties professionally in guiding marriages but without "ignoring" its impact - whether through communication and agreement between the two families – usually in the form of a *turung* decision.

### **C. The Role of the Religion Ministry in the *Kaweng Turung* Reality**

Organizationally, the Religion Ministry at the Regency/City level that handles marriage related issues is situated in the Islamic Community Guidance Section, while the technical implementers or an extension of work functions at the Religious Affairs Office are located in the subdistricts (*Islamic Community Guidance (Bimas Islam)*, 2022). Its main task in this context is based on Religion Minister Regulation No. 34 of 2016 that the service, supervision, recording, and reporting of marriage-related issues and reconciliation and providing guidance services for *sakinah* families are carried out in this office.

To optimize this task, a sixteen-hour course needs to be held for the prospective brides and grooms, guided by the *Penghulu*, before the marriage registration and pre-wedding education for students, and scholars, by a Facilitator from the related ministry or office (Salma & Rajafi, 2020). Based on this work agenda, the textual focus of the Office of Religious Affairs is not aimed at recording and documenting the various marital problems in the community, including the *kaweng turung* reality. Therefore, it is only natural that there is no definite documented data regarding the number of *kaweng turung* events in each area during observations.

Based on the results of an interview held with several Section Heads of Islamic Community Guidance and Heads of Religious Affairs Offices in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area, it was discovered that they had made several efforts to render educational services or courses for prospective brides and grooms as well as teenagers in schools, including those who accidentally got pregnant. However, pre-marital education for adolescents has not been implemented optimally, for example, in Bolaang Mongondow Regency, where *kaweng turung* incidence is high. In 2019, this activity was performed only three times, and it was targeted at students in high school or madrasah aliyah, while in 2020 and 2021,

none was carried out at all due to the diversion of the budget as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Furthermore, to suppress these problems, the Religion Ministry, through the Office of Religious Affairs, optimized the implementation of Law Number 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage in the community, which mandates underage prospective brides to obtain a dispensation letter from the Religious Court before the ceremony occurs. The result turned out to be inversely proportional, rather than minimizing the marital problems, there was an increase in the number of those applying for dispensation letters in the Religious Courts. For example, at the Kotamubagu City Religious Court, the data on marriage dispensation requests granted increases every year. In 2019, 2020, and 2021, 54, 58, and 137 applications were granted, respectively (Kotamubagu Religious Court, 2021). Meanwhile, in 2020 and 2021, at the Lolak Religious Court, Bolaang Mongondow Regency, as many as 329 and 388 applications were granted, respectively (Lolak Religious Court, 2021).

Based on the data above, the work formula adopted in the field by the Religion Ministry did not produce an optimal solution (Khair & Zaki, 2018, pp. 479–480). In this case, the Office of Religious Affairs essentially plays a noble role related to ensuring the interests and needs of the Muslim community are realized and sustained as well as the enforcement of the government system. Therefore, the duties of the Islamic Community Guidance section of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs need to be maximized by not being passive or semi-active but has to progress and play an active role, specifically in tackling marital problems in the society. This is accomplished by at least carrying out appropriate documentation and data collection used as a basis of job executors' evaluation and carrying out research on new regulations from the responsive Religion Ministry.

The active role of this ministry is needed by the wider community, specifically Muslims, in a bid to improve socio-religious conditions, which at any time may clash with the effects of globalization. Therefore, the work reference of the Religion Ministry in the context of the *kaweng turung* reality is inspired by the rules of Islamic law, which requires *shalih li kulli zaman wa Makan* (Al-Sya'rawi, 1997, p. 11464). This is also associated with the existence of goodness in every era and different loci, even being a pioneer for happiness in this world and the hereafter.

The Religion Ministry in Bolaang Mongondow Raya needs not to work alone to achieve this vision. The work scope requires correlation and collaboration with external parties or institutions, such as developing intensive communication with traditional and community leaders such as Sangadi, Imam, etc. Moreover, these voices and actions have a strong influence on society, and it led to the formulation of responsive solutions to the cultural customs of the Mongondow community.

Moh. Makmur (Rajafi, 2021c) stated that these external parties, such as traditional and religious leaders, are the frontlines who can explain and confirm aspects of success in marriage. Therefore, the desire to have sex outside of marriage will be well negated, and another impact is that the practice of *kaweng* descent will not be realized in society. This was adopted by the Islamic Guidance Section at the Religion Ministry, East Bolaang Mongondow Regency, during the work agenda of



socializing the prohibition of underage marriage, as well as the obligation to obtain a dispensation letter from the Religious Court.

It was also conducted by Kifli Lamusa (Rajafi, 2021b) in Bolaang Mongondow Regency. According to Kifli, unfortunately, because of the vastness of their working area, coupled with the lack of personnel at the Office of Religious Affairs, the Religion Ministry's communication with traditional and religious leaders is still ceremonial. It has failed to implement solution-based field actions in the community because these works need to be supported by an optimal budget. Kifli further stated that the overall incidence of mating in the Bolaang Mongondow Regency was categorized as high. The data shows that every year the number continues to grow, for example in 2020 and 2021, there were 1345, and 1473 recorded events, respectively (Religion Ministry of Bolaang Mongondow Regency, 2021). Based on the information above, as well as field findings related to the occurrence of these marriages, it was concluded that the number of *kaweng turung* events in the area was indicated to be high. Furthermore, traditional and religious figures, as well as the general public, stated that the practice was categorized as an open secret.

Overall, the earlier mentioned reasons are similar, based on the field experiences of the implementers (Office of Religious Affairs) in all districts and cities in Bolaang Mongondow Raya, including the Guidance Section of the Islamic Community at the Religion Ministry. Therefore, support is needed from the local government to ensure that this practice that seems to have been "traditionalized" is negated. This needs to be effected in the moral and material aspects of marriage education for students and youth who are most prone to "calamities" in relationships, thereby resulting in accidental marriages.

These requirements are in line with Rogga (2001), stating that there are three main elements involved in establishing an effective work environment, namely the optimal job function of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs in tackling problems associated with marriages. These are in the form of 1) leadership support, starting with the Regent or Mayor, Head of the Office of the Religion Ministry, Sangadi, and Pak Imam; 2) employees or workers, namely those who serve in the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs; and 3) support of the diverse units, sections, or divisions, in this case, external parties such as traditional, religious, and community institutions that actively participated in the program.

The heavy task alleviated by the synergies between the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs, traditional and religious institutions based on the support of local governments in *kaweng turung* issue lies in efforts to change the community mindset, including the fact that "it is common secret," thereby yielding to certain mistakes made in marriage. Accordingly, mainstream thinking needs to be countered by new thoughts that lead to certain benefits. This is realized through the intensity of community empowerment – like a non-formal education about the dangers of early or underage marriage, including other dangerous impacts in the form of *kaweng turung*, *besides this program is specifically for teenagers*.

The concept of togetherness and mutual need for each other is referred to in the study of ushul fiqh, as well as in line with the rule of *ma la yatimmu al-wajib*

*illa bihi fahuwa wajib* (Al-Ghazali, 1431, p. 271), that the obligatory implementation of a system, is imperfect assuming one of the elements are lacking. One element also has the same law, namely mandatory. This means that creating awareness about marriage is an inherent obligation of the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs. The avoidance of traditional and religious institutions during the process makes it ineffective. Therefore, synergizing with these parties is also a mandatory factor that needs to be looked into by the Religion Ministry and the Office of Religious Affairs in pre-marital education for teenagers.

Based on this rationalization, the Religion Ministry in the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area – particularly the Islamic community guidance section and the Office of Religious Affairs – plays a central role in this task. They are not textually stated in the rules of their main duties and functions but are contained in religious and social responsibilities, which have a greater value compared to routine tasks that are based on written regulations that are only beneficial to themselves and the institution.

This central role is manifested in at least three main actions, namely 1) The Ministry of Religion should build an optimal work commitment and serve the community in terms of realizing good socio-religious activities; 2) Supervision and recording of marriage events, both contracts, and mediation of marital problems, needs to be properly documented to ensure the results are used as a reference in work evaluation and formulation of solutions by the leadership; and 3) Build a network with external parties from the Ministry of Religion, specifically with leaders of traditional, religious, and social institutions or organizations.

The Ministry of Religion's central role explanation in tackling the problems of *kaweng turung* in the Mongondow community emphasizes that this office is perceived as the leader who should organize the socio-religious work system, as well as collaborate with external parties. This aids in understanding the stipulated plans and workflows to minimize or even eliminate the practice of *kaweng turung*. Surprisingly, such a conception is in line with the rules of Islamic law, which emphasizes that *hukm al-hakim yarfa' al-khilaf* (Al-Bassam, 2006, p. 689), meaning decisions made by leaders - with a good organizational system - can negate cross-disputes in the community. This is also consistent with Putri and Fatahurrazak (2020, p. 78) theory that leadership, supported by adequate organizational capacity, aids in realizing the implementation of good work procedures. Meanwhile, weaknesses are the beginning of the program's downturn and the failure to realize ideal work procedures.

The service is the main role in terms of realizing a good socio-religious community. Socialization was used to offer a detailed and logical explanation of the disadvantages of *kaweng turung*, therefore, pre-marital education needs to be intensified. For example, the psychological impact on the abandoned spouse and child, the breakdown of the divorce system because of the possibility of not having a certificate that should be obtained in the Religious Courts, or even just going to file for official divorce arrangements. However, after holding the status of "unclear" or "hanging divorce" for quite a long time, it is a form of sin to play with one's sacred intentions (*mitsaqan ghalizhan*) and abandonment after signing the contract. The prevention of emergent harm is a basic guide of Islamic law that requires *jalb*

*al-mashalih wa dar'u al-mafasid* (Al-Asmari, 2000, p. 44). This leads to the realization of benefits and the technical prevention of harm, relating to the instructions of *dar'u al-mafasid muqaddam 'ala jalb al-mashalih* (Al-Zuhaili, 2006, p. 197), meaning that if there is a meeting between benefit and harm simultaneously, then preventing damage and harm should be preceded rather than presenting benefit.

## Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis, two conclusions were drawn. First, the term *kaweng turung* is not a Mongondow language rather it is new as well as absorbed from the language spoken in Manado daily. It is a tradition throughout the Bolaang Mongondow Raya area due to the rapid acceptance of post-reform information from various available sources and freely open media. This practice has become an instant solution for some people to maintain the good name of their families due to promiscuity that resulted in unwanted pregnancies, with the option of either marrying the man responsible or another and after the wedding reception, he leaves his wife and family. It has now become a "public secret" in the community, even traditional elders who are members of customary institutions and marriage registrar employees from the Office of Religious Affairs are aware of the "accident" through the information conveyed to them. However, they are expected to continuously carry out their duties professionally while "turning a deaf ear" about the possible occurrence of *turung* after the wedding reception. Second, related to the effects of psychological harm on perpetrators and children when they are born, poor administration of marriage and divorce by the state, as well as an act of sin in the context of religion, the Ministry of Religion has a central role to play in terms of responding to and overcoming the problems of *kaweng turung* by collaborating with customary, religious and social institutions as a good partner in pre-marital education activities and also a form of excellent service in realizing an ideal socio-religious community. Moreover, the Ministry of Religion should also be a data bank for documenting events related to marriage and their various causes and effects, which can be used as a study-based evaluation material for the new regulations that are solitary and responsive, including eliminating the practice of *kaweng turung* in the community.

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