

Nahu Sanamang in the Tradition of Tulehu Indigenous People: A Study of Reciprocity in Maluku

Samad Umarella¹

Abstract

This research explores the Nahu Sanamang tradition in Negeri Tulehu, Maluku, as a form of reciprocity in indigenous communities. Nahu Sanamang is a practice of gotong-royong that involves financial and social contributions to various celebrations, such as weddings, aqiqah, and other religious events. Through an ethnographic approach, this research reveals how this tradition functions in maintaining solidarity, identity, and social structure amidst changing times. Data were collected through interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. The results show that Nahu Sanamang plays a key role in maintaining communal and spiritual values in Negeri Tulehu, as well as helping Indigenous people face the challenges of modernization. The tradition reflects a form of balanced reciprocity that strengthens social cohesion and demonstrates cultural adaptation in the face of globalization dynamics.

Keywords: *Nahu Sanamang, Reciprocity, Tulehu Custom, Solidarity, Social Cohesion.*

Introduction

Indigenous peoples in Indonesia have diverse social traditions that reflect relationships between individuals and communities (Aksa, 2024; Davidson & Henley, 2007; Fajrie, 2016; Li, 2000). One tradition that is important in maintaining social cohesion is the concept of reciprocity (Adloff & Mau, 2006; Fonseca et al., 2019; Hooghe, 2007; Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017), or reciprocal relationships, which often bind community groups in a dynamic social order. In the Maluku region, especially in Negeri Tulehu, the Nahu Sanamang tradition is a form of reciprocity that is highly respected and continues to be practiced by the indigenous community. This tradition is not only a part of daily life but also reflects cultural and spiritual values that have been passed down from generation to generation.

Nahu Sanamang in the context of the Tulehu community refers to a form of mutual aid and reciprocal assistance, involving different layers of society in social activities, traditional ceremonies, and other life practices. This tradition is an important means of maintaining solidarity and cooperation among the community, as well as ensuring the continuation of harmonious social relations. In indigenous societies that are strongly tied to communal norms, Nahu Sanamang functions as a social mechanism to regulate the distribution of resources, strengthen community identity, and maintain balance in the social order.

The study of Nahu Sanamang in the context of reciprocity is important because the phenomenon has not been widely explored in academic literature, especially from a social anthropological perspective. Although reciprocity as a concept has been widely discussed in previous studies, its application in local contexts such as in Tulehu offers a new understanding of how customary traditions function as social mechanisms that survive in the midst of changing times. In addition, this study will also explore the role of these traditions in maintaining the identity and local values of the Tulehu community, especially in the face of globalization and modernization challenges that often erode local traditions.

Based on the results of preliminary interviews with traditional actors in Negeri Tulehu, it was found that the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang custom is held by the male party who is getting married, with special provisions. In one family, only one child is allowed to carry out this custom by inviting the entire community of Negeri Tulehu. For subsequent children, they can still carry out the Nahu Sanamang custom, but only limited to inviting close family. This tradition has been going on for hundreds of years.

¹ Ambon State Islamic Institute, Indonesia, Email: samadumarella@iainambon.ac.id.

The Nahu Sanamang celebration in the Tulehu community is unique because of the practice of palaapa, where the family organizing the event invites every family in the Tulehu community to be involved in the celebration. Even families from the Tauri (other parties involved in the custom) are also invited to attend this traditional event. In addition, exactly one day before the implementation of Nahu Sanamang, the family carrying out the celebration will send two to three people, chosen based on the hamlet in Tulehu Country, to go around reminding the entire community that tomorrow will hold Nahu Sanamang at the house of the malamait family (the family carrying out the celebration). This tradition demonstrates the importance of collective engagement and gotong-royong in the Tulehu indigenous community.

This research aims to analyze Nahu Sanamang within the framework of reciprocity in the indigenous community of Tulehu, focusing on how this tradition functions in maintaining social relations, as well as its implications for the social and cultural structure of Maluku society. An ethnographic approach is used to gain an in-depth understanding of the practice of this tradition, as well as to explore how the values contained in Nahu Sanamang continue to adapt to the social dynamics that develop in the land of Tulehu. This study is expected to contribute to the academic literature that discusses the interaction between local traditions and social structures, as well as the role of reciprocity in maintaining social cohesion in Indigenous communities.

Literature Review

The study of reciprocity and customary traditions in society is often the focus of attention in social science disciplines (Gouldner, 1960; Heins et al., 2018; Ingold & Hinde, 1988; Marcus, 2001), especially anthropology and sociology (Hann, 2006; Lewis, 2017; Marcus, 2001). Reciprocity as a social concept was first systematically introduced by Marcel Mauss in his work "The Gift" (Hann, 2006; Kowalski, 2011; Pyyhtinen, 2014). According to Mauss, gift exchange in traditional societies is not only economic but also symbolic and social. It binds community members in a web of reciprocal obligations involving not only material things but also honor, solidarity, and social cohesion. Reciprocity, in this context, became the cornerstone of stable social relations, where every act of favor demanded something in return, even if it was not always immediate or direct.

In more contemporary studies of reciprocity, Sahlins develops the concept into three main types: generalized reciprocity, where exchanges take place without the expectation of immediate reward; balanced reciprocity, where there is an expectation of equal reciprocity over a period of time; and negative reciprocity, where one seeks to gain as much as possible from the exchange (Brady, 1972; Hénaff, 2010; Pryor & Graburn, 1980; Sahlins, 2011; Wu et al., 2006). These types are relevant in studying social relations in Indigenous communities, including how reciprocity works in practices such as Nahu Sanamang in Negeri Tulehu.

More localized studies of indigenous peoples in Maluku have shown the importance of traditions and communal values in maintaining local social and cultural structures (Cooley & Ellis, 1962). The Tulehu Indigenous people, like many Indigenous communities in Maluku, rely heavily on reciprocal relationships to manage natural resources, celebrate traditional ceremonies, and carry out daily social activities. The Nahu Sanamang tradition is an example of how reciprocity is applied in the daily lives of the Tulehu people. Gotong-royong, cooperation in traditional events, and assistance in emergencies such as natural disasters, are all organized within the Nahu Sanamang framework, which ensures social cohesion between community members.

However, research that focuses directly on Nahu Sanamang is still relatively minimal. Most of the existing studies highlight more general aspects of the gotong-royong tradition in Indonesia without addressing the specificities of each indigenous community (Bowen et al., 2002; Bowen & Lawler III, 1992; Martin, 1993; White, 2007). In fact, each Indigenous group has a unique way of practicing and understanding reciprocity. In some studies, it is mentioned that reciprocity in Indigenous communities can function as a balance of power and a negotiation tool between social layers in society (Berenschot & Van Klinken, 2019; Harvina et

al., 2017). This tradition is not only a normative social mechanism but also reflects the community's adaptation to external changes, such as modernization and urbanization.

In the context of the Tulehu community, the Nahu Sanamang tradition involves the participation of all community members regardless of social or economic class, reflecting the type of generalized reciprocity introduced by Sahlins. In addition, the tradition also has a ritual dimension, where spiritual and moral values are safeguarded through collective action. On traditional occasions, such as weddings, deaths, or harvest ceremonies, Nahu Sanamang facilitates social interactions that strengthen community solidarity (Robson, 2023). This makes Nahu Sanamang one of the main pillars in maintaining social and cultural balance in Negeri Tulehu.

Moreover, in the context of reciprocity and social cohesion, James Scott emphasizes the importance of reciprocity practices in traditional societies as a way to maintain social balance (Fonseca et al., 2019; Moody & White, 2003; Scott, 2016), especially in communities experiencing tensions with external forces. Scott argues that reciprocity can be a subtle form of resistance to domination or exploitation, by allowing indigenous peoples to maintain their autonomy. In this case, Nahu Sanamang can be understood as one way for the Tulehu community to maintain local values and face the challenges of globalization and modernization that are intensifying in the Maluku region.

Overall, this literature review shows that the concept of reciprocity is one of the fundamental pillars in understanding social interactions in Indigenous communities. The Nahu Sanamang tradition in the context of the Tulehu community, although still under-explored in depth in academic studies, offers a rich perspective on how reciprocal relationships function in maintaining social, cultural, and spiritual balance at the community level (Mansoor et al., 2020). Through this study, this research will seek to enrich the understanding of the role of reciprocity in Maluku's Indigenous communities, as well as its contribution to social dynamics and cultural identity in the midst of modernization.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a social principle in which one person reciprocates another's actions with similar actions (Carter, 2014; Fehr et al., 2002; Kolm, 2006; Komter, 2007; MacCormack, 1976; Sen, 1996), often in the form of exchange or reciprocal giving. The concept can encompass various aspects of human interaction, such as favors, kindness, or appreciation, and is based on the expectation that when someone gives something, they will receive something equivalent in return, either immediately or in the future.

Reciprocity often arises in the context of social and cultural relationships, where acts of giving and receiving strengthen social bonds. In many cultures, reciprocity is not only material, but can also include non-material forms, such as emotional support, protection or social status. In indigenous or traditional societies, for example, the concept of reciprocity is crucial in maintaining social balance and strengthening community cohesion.

In anthropology and sociology, reciprocity is also discussed in three forms (Molm, 2010; Molm et al., 2007):

- Generalized Reciprocity: An exchange with no immediate expectation of receiving something back in the near future, such as family relationships.
- Balanced Reciprocity: An exchange with the expectation of receiving something in return within a certain time.
- Negative Reciprocity: An exchange where one party seeks to gain more than what is given.

Reciprocity forms the basis of many social and economic interactions across different cultures and societies.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods to explore in depth the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang custom in the Tulehu indigenous community. This method was chosen to understand the meaning, values, and social practices associated with reciprocity in the Nahu Sanamang tradition. This research focuses on the active participation of researchers in the field, as well as data collection through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation.

- *Research Location*

This research was conducted in Negeri Tulehu, Central Maluku Regency, Maluku Province, Indonesia. Tulehu was chosen as the location because here the Nahu Sanamang tradition is still strongly practised by the indigenous community.

- *Research Subjects*

The research subjects consisted of traditional leaders and community leaders who have knowledge and direct involvement in the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang custom. The Tulehu indigenous community, both those directly involved in the Nahu Sanamang celebration and community members who are part of the community invited in the implementation of the custom. The families of those who carry out Nahu Sanamang, especially those who have direct responsibility for organising the celebration. The selection of informants was carried out using purposive sampling method, namely by selecting informants who have knowledge, experience, and important roles in the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang custom.

- *Data Collection Techniques*

The data in this study was collected through the following techniques:

- *In-depth Interview*

In-depth interviews were conducted with traditional leaders, community leaders, and Nahu Sanamang celebrants. Interview questions were designed in a semi-structured manner to explore information about the meaning, process and development of the Nahu Sanamang tradition. The interviews aimed to gain an understanding from the perspective of the customary actors regarding the rules, norms and values contained in the implementation of the celebration.

- *Participatory Observation*

The researcher participated in various stages of the Nahu Sanamang custom, including preparation, the main celebration, and the communication process with the invited community. Observations were made by directly observing social interactions, the roles of each party, and the social dynamics that emerged during the celebration. Observational data was recorded in detail through field notes and, where possible, documented through photographs and videos.

- *Documentation*

Documentation in the form of written notes, photos, and videos was used to support the results of interviews and observations. Written sources or old documentation about the Nahu Sanamang tradition, either from family archives, local historical records, or previous literature, were also collected and analyzed to enrich the data.

- *Data Analysis Technique*

Data analysis in this study used a thematic analysis approach, which involved the process of identifying, coding, and grouping key themes from the interview and observation data. The analysis process was conducted through the following stages:

- *Interview Data Transcription*

The recorded interview data will be transcribed verbatim to facilitate analysis.

- *Data Coding*

After transcription, the researcher will conduct data coding, namely identifying patterns, themes, and categories relevant to the research topic, such as the meaning of reciprocity, the role of traditional leaders, and social dynamics in the implementation of Nahu Sanamang.

- *Theme Grouping*

The themes identified were then grouped to understand how the concept of reciprocity operates in the Nahu Sanamang tradition, how this tradition functions in maintaining the social structure of the Tulehu community, and how it is implemented in the midst of social change.

- *Data Validity*

To ensure data validity, this research uses triangulation techniques by comparing data from various sources (interviews, observations, and documentation) and different research subjects. The researcher also conducted member checking by asking informants to re-verify the interview and observation results that had been interpreted, to ensure that the data collected and analyzed were in accordance with the informants' understanding and perspective.

Result and Discussion

A Brief History of Sanamang

The Sanamang tradition is deeply rooted in the life of the indigenous people of Negeri Tulehu in Maluku and has been going on for hundreds of years. The term Sanamang itself has a symbolic meaning that reflects the spirit of gotong-royong and reciprocity in social life. This tradition is one of the typical forms of social participation in Negeri Tulehu, where the entire community is involved in various traditional celebrations or ceremonies, such as weddings, aqiqah, circumcision, and hajj celebrations. Historically, Sanamang is believed to originate from a customary practice applied by the ancestors of the Tulehu community as a way of strengthening social ties and maintaining togetherness in everyday life. In the past, indigenous communities in Tulehu faced challenges that required strong cooperation among community members, such as preparing for a big ceremony, building a house, or facing external threats. Through Sanamang, these burdens could be shared and handled collectively.

The Sanamang tradition began as a way to strengthen relationships between families and hamlets in Tulehu. Any family holding a traditional celebration, such as a wedding or aqiqah, would invite the whole community to participate in the event. The people of Tulehu, known as "Aman Barakate" or "blessed customary land," view Sanamang as a form of blessing that comes through togetherness and gotong-royong. In the context of marriage, Sanamang plays an important role in the proposal process and the various customary stages that accompany it. The male family, for example, will send a messenger to announce the intention to propose, called Paharuhu, and all of these processes are conducted with social participation using Sanamang. This system of reciprocity shows that the organization of traditional celebrations is not just the responsibility of the nuclear family, but involves the whole community.

Over time, Sanamang continues to evolve and adapt to changing social and cultural conditions. Although the influence of modernization and globalization began to enter Tulehu, this tradition is still maintained as a symbol of strong social ties in the community. To this day, Sanamang is an integral part of various traditional ceremonies in Tulehu, and still plays a key role in maintaining solidarity and social harmony among the indigenous community.

The early history of Sanamang is not only about the origins of the custom, but also about how this tradition became one of the pillars that maintained the values of togetherness, mutual cooperation, and honor in the traditional life of the Tulehu community that was passed down from generation to generation. The Indigenous People of Negeri Tulehu known as "Aman Barakate" (blessed customary land) has a lot of traditional ceremonies that are still maintained until now. The traditional ceremonies in Negeri Tulehu cover the entire cycle of human life from the womb, birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and marriage, to death. All of that is arranged in such a way by the customs that have been agreed upon since the ancestors of the people of Negeri Tulehu and passed down from generation to generation until now.

The Sanamang procession at every wedding, aqiqah, circumcision, and hajj, as a cycle of the life cycle of the traditions and culture of the Tulehu people can be narrated. Sanamang at marriage ceremonies, especially in the Tulehu community, refers to the stages that become a pattern for the customary system which includes: (a) First Paharuhu (unofficial first notification). (b) Second Paharuhu (nusu nala mahina/maso minta bini). (c) The proposal process at the Upu Tawuri's family home, and (d) Announcement of the result/large dowry fee. The above-mentioned marriage process all uses Sanamang.

Traditionally, before the aqiqah, the husband is obliged to give news of the birth of his child to the kaweng siblings and the closest family. This notification is through the tradition of "pataowa / kase tau basudara" as a medium and provides a symbolic meaning of total willingness to support the celebration, to deliberate on the readiness for the celebration, usually discussing in meetings about the budget, place, and form of activities, invited parties and others. When neighbors and family hear the news that an aqiqah celebration will be held, there is one tradition of the Tulehu people that is always done is Sanamang, or social participation from kaweng siblings and the closest family.

The pilgrimage in the midst of Tulehu community life is often embodied as social capital in order to raise its status before the public. The phenomenon of the Hajj in the community is undoubtedly justified by Tulehu culturalist M. Nur Tawainella, who considers that the desire of the Indigenous Muslim community to perform the Hajj ibdah is due to their desire to gain honor through the wearing of attributes such as the turban and Hajj clothes. For the people of Tulehu, Walimatus safar is not a new procession but has been carried out from generation to generation, the silaturrahim event in this activity uses sanamang as a social and cultural bond.

Nahu Sanamang

As a concept of social order, the existence of Nahu Sanamang in the Tulehu Indigenous community has an important role, especially in the procession of minta bini (nusu palamai mahina). This procession is an integral part of the Nahu Sanamang tradition, which is an important foundation for maintaining social order. This social order is reflected in the cultural behavior of the Tulehu people who prioritise harmony, togetherness, and harmony. This tradition emphasizes the importance of norms and solidarity values that apply to every member of the community. The Nahu Sanamang tradition, with its various traditional processions, has a very important position in the Tulehu indigenous community, especially before the actual wedding procession. A number of stages are carried out in preparation for the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang custom, including:

- *Male Intention to Plan to Propose*

The process of proposing or nusu palamai mahina is an important part of the marriage custom in the Tulehu community and Central Maluku in general. When both parties have agreed to continue their

relationship to the level of marriage, the prospective man is obliged to inform his parents of his intention. The Nahu Sanamang tradition is an integral part of the minta bini process. As Abad Nahumarury (deputy priest of Tulehu) explains, "Anyone who wants to ask for a wife in this country must traditionally inform his parents and close family of his intention." This shows how important custom is in the plan to ask for a bride as part of the Nahu Sanamang tradition in Tulehu.

- *Male Family Negotiations (Malamait)*

The man's extended family, known as the malamait, organizes all the wedding preparations through a process of negotiation. These negotiations involve a slightly extended extended family, including close paternal and maternal relatives. They gather to discuss matters such as the size of the dowry, the timing of the wedding, and other details. In these negotiations, the elders of the family usually open the conversation, and this process reflects the strong concept of solidarity among the extended family.

- *Paharuhu (notification to the female party)*

The paharuhu process consists of two stages. Firstly, the men unofficially inform the woman's family of their intention to propose. The second stage is the formal execution of the nusu nala mahina, where the men send their representatives to inform the women's families of the time of the proposal. On the appointed day, the men's representatives arrive with traditional symbols such as betel nut, areca nut and knife, as part of the betrothal paraphernalia.

In this procession, the traditional equipment or barua consists of betel leaves, areca nuts, lime, knives, and so on, with the initial attahiyat model sitting. The agenda that is usually discussed, according to the experience of traditional leaders, includes:

- Greetings from the groom's family.
- Asking the bride's readiness.
- Determination of the amount of property and dowry (mascawin).
- Determination of the day, date, and month of marriage.
- Mention of the white cloth (1 or 2 sticks). Determination of the day, date, and month of marriage.
e. Mention of white cloth (1 or 2 wood).
- A congratulatory prayer as a sign that the betel nut custom has been accepted.

In the proposal procession, a delegation consisting of traditional elders and relatives of the groom's side carries the custom to the bride's house. When the groom's messenger enters the bride's house, the conversation begins with, here is an example of the conversation:

Representative of the Groom : “*Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatub.*”

Bride's Representative : “*Waalaiikumsalam warahmatullahi wabarakatub. Mai upo, upa* (come in, sit down).”

Representative of the Groom

: “*Au laire isi pahisi au, yau warehu upu mahina e kalu upu mahina e isiap upu?*” (I came, they told me to, I came to ask if the girl was ready?)

Bride's Representative

“*Ui bere lobare pua sei looiyeya, yami apapei be hata salare.*” (Yes, from here, please tell them, we are ready)

Representative of the
Groom

“*Man reu hu'u si man pereisouw wa aisi ala wasilau rooupe.*” (If you'll excuse me, thank you very much)

Bride's Representative

:
“*Waalai kumsalam warahmatullahi wabarakatub.*”

:

After the messenger returns, the man who will come to propose is called malamait, while the woman is called tauri. Before a decision is made, the procession is preceded by a masawaer, which is a custom of honoring everyone present, as well as the mention of clan names and the size of the dowry.

During this procession, customary communication between the malamait (male family) and tauri (female family) is honoured. Both parties discuss the dowry, wedding timing and other details, and agree on the conditions that must be fulfilled before the wedding takes place. This tradition underlines the important role of adat in maintaining social relations and bringing the people of Tulehu together in harmony.



Figure 1. Nahu Sanamang Procession

This image shows a group of men counting the money collected in a large container. In the context of Nahu Sanamang, this is an appropriate illustration to depict the procession of collecting money or financial contributions from the male family as part of a traditional event in Tulehu. This tradition is related to the announcement of the male family's financial capability, which is considered a form of responsibility in supporting traditional ceremonies such as weddings.

The collection of money in this container reflects the involvement of the entire family and community in supporting the traditional procession, where the size of the contribution is a symbol of honour for the male party, as well as a form of respect for the female party in the social order of the local community.

Nahu Sanamang Reciprocity

Reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang is part of a social tradition in the community of Tulehu, Maluku, that involves collective help in the form of financial or material contributions from relatives, friends, and the community when a person faces important life events, such as marriage, aqiqah, circumcision or hajj. At this event, the community voluntarily makes donations that are collected in a large container as seen in the picture, and will later be used to help ease the burden of costs borne by the family of the event organiser.

In the context of reciprocity, Nahu Sanamang is a form of balanced reciprocity. This is because:

- Exchange with the expectation of reciprocity: People who make donations to Nahu Sanamang events hope that in the future, when they or their families organise similar events, they will receive equivalent help or donations from the people they helped. This is not a one-sided act or without expectation of reciprocation, but rather a social act that maintains a balance amongst the community.
- 2. Strengthens social relationships: As in many forms of balanced reciprocity, this practice strengthens relationships between families and communities. There is a sense of social and moral responsibility to help each other, with the belief that this help will be returned when needed.
- Form of collective contribution: People collectively make contributions that will be taken into account in broader social relations, where individual contributions are recognised and respected by the community.

Overall, reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang reflects the principle of mutualism in the Tulehu indigenous community, where social solidarity and the obligation to support each other are upheld in carrying out various traditions.

The Value of Reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang

Nahu Sanamang: Economic and Social Value

In the context of Nahu Sanamang in Tulehu, reciprocity plays an important role as a traditional social and economic system that is still relevant today. Reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang is not only related to financial donations, but also includes social relations and moral obligations reinforced by custom and religion.

- *Socio-Economic Exchange*

Reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang, despite the use of money, still reflects the traditional values rooted in the Tulehu indigenous community. Here, the use of money in social events such as weddings is not simply an economic transaction, but a symbol of social commitment and mutually supportive relationships. Malinowski emphasised that reciprocity refers to mutuality-the need to help each other between individuals in the community with the aim of maintaining long-term social relationships.

- *Exchange in Social Relationships*

The people of Tulehu practice the reciprocity system as part of their customs and religion, as explained by the Raja Adat of Tulehu. This system is a form of reciprocity. People who have received favours from the community have a moral obligation to give back in times of need. This is in line with

Malinowski's notion of "social debt", where everyone in society feels indebted to each other and reciprocity serves as a mechanism to maintain reciprocal relationships.

- *The Importance of Religion and Custom*

In the Tulehu community, custom and religion serve as the foundation for the practice of reciprocity. These values reinforce acts of mutual aid, where individuals, uninvited, will come to help when there is an event such as Nahu Sanamang. This creates solidarity and a strong sense of responsibility among residents. The assistance provided is not only seen as economic help, but also as recognition of social status and respect for the customs that have been passed down through generations.

- *Balance in Reciprocity*

As Malinowski outlines, Nahu Sanamang reciprocity operates on a spectrum from gifts that require no return to those that do. In Tulehu, giving in the context of Nahu Sanamang is usually followed by the expectation of future rewards when the giver organises a similar event. As such, it is a form of balanced reciprocity that aims to maintain harmonious social relations.

- *The Role of Traditional Values in Economic Transformation*

Despite the transformation in the economic system of the Tulehu community, where money plays a greater role, the value of reciprocity persists as a way to ensure the sustainability of social relations. This system of reciprocity not only functions in the exchange of goods and services, but also in maintaining community harmony, where custom, religion and economics are interconnected in a unified framework.

Overall, the value of reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang shows how the tradition of socioeconomic exchange in Tulehu has survived and adapted in the face of modern social development. This reciprocity transcends economic value, becoming an important mechanism in maintaining solidarity, customary identity and harmonious social relations among community members.



Figure 2. Nahu Sanamang: Economic and Social Value

Figure 2 shows the deep value of reciprocity in the economic and social context of the Tulehu community, especially in the implementation of the Nahu Sanamang tradition. This event involves the collective participation of the community, where they help each other in the form of donations, whether in the form of money, goods or labour. This value of reciprocity plays an important role in maintaining economic balance in the community, where those who participate in today's event will get similar help in the future when organising their own traditional events. This exchange is not solely about the material, but rather about maintaining the welfare of the community as a whole.

Economically, events like Nahu Sanamang demonstrate a structured give-and-take cycle. Everyone who attends makes a voluntary donation, which is later used to help fulfil the needs of a traditional event, such as a wedding. The money collected in this participation will be distributed according to the needs of the event, such as dowries, ritual costs, or donations to those who helped. This reciprocity thus strengthens the structure of the semi-traditional economy, which is based on social commitment rather than commercial transactions.

On the social side, reciprocity in Nahu Sanamang demonstrates the existence of solidarity and strong bonds of togetherness among community members. Everyone, both men and women, are actively involved in the event, showing that the event is more than just a fundraiser, but rather a platform to strengthen social relations. Attendance and contribution to this traditional event reflects a sense of collective responsibility, where the community has traditionally maintained customary traditions and values as social glue.

Ultimately, this value of reciprocity ensures that social relationships are kept close and maintained, and traditions are preserved. The Tulehu community not only views reciprocity as a way of helping each other in material terms, but also as part of a deep moral bond. This creates harmony among community members, where everyone feels interconnected and has the same social obligations in maintaining the common welfare and customs.

Nahu Sanamang: Social Interaction

In looking at the value of reciprocity in the preparation of the Nahu Sanamang custom in Negeri Tulehu, we can identify several important aspects of the social interactions that occur. Reciprocity here refers to the system of mutual assistance that occurs between the malamait family (the family that organises the event) and other indigenous communities.

- *Collective Preparation as a Form of Community Reciprocity*

The preparation stage of the Nahu Sanamang custom involves various activities carried out by many parties. For example, mama-mama (mothers) from malamait families gather to prepare Sanamang dishes the day before the ceremony. This is a form of reciprocity as they not only work for their own families, but are also involved in larger community activities. In addition, the fathers who act as messengers (pata'oa) also reflect a form of reciprocity in that they are responsible for reminding the community of the adat implementation. This is a social duty that is honoured and performed as a form of their contribution to the community.

- *Matavana Night: Social Solidarity*

Malam matawana, or the gathering together the night before Nahu Sanamang, is another form of reciprocity. In this event, the community gathers to support and enliven the atmosphere at the malamait family's house. This tradition reflects the strong solidarity and togetherness among the Tulehu community, where every individual is present without having to be formally invited. Their presence is an important form of social support and part of an ongoing bond of reciprocity. Malam matawana, which used to be filled with activities such as singing, rhyming, and dancing, has undergone some changes, but the essence remains the same: supporting the family that is holding the event through presence and togetherness.

- *Staying up late: A Form of Engagement and Reciprocity*

On a late night, especially for the gentlemen who come to play cards or karaoke, and the ladies who mingle, this is another form of social contribution. They are not only there for the entertainment, but also as part of the process of livening up the atmosphere of the event. Their presence and the interactions that occur are part of the reciprocity that maintains social relations within the community.

- *The Use of Traditional Dishes as a Symbol of Reciprocity*

The dishes such as wajik, kue lapis and pisang goreng prepared by malamait families are not just food, but symbols of traditions that connect generations, families and communities. These dishes are part of the malamait family's efforts to honour the guests and the entire community present, which in turn is expected to provide social support to their event. This act of giving and receiving creates a continuous cycle of reciprocity.

- *Pata'oa: A Social Mechanism for Reminding Community Obligations*

The pata'oa task performed by the men as messengers is an important part of the adat implementation process. It is a form of trust from the malamait family to certain individuals who are trusted to remind the community about the customary events that will be held. This form of communication reflects the value of reciprocity as they voluntarily take on an important role in maintaining the smooth running of the event and ensuring the involvement of the entire community.

In the context of Nahu Sanamang preparation in Negeri Tulehu, reciprocity acts as the heart of every social interaction. Joint preparations, whether in preparing dishes, building tents, or sending messages to the community, reflect a pattern of give and take between individuals and communities. This tradition not only strengthens social relations, but also preserves the customs that have been passed down from generation to generation.

The value of reciprocity within Nahu Sanamang is a clear example of balanced reciprocity where each individual, family, or community group feels responsible for supporting one another, and in turn receives the same support when they need it.

Figure 3. Nahu Sanamang: Social Interaction



Figure 3 shows a moment in the Nahu Sanamang tradition that involves strong social interaction within the Tulehu community. It shows several people gathered in a traditional setting, with a table full of traditional dishes prepared for the occasion. These dishes are not just food, but also symbols of the togetherness and mutual respect shown during the Nahu Sanamang process. In the context of social interaction, this image shows how the Nahu Sanamang tradition functions as a means to strengthen social ties among community members. Every individual, whether male or female, young or old, plays an active role in this process. They gather, not only to enjoy the food, but also to strengthen family relationships and friendships. The role of

women in preparing the dishes that will be distributed to participants also shows their important role in maintaining the continuity of customs and traditions.

The neatly arranged dishes on the table symbolise the contributions made by the community in a symbolic form, where food and money are offered in the spirit of *gotong royong*. In the Nahu Sanamang tradition, giving and receiving are part of a recurring social cycle, where everyone is expected to help each other in any occasion of need. Figure 3 also represents the importance of a sense of collective responsibility and solidarity established through social interactions in traditional events such as Nahu Sanamang. These gatherings are not only economically valuable, but also culturally valuable, strengthening the social bonds that have existed in the community for generations.

Nahu Sanamang: The Value of Solidarity

The implementation of Nahu Sanamang in the Tulehu customary tradition is not only an ordinary economic or social activity, but also symbolises deep solidarity and reciprocity among the community. Here are some important points related to the value of solidarity and reciprocity in this traditional procession:

- *Implementation and Collection of Nahu Sanamang*

Nahu Sanamang is held from early morning until Friday prayers, culminating in the announcement of the amount of money collected in the *parteng*. The distribution of the money is done transparently by using a loudspeaker, so that everyone present knows the amount collected. This is a form of transparency and equality that is an important part of the value of solidarity in Tulehu custom.

Nahu Sanamang Money Distribution

The money collected is then divided into several parts according to the needs of the wedding procession:

- Marriage property: The amount of property that has been agreed between the two families.
- Ma'ruru lau (pele pintu): Money for relatives from the *upu tawuri* family..
- Kakopan okoi (betel nut holder): Money for children representing the *tawuri* family.
- Manghiti manghua (betel nut): Money for relatives on the mother's side of the family..
- Dowry alms: Money given to people who helped organise the Nahu Sanamang process..
- This sharing reflects reciprocity as each party receives according to their contribution and role in the event.

Solidaritas dalam Prosesi Nahu Sanamang

Prosesi ini berlangsung di rumah *Upu Malamait* (keluarga pengantin pria) dan melibatkan undangan dari keluarga besar, baik dari pihak bapak maupun ibu, serta masyarakat umum. Mereka berpartisipasi dengan memasukkan uang ke dalam wadah yang telah disediakan sebagai bentuk dukungan. Kehadiran dan kontribusi dari seluruh lapisan masyarakat mencerminkan nilai solidaritas yang kuat di dalam komunitas, di mana setiap orang, tanpa terkecuali, merasa memiliki tanggung jawab terhadap keberlangsungan acara adat.

Upa Tampata (Dudu Tampa) at Upu Tawuri's House

This procession takes place at the bride-to-be's house and involves the community giving gifts, especially for the women. This is a form of respect and solidarity towards women in the Tulehu custom. *Dudu Tampa*

functions not only as a form of social participation, but also as a motivational event for unmarried women, with the hope that they will one day also get the desired mate.

The Role of the Community in the Implementation of Nahu Sanamang

Every individual in the Tulehu community plays an active role in this procession. Whether through financial contributions (Sanamang money) or physical presence, the community shows solidarity and ownership of the custom. This strengthens the social network where mutual aid is an indispensable value.

The value of reciprocity and solidarity in the implementation of Nahu Sanamang in Tulehu is a strong glue in social relations between residents. Reciprocity is evident through the cycle of give and take that occurs during the Nahu Sanamang procession, both in terms of financial and social participation. Solidarity is reflected in the involvement of all levels of society in the event, where everyone feels responsible and participates for the success of the event, which leads to the preservation of traditions and the strengthening of social ties in Negeri Tulehu.

Conclusion

Based on the results of research on the Nahu Sanamang tradition in the Tulehu indigenous community, it can be concluded as follows:

- *The Role of Nahu Sanamang Tradition in Tulehu Society*

Nahu Sanamang functions as one of the important pillars in maintaining social relations and customary structures in Negeri Tulehu. This tradition is not only a social activity, but also a symbol of solidarity and communal attachment that strengthens the community's cultural identity.

- *Reciprocity as a Social Mechanism*

The Nahu Sanamang tradition operates within a framework of balanced reciprocity, whereby any individual who provides assistance in a celebration is expected to receive equal reciprocation when organising a similar event. This strengthens social relations and creates a sustainable cycle of gotong royong in the community.

- *Strengthening Local Identity Amid Modernisation*

Although the Tulehu community faces the challenges of globalisation and modernisation, the Nahu Sanamang tradition persists as a symbol of subtle resistance to external change. This tradition has successfully adapted to the growing social dynamics without losing the customary and spiritual values that have been passed down from generation to generation.

- *Solidarity and Social Cohesion*

Nahu Sanamang demonstrates the importance of collective participation in traditional events, where people regardless of social status are actively involved in supporting each other. This reflects the strength of solidarity that underpins the social cohesion of the Tulehu indigenous community.

- *Contribution to Academic Literature*

Penelitian ini memberikan wawasan baru mengenai peran tradisi lokal dalam maintaining social and cultural structures in indigenous communities. Nahu Sanamang as a form of reciprocity offers a concrete example of how the tradition of gotong royong can survive and function in modern society, while enriching the literature on reciprocity and communal traditions in Indonesia.

This conclusion confirms that the Nahu Sanamang tradition is not only a customary practice, but also an effective social mechanism in maintaining social and cultural balance amidst changing times.

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