

EKSISTENSI HUKUM ADAT ENDE LIO DALAM KASUS PERKAWINAN “PARU DHEKO” (KAWIN LARI) PADA MASYARAKAT KELURAHAN BOKASAPE KECAMATAN WOLOWARU KABUPATEN ENDE

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Abstract: This study discusses the role of Ende Lio customary law in resolving cases of Paru Dheko (elopement) Marriage in Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Subdistrict, and Ende Regency. The background of this research stems from concerns about the deviation of marriage practices from the prevailing customary rules. Paru Dheko occurs without family consent and without going through customary stages, and is therefore viewed as a violation of traditional norms. The study employs a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach, conducted through in-depth interviews with elopement actors, traditional leaders, and community members. The findings indicate that Paru Dheko is triggered by factors such as parental disapproval, premarital pregnancy, differences in social status, and economic limitations. Although the process does not follow customary procedures, the resolution is still carried out through customary means with mediation by traditional leaders (Mosalaki), particularly in determining the belis (dowry) and marriage arrangements. Customary law remains the main guideline for maintaining harmony, resolving conflicts, and preserving the cultural values of the Ende Lio community.

Keywords: Marriage; Paru Dheko; Customary Law.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini membahas tentang peran hukum adat Ende Lio dalam menyelesaikan kasus Perkawinan Paru Dheko (kawin lari) di Desa Bokasape, Kecamatan Wolowaru, Kabupaten Ende. Latar belakang penelitian ini bermula dari keprihatinan terhadap penyimpangan praktik perkawinan dari aturan adat yang berlaku. Paru Dheko terjadi tanpa persetujuan keluarga dan tanpa melalui tahapan adat, sehingga dipandang sebagai pelanggaran Norma adat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnografi, yang dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan para pelaku kawin lari, tokoh adat, dan anggota masyarakat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Paru Dheko dipicu oleh beberapa faktor seperti ketidaksetujuan orang tua, kehamilan di luar nikah, perbedaan status sosial, dan keterbatasan ekonomi. Meskipun prosesnya tidak mengikuti prosedur adat, penyelesaiannya tetap dilakukan melalui jalur adat dengan mediasi oleh tokoh adat (Mosalaki), terutama dalam penentuan belis (mahar) dan pengaturan pernikahan. Hukum adat tetap menjadi pedoman utama dalam menjaga kerukunan, menyelesaikan konflik, dan melestarikan nilai-nilai budaya masyarakat Ende Lio.

Kata Kunci: Perkawinan; Paru Dheko; Hukum Adat.

A. Pendahuluan

Customary law is often based on and influenced by the local religion, customs, and traditions passed down from generation to generation. Due to different historical and cultural backgrounds, there are significant differences in customary legal systems across various countries and regions. Although customary law is often unwritten, some communities have developed formal rules or procedures to resolve conflicts or enforce laws. The existence of customary law itself cannot be separated from the existence of its customary legal community. Customary law communities have their own customary legal

systems, and even when violations occur, they have legal rules related to sanctions that can be applied to members of the customary law community who violate customary law, thus subjecting them to customary criminal sanctions (Pasapan et al., 2022). Abruptly removing and replacing regulations with others would contradict magical-religious customs, changes are not made in this way (Wijdan., 2021).

Customary law is highly traditional because people generally believe that its rules originate from legendary ancestors (only found in folklore). However, recurring events lead to change. Customary law regulations must be applied and utilized by customary leaders (especially by traditional chiefs) in certain situations of their daily lives. These events often evolve unnoticed, leading people to believe that old regulations still apply to new situations. However, like most customary law rules in Indonesia, customary law rules related to customary criminal law, especially those concerning the application of customary sanctions, are conveyed orally and not recorded in written form or unwritten law.

Customary law embodies the values that live and develop within a community. Although most customary laws are not written, they have a strong binding force in society. Communities and customary law are inseparable because they have a reciprocal relationship where there is law. No society does not desire order, justice, and legal certainty because law itself is the source of this relationship. A necessity for every country. Besides serving as a necessity, law creates order as a unifying tool for the nation and society (Achmad Asfi Burhanudin., 2021). This customary law governs various aspects of community life, including ceremonies, conflict resolution, and social obligations. Among the many traditions, marriage is one of an important thing, embodying the unity and harmony cherished in Ende Lio society.

Marriage is a legal, social, and cultural bond between two individuals within a society. It is an institution often regarded as the foundation of family and broader social structure, defining the relationship between spouses. Marriage, as stated in Article 1 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, refers to the physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of establishing a happy and eternal family (household) based on the belief in the Almighty God. The physical and spiritual bond is a visible connection indicating the legal relationship between a man and a woman to live together as husband and wife (Waluyo, 2020).

Marriage is conducted in many cultures with various ceremonies, traditions, and rituals to signify the commitment of two individuals to live together as life partners. Additionally, the laws and social norms prevailing in the community where the marriage takes place often control and regulate marriage (Candra et al., 2023). Marriage in Ende culture is something of great importance. Therefore, rules regarding marriage are established. The rules and regulations of marriage have existed since ancient times and have been upheld by both community members and traditional leaders (Loka et al., 2023).

Ende Lio customs heavily regulate social life, including marriage. However, in some cases that occur in Bokasape Village, Wolowaru sub-district, there are marriage practices conducted outside the applicable rules, such as the Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage or more commonly known as elopement. It is a condition where a couple, without obtaining approval or gained parental or familial consent, clandestinely enters into marriage after having a relationship (dating) that has not. Based on observation, this occurs due to several factors such as not receiving blessings from both parents/families due to incompatibility economic constraints and pregnant in illegal marriage. This type of marriage is considered deviant from Ende Lio customary marriage and this deviation can endanger Ende Lio law and other social life. According to Ende Lio customary law, which is in accordance with the customs of the Ende Lio community, the male party must come to the female party nicely in a customary manner commonly called Mai ale (enter asking).

This research has become increasingly urgent due to the rising number of Paru Dheko (elopement) marriages in Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Subdistrict, Ende Regency, which indicates a shift in values and a violation of the traditional marriage procedures of the Ende Lio community. In Ende Lio society, marriage holds sacred value and must go through customary stages such as nai ale, wurumana, and tu weli ngawu. However, Paru Dheko bypasses these stages and is carried out without parental consent or adherence to recognized customary procedures. This phenomenon not only reflects behavioral deviation but also threatens the existence of customary law as a social system that maintains balance, family harmony, and societal order. If not properly addressed, this practice could undermine the authority of traditional leaders (Mosalaki), spark conflicts between families, and weaken respect for local cultural values.

The urgency of this research lies in the importance of documenting the role of customary law in resolving Paru Dheko conflicts through deliberation and peaceful means, such as the payment of se'u sala (admission of wrongdoing) and dowry. This study also aims to identify the root causes of the increase in Paru Dheko cases such as economic disparities, premarital pregnancy, and differences in social status so that it can serve as a basis for developing strategies to preserve customary law in ways that align with the current realities of the community. Based on the background that has been described, this study aims to explore in greater depth the issues related to The Existence of Ende Lio Customary Law in "Paru Dheko" Marriage (Elopement) Cases in the Community of Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Sub district, Ende Regency.

Therefore, the research problems to be addressed in this study are, How is the Marriage Process for (elopement case) carried out by the perpetrator of paru dheko marriage (elopement)?, What factors lead to the occurrence of Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) in the community of Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Sub district, Ende Regency?, What role does Ende Lio customary law play in resolving Paru Dheko marriages (elopement) in the Ende Lio community? This research aims to find answers to the questions formulated in the research problem statement. The objectives to be achieved in this study are as follows, to find out how the marriage process is carried out by the perpetrator of elopement, to understand the factors contributing to the occurrence of Paru Dheko (elopement) marriages within the community of Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Subdistrict, Ende Regency and to understand the role of Ende Lio customary law in resolving Paru Dheko (elopement) marriages within the Ende Lio community.

B. Research Metodology

This study uses a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach, which aims to deeply understand the culture, customs, and way of life of a particular community from an insider's perspective. In the context of social research, the ethnographic approach is used to describe and interpret patterns of behavior, values, norms, and social interactions that occur in the daily life of the community being studied. According to Sujarweni (2014), the ethnographic method is an in-depth study of naturally occurring behaviors within a particular culture or social group, aimed at understanding that specific culture from the perspective of its members Danik Prahastiwi et al., (2023). The location of this research is in Bokasape Village, Wolowaru District, and Ende Regency. This research was conducted on February 10th February 28th, 2025. The data sources in this research are primary and secondary data. Primary data is obtained from data sources directly, observed and recorded, such as interviews, observation and documentation (Asep Nurwanda, 2020). In other words, data is taken directly from the original source, by interviews. In this study, primary data were obtained from respondents, namely the customary head, the perpetrator of elopement and the community. Secondary data is data sourced from documents. The

documents referred to her include data obtained from books and other sources (Kaharuddin, 2021). In this study, the author used interview techniques as a method of data collection. Sugiyono (2017: 194) stated that "interviews are data collection techniques to find out things from respondents that are more in-depth and the number of respondents is small" (Pasaribu et al., 2021). Based on the expert opinion above, it can be concluded that interviews are data collection techniques carried out through a face-to-face question-and-answer process conducted by the author to obtain information from respondents. Respondents in this study were the customary chief, village head, and perpetrators of elopement. Through interviews with these three informants, the author hopes to gain a comprehensive and in-depth perspective on the phenomenon of elopement from various points of view. Data analysis is the process of systematically searching for and compiling data obtained from interviews, by organizing data into categories, breaking it down into units, synthesizing, compiling it into patterns, choosing which ones are important and which ones will be studied, and making conclusions so that they are easily understood by oneself and others. (Sugiyono, 2022) are as follows: Data were collected through in-depth interviews with the informants. The collected data were then filtered, selected, and categorized according to the focus of the research. Irrelevant or repetitive information was eliminated to ensure a more directed and effective analysis. The reduced data were organized into descriptive narratives based on the main themes. Each theme was supported by direct quotes from the informants to strengthen the validity of the data and enhance understanding. At this stage, the author interpreted the presented data to answer the research questions and formulate relevant findings.

C. Result and Discussion

General Overview of the Research Site

Bokasape Sub-district is one of the sub-districts located in Wolowaru District, Ende Regency, and East Nusa Tenggara Province. In 2015, the population of this sub-district reached 1,964 people, making it the most populous village in Wolowaru sub District. The boundaries of Bokasape village:

North: Borders Lisedetu Village.

East: Borders Bokasape Timur Village.

West: Borders Nakambara Village.

South: Borders Nakambara Village.

Bokasape village, Wolowaru sub District, has various social conditions that reflect the life of its community, such as: Economic Conditions: The majority of the population works as farmers, livestock breeders, weavers, or small traders. The level of community welfare varies, with some families still relying on traditional agricultural products. Social Life: The community is known for its strong spirit of mutual cooperation. Traditional ceremonies and religious activities often serve as moments of togetherness. Social Relationships: The residents of Bokasape maintain close family ties. The kinship system and traditions are well preserved, including in resolving social issues.

Description of Research Findings

The research findings result from a process of exploring real phenomena that align with the research objectives, based on information obtained during the study in Bokasape village. This study employs methods interviews. Through interviews with credible informants, the author obtained valid and in-depth information, allowing for an accurate analysis of this phenomenon.

The informants (subjects) in this study consisted of 5 people they are:

- a) Informant 1 is one of the individuals who carried out a Paru Dheko (elopement)

marriage. The first informant is Mrs. Anida Fiza, a 23-year-old woman. She is a Muslim and a housewife. Mrs. Anida is the second of three siblings and has completed her education up to high school. The author chose Mrs. Anida as a research informant because the author wanted to understand the factors that led her to take the bold step of engaging in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage and to learn about the process of Paru Dheko marriage itself.

- b) Informant 2 is one of the individuals who carried out a Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage. The second informant is Mrs. Ayuni, a 43-year-old woman. She is a Muslim and a housewife. Mrs. Ayuni is the second of four siblings and has completed her education up to high school.
- c) Informant 3 is one of the individuals who carried out a Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage. The third informant, Mr. Zulkifli Aka Sewi, is 30 years old and a Muslim. Mr. Zulkifli works as a farmer. He is the third of four siblings and completed his education up to senior high school.
- d) Informant 4 is one of the local people. The fourth informant is Mrs. Siti Aisyah, a 47-year-old woman. She is a Muslim and works as a teacher. Mrs. Siti is the eldest of four siblings and has completed her education with a Bachelor's Degree in Education. I chose Mrs. Siti as a research informant because I wanted to understand the role of Ende Lio customary law in resolving Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage.
- e) Informant 5 serves as the traditional leader Mosalaki within the community. The fifth informant is Mr. Ambrani S. Demu, a 57-year-old man. He is a Muslim and a civil servant. Mr. Ambrani is the second of eight siblings and has completed his education with a Bachelor's Degree.

Based on the interviews conducted with the informants, the following findings were obtained:

- a) The Process of Marriage (elopement) Carried out by the Perpetrator of Paru Dheko (elopement) Marriage.

Field research data indicates that the Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage process differs significantly from formal marriages commonly practiced in society. Findings from the field reveal that this type of marriage follows a series of stages and has become a deeply rooted tradition passed down through generations. The following is an interview with Mrs. Anida, one of the individuals who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage, regarding the elopement marriage process. This marriage process differs from formal marriages. In this tradition, the groom's family first sends a spokesperson to inform the bride's family that their daughter is already at the groom's house. After this notification, both families will discuss the dowry (belis) and determine the wedding date. Once an agreement is reached, the wedding ceremony will take place at the groom's house. The statement above is based on the testimony given by Mrs. Anida, who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement), marriage, through an interview, stating that: "That night, I ran away to the groom's house. The next day, his family went to my house to inform my parents that I was already at the groom's house. The most important part is the gathering of both families, where they discuss the dowry (belis). The wedding ceremony later takes place at the groom's house, and the mandatory attendees are the parents and family members from both sides".

The following is an interview with Mrs. Ayuni, one of the individuals who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage regarding the elopement marriage process. In a Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage, the first step is to send a messenger to inform the bride's family that their daughter is already at the groom's house. If the bride's

family does not take her back within four nights, they will send clothes and a sarong as a sign of acceptance. After that, both families will hold a meeting to discuss the dowry (belis) and determine the wedding date. The wedding ceremony will then take place at the groom's house and must be attended by the parents and family members from both sides. The statement above is based on the testimony given by Mrs. Ayuni, who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage, through an interview, stating that: "A messenger is sent to inform my parents that I have eloped and am already at the groom's house. If I stay at the groom's house for four nights, my family will send clothes and a sarong as a sign of acceptance. Then, a meeting between both families takes place to discuss the dowry (belis) and set the wedding date. The wedding will be held at the groom's house because I have already gone through Paru Dheko (elopement), and it must be attended by the parents and both families."

The following is an interview with Mr. Zulkifli, one of the individuals involved in a Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage, regarding the process. Before the woman went to the man's house to carry out the Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage, both parties had agreed upon it. That night, the woman came to the man's house alone. The following day, the man's family informed the woman's family that their daughter was already at the man's house. After that, both families discussed the belis (dowry) and the wedding preparations, and they agreed together on the date of the ceremony. The wedding was then held at the groom's house. The statement above is taken by the information conveyed by Mr. Zulkifli who conducted a Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage through an interview that: "Before the woman came to my house, the two of us had already agreed to elope. That night, she came to my house alone. The next day, my family informed her family that their daughter was already at my house. After that, both families gathered to discuss the *belis* (dowry) and the plans for the wedding celebration. Then, they agreed on a date, and the wedding was held at the groom's house." The following is an interview with Mosalaki (the customary leader) regarding the Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) process.

- a) Notification to the Bride's Family (Nosi Mbe'o) The groom's family first informs the bride's family that their daughter is already at the groom's house.
- b) Initial dowry (belis) Payment (Se'u sala) After that, the initial belis payment is made, which in the Lio language is called (se'u sala), meaning "admission of wrongdoing." This offering consists of livestock and money (seliwu seeko).
- c) Main dowry (belis) Agreement (Tu weli ngawu) The families from both sides then held discussions to determine a larger amount of belis, which included money, livestock, and traditional woven cloth.
- d) Determination of the Wedding Date and Process (Mba'bo gajo) Once the belis (dowry) is agreed upon, the families set the wedding date and its proceedings. The wedding takes place at the groom's house and must be attended by the bride's uncle. This is important because, in Islam, the bride's guardian wali must be present at the wedding. Additionally, both families collaborate in the wedding process, including the parents and guardians from both sides.

The statement above is based on the testimony given by Mosalaki (the Customary Leader), stating that: "The first thing that needs to be prepared after the bride elopes to the groom's house is that the groom's family must inform the bride's family that their daughter has arrived at the groom's house. The second step is the initial belis payment, which the Lio people call (se'u sala), meaning 'admission of wrongdoing.' This offering consists of (seliwu seeko), which refers to livestock and

money. The third step is a family discussion to determine the larger belis amount, known in Lio as (tu ria), meaning 'based on mutual agreement.' After that, the wedding date and process are determined. The wedding takes place at the groom's house and must be attended by the bride's uncle because, according to Islamic tradition, a bride's wali (guardian) must be present. Both families, including the parents and guardians, collaborate in the wedding process."

Based on the findings, the Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage process shows significant differences compared to the traditional marriage practices commonly observed in the community. In traditional marriages, the stages typically include Nai Ale (formal proposal), Wurumana (a family tradition involving mutual giving in the form of money, livestock, and goods), Ruti Nata (presentation of betel nuts), Tu Weli Ngawu (delivery of the main dowry), and Joka Tu Ana (bringing the bride to the groom's house). Meanwhile, the Pharu Dheko process consists of Nosi Mbe'o (notification to the bride's family), Tu Weli Ngawu (agreement on the main dowry), and Mba'bo Gajo (determination of the wedding date and ceremony execution). It can be concluded that Pharu Dheko and traditional marriage differ considerably, especially in terms of the ceremonial stages. Pharu Dheko omits several important stages of traditional weddings, such as Nai Ale, Wurumana, Ruti Nata, and Joka Tu Ana. The only similarity lies in the agreement on the main dowry (Tu Weli Ngawu), indicating that although Pharu Dheko does not fully adhere to traditional customs, it still preserves certain cultural elements.

b) Factors Lead to the Occurrence of Pharu Dheko Marriage (elopement) in the Community of Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Subdistrict, Ende Regency

The research findings from the study location indicate that Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) between two individuals is influenced by several factors. One of the main reasons is parental or family disapproval of the couple's relationship. Additionally, differences in social status and the groom's inability to pay the agreed-upon dowry (belis) also contribute to this practice. However, the most common factor that triggers elopement is pregnancy outside of marriage. The following is an interview with Mrs. Anida, one of the individuals involved in Paru Dheko marriage (elopement), which occurred due to the disapproval of both parents. Although the couple had been in a relationship for a long time, they decided to proceed with Paru Dheko marriage (elopement).

The statement above can be cited based on the testimony given by Mrs. Anida, who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage. "The reason I chose to engage in Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) was because my parents did not approve of my relationship with my partner. We did not receive their blessing, even though we truly loved each other. In the end, I decided to go through with Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) in hopes of gaining their approval so that I could live together with my partner." The statement above concludes that one of the factors causing Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) is the lack of parental approval of the relationship. In a statement given by another couple who engaged in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage they explained their reasons for choosing to elope: "The reason I engaged in Paru Dheko marriage (elopement) was pregnancy. I never intended to elope because I knew it was neither right nor honorable. However, since I was already pregnant, I was forced to go through with Paru Dheko marriage (elopement). Sometimes, this practice is done to conceal a woman's shame, as she has engaged in premarital relations that resulted in pregnancy. This ultimately leads to the decision to elope, which is made solely by the couple without the knowledge of their respective families."

The interview with Mrs. Ayuni above shows that premarital pregnancy and unrestricted social interactions are the main factors contributing to Paru Dheko marriage (elopement). Various parties, especially parents, must pay close attention to teenagers' social interactions. To prevent young people from engaging in uncontrolled social behavior, they must be supervised and educated. Adolescents are vulnerable to the negative impacts of unrestricted social interactions. Teenagers who should be spending more time at home often spend excessive time outside due to a lack of parental attention, which can lead to uncontrolled social interactions. Social deviance occurs due to a lack of control, and one of the consequences of unrestricted social behavior is premarital pregnancy. In a statement given by another couple involved in a Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage, they explained the reason for their decision to elope: "The reason we decided to elope was because our relationship was not approved by the woman's parents. So, we chose to elope in hopes of eventually receiving their blessing to get married."

The interview with Mr. Zulkifli indicates that one of the reasons behind the occurrence of Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage is the lack of parental approval from the woman's side regarding the relationship. This rejection prompted the couple to seek an alternative in order to pursue the marriage they desired. This situation reflects a conflict between individual desires and family expectations, where the couple felt that eloping was the only way for their relationship to be recognized and their marriage to be legitimized. Elopement was chosen as a form of resistance against the family's prohibition, as well as an attempt to force acceptance of the relationship after the marriage had taken place. The following is an interview with Mr. Ambrani, the traditional leader (Mosalaki), regarding the factors contributing to Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage: "The reasons why they choose to elope vary. Some of them include differences in social status, lack of parental approval, premarital pregnancy, and economic factors. These are the main reasons that lead them to decide on elopement."

Based on the interview with Mr. Ambrani, several key factors drive couples to engage in Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage. These factors include differences in social status between partners, lack of parental approval, premarital pregnancy, and economic limitations, particularly in fulfilling the belis (dowry). Elopement occurs due to obstacles in the traditional marriage process that should ideally take place. Social, economic, and cultural factors play a significant role in influencing a couple's decision to take this path. In some cases, elopement becomes a solution for couples who are unable to meet traditional requirements or face intense social pressure, such as premarital pregnancy.

c) The Role Does Ende Lio Customary Law in Resolving Paru Dheko (elopement) Marriages in the Ende Lio Community

Based on the research findings, traditional leaders, as community elders, play a crucial role in resolving issues between both parties during the Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage process. Local traditional leaders primarily act as mediators or representatives of one of the families when disputes arise during the proceedings. Their role is to communicate the expectations of the groom's family, particularly regarding the belis (dowry) or dowry, ensuring that no conflicts or disagreements arise in the future. This helps maintain good relations between both families and preserve social harmony within the local community.

Based on the interview with Mr. Mosalaki, the traditional leader, he explained that: "Traditional leaders play an important role in resolving issues related to Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage as community elders who help handle potential

disputes. In this regard, they act as representatives of one of the families to convey the expectations of the groom's side, particularly regarding the amount of belis (dowry), in order to prevent future conflicts. The implementation of customary practices in Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriages is closely linked to the culture of the Bokasape community, which generally prioritizes religious principles over customary rules. However, the application of these customs also depends on the readiness and ability of each family to uphold them. On the other hand, traditional leaders do not impose specific rules or interventions regarding Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriages, leaving the decision of whether to prioritize religious or customary practices entirely up to the agreement between both parties. If they choose to prioritize religious customs, the marriage will be conducted according to religious procedures. There is no strict timeframe, but as a form of respect for the bride's family and the prevailing customs, the groom's side is still responsible for fulfilling customary obligations after the religious ceremony has been completed. Additionally, there are cases where Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriages follow traditional customs first before being formally recognized through religious marriage. In Bokasape, where the majority of the population is Muslim, determining the wedding date is an essential part of the process. In many situations, customary practices are prioritized before the religious wedding takes place."

The interview results can be concluded that traditional leaders serve as mediators in resolving Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriages, particularly in preventing conflicts related to the amount of belis (dowry). In some cases, the marriage is preceded by customary rituals before being officially recognized through religious ceremonies. Therefore, both custom and religion play significant roles in the Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage process, with traditional leaders acting as facilitators in its implementation. The following is an interview with Mrs. Siti Aisyah, a resident of Bokasape Subdistrict, regarding the role of customary law: "Customary law plays a significant role in regulating Pharu Dheko (elopement), especially in communities that uphold traditions. This role of customary law also applies in this region. Customary law remains in effect and will continue to be passed down because traditions are an integral part of the local community. Therefore, this culture will be inherited by future generations." The results of the interview above can be concluded that customary law still plays an important role in regulating Pharu Dheko (elopement), especially in communities that highly uphold traditions. In this region, customary law remains in effect and serves as a guideline for resolving various issues arising from Pharu Dheko (elopement). Furthermore, customary law is considered an inseparable part of community life and will continue to be passed down to future generations. This tradition is believed to endure because it represents a strong cultural identity embedded in the social life of the local community. Therefore, despite the influence of religious and state laws, customary law still holds a respected position and is upheld by society.

The Marriage (elopement) Process Carried Out By The Perpetrator Of Paru Dheko (Elopement) Marriage.

Notification to the Bride's Family (Nosi mbe'o). In the Pharu Dheko (elopement) marriage tradition, the first step taken after the woman arrives at the man's house is to formally notify her family. The groom's family will send a representative, usually a respected elder or a family member, to inform the bride's family that their daughter is now at the groom's house. The purpose of this notification is to prevent conflicts and to open a channel of communication between both families. Once the notification is made, further

discussions usually take place regarding customary procedures, including the amount of belis (dowry) and the official wedding date. After the Pharu Dheko marriage has taken place, the groom's family approaches and informs the bride's family that their daughter has undergone Pharu Dheko (Petu et al., 2023).

The Initial Dowry (Belis) Delivery (Se'u sala) The initial belis (dowry) delivery, known in the Lio language as (se'u sala), means "admitting fault." This tradition is an integral part of the Lio ethnic group's marriage customs, in which the groom's family presents offerings as a sign of respect and a request for the bride's family's blessing. These offerings typically consist of livestock and a sum of money, referred to as (seliwa seeko). This ritual symbolizes the groom's sincerity in entering into marriage and serves as an apology and acknowledgment of the responsibilities he will undertake in married life. Additionally, the bride's family is reassured that there is no need for coercion or pressure, as the groom's family will undergo a process known as sewu petu pera ara (to defuse anger) meaning an effort to ease any anger or tension. During this process, the groom's family presents offerings of livestock and money as symbols of respect and appreciation. This act aims to calm the bride's family and prevent potential conflicts between the two families. After completing the sewu petu pera ara (to defuse anger) process, it is expected that any lingering resentment will subside (Petu et al., 2023).

Agreement on the Main Dowry (Tu weli ngawu). After the initial stage is completed, both families gather to further discuss the larger belis (dowry) amount, which is an essential part of the Lio ethnic group's traditional marriage process. This stage is called (tu ria) meaning the delivery of a significant belis amount based on mutual agreement. At this stage, both families negotiate to reach a consensus on the belis that the groom's family must provide. The agreement reflects a process of deliberation and consensus-building between the two extended families. Belis or dowry consists of a sum of money, livestock, and goods given by the groom's family to the bride's family as a prerequisite for marriage validation. The groom is required to provide the belis because the bride will become part of the groom's clan or lineage. The bride will leave her parents and relinquish her membership in her birth clan to become part of her husband's lineage (De & Putra, n.d., 2023).

Determining the Wedding Date and Marriage Process (Mba'bo gajo) After reaching an agreement on the belis, the next stage is determining the wedding date. In the Lio ethnic tradition, choosing the wedding date is not done arbitrarily but through family deliberation. Additionally, the families prepare all necessities for the wedding ceremony, including decorations, food, and invitations for relatives and the surrounding community. On the appointed day, the wedding ceremony takes place following the traditional customs of the Lio people. The ceremony is then followed by a wedding blessing according to the religious beliefs of the couple.

Factors lead to the occurrence of Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage in the community of Bokasape Village, Wolowaru Subdistrict, Ende Regency.

There are several factors that cause the occurrence of paru dheko (elopement) marriage in Bokasape Village as follows:

- a. Lack of Parental Approval as a Contributing Factor. Ideally, marriage is a physical and emotional bond between two individuals based on love, mutual understanding, and a commitment to building a life together. A marriage is considered valid if it is conducted in accordance with the religious laws and beliefs of the individuals involved. The legality of a marriage without parental approval is closely related to the presence or absence of a wali nikah (marriage guardian). In this sacred process, it is advisable to involve respected figures, especially parents, as their blessing is

an essential aspect that should be prioritized (Dewi Sri Puspiana et al., 2023). In traditional marriage customs, parental approval is generally regarded as a crucial element and one of the main requirements for marriage. It is seen as a form of prayer and support for the couple's future household. However, in Bokasape village, one of the primary reasons for Pharu Dheko (elopement) is the lack of parental support for the couple's relationship. As a result, they opt for elopement as a shortcut to marriage. Love often leads individuals to lose their sense of rationality, sometimes even disregarding their parents' wishes. In some cases, couples who do not receive parental approval choose Pharu Dheko or elopement as a solution to be together. Although they are aware of the risks associated with their decision, they firmly believe that it is the best option for building a life with their loved one. Understanding the potential consequences, they are willing to bear any repercussions in order to stay together. Pharu Dheko (elopement) is often seen as a solution for couples whose relationships are not approved by their parents. Additionally, this tradition has become a common practice in the Bokasape community. The practice of Pharu Dheko (elopement) continues to occur frequently, with couples choosing elopement as a means to establish their married life every year.

- b. Premarital Pregnancy as a Contributing Factor. Premarital pregnancy refers to a condition in which a woman becomes pregnant before officially marrying according to the laws or norms of a society. Several factors contribute to premarital pregnancy, including a lack of sex education or knowledge about reproductive health, a permissive social environment, the negative effects of technological advancements, peer influence, and parenting styles. The most dominant factors leading to teenage pregnancy are the lack of sex education and peer influence (Samawati & Nurchayati, 2021). Uncontrolled social interactions among teenagers can have negative consequences. The issue of unrestricted relationships has become widespread, even among students, as modernity is often equated with freedom. As a result, many are willing to engage in certain behaviors solely for the sake of pleasure (Fatu et al., 2022). The social interactions of teenagers today require serious attention from various parties, especially parents. Proper supervision and guidance are crucial in preventing children from engaging in reckless relationships. The absence or lack of parental control may lead teenagers to spend more time outside the home, ultimately increasing the risk of deviant behavior. One of the major consequences of unchecked social interactions is premarital pregnancy. In Bokasape Village, most cases of premarital pregnancy occur due to the lack of parental supervision, particularly when teenagers are in romantic relationships.
- c. Social Status as a Contributing Factor. Social status has a significant influence on marriage, affecting not only family and societal acceptance but also the dynamics of the marital relationship. Differences in social status and economic disparities, as well as hierarchical positions in traditional customs, often pose challenges for couples who wish to build a life together (Masyarakat et al., n.d. 2022). Pharu Dheko (elopement) commonly occurs when a couple does not receive parental approval, particularly from the bride's family. This disapproval is often the main reason why couples choose to marry through elopement. Getting married through Pharu Dheko (elopement) is frequently seen as the most effective way for couples to unite with their loved ones. Parental rejection of their child's relationship can be driven by various factors, one of which is social status differences. Parents naturally desire the best for their children, and from their perspective, marrying a partner of equal social standing is highly esteemed. As a result, they may forbid Pharu Dheko,

viewing it as a disgraceful act that contradicts the norms they uphold.

d. Economic Factors. One of the main factors contributing to Pharu Dheko (elopement) is financial constraints or economic difficulties. The inability to meet the financial demands of a traditional wedding often leads couples to opt for elopement. It can be concluded that financial factors play a significant role, particularly when the costs associated with marriage exceed the financial capacity of the groom or, in some cases, the bride as well (Ahmad Alfian, 2021). Economic challenges frequently prevent couples from marrying through customary traditions, which are more feasible for families with better financial stability. In an ideal tradition, the groom's family usually approaches the bride's family to formally propose. However, due to financial limitations, the opposite often occurs, where the bride chooses to go to the groom's house to marry through Pharu Dheko (elopement). This practice is commonly observed in the community of Bokasape, where every year, several couples choose this path, believing that elopement allows them to stay together with the person they love despite financial hardships.

The role of Ende Lio customary law in resolving Paru Dheko (elopement) marriages in the Ende Lio community.

Customary law consists of all written and unwritten rules or norms derived from customs or societal traditions. The purpose of customary law is to regulate behavior within a community (Yuliyani, 2023). In customary regions, there is a customary leader, commonly referred to as a traditional figure. A traditional figure is an individual who holds a position of authority and influence within a customary community, responsible for preserving, maintaining, and enforcing the cultural values and traditions practiced by society. A traditional leader holds an official customary role within the social structure of an indigenous community in a specific region. They are typically responsible for leading traditional ceremonies, upholding traditional ways of life, and explaining the meaning and philosophy behind their community's customs (Milyana I. Sanger & Tuwiwa, 2022). The statement above aligns with the role of traditional leaders of the Ende Lio community, particularly in Bokasape Village, Wolowaru District, Ende Regency, in resolving cases of Pharu Dheko (elopement) within the local society.

Traditional leaders play a crucial role in setting an example for the community, encouraging them to uphold and respect prevailing customs. Based on field research, in resolving conflicts between both parties during then Pharu Dheko (elopement marriage) process, traditional leaders act as representatives of the local community. If disputes arise during its execution, their role is primarily as mediators or representatives of one of the families to discuss the expectations of the groom's family. One of the key aspects often deliberated is the amount of belis (dowry or dowry) to prevent it from becoming a source of conflict in the future. The primary objective of the involvement of traditional leaders is to ensure that the relationship between both families remains harmonious and to maintain social balance within the community.

The role of ha'i jala (spokesperson) is crucial in determining whether the belis (dowry) offered is accepted or rejected by the bride's family. Therefore, a ha'i jala must be someone with a deep understanding of the negotiation process in tuu ngawu (the presentation of belis). If the ha'i jala possesses the ability to persuade and touch the hearts of the bride's family, there is a possibility that the belis will be accepted, even if the amount given does not fully meet the initial request. Once an agreement is reached, the ha'i jala (spokesperson) will discuss the timing of Joka Tu Ana (the bride's procession to the groom's house). This stage marks the final part of the Ende Lio community's traditional marriage process. In this procession, the bride's family and relatives not only escort the

bride but also bring various items such as rice, woven sarongs, and other necessities as a symbolic gesture of tradition and respect toward the groom's family.

This process is ideally the proper stage for every individual in the Ende Lio region who wishes to build a married life. However, in reality, not everyone follows this procedure and instead chooses a shorter path. The decision to take this shortcut is often influenced by various factors, one of which is the rejection of the relationship due to the high belis (dowry) demanded. Pharu Dheko (elopement) is usually carried out by a man who has deep feelings for a woman. This step is often taken as an attempt to defy the decision of the woman's family, who reject his love, or to avoid the heavy burden of a high belis. Pharu Dheko also occurs when the woman's parents do not approve of their daughter's relationship. For example, when the groom's family comes to propose (nai ale), but the woman's parents reject the proposal, while the woman herself insists on her choice. In such situations, the woman may choose to leave with the man. When this happens, discussions about belis or dowry are no longer a priority, and the bride's family will generally accept the amount of belis offered by the groom's family without further negotiation.

In resolving Pharu Dheko (elopement) cases, traditional leaders play the role of ha'i jala (spokesperson), conveying all the wishes of the groom's family to the bride's family. This role encompasses various aspects of the marriage process, including negotiations regarding the amount of belis (dowry). If the bride's family accepts the agreed amount, the groom's family will begin preparing all the necessary arrangements for the wedding ceremony. However, if the bride's family rejects the proposal, both parties will engage in further discussions to reach a mutual agreement on the fulfillment of the belis amount. A deadline will be set for the groom's family to meet the agreed terms.

D. Conclusion

Based on the findings of this research conducted in Bokasape Village, it can be concluded that the Paru Dheko (elopement) marriage process takes place without following the formal customary stages such as Nai Ale or Wurumana. Instead, it begins with the woman going to the man's house, followed by a notification to the woman's family, negotiation of the dowry (belis), and determination of the wedding date. This type of marriage generally occurs due to several factors, including lack of parental approval, differences in social status, economic limitations, and premarital pregnancy. In its resolution, Ende Lio customary law plays a significant role, with traditional leaders acting as mediators between both families to facilitate discussions and reach an agreement on the dowry. This process helps restore social harmony and preserve the cultural values of the community.

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