

THE CULTURE OF BAYAR HARTA KEPALA DURING GRIEVING PROCESS OF SENTANI TRIBE

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ABSTRACT

Grieving is a natural human response when losing a loved one, but a prolonged grieving process can interfere with daily functioning that needs clinical intervention. An individual's sense of grief can be influenced by various aspects, one of which, is the culture and traditions carried out when grieving. One of the prominent cultures of grieving comes from the people of Sentani, called yung robboni or bayar harta kepala. This culture requires the payment of property by the bereaved family to the birth mother's family who comes to give food. This may feel burdensome for individuals with a low socioeconomic level and can affect the grieving process that is felt as well. Therefore, this study aims to explain how the people of Sentani interpret the grieving process in the culture of bayar harta kepala. The research was conducted using qualitative methods with a narrative approach. Research participants were obtained by purposive sampling, namely with the criteria of adult individuals aged 23-55 years who have middle to lower economic status, have deceased relatives, and carry out the tradition of bayar harta kepala. Two participants were obtained, one was a female individual aged 54 years old (MT), and the other was a female, aged 46 years old (A). The results showed that the culture of bayar harta kepala, although economically burdensome, was seen as a means of obtaining social support from the family, thus alleviating the grief that was felt. Overall, this study emphasizes the importance of empowering a culture of bayar harta kepala, followed by social and family support, in overcoming individual grief.

Keywords: *grief, sentani, bayar harta kepala, culture*

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INTRODUCTION

The death rate of Indonesian is constantly increasing every year from 2018 to 2022, with death rate nearing to one percent (1%) each year. This death rate nominates Indonesia as the second in south-east Asia and the 21st in the world with the highest number of death, without including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic that went rampant since 2019 (Macrotrends, 2022). Aside from the pandemic, the top cause of death in Indonesia is dominated by cardiovascular disease, followed by neoplasm, and diabetes, as well as heart failure (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). The high death rate in Indonesia compared to other countries shows that Indonesians cannot avoid the grief that can be felt, especially when unfortunate events fall upon one's relatives or close family members. Grief is a natural response from the griever when losing something or someone that is considered important, valuable, and respected in one's life (Glorioso et al., 2020). Grief is a humanistic reaction to maintain oneself when someone or a group of people is facing a loss or a separation. Grief is an attempt to maintain oneself in a holistic way in facing a loss or separation with someone or something that is valuable, respected, and important (Wiryasaputra, 2019).

This means that grief is not a disease, rather, it is a feeling of discomfort. Grief is something understandable, natural, and normal in one's life. Grief is normal when there is a reasonable cause, which is losing someone or something valuable, respected, and important in one's life. It is true that grief can turn into something abnormal (a disease) when it is not handled properly

(Wiryasaputra, 2019). Kubler (1969, in Wiryasaputra, 2019) gave a perspective about the stages of grief that is shorter and can happen in a sequential process, that is by experiencing denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and finally acceptance.

Even though grief is something normal that is probe to happen when losing someone, exaggerated grief can have a negative impact on one's mental health. Lindemann, a psychiatrist from German (in Prigerson, Kakarala, Gang, Maciejewski, 2021), explained that grief can be pathological when experienced in high intensity in five things, that is the presence of somatic disorder, constantly being reminded by the dead, feel guilty, exaggerated reaction of anger, and abnormal changes in behavior pattern.

The feeling of grief that is exaggerated and prolonged is also associated with how one functions, mood, sleep, and disturbed self-esteem which leads to the need of clinical intervention (Prigerson et al., 2021). This is also reflected as a newly recognized disorder from continuous grief, which is included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders Fifth edition Text Revision (DSM V-TR) and International Classification of Diseases (ICD) eleventh edition as Prolonged Grief Disorder (Prigerson et al., 2021). This condition happens in around sevent percent from the total of people who are grieving, with the symptoms of being stuck about the circumstances of death, worry about the consequences, or avoid excessive reminders of death (Shear, 2012).

Other studies also found the impact of grief. A study from Andriessen, Mowll, Lobb, Draper, Dudley dan Mitchell (2018) showed that the participants who had a family member who passed away feel the impact of grief, such as sadness, shock, a feeling of loss, anger, and fear that other people will also leave them. The high number of death rate, especially because of COVID-19 pandemic that happened this past few years can also cause a negative impact of grieving, such as stress, anxiety, and somatic disorder (Ilpaj & Nurwati, 2020). Other studies also found the dangerous risk of prolonged grief when it went without intervention, especially if the cause of death was suicide, which could cause deteriorating mental and physical health, as well as creating suicidal thought and behavior as well. Despite that, a grief that can be interpreted as a positive experience can also benefit individual, such as self-development, increased sense of responsibility, and growing sense of maturity to take care of oneself and others in one's life (Andriessen, et al., 2018).

A few ways to rise and deal with grief is to get support from friends or family members, give meaning to the death that happened, keep a good memory of the dead, find other activities or work, and improve oneself as well as spiritually (Pohlkamp & Kreicbergs, 2021). Other study also found that dealing with grief in religious or spiritual way, especially to give meaning that death is a part of life that cannot be avoided, can lead to stability and acceptance in the process of grieving (Atikah et al., 2018). Constantly taking care of mental health and monitoring one's own feelings when grieving is also an important factor to keep having an adaptive and healthy mindset and behavior in everyday life (Buys, 2021). These studies showed the importance of researching grief in order to prevent prolonged grief, and instead showed individuals to be able to interpret grief in a way that can cause positive impact in life.

From the writings above, it can be said that grief is universal and is a life experience that is experienced by everyone. The difference is, each person can interpret and deal with grief differently, and the end of grief cannot be predicted. Despite that, grief is a natural reaction from losing someone or something that has become an important part of our lives. Grief will

not turn into a disease, if the person can manage their grief properly. Everyone, in one point of their lives, have experienced grief. Grief doesn't only happen to one tribe, culture, gender, or age. Every culture has its own way in interpreting grief and on how it deals with the process of grief. One example is the group of culture in the tribe or people of Sentani that is going to be the focus of this study.

Every culture has a customary way or order in interpreting death and going through the grieving process, as in the Sentani people who have many cultures, one of which is the culture of Bayar Harta Kepala which is carried out after death. James Modouw in his article added that this custom is known as yung robhoni, that when translated in English, can be called by the "payment of the head", or in Indonesian, "pembayaran kepala". Yung robhoni is originated from two word, that is yung or yu that means "head", and robhni that means "traditional treasures" in the form of stone axes and beads (nokha, hawa, and hayae) given after death experienced by someone in a tribe by another tribe. The purpose of doing yung robhoni is to bind, maintain, and develop a kinship system with the family from other clan groups after death. That is, even if for example a wife from a family from a certain clan dies, this will not break kinship and social relations with the husband's family from another clan (Modouw, 2021).

In the old Sentani people, the activity of yung robhoni is not considered as social and economic pressure at all, instead, this activity is considered an important factor to increase hard work, teamwork, and mutual respect (Modouw, 2021). A family that will receive yung robhoni will work shoulder to shoulder in order to prepare food (hamang/ramang) in the shape of staple foods such as garden products in the form of sweet potatoes, bananas, sago and complemented by side dishes such as fish, pork, there is also sugar, coffee, bread, tea leaves, milk. Meanwhile, the party that will give yung robhoni will also work together to collect customary assets to be given to the family that delivers the food. This practice of yung robhoni is not a transactional nature that thinks about the pros and cons of the party giving and receiving. On the other hand, each clan is actually willing to make sacrifices to make other clans happy.

In order to deepen the understanding of the system behind the custom bayar harta kepala, the researcher did a personal interview on the 4th of November 2021 to Hendambo (a traditional female figure of the Sentani tribe). For the process of bayar harta kepala, an agreement on the time of payment will be made by the family messenger/ "helper in the family", then after that the main family gathers to see the assets in the form of tamako rock (reela/tamako big rocks, mefoli/tamako little rocks) and rhoboni and as well as money, after the errands/uwfoi in the family have seen and felt the assets are appropriate, after that the extended family will gather to pay and receive the bayar harta kepala.

Furthermore, Hendambo stated that the process of bayar harta kepala, the one who received is called Ondoafi, the head of the tribe, and the big family. In bayar harta kepala, there are three steps, first is the payment to the Ondoafi/Ondofolo (yakhala), the second is to the head of tribe and main family (khame), and the third is to the big family (yakhala). Because of the increase in economic status and the influence of the time, the payment is not only using tamako rocks and beads, but also money. The payment time agreement will be made or arranged by the family servant/helper in the family. This culture applies to women, men, parents and children who differentiate only the level of payment of status or caste in the customary order.

By looking at the phenomenon above, the researcher observes that when a person experiences the process of grief, they are still experiencing a transitional period from the feeling of sadness, and usually there are several stages or phases that must be passed to accept the loss of their important people. The grieving people might not be able to immediately forget their sadness, meanwhile for the people of Sentani, the cultural process of bayar harta kepala will be something that can impact their grieving process and can be seen as something burdensome. This might be true, considering the difficulty of economy for some people, for example, for people with a middle to lower economy, widowed mothers who work daily selling areca nuts who still have to send their children to school, young people who don't have a steady job, how are they going to carry out this culture? Most likely there will be difficulties for them, even though, this tradition can also act as a consolation for the bereaved, because the bereaved get social support from the family.

Departing from the description above, the researcher is interested in conducting a study entitled "the culture of bayar harta kepala in the grieving process in the Sentani tribe". The researcher raised this title because from the results of the searches that the researcher carried out by reviewing related journals, there was no research that specifically discussed the grieving process that occurs in the culture of the Sentani tribe. Because of this the researcher wanted to discuss specifically the "the cultural process of bayar harta kepala in the grieving process in the Sentani tribe". The purpose of this study is to explain how the Sentani people interpret the grieving process in the Paying for the Head cultural process.

METHOD

Study Design

The aim of this study is to understand how the Sentani people interpret the process of grief during the culture of bayar harta kepala. Therefore the method that is used in this study is a qualitative method. According to Sugiyono (2013a), qualitative research can be defined as a study method that has post-positivism philosophy as its foundation, used to study the natural condition of an object, where the researcher is a key instrument. The sample is obtained by triangulation (combination), the day analysis is characterized by inductive or qualitative, and the result of qualitative study emphasizes more on the meaning instead of generalization. The qualitative method that is used in this research is the approach of narrative, that is a qualitative approach that offers an overall description about one's experience as if telling a cohesive story to understand and interpret what happens in one's life (Howitt, 2016).

Study Location

This study is done in Jayapura city, precisely in Waena/Waekam village in source person's house. The location of the interview in Jayapura is chosen as the location of where Sentani people originally came from.

Participant of the Study

Participants are individuals who are part of the Sentani tribe who live in the village of Waena who carry out the tradition/culture of bayar harta kepala. In this case the researcher will interview adults aged 23-55 years who have middle to lower economic status, have relatives who have passed away, and carry out the tradition of bayar harta kepala at the death ceremony of the relative. The search for participants used non-probability purposive sampling, which is a technique for selecting participants who are within reach of the researcher, meet the criteria,

and are willing to be interviewed about the incident of grief and the culture of bayar harta kepala. These participant criteria were chosen to get a comprehensive picture of the grieving process in a culture of bayar harta kepala.

Focus of the Study

Based on the title, the focus of this study is to understand the meaning of the process of grieving in the cultural process of bayar harta kepala in the traditional order of the Sentani tribe.

Data Collection Technique

Data collection will be carried out using observation and interview methods to get an in-depth picture of the participants' experiences in interpreting grief in the culture of bayar harta kepala. Participants who will be interviewed and observed are participants who meet the research criteria, namely adults aged 23-55 years who have middle to lower economic status, have relatives who have died, and carry out the tradition of bayar harta kepala at the death ceremony of the relative.

The first step that the researcher took was to prepare open-ended questions that would be asked to the informant, especially in relation to the grieving process in bayar harta kepala culture, then before conducting the interview the researcher asked permission from the informant to record the interview which would be conducted for confidential research purposes. After conducting the interviews the researcher will make verbatim the results of the interviews conducted and then link them using the theories that the researchers used in this study and then draw conclusions from the research that the researchers have done. Observations were also carried out as additional data to see the expressions, body language, and feelings shown during the interview to deepen the understanding of the meaning of the participant's grief.

Organization and Analyzing Data Technique

According to Patton "data analysis is to arrange the order of the data, organize it into a pattern, category, and basic description unit". Bogdan and Taylor (in Moleong, 1993, p.103) defined analysis as: "The process that details the formal effort to find themes and formulate hypotheses (ideas) as suggested by the data and as an effort to provide assistance on the themes and hypotheses". Based on these two definitions, Moleong (1993) concluded that; "data analysis is the process of organizing data into patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units so that themes can be found and working hypotheses can be formulated as suggested by the data". The data analysis process begins by examining all available data, both primary and secondary data. The analysis technique uses a narrative approach, by telling the participant's experience as a whole and structured to clarify the meaning of the participant's grieving process. The data analysis process carried out in this study refers to the data analysis process presented by Miles and Huberman (1962, in Sugiyono, 2013) that is after the data is read, studied, and reviewed, then the data is reduced, presented, and conclusions and verification are drawn.

1. Data reduction

That is a form of data analysis by sharpening, classifying, directing, removing unnecessary, and organizing data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified.

2. Data presentation

In the form of a set of structured information that gives the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action.

3. Drawing conclusion and verification

From the beginning of data collection, the researcher begins to look for the meaning of things, noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, causal flows, and propositions. After obtaining temporary conclusions, then they become more detailed and strengthened by the evidence from the data. Conclusions are verified throughout the study. The meanings that emerge from the data are tested for their truth, robustness, and suitability, namely as the validity of the data itself.

Credibility Test Techniques

To test the credibility of the data or the trustworthiness of the data in this study, the researchers used the method of increasing persistence. This is done by re-checking whether the interview data were accurate or not through repeated activities (Sugiyono, 2013b). In this study, when conducting interviews, the researcher recorded the conversation with the informant. This is done so that the researcher can re-examine the conversation that was carried out, especially in doing verbatim, so that there are no mistakes in writing or interpreting the source data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Result

1. Interviewee 1

The first resource person is called MK, who is a 54-year-old woman who works as a civil servant. The informant is a single mother and has two children, in the informant's family she is the second child of four siblings, so when the eldest brother of this informant dies, the informant as the oldest child must become the oldest and be a place for her younger siblings to lean on.

From the research conducted, there are several things that MK stated when experiencing guilt and in interpreting her view on Sentani culture.

Grieving Process

Source 1 with the initials MK lost a brother who had protected, cared for, and listened to her complaints. Due to the loss of this brother, MK experienced several feelings during the grieving process which are explained as follows. From the research conducted, there are several things that the researchers found.

Sadness

The feelings that MK felt when she lost her older brother were feelings of sadness and loss. This is because the figure of an older brother is important in MK's life, so the feelings of loss and sadness are felt. This was mentioned by her as follows:

“Tentu sedih sekali yah karena saudara laki-laki cuma satu dan hidup di tengah adat/keluarga itu saudara laki-laki itu penting sekali karena itu harga diri keluarga, jadi tentu sedih sekali... seolah-olah kayak tempat sandaran itu sudah tidak ada.”

(“ Of course it's very sad, because there's only one brother and living in the midst of custom/family, brothers are very important because he's a family pride, so of course it's very sad... it's as if the place to rest is no longer there.”)

This feeling of sadness is also followed by a feeling of regret due to death which is felt to have happened suddenly. This was said, "...jadi begitu jenazah datang tiba di Jayapura itu ada kesedihan penyesalan yang mendalam" ("...so when the body arrived in Jayapura, there's a deep feeling of sadness and guilt")

Denial

Apart from feelings of sadness, MK also experienced rejection, feelings of disbelief, and the sudden feeling of losing her older brother. There was a feeling of confusion mixed with sadness and shock that the source experienced when she first heard the news of his death, because her older brother was not living with MK. This she said,

"yah tentu tidak, karena kepergiannya itu mendadak dan itu saudara laki-laki hanya satu baru posisinya tidak ada sama-sama dengan mama(narasumber), om di Timika mama(narasumber) di Jayapura dan meninggalnya disana... Jadi sedih, bingung, pkonya bermacam-macam perasaan itu ada berkecamuk..."

("yes of course not, because his death is sudden and the position of that one older brother is not with mama (herself), om (how she called him) is in Timika, while mama is in Jayapura, and he passed away there... so I was sad, confused, just a mix of different feelings...")

The feeling of disbelief, even when seeing the body of her older brother was experienced by MK, as expressed in her statement, "rasanya seperti ah, tidak mungkin juga sudah meninggal tapi yang kita terima itu jenazah..." ("it feels like ah, there's no way he already died, but what we saw is his body..."). Aside from that, MK also felt shocked because of the loss of her brother, "respon yah menangis, syok sekali masih tidak percaya sedih sangat sedih sekali rasanya" ("the response is to cry, very shocked and in disbelief, it feels very sad"). The denial from MK is based on the medical condition of her older brother, who all this time, seemed fine. This is stated, "tidak! om baik-baik... maksudnya baik-baik itu om sore habis olahraga tiba-tiba sakit dilarikan ke rumah sakit lalu besok siang meninggal... makanya keluarga kayak tidak terima." ("no! om was fine... What I mean by fine is that evening after a workout, om suddenly fell ill and was ran to hospital, and then the next day he passed away... therefore the family cannot accept it.")

Depression

MK also felt that there was a sense of depression and hopelessness in the process of grieving. MK didn't understand what she should do and didn't know who can be blamed for her brother's death. This is stated by her as follows, "yah menangis, merenung, diam saja tidak tahu mau buat apa karena ini om sudah jadi jenazah sudah meninggal mau salahkan siapa, mau marah apa, semua sudah terjadi begini" ("well, I cried, ruminated, and just stayed quiet, didn't know what to do because om has turned into a dead body, didn't know who to blame, who to be angry at, everything has happened like this."). Aside from that, MK also expressed her hopelessness by giving it up to God, "...yang jelas berserah saja sama Tuhan dan mungkin itu

sudah jalan Tuhan dan kehendak Tuhan.” (“...what is clear is that just surrender to God and maybe that is God's way and God's will”).

Acceptance

Despite originally feeling sad, denial, and depression, but MK eventually accepted the circumstances and the loss of her older brother. This is said by her, "...karena yah harus berusaha untuk menerima kenyataan bahwa sodara laki-laki sudah tidak ada” (“...because well, I have to try to accept reality that my older brother was not here anymore”). MK acted maturely in facing her grief, and was seen as capable to find a way out from her sadness by doing daily activities. MK tried to find other activities and focus on her responsibilities that needed to be done, especially of the tradition bayar harta kepala that should be done.

“Yah usaha yang dilakukan bahwa dalam setiap momen kegiatan adat yang berjalan itu kita harus terlibat... yah berusaha mencari kesibukan lain lah karena kalau tinggal duduk sedih yah tidak akan menyelesaikan masalah. Karena mau sedih bagemana, karena ktong(kita) kan mau bayar kepala, berusaha untuk menerima bahwa om sudah pergi tapi masih ada tanggung jawab lain yang harus dikerjakan.”

(“Well, the effort that is being made is that in every moment of customary activity that takes place, we have to be involved... well, try to find other activities because if you just sit and be sad, it won't solve the problem. Because how can we just be sad, when ktong (we) has to pay harta kepala, trying to accept that om is gone but there are still other responsibilities that must be done”)

Eventually, MK could continue doing her usual activites, even though sometimes, she was still reminded of her older brother, as she stated, "...melakukan rutinitas seperti biasa kerja, bertemu orang-orang, kembali mulai tersenyum lagi walaupun kalau duduk sendiri itu masih suka ingat...” (“...do usual routine, work, meet people, back to smiling even though sometimes when I sit alone, I still remember”). MK always reminded herself to accept and let her brother go. This is stated,

”...sudah habis itu bilang ke diri sendiri untuk hilangkan pikiran-pikiran itu to, kan semua ini juga kan sudah rencana Tuhan tidak ada yang bisa tau, kita sebagai manusia boleh punya banyak rencana tapi Tuhan punya jalanNya sendiri.”

(”...after that I told myself to make the thoughts disappear, because everything that happened has become God's plan, nobody can know, we as human can have many plans, but God has His own way.”)

Perspective on Bayar Harta Kepala

In her view regarding the custom of bayar harta kepala, MK felt that this tradition was a responsibility and a necessity that had to be carried out. MK also felt that this tradition was quite difficult or burdensome, but still had the view that this tradition was good to do.

Responsibility

MK saw that the culture of bayar harta kepala is something that has become her responsibility and is needed to be done. She said that her sadness should be finished to fulfill this responsibility, "...mau sedih bagaimana, karena ktong(kita) kan mau bayar kepala, berusaha untuk menerima bahwa om sudah pergi tapi masih ada tanggung jawab lain yang harus dikerjakan" ("...how can we be sad, when ktong(we) have to do bayar kepala, we need to accept that om has gone but there's still other responsibility to be done"). She also said, "...kalau menyangkut harta itu keluarga secara suku juga itu mereka sudah ada tanggung jawab untuk menyelesaikan, sudah ada aturannya" ("...when talking about harta kepala, the tribal families all have the responsibility to finish, it's already the rules"). In doing this tradition, MK viewed that bayar harta kepala provided a busyness and diversion from the event of the death of her older brother, "jadi sudah mulai kesibukan untuk pembayaran kepala karna tiga minggu dari om meninggal itu sesuai keputusan keluarga to, itu harus dilaksanakan pembayaran kepala. Yang jelas pasti sibuk untuk mengumpulkan harta, uang" ("...so there starts the busyness of paying the heads, because three weeks from the death of om, as decided with family, the payment of head should be done. For sure, we are busy collecting wealth, money").

Difficult

MK also stated that this tradition can be difficult or burdensome, if it's not supported by other family members, especially when the family doesn't have the same ability to pay. This is stated by MK, "kalau untuk keluarga yang bisa saling menopang itu tidak terlalu berat, tapi untuk keluarga yang tidak bisa saling menopang itu berat bahkan kadang bisa sampai utang" ("for the family who can help each other, it's not that burdensome, but for family who can't help, it's very burdensome, sometimes even falling to debt"). MK explained further that if there are certain demands that are more than what has been determined, then the search for these treasures will not be easy and will be very difficult.

"Masalahnya itu begini, ketika dirapatkan itu keluarga sanggup (suku) membayar harta yang sebatas mereka miliki saja, jika terjadi tuntutan yang berlebihan maka itu jadi tanggung jawab keluarga yang berduka nah disitu lah letaknya bagaimana susah mengumpulkan harta dan juga uang."

("the problem is this, when we had a meeting, the sanggup (tribe) family can pay as much as they can afford, if there's an exaggerated demand, then it becomes the responsibility of the bereaved family, that's when it feels hard to collect wealth and also money")

For MK herself, the tradition of bayar harta kepala was indeed once made her feel troubled and confused, "...ketika dihadapkan dengan pembayaran ini yah pusing juga sebenarnya berat juga, bingung, pusing sebab harus mencari harta, mencari uang" ("...when faced with this payment, well, it's confusing too to be honest, confused because I had to find wealth, find money"). Especially because MK is the oldest family member, therefore MK felt the burden of having to pay bigger amount. She stated, "berat juga buat mama karena mama anak yang

tua to! karena nilai yang mama keluarkan harus lebih besar dari adik-adik dan sodara-sodara yang lain.” (“it’s burdensome too for mama, because mama is the oldest child! Because the amount that mama has to pay is bigger than other youngsters and relatives”).

Good Tradition

Despite viewing it as difficult, but MK saw that this tradition is a good tradition, “ini suatu budaya yang ada dalam kehidupan tatanan adat suku Sentani, sebenarnya adat ini bagus...” (“this a tradition in the cultural structure of Sentani tribe, this tradition is actually good...”). MK but emphasized that the benefit of this tradition can be felt if every family member and head of the tribe mutually help each other, ”kalau ada kerja sama yang baik antara kepala suku dan keluarga-keluarga dalam tatanan adat tersebut maka adat membayar kepala ini tidak berat, bisa saling membantu meringankan beban keluarga yang berduka” (“if there is a good cooperation between the head of the tribe and the families in that cultural structure, then this tradition of paying head is not burdensome, it can help each other to lessen the burden of the bereaved”).

Impact of the Bayar Harta Kepala Tradition in Grieving Process

MK stated the benefit that she felt in doing bayar harta kepala tradition when grieving is there was a sense of good support, both as physical or emotional, that was given by the relatives. She felt that with this tradition, she could get help in the shape of food. She stated, ”...karena pada saat duka om dorang(mereka/kita) ini antar makanan kasih makan kita waktu duka” (“...because when grieving, om those people delivered food to us when grieving”). Aside from that, she also said, ”...bisa itu membantu tadi di awal sudah bilang kan waktu duka itu kita tidak mencari makanan karena makanan itu diantar oleh om-om dari pihak mama” (“...it can help like I said before, when grieving we don’t find foods, because food are delivered by om-om from mama’s side”). Aside from food, MK also stated that the presence of the mother’s family can give practical support when there’s a shortage, ”...terus misalnya nanti ada kekurangan-kekurangan yang lain mereka juga siap membantu, jadi sebenarnya waktu duka juga sangat menolong” (“...also for example if there are other shortages, they are also ready to help, so actually, it helps when grieving”).

Not just that, the help and support emotionally was also felt when doing this tradition. MK felt that there was emotional support that strengthen her during the process of grieving, and also the stories of the dead made MK felt even closer to knowing and recognizing the kindness of her deceased older brother. MK felt cheered up, ”jadi kita juga merasa terhibur dari orang-orang yang datang menceritakan tentang kebaikan om, baik itu dari keluarga maupun kerabat-kerabat yang datang.” (“so we also felt cheered up from the people who came and told us stories about the kindness of om, whether it’s from the family or relatives who came”).

”Selain bahan makanan, om-om dong{mereka/kita) juga biasa menemani selama duka biasa tiga hari sampai satu minggu, dong(mereka/kita) menghibur dengan kata-kata penguatan, selama duka selama ada jenazah biasanya mereka menghibur dengan nyanyian-nyanyian rohani, pujian-pujian dalam bahasa daerah, ada juga yang datang bercerita tentang kebaikan dari saudara laki-laki kita yang pergi, kebaikan hatinya bagaimana”

("Apart from food, om-om dong(they/us) also usually accompany us during mourning, usually three days to one week, dong (they/us) cheered us up with strengthening words, during grief when there was the body, they also cheered with spiritual song, praise in the local language, some came to tell about the kindness of our departed brother, how good his heart was")

According to MK, the grieving process that is felt in general consists of feelings of sadness, rejection, depression, and finally acceptance, although it appears that this process does not occur in a linear line, that is, the informant can feel sad in other stages. The source's view of the culture of bayar harta kepala is seeing it as a responsibility that needs to be resolved. Even though it feels difficult, this culture is not burdensome if all families work together and support each other to carry out this culture of bayar harta kepala. Whether this culture runs smoothly or not also requires the role of the tribal chief, therefore good communication is needed so that all aspects of the culture can run well. In living this culture, there are many positive things that help her deal with the grief she feels, as a result of being together and helping each other from family members.

2. Interviewee 2

Informant 2 is a 46-year-old woman who works as an areca nut seller who lost her husband due to illness and has six children, four girls, two boys and six grandchildren. Her sons work as motorcycle taxi drivers. None of her daughters work, but who work is their husbands. The bond between the informant and her husband is very close, because they often go everywhere together, share ups and downs together, have acute feelings together, and usually the one who takes care of the informant is her husband. So when she loses her husband and does this culture, the possibility is quite heavy. These are some of the findings that researchers got in research on informant 2, or is called as A.

Grieving Process

The second informant, as called A, felt a sense of grief when losing her husband. The husband of A had fallen ill and was treated in hospital for one week before passing away. In accompanying her ill husband until his passing, the informant A felt a few grieving process that can be explained as follow.

Anger

The first feeling that is shown by A when losing her husband is the feeling of sadness mixed with anger. This is expressed by her when the doctor told her to pray, "jadi tanta pas ada menangis begini dokter bilang 'mama, mama berdoa saja sudah,' hah! Berdoa-berdoa apa su(sudah) meninggal mo(sudah terjadi) orang mau berdoa". ("so tanta (herself) when crying, the doctor told me 'mama, mama just pray,' hah! What pray he already passed away, it already happened why pray"). A also expressed her anger to the doctor and medical services because of the diagnosis that was felt unsuited and there were so many medicines that was fed to her husband.

"Itu dari dokter kasih ini... dong(mereka) bilang de(dia) covid padahal de(dia) bukan penyakit itu baru dong(mereka) sembarang sekali bawa pigi(pergi) akhirnya de(dia) minum obat sembarang dalam ini semua ada hancur (tunjuk dada) dokter de(dia) macam bilang aduh kasihan ibu, de(dia) bilang ktong(kita) liat bapa pu(punya) keadaan sudah menipis(tidak ada harapan) yah. Aduh jang(jangan) bilang sudah! (sambil geleng-geleng kepala) Kasihan kam(kalian) pu om, obat itu banyak sekali de(dia) minum yah."

("that the doctor gave this... they) said de (he) had covid, even though de (he) had not new illness, dong (they) just brought him random pigi (went) finally de(he) took random medicine and all of this was destroyed (pointing at her chest) de(he) kind of said oh sorry mother, de (he) said ktong (we) saw your father's situation was thinning (no hope). yeah. Ouch jang(don't) say already! (shaking her head) Poor kam (you) pu om, de (he) drank a lot of medicine, yeah."

Denial

Informant A also felt that losing her husband did not feel real and was something that was still felt difficult to accept, that her husband went for too quick, even though it felt like they were still together. A also stated her difficulty to accept reality that her husband has passed away because she had a huge hope that with hospital's treatment, her husband could be treated. This is stated as follow, "memang sedih juga, jadi sa(saya) rasa macam trabisa(tidak bisa) sekali aduh macam sembah ka! Ktong(kita) datang sampe tidur di luar angin apa ktong(kita) pikir mau sembah." ("indeed it's also sad, so sa (I) feel like trabisa (cannot) at all, like it was about to be treated! Ktong (we) came until we slept outside with the wind, ktong (we) thought he was going to heal.").

Bargaining

A still couldn't accept the loss of her husband after that event. She still hoped that her husband would appear in her house and still was reminded the memory with her husband. This showed that A still couldn't let her dead husband go.

"Biasa kalau di rumah ingat om punya apa... uum kebiasaan uumm kebiasaan ktong(kita) bikin de(dia) apa itu ada. Jadi sa(saya) tinggal di rumah juga macam tanta(narasumber) takut apa macam pikir jangan sampe de(dia) di luar." (sambil ketawa dan mata berkaca-kaca)

("Usually when at home remembering what om has... hmm a habit hmmm ktong(our) habit to make de(him) present. So sa (I) live in the house also felt tanta(herself) scared, like do not let de(him) be outside." [while laughing and teary eyed])

Depression

Other than that, the informant felt a sense of loss that is very prominent, which made her feel sad, "memang masih sedih juga om de(dia) pergi macam kehilangan" ("indeed still sad too about om de (his) death, like losing something"). This is because A has gotten used of living only the two of them with her husband, and losing her husband makes her feel helpless and very difficult to sleep because she was reminded by her husband.

Tanta (narasumber) biasa takut (sambil ketawa) pikiran itu yang sa(saya) biasa keluar tidur di sebelah sa tramau(tidak mau) kastau, sa(saya) duduk di rumah tapi pikiran begini sa(saya) trabisa(tidak bisa) tidur betul satu, sa(saya) pergi tinggal deng(dengan) sa(ssaya) pu(punya) om dong(mereka).

(“Tanta (referring herself) usually feel scared (while laughing), that thought is sa(me) usually he sleep beside sa (me) tramau (don’t’ want) to tell, sa (I) sit at home but the thought is like this, sa (I) trabisa (can’t) sleep really, sa (I) go live deng (with) sa pu (my) om dong (them).”)

Acceptance

Informant A felt that her sadness can be alleviated when meeting with other family members. A seemed to have difficulties to accept the loss of her husband without any help from the other around her, and sometimes she still felt sad when being alone at home.

“Iyo biasa dong(mereka) semua sudah di rumah ktong(kita) macam tertawa, cerita jadi semangat... Kalau tanta(narasumber) sendiri, tinggal sendiri baru macam sedih tanta(narasumber) ingat de(dia) biasa ada, ktong(kita) bikin de(dia) begini, de(dia) pu(punya) kebiasaan-kebiasaan iyo biasa ingat-ingat begitu.”

(“yes usually dong(they) all is in ktong(our) house like laughing, becoming passionate when telling a story... When tanta (referring to herself) is alone, lives alone, then there’s a sense of sadness because tanta remembered de (him) who usually is present, ktong(we) make de(him) like this, de (he) pu (has) habits that is usually reminded.”)

Perspective on Bayar Harta Kepala

In her view regarding the custom of bayar harta kepala, informant A felt that the tradition at that time was moving too fast, because she was still in mourning. There is also a feeling of disappointment with the family because the process did not go according to wishes, but it also ends with a positive view of this tradition and the wish that this culture will continue to run well in the future.

Too fast

Informant A felt that the culture of bayar harta kepala was done by too fast, because A was still grieving, but she felt like she had to pay immediately in that moment. She was actually not ready, but she still had to do it, because according to the family, the payment should be done immediately, and if not, the payment might not be able to be done at all.

“Sa(saya) rasa macam lain to, baru duka belum apa saja langsung rencana mau bayar tapi, pembayaran itu dong(mereka) bilang ktong(kita) harus bayar kalau tinggal lagi nanti ktong(kita) trabisa(tidak bisa) bayar. Jadi sudah ktong(kita) pu(punya) usaha mulai jalan...”

("Sa(I) felt some kind of things like this, I just grieved, haven't finished it but immediately has to pay, but the payment dong (they) said ktong (we) have to pay if extended, ktong (we) trabis (cannot) pay. So ktong (we) pu (have) to start doing it...")

Burdened and Disappointed

Informant A felt there was a sense of disappointment too, especially towards the family. She felt annoyed and disappointed because what is being discussed at that time was different with what was done when the payment went on, therefore there was a family member who should have the right to receive the payment, whose name wasn't mentioned. This made her feel sad and was reminded if her husband was present, she wouldn't have felt this difficulty.

"...kecewa juga! Sa(saya) baru kubur ini Agustus eh Juni ktong(kita) kubur Agustus yang ktong(kita) bayar. Macam kecewa juga ktong(kita), di sana ambil keputusan tu mama dong(mereka) juga dapat tapi pas(waktu) pembayaran berubah lain dong(mereka) sebut om de(dia) pu(punya) istri, macam sedih liat begitu pulang tanta(narasumber) rasa sedih menangis karena tra(tidak) sesuai dengan yang ktong(kita) bahas di rapat baru kam(kalian) ubah kam(kalian) tidak kasitau saya atau tanya dulu, jadi pulang macam rasa kecewa ke dorang(mereka). Itu lagi macam sa(saya) langsung ingat om, sa(saya) bicara ko(kamu) lagi meninggal dong(mereka) rencana begini-begini sa(saya) yang stengah mati sekali."

("... disappointed too! Sa(I) just put him to rest in August, in June ktong(we) had to pay for the tomb in August. Ktong(we) were kind of disappointed too, right there we took the decision that mama dong (them) should have gotten it too, but pas(when) payment, dong(they) changed into others and mentioned om de pu (his) wife, kind of sad to see something like that, tanta (referring to herself) felt sad, cried, because it tra(doesn't) went according to what ktong(we) discussed in the meeting, but kam (you) just changed it, kam (you) didn't tell me or asked me first, so there was some kind of disappointed to dorang(them). It's like sa(I) immediately remember om, sa(I) said ko(you) are the one who's dying, but dong(they) plan something like this, sa(I) am the one who's suffering.")

The feeling of burden and difficulties that is felt by the informant was also expressed with the relief when the bayar harta kepala process was done, "uum setelah bayar kepala ini jadi rasa ringan sudah to, su(sudah) trada(tidak) beban lagi." ("hmm after the bayar harta kepala, it felt so light, su trada (no more) burden").

Must be Maintained

Even though she experienced various constraints and there was a sense of difficulties that were felt, informant still thought that this culture needed to be maintained and done. She said, "harus pertahankan budaya ini! Harus bayar!" ("this culture must be maintained! Must pay!"). Other than that, she also stated the importance to cultivate this tradition, "...budaya ini harus tetap jalan karena itu sudah ada dari ktong(kita) pu(punya) nene moyang sana. Jadi sekalipun ktong(kita) sudah tidak ada, ktong(kita) pu(punya) anak cucu harus jalankan budaya ini." ("...this culture needs to keep on going, because it existed even before ktong pu (we have) our

ancestor, so even though ktong(we) are no longer present, ktong pu (our) descendants have to maintain this culture.”).

Impact of the Bayar Harta Kepala Tradition in Grieving Process

In doing the culture of bayar harta kepala, informant A felt there was support that was given by family, which cheered her up and diverted her from the thoughts of sadness of losing her husband. Another family member also visited and helped A in paying harta kepala. She said, “iyo(iya) waktu duka itu dong(mereka) ada keluarga datang antar makanan to, bayar kepala juga ada keluarga yang bantu uang apa” (“iyo(yes) when grieving, dong(they), the family came to give food, there was also family who helped give money for the bayar kepala”). She also felt happiness when doing this tradition, “...supaya orang yang bawa makanan kasih ke tanta(narasumber) biar dong(mereka) yang dapat bayar itu dong(mereka) senang tanta juga senang begitu” (...so the people who bring food to tanta (herself), let dong (them) get the money, dong(they) are happy, tanta is happy too, like that”). Other than that, informant also stated the importance of this culture to cultivate the value of kinship that was received in order to get through grief, “disitu juga ada nilai-nilai kekeluargaan to yang ktong(kita) dapatkan.” (“there is also the value of kinship that ktong(we) get”).

Discussion

1. Grieving Process

In this study, the results of the grieving processes and narrative structure were obtained from each informant who had experienced grief due to the loss of their family. The two informants had different narrative processes and structures, although there were similarities in several respects. This is influenced by the relationship between them and the people around them, support received when grieving, as well as the new responsibilities that must be carried out after the death event. The similarity of the grieving process experienced is the reaction of rejection, depression, and acceptance experienced by the two sources. Both sources expressed their sadness when they received the news of the death of a family member. Both stated that it was difficult to accept the departure and also experienced a great sense of loss. The grieving process was also marked by accepting the departure of a family member, although this was difficult to do and the two informants still often remembered and felt sad about the loss of the family member.

The differences between the two sources were in the stages of anger, bargaining, and also the stage of acceptance of the departure of their respective family members. The first informant, MK, did not explain her experience of anger and bargaining, although she did mention that there were various mixed feelings in her sadness. MK also often focused on the sadness that she felt when they lost their older brother. This was different from informant A, who showed more anger and disapproval, especially towards the medical staff who was treating her husband's illness. Apart from that, informant A also showed the bargaining process, in which the informant still hoped that her deceased husband would be present at their house. From the two sources, MK also seemed to show more willingness and acceptance of her situation, compared to source A who seemed to be still dissolved in the sadness of her husband's departure.

There were a few opinions on the process of grieving. Kubler-Ross (1969) initially argued that grief occurs in a gradual sequential process. This stage consists of the first phase of denial, the second phase of anger, the third phase of bargaining, the fourth phase of depression or hopelessness, and the fifth phase of acceptance. When viewed from the grieving phases experienced by each informant, it can be seen that the grieving phases experienced did not occur sequentially as in Kubler's (1969) grief phase. This is more in line with the updated opinion of Kübler-Ross and Kessler (2009), that the stages of grief do not resemble a straight line, but the bereaved may experience other stages again or even experience several stages at the same time.

Differences that occur between sources can also be caused by several factors. As explained in previous research by Ugwu and Nwankwo (2020), the existence of traditional cultural processes carried out during the grieving process can affect the grieving itself. In particular, having a low socioeconomic level and pressure to pay and go through the grieving process can lead to a more negative impact on individuals. This relates to how the cultural process of bayar harta kepala is lived and interpreted by each source, which will be explained below.

2. Perspective on Bayar Harta Kepala

Based on the research results obtained, it can be seen that the two informants have quite different views on the experience of bayar harta kepala tradition. The similarities between the views of the two informants are that this custom is a good tradition and needs to be carried out and cultivated for the next generation. Both of them also experienced a feeling of difficulty or hardship when carrying out this tradition, mainly due to economic factors, but there was a difference, that the first informant (MK) stated that there was smooth running due to assistance from family members and the head of the tribe, while the second informant (A) stated more disappointment and the pressure that is felt because what is being carried out is not in accordance with the plan. This difference also seems to affect the emotional state of informant A, where there was more sadness due to the disappointing process. Another difference can also be seen from A who felt that the tradition was moving too fast, even though she was still grieving. Meanwhile, MK were more accepting and felt that this tradition was a responsibility that really needed to be resolved.

This is in accordance with the previous theory, that the grieving process cannot be separated from the cultural context. A person may be surrounded by other people, and carry out certain traditions according to each individual's culture (Rosenblatt, 1991). Grief is also influenced by the reactions of the people around it as a social community. The grieving process can be interpreted from the support of others, the sadness felt by others, and how socially they help each other and express their grief (Papadatou, 2000). Finding from Roberts et al. (2020) also stated that the presence of poorer socioeconomic factors would have an impact on the process of grief being felt. In particular, with traditions that feel burdensome, individuals become more easily discouraged and have no control over their lives. Compared to MK who did not experience conflict, informant A experienced problems and a lack of adequate social and economic support, so that this could also have an impact on the meaning of the tradition of bayar harta kepala which felt more disappointing, as well as the grieving process of acceptance which did not work as well as the first informant MK.

3. Impact of the Bayar Harta Kepala Tradition in Grieving Process

From the meaning stated by the two informants, the tradition of bayar harta kepala is also stated to have an impact on the process of grief experienced. In this case, the opinion of the two informants is the same, namely the tradition of paying the head's property can help the two informants to deal with their grief. MK stated that there was a tradition of family members coming and bringing food to support her. Likewise, informant A felt happy when a family member came with food during the grieving process. This support is also expressed emotionally, namely by means of entertainment and also a sense of kinship that occurs when family members come during the grieving process. Having the support of family members made the grieving process easier and helped both interviewees feel better.

The acceptance process which can be influenced by environmental conditions, such as support from family or people beside them from the results of this study is also in accordance with the results of previous studies by Cacciato et al. (2021). The finding of Cacciato et al. (2021) stated that social support, especially emotional, was influential in moving through the negative aspects of grief. This support could be expressed by spending time with those who are grieving and helping to meet the needs of those who are grieving. Connections, kinship, remembering the bereaved, mutually supportive communication, and good-quality relationships can help grieving individuals experience the grieving process more positively (Cacciato et al., 2021).

From the results of the research above, the culture of bayar harta kepala is one of the important factors in helping the informants to accept the death of a deceased person who is important to them. Even though it felt burdensome, the family aspect and social support provided were seen as helping the interviewees to provide emotional strength. In addition, the grieving process for the informants has conditions similar to those stated by Kubler-Ross, but according to his opinion in the Kübler-Ross and Kessler (2009) article, these stages do not occur sequentially or linearly. Future studies can examine this description of the grieving process more comprehensively using different techniques or methods to complement the results of this study. In addition, this research also has limited sources, which can be increased in further research.

CONCLUSION

The results of the study show that individuals in the Sentani community interpret feelings of grief which is in line with the theory of Kübler-Ross and Kessler (2009), namely that there are phases of denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and finally acceptance. Despite experiencing the stages above, these phases do not occur sequentially, and each individual can experience a unique grieving process. Differences in the grieving experiences of the informants can be influenced by closeness, support from the surrounding environment, and individual factors. In the context of the culture of bayar harta kepala, this tradition is seen to function to assist the Sentani people in providing social and emotional support from relatives to accept and resolve grief. Therefore, the two interviewees felt that this culture must be continued to maintain the kinship of relatives.

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