

# Local Wisdom in Hindu Tamil Ethnic Wedding Tradition in Medan

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#### **Abstract:**

**Objectives:** This study has two major purposes: to investigate the cultural symbols of and to determine the local wisdom of wedding tradition among Hindu Tamil descendants in Medan. In addition, the object of ethnic wedding and its processes might not be forgotten and should be considered to enrich the horizon of knowledge.

Method: This study is descriptive qualitative and its empirical data were obtained from two Temples in Medan (Indonesia). This study was held in August 2014 up to June 2015 and data comprehension was gathered from the help of informants who explained the meanings and values of cultural symbols, interpreted the hidden meanings, and determined the social relationships associated with the existing cultural symbols. The samples were selected from those who were knowledgeable in wedding tradition.

Findings: Since marriage in Hindu is a sacred institution designed by God for the welfare of human beings, it is a spiritual union to earn the blessings of God. The spiritual union is oriented to the three basic purposes of marriage: sexual union, social interactions, and being intimate to God. The first is linked with procreation to preserve the existence of human beings on earth while the second is implemented according to the Hindu dharma and the third is related to the efforts to get closer to the Supreme Being. Four objects were used, such as, banana tree, thaali, coconut, and betel leaf which carry cultural symbols and local wisdom. Banana tree is the symbol of marriage integrity maintenance, Thaali or wedlock necklace refers to loyalty, responsibility and preserves social relationship, coconut regards to self-purification and strength, and betel leaf is oriented to harmony.

Improvements: The whole points of local wisdom in the wedding rituals are highly needed to maintain balance of life not only for the bride and groom but also for all the people respectively interconnected in the society. A married couple then should have a responsibility towards their surroundings, the gods, other living creatures and their ancestors.

**Keywords:** Hindu Tamil, Local wisdom, Medan, Tradition, Wedding

#### 1. Introduction

Local wisdom is a set of ideas or policies based on the values of virtues found in a community and often applied, believed to be the guidance of life, and handed down from time to time. Local wisdom can be in the forms of knowledge, skills and policies used for the welfare of the peoples concerned. Local wisdom is of two forms, tangible and intangible. Tangible local wisdom appears in the forms traditional text, traditional buildings and cultural symbol; while the intangible one in the abstract forms such as advice or proverb.

Nakorntap et.al. in Mungmachon (2012) stated that local wisdom is a basic knowledge gained from living in balance with nature.<sup>1</sup> It is related to culture in the community which is accumulated and passed

on. Wisdom can be both abstract and concrete but its important characteristics might come from experience or truth gained from life. Wisdom from real experiences integrates the body, the spirit and the environment and emphasizes respect for elders and their life experiences. Moreover, it values morals more than material things.

The research deals with local wisdom visualized through cultural symbols used in Hindu Tamil Ethnic Wedding. Different with what Pawiro et.al. (2016) stated that "death carries sad expressions among families and comrades" wedding tradition brings happiness and joy. Local wisdom, from linguistics anthropology perspective, is a part of values and norms of an oral tradition inherited from one to another generation through oral ways. Some forms of local wisdom are hard work, discipline, education, health, gender standing, cultural and creative reviving, peace, mannerism, honesty, solidarity, care-free life style, conflict-solution, commitment, positive thinking and gratefulness (Sibarani, 2012)<sup>3</sup>

It is seen that the significant point of local wisdom is attitude. All starts from attitude, an aspect of human life either to produce virtue or vice and local wisdom will guide one to virtues and in this study it is conducted by means of Anthropolinguistic approach (see also Sibarani, 2004, and 2014). Formal relations include the structure of language or text with situational, cultural, social, or ideological context, among others and the linear relation is concerned with structures such as constituent, phrase, norm among others.

# 2. Concept Headings

The research is descriptive qualitative which is addressed to interpret the meanings and values of cultural symbols; in other words, perceiving the hidden meanings, understanding the social relationships associated with the existing cultural symbols, and developing the theory to ensure the validity of the data. This is also an intrinsic case study on the ground that the study is within the range of wedding tradition having sub-performances with local wisdom identified by cultural symbols. Evaluation and comparison of materials are then conducted to obtain points of local wisdom at each sub-performance leading to the priority of the analysis, covering data collection procedure, analysis, and interpretation, finalized to a conclusion referring to the whole analysis of data. (Moleong, 2009)<sup>6</sup>

Tamil ethnic wedding in Medan is not celebrated in a temple considering that a temple is a holy place for the Hindus and considered to be the house of god or gods or other objects of great nobility, sacredness and divinity. However there are some subsidiary parts or ceremonial lounges of a temple to be used for wedding. The research is done at the ceremonial lounges of two temples, such as, *Shri Mariamman* Temple and *Shri Balaji Venkateshwara* Temple. The data in this study were obtained from the primary and secondary sources. The first source was gathered from two wedding ceremonies while the second was got from interviews using accidental sampling and respective references (Dörnyei in Etikan, et. al, 2015). Other techniques might include questionnaire, observation, documentation, note-taking and data analysis to obtain accurate data leading to local wisdom.

Interviews in this study were 'non-structured', in the sense that the informants could freely answer the questions and interviews in relation to banana tree, *Thaali* or wedlock necklace, coconut and betel leaf and to their meaning existence, meaning substance and function. The results were documented in the forms of notes and audio-visual records. Respondents were Hindu Tamil community and religious figures as well as youths. The key informants were the priests having mastery of knowledge on Hinduism and Hindu wedding tradition. Data analysis technique was 'interactive' initiated by Miles and Huberman (2014).<sup>8</sup>

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

In case of reliable validity, we employed a technique of comparison, such as, comparing (i) the data of observation result with the data of interview result, (ii) the words said in public with those in privacy,

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(iii) what people said about the research situation with what was said all the time, (iv) the situation and perspective of a person with those of various classes, and (v) the results of interviews with the contents of related documents.

[INSERT TABLE 1]

Table 1 shows the data validity that cultural symbols in the wedding having goals, for instance, *kama* or pleasure, *artha* or prosperity, *dharma* or virtue and *moksha* or getting rid of birth cycle. By this it is well understandable that Hindu Tamil marriage was a sermon, a sacred event that apted to be honored regardless of time and space.

#### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. Banana tree as symbol of marriage integrity preservation

As one of the favorite fruits banana is not only delicious but also be accepted by all tongues; moreover, it can be used for medication. The useful functions of a banana are not only limited to the banana itself as a fruit but the whole parts of banana plants are known to have various functions especially those related to philosophical concepts. If a banana tree is cut down, in a few days a new sprout will appear. And if this new sprout grows into a stem and is cut again, another new sprout will grow. The sprout will persevere to grow till at last producing some fruits. When fruits have been produced then the banana tree will sincerely die, either being cut or not. They are the characteristic of a banana tree which has only one goal, that is, to produce fruits to be of great benefit for people and other living beings. The tree is known for its perseverance to achieve its goal to be given to other living beings. Philosophically a banana tree gives a picture of motivation to lead a better life and usually will not die before producing fruits. This is a good moral lesson for everyone. This tree will survive in spite of various trials and ultimately producing something beneficial for others. Then the tree has also multi-functions. All parts of the tree can be used, from its stem, leaves, till its roots. Everyone should not give up though faced by various hurdles or trials. That is the key to a success.

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

In the wedding tradition of Tamil ethnic, banana tree together with its fruits and heart are usually placed at the main gate of the wedding. Its trunk is erected in the welcoming gates, and its leaves are used to serve food to guests. The banana leaf, among the most sacred leaves, finds its usage in all Vedic rituals. This is because banana tree is a very pious trees which symbolizes Lord Vishnu (Pathak: 2015). Since it is the symbol of marriage integrity maintenance, grooms should understand its philosophy although they may come from different social and cultural background. Once they promise to live together under the sacred bond of marriage, they have to protect it.

Opposite views will always appear in time of taking any decision and this is a common thing in a marriage and now they should have similar views on their visions. Maintaining marriage integrity can be initiated from mutual respect. This is the first point to be conducted by all the couples with no exception. One of the ways to put a person in a good position on our heart is to respect the person. A partner will feel that s/he is of great value living with us if given a sincere respect. This has nothing to do with age or profession. As long the person is our living partner, the person deserves to be respected. The definitions most applicable to close romantic relationships appear to reflect regard, admiration, and appreciation of the worthiness of another person (Hendrick, 2011).

This means that a husband needs the love of his wife and so does a wife. Husband and wife should share their sorrow, passion, and happiness together. Mutual understanding is also needed in maintaining the integrity of a marriage. Candor, loyalty and courage are also supporting factors to a happy and harmonious marriage since a marriage could not be totally free from any misplacement; this means that anything that might cause some disturbances to the life of marriage should soon be settled on the basis of marriage integrity.

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#### 3.2 Thaali as symbols of loyalty, responsibility and social relationship ties

Thaali is a necklace-like jewelry item, considered sacred portraying the real essence of marriage symbolizing the togetherness of two individuals, and the bonding of understanding, commitment, mutual love, oneness and spiritual growth. Tamil tradition wedding which is based on Hinduism is not just a matter of celebration and fun, it demands sacrifice, companionship, dedication and devotion from both the partners. Thaali is a Tamil word and in Sanskrit it is called Mangala Sutra. Mangal means auspicious and Sutra means thread, so Mangala Sutra gives a portrayal of successful marriage and that is the reason why this Thaali is considered sacred. Having immense significance and importance, Thaali has become a symbol of wedlock, valid in function and sense. Thaali is also a token of dignity and love given by a groom to his bride. On the wedding day, the groom ties the Thaali around the neck of the bride, while the priest recites Vedic hymns and prays. Talking about its appearance, this sacred thread is made of two strings of small black beads with a locket or pendant. Sometimes, it is also made of small beads of gold and black beads, with gold and diamond pendant.

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

Considered sacred for married women, *Thaali* is believed to have divine powers. Each of the beads in the *Thaali*, signifies protection from evil power and believed to protect the marriage of a couple, essentially the life of the husband. The fixing of the *Thaali* is usually accompanied by the fixing of toe rings, *kumkum* (red powder on the forehead), bangles and a nose ring as the signs of marital status of a woman. *Thaali* gives a sense that a man and a woman have agreed to live together in a bond of marriage. In the main part of the ceremony the bridegroom ties a sacred thread (*mangalsutram*) or a gold chain around the bride's with three knots, accepts her hand in wedding (*panigrahanam*) and takes seven steps (*sapthapadi*) together with her, uttering vows of friendship, loyalty and righteousness (Kavya,2015). The three knots in *Thaali* symbolizes loyalty of a wife towards her husband, the second to parents and the third to religion.

Thaali is the token of dignity and love given to a bride by her groom and on the wedding day, the groom ties it around the neck of the bride with three knots, while the priest recites *Vedic* hymns and prays. It signifies the union of the bride and the groom, amidst the presence of deities, who are believed to be attending the wedding (ibid).

[INSERT FIGURE 4]

An Indian woman takes the *Thaali* to be the most esteemed token of love offered to her by her husband. These three knots are also linked with local wisdom that is how to preserve a happy and harmonious marriage life whose key factor is loyalty. Wilson (2013) states that marriages were more likely to survive when courting partners (a) loved each other to a similar degree, (b) depicted the probability of marriage and changes in the likelihood of marriage in a corresponding fashion over the course of their courtship, and (c) portrayed the courtship as escalating from a low (25%) to a high (75%) probability of marriage as spanning a comparable period of time.<sup>12</sup>

This shows that a loyal person is reliable as loyalty is also tied to responsibility, which is a basic training to loyalty. A person of a high responsibility is often unaware that loyalty is there in time of doing something. By this it is clearly pictured that loyalty is a supporting factor to a harmonious marriage life.

# 3.3 Coconut as symbol of self-purification and strength

Coconut has a number of uses and philosophical meanings. Everyone knows the philosophical meanings behind coconut or coconut tree. All parts of the tree could be used, from the leaves till the roots. The leaves as well as the rods are used for the roofs, brooms and various accessories. The young leaves are usually used for accessories and ornaments in a wedding ceremony; the young fruit for fresh drink; in short a coconut tree has innumerable uses.

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When the coconut tree has grown up, the shades of the leaves could reduce the heat of the sun and even could let the gentle breeze cool the surroundings. And when a child has become adult, the child should also be able to give comfort, shade, happiness and pedestal to others and only by this way the child deserves to be called a useful person. When two coconut trees grow close together, people will usually put a swing made from series of ropes and tie both ends to the trunks; then people will get on the swing to get a relaxed and happy moment. When a man and a woman are united in a marriage of a strong knot, happiness and harmony will arise not only for the couple themselves but also for everyone around them. The radiant of a happy marriage can be transmitted to anyone as the essence of human life is to be happy and give happiness to others and all of this could be done only when the heart is pure. Fertility plays an important role in the harmony of a marriage life as one of the goals of marriage is procreation.

[INSERT FIGURE 5]

The association of human fertility cult with coconut is prominently manifested during wedding rituals across India. The fruit is often placed in a pot which is a metaphor for the womb, while the nut itself, a symbol or life, confers fertility on the bridal couple. It symbolizes the goddess of fertility, and is bestowed upon women wishing to bear children and given as memento by the life partner, as proposal of marriage, betrothal sign, welcoming of a bride, and to ward off evil. (Ahuja, 2014)[13]

So coconut in the wedding ceremony symbolizes that the newly-married couple would soon get a child to complete their happiness in running the life of togetherness. Life run by the philosophical concept of a coconut tree can lead someone to a happy, prosperous, and carefree life, able to adapt to all kinds of conditions, tough and also eager to help others. Such a type of life will deliver one to a real beauty of life as the beauty of the coconut trees on the coastal part of nature. However, this also teaches one to be always grateful to God for all the blessings given.

Another philosophical concept of the coconut trees is linked with the ego of a person. When a bride and a bridegroom arrive at the main gate of the wedding ceremony, a coconut is usually smashed on the ground, not only as the symbol of welcoming them, but also as the crushing of ego to that the couple could maintain life of tolerance and mutual understanding and respect, again leading to the harmonious integrity of marriage life. Joshi and Chandra in Miyaura (2015)<sup>14</sup> states that the Balinese ritual use of coconut differs from that in the Hindu societies of India and Nepal where the fruit is used for ceremonial purification. Balinese people offer coconut leaflets to honor the gods at ritual ceremonies to celebrate passage from birth to adulthood, for ancestor worship, at the ordainment of priests, and to protect against negative spirits.

The breaking of coconut symbolizes the breaking of the ego. The coconut represents the human body and before the Lord it is shattered – breaking the ego and symbolically total surrendering and merging with the Brahman – supreme soul or in other words self-purification and strength. So, coconut is essentially the fruit of the Gods. Breaking a coconut symbolizes smashing your ego and humbling yourself before God. The hard shell of ignorance and ego is smashed which gives way to inner purity and knowledge which is symbolized by the white part of the coconut. Every part of the coconut tree is very beneficial to humans. Hence, most Indians consider it a good omen to receive or give coconut fruits as gifts. It also denotes prosperity.

# 4.4 Betel leaf as symbol of harmony

The betel leaf plays an important role in the marriage tradition of Tamil ethnic in Medan, one of which is as a substitute for an invitation card. An invitation is one of the ways asking people to join a certain social gathering or event, either sorrowful or cheerful. In a wedding ceremony, people are invited to have a share in happiness, happiness of the couple, of the family members and relatives so that the whole atmosphere of the wedding ceremony will be colorful and cheerful. Everyone comes with a smile, giving prayers to the couple adding happiness to their togetherness.

At the present time, an invitation card or letter is of various forms but for Tamil ethnic in Medan not everyone can be invited to a wedding ceremony formally in the form of letter or card. Inviting family members or relatives to a wedding ceremony in a formal way can be termed impolite and the consequence is the person invited will not attend the ceremony. To avoid a misunderstanding, a traditional way of invitation is used. The host usually carries a tray on which some betel leaves, betel nuts, flowers and other equipments for betel-leaf eating are placed. The family invited will usually take some pieces of the betel leaf as a sign of approval that they will attend the wedding ceremony. Hardly does the family invited refuse to attend the ceremony, if invited by this traditional medium of invitation. This shows that the betel leaf has become a medium of harmony, love and peace.

Another use of the betel leaf in the marriage tradition of Tamil ethnic in Medan is in time of marriage proposal A tray filled with betel leaf, betel nut and flowers are exchanged between the two families to denote their approval of the marriage proposal. Sometimes the father of the groom to be may request for permission for his son to visit the bride to be at her home and ensures the parents of the bride that their daughter would be treated well and with respect.

[INSERT FIGURE 6]

Kumar in Toprani (2013)<sup>15</sup> states that the importance of betel leaf has been described in ancient books of Ayurveda. Use of betel leaf is known for centuries for its curative properties. In Chinese folk medicine betel leaves are used for the treatment of various disorders and claimed to have detoxification, anti-oxidation, and anti-mutation properties. Apart from having a myriad of benefits, there is a vast philosophical meaning to be obtained from the betel plant. The betel plant despite growing on another plant does not take any nutrients from the host plant; on the other hand the heart-shaped leaf will beautify the host plant. This pictures peaceful coexistence with tremendous diversity. Betel leaves play an important role in Indian tradition, customs and rituals. The Hindus believe that different deities reside in the betel leaf. The various Gods that reside in a betel (pan) leaf are:

*Indra* and *Shukra* are present in the top portion of the leaf.

Goddess *Saraswati* resides in the middle part.

Goddess *Mahalakshmi* resides in the lower tip.

*Jyesta Lakshmi* resides in the part that connects the betel leaf to the stem.

Lord Vishnu resides inside the leaf.

Lord Shiva and Kamdev reside on the outside of the leaf.

Goddess *Parvati* and Mangalya Devi live on the left side.

Mother Earth or *Bhoomidevi* lives on the right side.

Lord Suryanarayana is there throughout the leaf. (Thirtala 2016)<sup>16</sup>

By the existence of various deities in a betel leaf it is then believed that the use of this sacred leaf will bring harmony not only to the users but to all other respective parties. As a symbol of harmony and peace, no wonder that in some customs, betel offering has a declaration sense of living in harmony without doing any harm to one another. Another unique thing from this plant is it creeps from bottom to top; this also symbolizes that success or progress cannot be achieved instantly; all starts from the bottom part and only though hard work, perseverance and patience a person could reach the top party. The betel plant is one of the many beautiful and useful things created for human beings. Every one should understand and appreciate the cultural heritage to achieve a balanced life. The finding shows that the cultural symbols used in the Tamil ethnic wedding contain local wisdom used as a guidelines by the Tamil ethnic in the city of Medan to obtain a betterment in all aspects of private and social life.

[INSERT TABLE 2]

[INSERT FIGURE 7]

The 10 respondents, almost all respond to the questionnaire properly. Answer results of the respondents indicate that more than 80% know the meaning of existence and meaning substance as well as the functions of the cultural symbols commonly used in Tamil ethnic wedding in the city of Medan. They were able to describe the functions of each symbol and its meaning in the questionnaire. The fact shows that all the respondents agreed that the banana tree, *Thaali*, coconut and betel have their own meanings in Tamil ethnic wedding. Of the total respondents, 80% were able to mention the significance of the meaning substance of banana tree, *Thaali*, coconut and betel leaf despite the incomplete answers of some respondents.

Then, 80% of respondents were also unable to name two of the four functions of the cultural symbols, namely educational and religious functions. From the results of the answers obtained from the respondents, it can be described that banana tree, *Thaali*, coconut and betel nut are cultural symbols commonly used in Tamil ethnic wedding, with the following meanings: (i) banana tree is the symbol of maintaining marriage integrity, (ii) *Thaali* is the symbol of loyalty, responsibility and maintaining social interaction, (iii) coconut is the symbol of self-purification and strength, and (iv) betel leaf is the symbol of family relation and harmony as well as peace. Meanwhile, it has (1) educational function covering: introducing cultural identity, cultural education, cultural existence, regeneration and cultural preservation, and family relation, and (2) religious function including: uplifting the quality of spiritual progress, praying, and uplifting family harmony.

The questionnaire results above prove that the cultural symbols: banana tree, *Thaali*, coconut and betel have meaning and function as the sign of local wisdom commonly found in Tamil ethnic wedding in the city of Medan, and this is one of the cultural identities to be preserved.

# 4. Conclusion

From the research result, it is seen that the Tamil ethnic wedding tradition contains points of local wisdom through the cultural symbols: Banana plant as a symbol of maintaining the integrity of marriage, *Thaali* or holy necklace as a symbol of loyalty, responsibility and maintaining social relationship, Coconut as a symbol of self-purification and strength, Betel leaf as the symbol of harmony, love and peace. The research pertaining to the wedding tradition of Tamil ethnic in city of Medan is conducted in the hope that such a tradition is not easily wiped out by the changing of the time and this tradition is worthy of being preserved as the wedding tradition of Tamil ethnic has a lot of benefits which could be used as the pillar of national identity preservation. One of the benefits that could be simply seen is as the tourism market commodity. The revitalization of this marriage tradition should be done or Indonesia will surely lose one of the national identities.

One who performs a cultural tradition will surely get a lot of precious benefit. The attitude quality with the self-identity realization will progress automatically. The loss of self-identity is a general phenomena in a modern society. At this level, one will feel a certain type of depression which is so subtle that one does not realize having been plunged into that depression. Continual anxiety towards the future and the floating of the present time are the real evidence of the consequences of the lost of self-identity.

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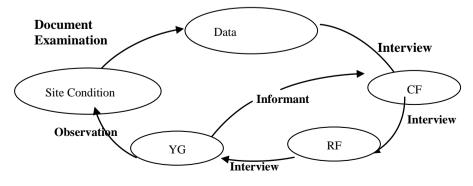


Figure 1. Triangulation Design

#### Remarks:

CF : Community Figure RF : Religious Figure YG : Young Generation

**Table 1. Triangulation Analysis of Local Wisdom in Wedding Tradition** 

	Research	Documen	Interview → Informant									
No.			CF			RF				YG		
	component	t	CF1	CF2	CF3	CF4	RF1	RF2	RF3	RF4	YG1	YG2
1	A	$\sqrt{}$							$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	X
2	В								$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	
3	С										X	X
4	D	$\sqrt{}$								$\sqrt{}$	X	
5	E	V									X	X

#### Remarks

Research components: A. Existence consisting of four cultural symbols: banana tree, Thaali, coconut, bête leaf, B. Meaning existence of the four cultural symbols, C. Meaning substance of the four cultural symbols, D. Educational function of the four cultural symbols, E. Religious function of the four cultural symbols

CF 1: Informant of the first Community Figure
CF 2: Informant of the second Community Figure
RF 1: Informant of the first Religious Figure
RF 2: Informant of the second Religious Figure
YG 1: Informant of the first Young Generation
YG 2: Informant of the second Young Generation
And so forth ...

√ : existing, answered, and can be used
X : not answered or not complete





Figure 2. Banana Trees at the gate of wedding lounge



Figure 3. Thaali Fixing



Figure 4. Thaali or Mangalsutra



Figure 5. Coconut



Figure 6. Betel leaf in marriage proposal

Table 2. Local Wisdom in Tamil Ethnic Wedding

# 1. Question Indicator

No.	Indicator	Number of Question
1.	Existence	4
2.	Meaning Existence	4
3.	Meaning Substance	4
4.	Function	8
	Jumlah	20

#### 2. Interview Result

No.	Question	Answer				
	indicator	Answer Result	No. of	Percentage		
			Respondent	(%)		
1.	Existence:	Available	9	90%		
	- Banana tree					
	- Thaali	No Answer	1	10%		
	- Coconut					
	- Betel leaf					
2.	Meaning Existence:	Having Meaning	10	100%		
	- Banana Tree					
	- Thaali	No Idea/No Answer	0	0%		
	- Coconut					
	- Betel leaf					

Research in Humanities & Soc. Sciences [I.F. = 1.5]

No.	Question	Answer				
	indicator	Answer Result	No. of	Percentage		
			Respondent	(%)		
3.	Meaning Substance: - Banana tree - Thaali	<ul><li>Banana tree is the symbol of maintaining marriage integrity.</li><li>Thaali is the symbol of loyalty,</li></ul>	8	80%		
	- Coconut - Betel leaf	responsibility and maintaining social interaction.				
		- Coconut is the symbol of self- purification and strength.				
		- Betel leaf is the symbol of family relation and harmony as well as				
		peace.  No Idea/No Answer	2	20%		
4.	Function: - Banana tree - Thaali - Coconut - Betel leaf	Educational Function: - Introducing Cultural Identity - Cultural Education - Cultural Existence - Regeneration and Cultural Preservation - Family Relation	9	90%		
		No Idea/No Answer	1	10%		
		Religious Function: - Uplifting the quality of spiritual progress - Praying - Uplifting Family Harmony	8	80%		
		No Idea/No Answer	2	20		

Note: Number of respondents: 10

# LOCAL WISDOM IN TAMIL ETHNIC WEDDING IN THE CITY OF MEDAN

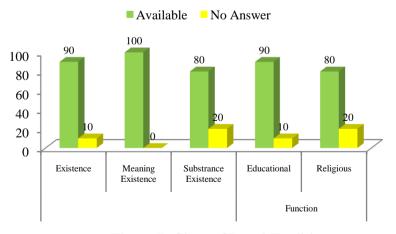


Figure 7. Chart of Local Tradition