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Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

Inter-caste marriage in bali in the post-reformation era

I Putu Sudarma

Postgraduate Program, Institut Hindu Dharma Negeri Denpasar,
Bali, Indonesia

sudarmaputu@ihdn.ac.id

Abstract

The aim of the study is to investigate Inter-Caste marriage in Bali in the post-reformation era. This research uses a qualitative approach. The type of data used is qualitative data obtained from primary and secondary sources. As a result, there is a change of behavior of Hindu Balinese society in marrying from the pattern of endogamy marriage toward the pattern of eksogami marriage. In conclusion, the inter-caste marriage changes from being closed then tends to be more open. It is caused by several factors such as individual reactions to customs or traditions.

Keywords: Dynamics, Inter-Caste, marriage, post-reformation.

El matrimonio entre castas en Bali en la era posterior a la reforma

Resumen

El objetivo del estudio es investigar el matrimonio entre castas en Bali en la era posterior a la reforma. Esta investigación utiliza un enfoque cualitativo. El tipo de datos utilizados son datos cualitativos obtenidos de fuentes primarias y secundarias. Como resultado, hay un cambio en el comportamiento de la sociedad hindú balinesa al casarse desde el patrón del matrimonio endogámico hacia el patrón del matrimonio eksogámico. En conclusión, el matrimonio entre castas pasa de ser cerrado y tiende a ser más abierto. Es causada por varios factores, como las reacciones individuales a las costumbres o tradiciones.

Palabras clave: Dinámica, Inter-casta, matrimonio, post-reforma.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the socio-cultural context, especially in the phenomenon of marriage, people recognize the existence of two models of marriage, endogamy and exogamy model. Waters (1994) suggests that there are two types of rules related to marriage, that is (a) endogamy which refers to rules prescribing that an individual must marry someone within a certain group, and (b) exogamy, which requires that a person marry someone outside of a certain group.

The endogamous marriage model reflects the preferences of married individuals in their own group. This model of marriage has been widely practiced in many societies and is used in various groups, one of which is a caste system in India that requires marriage to occur endogamically. In medieval Europe, the family of kings married with other kings' families. No exception in the United States, blacks marry with blacks, whites marry white and Jews show a very strong preference for marriage with fellow Jews (Andreski, 1996; Agung, 1983). Morgan Waters (1994) views that primitive societies have been practicing the model of group marriage (endogamy). Waters (1994) adds that marriage to the endogamy system in primitive societies is categorized in terms of internal clan marriage as well as internal village marriage.

Along with the development of the age and the rise of human civilization, the customs of *Asupunding* and *alangkahikarang hulu* and their sanctions were repealed in 1951 by the Balinese government because it was considered very cruel and uncivilized. The repeal of these two customary sanctions resulted in a more flexible and humane marriage (Dwipayana, 2001; Hadikusuma, 2007). Marriage in Bali post-reformation tends to be more open. Marriage is not only done inter-caste, but also a mixed marriage between religions or interfaith marriage, between ethnics and inter-nation. Inter-caste marriage does not only occur in ordinary marriage, but also in *nyeburin* marriage. Inter-caste marriage gets the same recognition from society. Previously, inter-caste marriage was only performed by *ngorod* (eloping), the procession of the ceremony was differentiated in which the bride must be together with *Keris* (traditional Balinese weapon) as the manifestation of the groom.

However, after reformation era, the inter-caste marriage can be done through *memadik* (proposing) and the procession of the wedding ceremony does no longer begin with *patiwangi* ceremony, and the bride can be directly coupled with the groom.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach. The type of data used is qualitative data obtained from primary and secondary sources. Data collection techniques are carried out through observation, in-depth

interviews, and document studies. The validity of the data is obtained by the triangulation technique. The informants were determined in a proportional manner, and the researchers themselves as the main instruments were assisted by interview guidelines, digital cameras, laptops and stationery. After verification, the data were analyzed with two theories, namely the theory of Social Change, and the theory of Deconstruction, while the results were presented in a descriptive analytical manner.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. Factors Encouraging The Inter-Caste Marriage In Post Reformation Era In Bali Individual Reaction to The Custom or Tradition

One of the Balinese royal customs that is considered discriminatory by the jabawangsa is asupunding and alangkahi karang hulu punishments. In the royal era, these punishments were very functional because the implementation was under pressure of the ruling power of the king at that time. On the contrary, since the king's power has been transferred to the national government, the customs considered to be detrimental to the jabawangsa were challenged and protested because the custom is deemed no longer functioning. The follow-up of the protesting movement of jabawangsa, asupunding and alangkahi karang hulu customs along with the sanctions were revoked based on DPRD No. 11 of 1951 dated 12 July 1951 (Dwipayana, 2001;

Budiana, 2004). Merton Waters (1994) suggests that dysfunction (disintegrative elements) should not be ignored because people only think about the positive functions (integrative elements). Thus, a structure having functions for a group may not necessarily work for the whole. The dysfunctional structures are thought to be the driving force for change.

The apparent changes of inter-caste marriage in the post-reformation era are revealed by informant Ngakan Joni (interviewed on May 2, 2018) as the parents of the triwangsa bride-family. Both of his daughters are agreed to do inter-caste marriage and even done through *memadik* or proposing (interviewed on May 15, 2018). Inter-caste marriage with the proposing process indicates that feudalism from the triwangsa family has begun to be abandoned because it is considered incompatible with the value of humanity and the development of time-oriented on the equation of degree. The responsibility of inter-caste marriage from the triwangsa family is also intended to respect human rights. Ni Ketut Srie Kusumawardhani (interviewed on May 15, 2018) is as the jabawangsa woman who inter-married with I Gusti Ngurah Gunarsa, the male side of the triwangsa family. She firmly rejected the marriage ceremony with the Keris as a symbol of the groom's substitute.

As long as not accompanied by the husband in the marriage ceremony, she did not want to follow the ceremony because she did not marry a keris but her husband. The old feudal and discriminatory traditions must be abandoned as opposed to humanitarian and religious values. With this attitude, the groom's family is faced with two issues,

namely the validity of the marriage, and the tradition of inter-caste marriage ceremony that used the symbol of a keris. The bride's struggle could be said successful because the demand of the bride could be fulfilled. Consequently, the old discriminatory tradition in inter-caste marriage in her village was no longer valid. In all inter-caste marriage ceremonies, the husband and wife could sit side by side like in an ordinary marriage.

Candrawan (interviewed on April 14, 2018) as a Hindu Balinese intellectual figure states that inter-caste marriage in Bali in recent decades has not only occurred in ordinary marriage but also in *nyeburin* marriage. Therefore, inter-caste marriage is a sign that society is no longer confined to the primordial customs, but it has shifted and adopted modern values, especially in the field of humanity in the national state. Recognizing the equality of human rights in society is in order to establish a harmonious relationship both in the context of kinship and in community relations. The modern cultural values based on religious values also contribute to the changing behavior of Hindu society in Bali. Zainudin argues that human beings as God's creatures must essentially be respected, upheld and protected by the state, law, government and everyone for the honor and protection of human dignity and prestige. In the democratic era based on law, the law is the king.

Conversely, in the era of democratic reforms, the law can be used as a medium to uphold the elements of democracy including human rights elements in inter-caste marriages. Laws that still contain masculine, ancient, discriminatory texts containing elements of harassment need to be reformed to accommodate the women's

representation. Thus, the rules which previously favored the men were changed to bring justice not only for the men but also for the women (Sadnyini, 2016; Segara, 2015).

3.2. The Complexity of Individual Interactin in Tourism in Bali

The presence of Bali's tourism industry is a modernization phenomenon that can give the impacts on the lives of local people. Through tourism, it also contributes to an increasingly widespread communication between several components within the framework of interrelated relationships. The development of tourism brings the implications in dynamics and changes. The implications that occur include various aspects of life such as economic, social, culture, religion and the environment with a certain level of intensity. Some implications have been felt by the community such as the occurrence of expansion of employment opportunities, the motivation of the growth of various types of arts, and the extension of socio-cultural insight of the society (Geriya, 1995).

In a social perspective, tourism also encourages the community to take responsive and participative action both on an individual and collective level. At the individual level, tourism activities can encourage the growing interaction not only inter-caste, ethnic and religious interactions, but also interaction with foreign tourists. The consequences of the increasingly open interactions, the Balinese people can do inter-caste, interfaith, or even transnational marriage.

The marriage does not only occur in ordinary marriage but also nyeburin marriage. According to Balinese customary law, both ordinary and nyeburin marriage have brought consequences. In the ordinary marriage, the bride will enter the groom's family to continue the offspring in the husband's family. On the contrary, in the nyeburin marriage, the groom is invited into the bride's family to continue the offspring of his wife's family. The bride in this marriage is confirmed as a purusa (male) while the groom is a woman (pradana).

3.3. The Increasing Understanding of the Balinese Society on the Concept of Catur Warna

The category as the reason for the number of individuals in doing the inter-caste marriage in post-reformation era is the increase in understanding of Balinese people about the concept of catur warna. Catur warna is the four professions (types of work) created by God. The professions of each warna can develop into subprofession, for example in the field of brahmana warna who works as a spiritual guides, and knowledge guides in order to develop various fields of knowledge to build a better life such as developing life to achieve economic prosperity and so on. The profession of kesatria warna can develop professions such as in the field of state leadership, politics, bureaucracy of civil government, military, and social leadership. The profession of wesya can grow in trade and services. In contrast, the profession of sudra uses more physical energy. If the four professions

are developed in balance and synergize, the world will be protected to realize a sense of security and prosperity.

The four of *warna* should be synergized by using the concept of purity, unity, and divinity. Purity means that every *warna* purifies *swadharma*, as the *warna brahmana* should exist in accordance with *swadharma* (obligation) or criteria as a *brahmin*. Unity means every *warna* has a different profession with other *warna*, while divinity is a state of human life that leads to an increasingly glorious life. If each *catur warna* element deviates from *swadharma*, there is no purity condition. Without the purity process, unity process also will not happen. Furthermore, without purity and unity, the divinity cannot be realized (Wiana, 2006). If *catur warna* is not implemented in accordance with the *swadharma* (obligation) of each *warna*, the world will be chaotic. This is described in *Slokantara 61* as follows. If they do not want to do the obligations that have been determined for them, the world will be destroyed and in chaos. There will be no difference between high and low.

This is the sign of the destruction of the world. The world will reverse the rules. No one is considered family or relatives, uncles, or elders. Even though there are mothers and fathers, they are not feared by anybody. Parents and teachers will no longer be honored. They will kill each other against family, uncle, and parents. Dad will be the enemy. War will rage everywhere. The whirlwind will go berserk. The rain will not fall in time (will not go down in the appropriate time). The crops will be empty. The outbreaks of disease will be rampant,

influenza and dysentery disease will be infected. Medicines will not work. A variety of thieves will roam unforgivingly. Since the state will be without a king, no one is considered as parent or ancestor. There will be no place for the worship of God and the ancestral spirits. Murders happen everywhere. Brahmins, rsi, Shiva and Buddhist followers will be killed (Wiana, 2006: 54).

The concept of *catur wangsa* (four of castes) is actually a deviation form of the concept of *catur warna* in the Vedic scriptures. The Book of Atharwa Veda (7,9) explains that the *purusha* (big creature) has given birth to a man in four *warna* (colors) as follows:

Varna Brahman came out of His head; Varna Ksatria came out of His arms; Varna Waisya came out of His thigh and Varna Sudra came out from the soles of His feet. God of Indra is His head, God Agni as His face, His neck is the God of Yama, His body is the God of Prajapati, lightning as His tongue, the God of Maruta as His teeth, and so on (Triguna, 1997: 20).

3.4. National Marriage Legal System

The effective implementation of the national marriage legal system since 1975 contributed to the growth of individual awareness in accepting inter-caste marriage by emphasizing the principle of emancipation, that is equal treatment to individuals in the marriage. The law of marriage gradually gives effect to the social changes concerning inter-caste marriage in Bali. Act Number 1 of 1974

contains not only rights and obligations, but also a ban on marriage. The prohibitions in marriage are shown in Article 8, 9 and 10.

3.5. Increased Public Education

The increased education of the Balinese Hindu community in post-reformation era also led to changes in individual behavior in inter-caste marriages. Prior to post-reformation, the tri wangsa family's side still exhibited feudalistic and discriminatory character against the jabawangsa family in inter-caste marriage. In the inter-caste marriage ceremony, the bride jabawangsa was not allowed to be accompanied by the groom but with a kris or pole that has been decorated as a symbol of the groom's substitute. The discrimination can also be seen in the placement of the offerings, i.e. the offering of the bride is placed in a lower position than the offering of the groom. In contrast, the post-reformation era marked by the era of openness gave much encouragement to members of the Balinese-Hindu community to engage in inter-caste marriages by means of mamadik (proposing).

In this way, the parents of the jabawangsa bride and her family are considered more respected and appreciated. The real change also shows that during the procession of the ceremony the equipment of the ceremony is no longer placed in different positions but in an equal position. This equality is also shown that there is no action that distinguishes the bride and groom in conducting prayers led by the priest (Khosravani Farahani & Mahmodi Lafva, 2016).

With the increasing education of the Balinese Hindu community and the individual's understanding of human values, the application of marriage customs becomes more flexible and more humane. With such understanding, the behavior of Hindu Balinese society in marriage has changed from the pattern of endogamy marriage toward the pattern of exogamy marriage. They have the spirit to abandon the ways and customs of exogamy marriage prohibitions that are incompatible with humanitarian values. They begin to adopt marriage patterns in accordance with the values of Hinduism, education and development of the times. Educational progress has also led to a change in understanding one's social status, i.e. a change in the understanding of the traditional social status of a dynasty to a modern social status based on education or the quality of work. With these changes, there is equality of treatment and rights.

The equality in inter-caste marriage is shown that the bride and groom are given the same position in the marriage ceremony, and the ceremony is witnessed by both parties of the family, the community, the *prajuru adat* (*adat leader*) and service leader. Raka (2002) states that the role of education can not only make people move from the ignorance and darkness, making a person as an independent person, able to face life and virtuous problems but also viewed as one of human resource investment. Auguste Comte Lauer (1993) states that education for man is not only able to open his mind and direct his actions to a change in the progress of life but also able to get rid of the challenge of progress to achieve a positive era. In addition, Waters

(1994) suggests that education teaches people to be able to think objectively and meet the demands of the times.

With education, people are more rational in the point of view, more logical and considerable in thinking about the positive and negative aspects of an event in which all are oriented to individual goals. With rational elements and positive and negative considerations, there will also be consideration of modernity about equality (egalitarian) and human rights, especially in family life (Siagian et al., 2019).

4. CONCLUSSION

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that: There is a change of the inter-caste marriages in a post-reformation era in Bali. The inter-caste marriage changes from being closed then tend to be more open. It is caused by several factors such as individual reactions to customs or traditions, the complexity of the interaction of individuals in tourism in Bali, the increasing understanding of the society about the concept of catur warna, the national legal system, and the increasing of public education. In relation to individual reactions to tradition, customary structures considered detrimental to the jabawangsa. They were opposed and protested by jabawangsa because they were considered dysfunctional. In the context of increasing people's understanding of the concept of catur warna, the Hindu-

Balinese society no longer sees a person's differences based on heredity but the profession (expertise).

In the context of the enactment of Act Number 1 of 1974 effectively since 1974 contributed to the growth of individual awareness in accepting inter-caste marriages by emphasizing the principle of emancipation. In the context of the complexity of relationships of individuals in tourism that is the existence of cross-cultural communication brought the more open relationship that leads to inter-caste marriage. The implications of inter-caste marriage in the post-reformation era in Bali are emancipation, the loss of traditional culture in upholding *paswara raja* or the king's decision, and the weakening of discriminatory traditions. In the context of emancipation, the bride and groom in inter-caste marriage are no longer subject to discriminatory treatment.

In the context of the loss of traditional culture in upholding the king's decree, the Resident Decision of Bali and Lombok in 1910 was abolished in 1951 so that the caste differences within the Balinese Hindu community were also abolished and no more customary institutions or *sukerta desa* enforced the king's decision. In addition, in the context of the weakening of discriminatory traditions, people began to abandon the customs of the ban on inter-caste marriage customs because they did not appropriate with the humanitarian values.

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