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THE MEANING OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION HINDU COMMUNITY EXOGENY MARRIAGE IN BALI

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Abstract

The endogamy mating model reflects an individual's preference for mating within their own group. Endogamy has been widely practiced in many societies and used by various types of groups. The caste system in India requires endogamy. There is strong pressure for them to marry within their own sub-caste and there are strong sanctions against violators. Today's social phenomenon in the life of the Hindu community in Bali shows a change regarding the prohibition of exogamy marriages between clans. Marriages that occur in Hindu communities in Bali in the modern era today are not only carried out endogamy within the *tri wangsa* group, but also exogamy marriages between the *tri wangsa* and *wangsa jaba* groups have often occurred, not even a few have carried out mixed marriages between both groups. Religion as well as between nations and this has received recognition from the community.

Keywords: social construction; exogamy marriage

I. INTRODUCTION

The structure of Balinese society is reflected in the order of people's lives which are hierarchical, paternalistic, and feudal. In such an order of community life, harmony for the people lies in the differences in one's status and role in the aristocratic structure, such as the existence of the *Tri wangsa* (*Brahmin, Ksatria, Vaisya*) groups and the sudra who are considered as the general public outside the king's relatives. These four groups are often referred to as *catur wangsa*. Hierarchical differences in this structure, give rise to differences in status and titles inherent in each group. Even further, the implications lead to structured communication or language traditions, differences in ritual power and the use of religious symbols, differences in social privileges, and even in marriage traditions.

The aristocratic system forms a social stratification based on differences in heredity and patrilineal kin groups. This lineage gave a more complex structure to the patrilineal clans found in the plains of Bali. Because the historical process goes back to the Majapahit era, the clans are arranged hierarchically-vertical based on the distance of their ancestral kinship with the king or noble figure of Majapahit (Bagus, 1997: 299).

The structured of Balinese society shows a superior-inferior relationship pattern in the order of social life and even in religious life. Someone who occupies a high position in the aristocratic structure claims to be *the tri wangsa* aristocratic group because of their close relationship with the new elite (the Majapahit aristocracy), and conversely those who occupy the lowest strata are claimed to be the *jaba* group (outside the kingdom or outside the *tri wangsa*) because of the distance from their grandmother's kinship. His ancestors were considered far away from the Majapahit nobility, maybe even there was no relationship at all. "This kind of claim often creates polemics and social conflicts in the Hindu community in Bali, especially in terms of traditional ceremonies and politeness in Balinese association" (Bagus, 1997: 300). Social stratification is one of the sociological

concepts that is known in every structure of society, both in traditional and modern societies. This concept is seen as having a role in the interaction between individuals in the community related to social, cultural, economic and political issues.

In the socio-cultural context, especially in the phenomenon of marriage, people generally recognize that there are two models of marriage, namely marriage with endogamy and exogamy models. Clayton (1975; 45) states that there are two types of rules related to marriage, namely:

“(a) *endogamy*, which refers to rules prescribing than 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 endogamy mating model reflects an individual's preference for mating within their own group (strata). Endogamy has been widely practiced in many societies and used by various types of groups. The caste system in India requires endogamy. There is strong pressure for them to marry within their own sub-caste and there are strong sanctions against violators. In medieval Europe, royal families intermarried with other royal families. The United States is no exception, a black person marries a black person, a white person marries a white person and Jews show a very strong preference for intermarrying with fellow Jews. From the examples presented above, it is clear that endogamy is most often practiced by groups such as caste, class and racial, ethnic and religious groups (Sanderson, 1993:448-449; Andreski, 1996:92).

Morgan, views that a society or family that is classified as primitive has practiced a pattern (model) of endogamous group marriage (Waters, 1994:254). Clayton (1975:45) adds that marriage with an endogamy system in primitive society is included in the definition of internal clan marriage and village internal marriage.

The Hindu community in Bali has characteristics that are identical to the community groups as above, the Hindu community in Bali in the socio-cultural context is stratified into 4 strata known as *Catur Wangsa*, namely the *Brahmin, Ksatria,*

Wesia and *Sudra (jaba)* clans. The three previously stated strata are known as the *tri wangsa* group, which in social reality from a heredity perspective is seen as a higher strata than the *jaba* dynasty. People belonging to the *tri wangsa* adhere to the pattern (model) of endogamous marriage and forbid their family members to marry outside (exogamy) with the *jaba* dynasty, because it is considered degrading to the dignity of that group. Violation of this prohibition can lead to conflicts between families, both latent and manifest. Even during the royal era in Bali, those who violated it were subject to sanctions for violating the *Asupundung* tradition with the punishment of being thrown away (*diselong*) both of them, or being declared to have violated *Alangkahi Karanghulu* with the punishment that the man was fined while the wife was demoted to the same strata (*wangsa*) as her husband (Wiana dan Raka Santri, 1993:107-108).

Today's social phenomenon in the life of the Hindu community in Bali shows a change regarding the prohibition of exogamy marriages between clans. Marriages that occur in Hindu communities in Bali in the modern era today are not only carried out endogamy within the *tri wangsa* group, but also exogamy marriages between the *tri wangsa* and *wangsa jaba* groups have often occurred, not even a few have performed mixed marriages between religions as well as between nations and this has received recognition from the community.

II. METHOD

The method used in this study is a qualitative method, where the data source is the results of interviews with exogamy marriage actors who are used as informants in the Denpasar area of Bali. In addition to using interview data, other data sources used to support the analysis are scientific literature that examines the marriage system using a cultural approach.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theoretically, the reality of exogamy marriage is a form of resistance to social institutions such as customs that prohibit exogamy marriages. Prior to 1910, this offense was

punishable by death by anchoring *gni* and anchoring stones. All marriages of women of a higher caste to men of lower birth ended in death. The women were subjected to the anchoring punishment, namely throwing themselves into a smoldering fire and the men being punished by anchoring stones, which was to be drowned with a ballast into the ocean.

In subsequent developments based on the King's *Paswara* in 1910, it was strengthened by *Besluit Residents of Bali and Lombok 1912*, dated April 11, No. 325, exogamy marriages between *tri wangsa* women (especially *brahmana* and *ksatria*) are taken by *jaba wangsa* men, then they are considered to have violated the customary "*asupundung* and *alangiti coral upstream*" with the punishment of being dispersed or exiled to remote areas such as Lombok or Nusa Penida (Wiana, 2006). On the other hand, if a *tri wangsa* man marries a *jaba wangsa* woman, the *jaba wangsa* bride's wedding ritual procession is coupled with a scene (house pole).

Then after the customary punishment of *Asupundung* and *Alangiti Karang Luhu* was declared revoked by the Bali Regional Government Decree Number: 11/DPRD/1951, the sanctions imposed for the violation of marriage by imposing social sanctions on girls who married the *Jaba wangsa* men were declared discarded by his family or not allowed to return to his parents' house. Recent developments, especially in the last two decades, show that exogamy marriages between clans have been accepted nationally without discriminatory actions against the bride and groom.

According to Berger and Luckman (1966: 68), reality is socially formed and the sociology of knowledge focuses on the analysis of the formation of reality by society. The reality of everyday life has objective and subjective dimensions. In seeing the relationship between individual humans and society, it is carried out through a dialectical process consisting of three stages, namely externalization, objectivation and internalization. Through externalization, society becomes a reality created by humans, through objectification, society becomes its own reality facing humans, and through internalization, humans become a reality formed by society.

Thus the pattern of marriage that occurs in Bali when reflected with Berger's construction theory can be seen that exogamy marriage and other attributes are a reality created by human individuals in society. This means that human individuals both in the *tri wangsa* and *jaba wangsa* social classes have created a social reality in the form of exogamy marriages along with changes in attributes related to the institution of marriage itself.

The system of proposals and changes in attributes in exogamy marriages, such as the absence of the *keris* attribute as a substitute symbol for *tri-wangsa* men and the equality of treatment in the marriage ritual procession is a reality created by humans, to be further internalized and made into the property of individual humans and society. Through the process of internalization, the human individual is a product of exogamy that has been created by the human being in a certain time dimension will be institutionalized into a social structure and institution that will be used by individual humans as guidelines for behavior in society.

Exogamy marriages created by human individuals cannot be separated from the social class theory proposed by Weber (in Svalastoga, 1989: 72-73). This concept in the context of Balinese life is known as *wangsa*. Weber gave the meaning of social class as a grouping of people in layers based on honor or prestige, as expressed in a shared lifestyle. Changes in the understanding of the individual human from the social class of the dynasty that puts the prestige element of the same lineage towards understanding the concept of color that puts forward the profession, a person's function in society is also a reality created by individual human beings.

Seen from social construction, changes in understanding of *wangsa* are the result of human construction. This change in understanding is part of human knowledge. According to Suparno (1997: 28), humans construct their knowledge through interactions with objects, phenomena, experiences and their environment. Knowledge is considered true if knowledge of something is useful for dealing with and solving appropriate problems or

phenomena. For constructivism, knowledge cannot be simply transferred from one person to another, but must be interpreted by each person. Everyone has to construct their own knowledge. Knowledge is not something that has been made but a process that develops continuously. In the process, the activity of someone who wants to know plays a very important role in the development of his knowledge. Besides, a conflict or anomaly can encourage people to think more deeply and conditions that require people to defend themselves and explain in more detail, will develop one's knowledge.

3.2 The Social Meaning of Exogamy Marriage.

The social reality of exogamy marriage between the *tri wangsa* group and the *jaba wangsa* community gradually increased in number. This kind of marriage does not only occur in urban communities but also occurs in rural communities. The phenomenon of exogamy marriage is carried out because of the interaction between individuals in an increasingly open society and the absence of normative provisions or institutions that can limit or prohibit the occurrence of exogamy marriages.

Basically, the characteristics of Balinese society have characteristics as described by Davis as a society stratified into the *cassia* model. One of the characteristics of a society that adheres to the *caste* model is that the selection of marriage partners is carried out by means of endogamy (Svalastoga, 1989: 52).

This constructive change begins with individual movements to straighten out customs that have been considered wrong so far. Individuals from families belonging to the *sudra wangsa* (*jaba wangsa*) in the context of exogamy marriages fight for their daughters who are married by *tri wangsa* family men so that they are no longer given the title of *jero* and should be called by name in society.

According to the construction of individual thoughts from the *Sudra Wangsa* family, giving the name *Jero* as if placing their social status lower than the *Tri Wangsa* family. According to them, the name label attached to the *tri wangsa* group actually has a meaning as a tribute to the ancestors who gave birth to them and should not

be used to cult that one dynasty has a higher social status than the other.

A similar struggle was also carried out by individuals from the *tri wangsa* family, who were reform-oriented, explaining that if their daughter was married to a man from the *jaba wangsa* group, it should never be called a *nyerod* marriage. Such a tradition should have been removed because in addition to being discriminatory, it also seems as if we are inheriting a feudal culture amidst the advancement of science and technology today. For families like this, they no longer impose social sanctions on their daughters, who actually in terms of education have a higher education than their parents and other families. Therefore, the daughter who has married out of her clan is allowed to return as usual to the house where she was born. Likewise, in the speech structure, conversation with their parents goes as usual in accordance with the value of politeness in conversations between children and their parents. In the context of inter-clan marriage, there is no longer any language that is specifically intended for a child who has been married, as if he is already in a "pitch" with a lower degree than his parents.

The social meaning that can be revealed from the changes in the actions of individual human beings in exogamy marriages as described above, that exogamy marriages between clans are a symbol of the social movement of a group of human individuals who want a renewal in the institution of marriage. The intended marriage is carried out in accordance with human values and dignity on the basis of equality (egalitarian) and freedom to choose a spouse without any discriminatory treatment.

3.3 Theoretical Implications of Exogamy Marriage

According to Berger and Luckman (1966:68), reality is socially shaped and the sociology of knowledge focuses on the analysis of the formation of reality by society. The reality of everyday life has both objective and subjective dimensions. In looking at the relationship between individual humans and society, it is carried out through a dialectical process

consisting of three stages, namely externalization, objectification and internalization; Through externalization, society becomes a reality created by humans, through objectification, society becomes its own reality facing humans, and through internalization, humans become a reality formed by society. Thus the pattern of marriage that occurs in Bali when reflected with Berger's theory of construction can be seen that exogamy marriage and other attributes are a reality created by human individuals in society. This means that individuals in both the *tri wangsa* and *jaba wangsa* social classes have created a social reality in the form of exogamy marriages along with changes in attributes related to the institution of marriage itself.

The method adopted by the Balinese people in carrying out marriages, both in the endogamy and exogamy systems between clans, shows that Balinese people tend to use the way of proposing (*medik*) or by *ngerorod* (run together). Both ways of marriage have been carried out both in the form of ordinary marriages and for *nyeburin* marriages.

The choice of the marriage system is a critique of Korn's view, which views that *nyeburin* marriages can only be performed by the Balinese by asking for a hand and only occurs in people in one *wangsa* (Korn, 1978). In objective reality, it was found that marriage with the *nyeburin* system seen from the dynamics of marriage has undergone changes, where today *nyeburin* marriages are not only carried out endogamy (one dynasty) but also occur exogamously (between clans). Likewise, the method taken in carrying out *nyeburin* marriages, in the past it tended to be done only by asking for a hand, but now Balinese people are used to doing *nyeburin* marriages either by proposing or by *ngerorod* (run together).

Exogamy marriages that occur in Balinese society, both at the level of subjective reality and objective reality, have left royal customs in the field of marriage such as the "*asupundung alangiti* coral upstream" custom. Royal customs like this are seen as no longer compatible with the development of the times, besides that these customs are discriminatory. Changes that appear in the behavior of Balinese marriage today, tend

to leave the feudalistic royal customs. The law of the royal heritage is no longer used as a central source of power to regulate the behavior of the Balinese people, but has turned to the *awig-awig* of the Pakraman village which has been adapted to the progress of the times based on the noble values of humanity and is imbued with Hinduism.

The existence of resistance to feudal ways in the marriage system as described above is a critique of Geertz's view which views that the existence of the *tri wangsa* (nobles) has an essential influence in the fields of religion, economy, socio-culture and politics on the structure of people's lives, especially in the *jaba wangsa* community (Geertz, 1992). With the advancement of education, information technology, Balinese people, especially the *jaba wangsa* group, no longer use the structure of the nobility as a source of spirit in life. In this context, what happened was that the *jaba wangsa* group continued to increase its bargaining value against the *tri wangsa* group. In carrying out exogamy marriages, the *jaba wangsa* group has been looking for a justification based on the teachings of Hinduism and the *awig-awig* of Pekraman village as well as increasing the ability of the *jaba wangsa* group in all dimensions of life, so that it appears that there is a change.

IV. CONCLUSION

The social reality of exogamy marriages is mostly carried out by the *tri wangsa* group with other groups (the Jaba group). This shows that the pattern of exogamy marriage has changed, and the community views that exogamy marriage is a natural thing, and currently there is no longer a limit to marriage between groups (*wangsa*), let alone legal sanctions, there is no prohibition. Married couples who do exogamy marriages do not develop fanaticism in marriage.

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