

CHAPTER II

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN MIXED MARRIAGE COUPLES BETWEEN THE BATAK AND OTHER ETHNIC WITHOUT HAVING TO ADOPT A BATAK'S 'MARGA' (CLAN)

2.1. The Overview of the Batak Ethnicity

The Batak ethnic consists of five sub-ethnics, which are Batak Toba, Batak Mandailing, Batak Karo, Batak Simalungun and Batak Pakpak - Dairi. According to stories (*tarombo*) that originate from Batak Toba the five sub-ethnics of Batak come from one ancestor, the King of Batak. During this time many Batak people lived in foreign lands, not only around Sumatera but also on the island of Java and other places (Nainggolan, 2012:55)

For centuries the Batak ethnic lived alienated around Lake Toba. There was not much interaction between the Batak and other ethnicities back in the day. The Batak ethnic inhabited high grounds and mountain valleys between the land of Aceh and West Sumatera. The Batak ethnic, as an interland ethnic, focused their attention on farming. The traditions related strongly to the farming efforts. The inhabitants lived in a cooperative environment, and before doing a job the most important thing first is discussion. A strong family bond and the family tree are maintained, which is why the family tree cultivates a feeling of solidarity (Nainggolan, 2012:59).

The basic concept of the Batak culture is the *Dalihan Na Tolu*, which is the key characteristic of Batak culture. The main point of *Dalihan Na Tolu* is the three functional elements which are the *Hula-Hula* (Wife's party), *Dongan Sabutuha* (Friends of the same *Marga* (clan)), and *Boru* (Women's party). Above the *Dalihan Na Tolu* is where the entire Batak sociocultural arrangement leans (Sinaga, 2013:38). *Dalihan Na Tolu* is considered as *Bona Ni* tradition (base of tradition), which is the source of where the rules, norms, and values of traditions are from. All this is made as a reference in social interactions or other social actions and also in the decision-making process.

According to Sinaga (2013), the values of the Batak people is the value of kinship and religion. The kinship value covers primordial relations of the ethnic, love of blood relations, harmony, *Dalihan Na Tolu* elements, and everything relating to kinship marriage, *Marga* (clan) solidarity, and others. On the other hand, the religious values cover the religious life that manages the relationship with The Creator and the relationship between men and his living

surroundings. The two central values of Batak culture show that the Batak ethnicity has a primordial ethnic fighting spirit and a solid religious value.

There is also the meaning of the guidelines of life (Sinaga, 2013:46) stated that Batak people with the same *Marga* (clan) have to be careful of their attitude and actions toward each other. The attitude that is hoped is democratic and not authoritarian attitude. Because of that, in every tradition they conduct, be it marriage, entering a home, birth of a child, or even death, then friends of the same *Marga* (clan) are those who stand equal as a companion in conducting traditions (*Manat Mardongan Sabutuha*).

Somba Marhula-Hula, contains a meaning that *hula-hula* has to be respected and to be bowed upon and has to be respected to the highest degree by their *boru*.

Elek Marboru, has a meaning that *hula-hula* has to be nice and love their *boru* that is not accompanied with an alternative purpose.

The descendant principle held by the Batak people is a patrilineal system, where the system follows the descendants of the men. The patrilineal kinship structure gives certain rights to boys. This affects the Batak people because it causes the boys in Batak families to be unique, that is, having the *hula-hula* position to his sisters and being his father's successor to their *Marga* (clan). Because of that, the presence of boys in a family is something that is highly hoped for (Sinaga, 2013:57)

One of the most enormous potentials in Batak culture is the high independent motivation. The *Dalihan Na Tolu* instills self-value that respects self-awareness. This awareness is a potential in the values of Batak culture. The tendency of the Batak people to show their identities, whatever qualities within them, is done by the Batak people without burden whatsoever. In other words, it can be concluded that the Batak people value openness a lot (Sinaga, 2013:57)

The kinship system has a vital role in having a good relationship between individuals and the people in their surroundings. From this system stems other issues within the social system, such as the life cycle system, local unity of life, and social stratification. In this system, there are a few things: Kinship group, descendant system, kinship system term, and manners in kinship gatherings.

This chapter will explain how the identity negotiation in mixed marriage couples between the Batak and other ethnic without having to adopt a Batak *Marga* (clan) will give a general depiction regarding the marriage traditions of the Batak ethnicity that is part of the Batak social identity itself.

2.2. The Social System of the Batak Ethnicity

Traditions for the Batak people is a law that must be followed and maintained throughout their life. A tradition that they have accepted as an obligation for the Batak people so their social life can be balanced, and it will be taught to their descendants. The Batak people who hold the traditions well and behave according to the traditions are called *maradat*, and if someone is deemed not to behave under the traditions, they will be referred to as *naso maradat*, which is a disgrace to a person who is from the Batak ethnic.

The Batak traditions include rules and regulations in society, where everything is included in a structure called *Dalihan Na Tolu*. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a framework that includes blood relatives and marital relations that shows the link of kinship for the group. For the Batak people, *Dalihan Na Tolu* tradition cannot be separated from the people's lives, especially for things related to the traditional system. *Dalihan Na Tolu* means three foundations, symbolizing the three elements or groups of relatives in the Batak tradition: *hula-hula*, *dongan sabutuha*, and *boru*.

Dalihan Na Tolu appeared because of a marriage that connects two large families. Through marriage, a new kinship system is formed because it has been unified between two *Dalihan Na Tolu* through the marriage. Someone's position in this structure is not the same for every situation because it depends on to whom they relate. Activities that demonstrate the application of the principle of *Dalihan Na Tolu* can be seen in marriage, death, and so on. *Dalihan Na Tolu* is the regulator of all aspects of the social life of the Batak people. The relationship between the three parties can be seen in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* principles: *Somba Marhula-hula*, *Elek Marboru*, *Manat Mardongan Tubu*, which means respecting the wife's family, love for the daughters and women, and being polite to others. *Hula-hula* is the wife's family. Batak people must show respect and loyalty to their *hula-hula*. *Boru* is the daughter, and *Dongan sabutuha* is the people of the same lineage or *Marga* (clan).

2.3. The Batak Marriage Tradition

Marriage is an essential event in the lives of the people because marriage does not only involve the bride and groom, but also the families of the bride and groom. Marriage is the unification of man and wife into a legitimate bond. Marriage is a promise that is consciously made without force between the future bride and groom that is based on love that grew naturally, be it because of sympathy or lust.

The Batak people in general hold the descendant principle and they are Patrilineal, this means the family tree of the male descendants. According to traditional law, marriage can be a private affair, relatives affair, family affair, alliance, dignity, depending on the structure of the associated people. Marriage for the people of Batak tradition is sacred and holy it means the unification of the essence of life between a man and a woman becoming one and not just forming a household and family.

To describe something that is sacred in marriage it can only be seen; felt from the attitude; and in the culture of the marriage itself. The cultural feel that is then passed down spiritually from generation to generation that causes the traditional marriage to still be around and conducted by the Batak people including those who live abroad. Marriage in the Batak tradition is a responsibility of all relatives of the two parties whose implementation is according to the *Dalihan Na Tolu* so that the traditional Batak marriage has a complete set of rules starting from the proposal, honest giving up to the wedding ceremony. One of the key characteristics of the traditions of Batak people is living abroad but still upholding the traditions wherever they are, because in general the Batak people have a lot of strong inner connections towards the ancestral lands.

In Batak culture, wherever they are, the purpose of marriage is to be a determinant of rights and responsibilities in the community in order to continue the lineage. Besides for finding the heir of the lineage. Marriage also serves as a bridge in the implementation of the *Dalihan Na Tolu* in the Batak community.

An ideal marriage for the Batak people is marriage with the *pariban*. The marriage of Batak people is a marriage with people from outside of their *Marga* (clan). In the Batak marriage system there is a prohibition against marrying someone with the same *Marga* (clan), because they are considered relatives. If an incestuous marriage occurs, they will be cast out from the Batak ethnic. Marriage with those with the same *Marga* (clan) is prohibited because of the belief that everyone with the same family still has blood relations so there is a fear that the marriage between the two will produce children whose growth are stunted, born as idiots and maybe even paralyzed (Simanjuntak, 2006:43).

Here are a few examples of strongly prohibited marriages in the Batak culture.

1. *Namarpadan*

Namarpadan/padan or the pledge of promise that has been set by certain *Marga*'s (clan), where the men and women cannot marry if they are of the same *Marga* (clan).

2. *Namarito*

Namarito or having brothers and sisters, especially those with the same *Marga* (clan) are strongly prohibited to marry each other.

3. *Dua Punggu Saparihotan*

Dua Punggu Saparihotan which means the prohibition of having a brother or sister that shares the same in laws.

4. *Pariban Na So Boi Olion*

Turns out there is a *pariban* that cannot marry each other. For the Batak people, the rules/spirit of the Batak culture have two categories of *Pariban Na So Boi Olion*. First, blood-related *pariban* is only allowed to date or get married with only one *pariban*. For example, two male brothers have five female blood-related *pariban*, only one of them can be married, not both can marry their *pariban*.

5. *Marboru Namboru/Nioli Anak Ni Tulang*

The next prohibition is if a man marries a woman from a blood-related *namboru* and vice versa, women cannot marry a son from their blood-related *tulang*.

The marriage of Batak people is a *Marga* (clan) echogasm, because marriage between those of the same *Marga* (clan) is strongly prohibited. In the beginning marriage was interpreted as the purchase of a woman, where the woman is let go by her group after the payment transaction has been approved on both sides beforehand. The transaction is of a number of valuable items or money that is given to the woman's family or *sinamot* in the Batak language (Sinaga, 1998:25).

Men and women of the Batak ethnic that live in a new household, can be acknowledged as husband and wife if they have gone through a process that has been set beforehand from Batak tradition. The traditional marriage of the Batak people is conducted with sacred customs. There is also Batak custom where in a marriage that is called *Na Gok*, that is a normal Batak marriage based on the previous customs that involve the *Dalihan Na Tolu* (Sinaga, 1998:45). The marriage custom in Batak culture as follows:

1. *Mangaririt*

Conducting the *paulak une* and *maningkir tangga* immediately at the same location after the ceremony has taken place, this is named *Ulaon Sadari*.

2. *Mangalehon Tanda*

Mangalehon Tanda has the meaning of giving a sign when a man has found his bride to be, then the both of them give the sign. The men usually give money to the women, whilst the women give a sarong to the men, after that the man and the woman are tied to each other. The man then notifies his parents, the parents of the man will send a mediator that has tied the knot with their daughter.

3. *Marhusip*

Marhusip means to whisper, but in this writing, it is a closed conversation or it can also be called a negotiation between the mediator of the groom's family and the representative of the bride's family, regarding the dowry that has to be prepared by the man to be given to the woman. *Marhusip* is usually conducted in the bride's house.

4. *Marhata Sinamot*

Marhata Sinamot is usually held after distributing *Jambar*. *Marhata sinamot* is an activity that talks about how much *sinamot* from the men, what animal will be slaughtered, how much *ulos*, how many invitations will be sent out, and where the wedding ceremony will take place. The *marhata sinamot* tradition can also be considered as a formal introduction between the man and woman's families. The dowry that is given by the man is usually in the form of money, the amount of which was decided through negotiation.

5. *Pundun Saut*

The relatives of the man without *hula-hula* deliver the slaughtered cattle that is received by the *parboru* and the distribution of *Jambar Juhut* (meat) to the family members occurs after the feast. In the end of the *Pundun Saut* the family of the woman and man agrees on the time for *martumpol* and *pamasumasuhon*.

6. *Martumpol*

Martumpol for the Batak people is their engagement party, but in literal terms *martumpol* is an event where the bride and groom are bound by their pledge to marry in front of the caretakers of the church. This traditional ceremony is attended by the bride and groom as well as their families and attendees that is usually conducted at church, because those who conduct the *martumpol* event are mostly Christian Batak people.

7. *Martonggo Raja*

Martonggo Raja is a pre-ceremony tradition that is an absolute ceremonial event that is conducted by the organizer that aims to prepare the technical and non technical necessities of the event. In this tradition, the entire village, *dongan tubu* (relatives) usually all attend. The *hasuhaton* (host) asks for approval from the community especially to *dongan sahuta* (village mates) to help prepare and to use their facilities for the upcoming traditional ceremony.

8. *Manjalo Pasu-Pasu Parbagason*

The wedding ceremony of the bride and groom is conducted by a pastor in church. After the wedding ceremony is over, then the bride and groom have officially become husband and wife according to the church. After the ceremony at the church is finished, the two goes home to commence the traditional Batak ceremony, where this event is attended by all the invitees from both the man and woman.

9. *Ulaon Unjuk*

The bride and groom also receive traditional blessings from the entire family, especially the parents of the two. In this traditional ceremony, prayers are said for the bride and groom that is represented by the giving of *ulos*. The traditional party *unjuk*, ends by bringing the bride and groom to the *paranak* house.

10. *Dialap Jual*

Dialap Jual means that if a wedding ceremony is conducted at the house of the bride, then the event where the bride is escorted to the groom's house takes place.

11. *Ditaruhon Jual*

If the wedding ceremony is conducted at the groom's house, then the bride is allowed to go home to her parent's house, to then be escorted again by *namboru's* to the *namboru's* place. In this case the *paranak* must give *upah manaru* (delivery fee), whilst in *dialap jual upah manaru* does not apply.

12. *Manjalo Pasangapon Dekke Sian Paranak*

As the bride and group arrive at the groom's place, there will be a feast with all the invitees that still wish to come to the groom's place. The food that will be eaten is food brought by the *parboru*.

13. *Paulak Une*

This tradition is included as a step for both parties to freely visit each other intermittently after the commencement of the wedding ceremony, which is usually done after about a week after the wedding ceremony. The groom's party and relatives along with the groom himself visits the house of the woman's parents. This opportunity is given so that the bride's parents know that their daughter feels at home living at her in-laws' house. After the *paulak une*, *paranak* goes back to their house and starts a new life.

14. *Manjae*

After some time of the bride and groom living together (If the man is not the youngest child), then he will *dipajae*, that is separated from the house and have a separate livelihood. Usually, the youngest child inherits their parents' house.

15. *Maningkir Tangga*

After the couple *manjae* or live in their own house, the parents, as well as the other family members, come to visit their house and have a feast.

2.4. The Concept of the *Marga* (clan) According to Batak People

The Batak ethnic consists of five sub-ethnics, which are Batak Toba, Batak Angkola/Mandailing, Batak Karo, Batak Simalungun, and Batak Pakpak - Dairi. The total number of *Marga* (clan)s in the Batak ethnic is 467 *Marga* (clan). *Marga* (clan) is a family of a nation consisting of people from the same lineage. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (1990:559-560) the *Marga* (clan) is a kinship group that is exogenous and nonlinear, be it matrilineal (Mother's lineage) or even patrilineal (Father's lineage). In the Batak people, Samosir is the cultural center of Batak; this is because in Samosir is where the idea of *Marga* (clan) as a tradition was born, which then spread to the surrounding areas. In other words, people of the same *Marga* (clan) in Batak Toba are people who come from the same lineage, have one male ancestor (genealogy), and have one *Marga* (clan). Clearly, with this statement, Batak Toba is patrilineal, which is where the lineage is calculated from the boys. The girl born will inherit her father's name. After they get married, they will gain another *Marga* (clan) from their husband and fall into the *Marga* (clan) group of her husband (Nainggolan, 2012:74).

The *Marga* (clan) has to be used by the Batak people because without the *Marga* (clan) and *tarombo* (family tree), a person will not know what name has to be used to call them like *ompung* and *ompung boru* (grandfather and grandmother), *amangtua* or *bapak tua* (older brother from the father's side) and *inangtua* or *mak tua* (wife of the male relative older than the father), *uda* (younger brother of father) and *inang uda* (wife of father's younger brother), *tulang* (male relative of the mother also called uncle) and *nantulang* (wife of the tulang or also called aunty), *namboru* (father's female relative and also the wife of *amangboru*), *amangboru* (husband of *namboru*), *haha* atau *angkang* (older brother), *anggi* (younger sibling), *bere* (nephew/niece), *tunggane* and *lae* (only for fellow men), *eda* (only for fellow women), *ito* and *iboto* (nicknames for the opposite sex), *maen* or *parumaen* (daughter in law), *hela* (son in law), *simatua* (parent in law), *inangbao* (wife and inlaws) and *amangbao* (husband and inlaws). If we say the wrong name we would be told that we don't know the traditions for nicknames in Batak culture called *Na So Maradat* and *Batak Na Lilu* is a lost Batak that is an insulting term. If someone is nicknamed *Na So Maradat* then it gives a bad impression to their parents because it will be considered that they failed in teaching their child so that the child doesn't know traditions. The term *Na Lilu* is just as bad because to Batak people those who are unclear of their origin is not good to be made a family member. *Tarombo* is the family tree, the origin of the father's family tree. With *Tarombo* someone knows their position within the *Marga* (clan). So including your *Marga* (clan) and knowing *tarombo* (family tree) is very mandatory,

especially for a Batak person because we have not met and have to ask their *Marga* (clan) first. If it is the same *Marga* (clan) then we ask about the *tarombo* (family tree) what order are they in the *Marga* (clan). For example the *Marga* (clan) Gultom *tarombo* (family tree) number 15 taken from the order of their father's family's family tree so there is a name we call elder people we meet, for example a male relative that is older than the father is called *amangtua* or *bapak tua*. In the Batak song *Sigulempong* there is a lyric which *jolo sinukunmarga asa binoto partuturon* which means have to speak and greet politely to people and is a must if you want to be called a real Batak person.

The Batak people were manifested in the attitude pattern to realize life's purpose as a traditional people that is known by the abbreviation 3H that means *Hamoraon* (The effort to find riches), *Hagabeon* (Many descendants and a long life), and *Hasangapon* (Respect and glory). The aim of 3H in the Batak ethnic's environment is to keep inheriting and ingrained to the Batak people. The culture of Batak people also has to be understood and translated in a symbol to give an impression that giving a *Marga* (clan) is strongly tied to the life of the Batak people.

The Batak people know that the *Marga* (clan) means of one ancestor. So, the *Marga* (clan) indicates heredity. Batak people adhere to the understanding of the line father's lineage (patrilineal), then the lineage of the Batak people is appropriate based on the father's lineage. A *Marga* (clan) is a group of people with the same lineage from the same ancestor. The *Marga* (clan) is also the basis for determining relationships with other people. (Simanjuntak, 2006: 79-80).

With the above description, it is clear that the *Marga* (clan) is attached to all aspects of the life of Batak people and is a marker of the presence and identity of the Batak people. The *Marga* (clan) not only controls the share of inheritance, but also the land, politics, law, economy, and working together in irrigation.

The *Marga* (clan) is the shared name of relatives, of the same blood, descended according to the father's line, who owns the land as common property in the land of origin or ancestral land. For example, Olina Gultom. Olina is a personal name, while Gultom is a legacy name that she has received since she was still in her mother's womb. The name Gultom is the extended family union or alliance.

This is what causes the *Marga* (clan) to be a complex thing, but on the other hand, a *Marga* (clan) is a blessing because it connects them to their ancestors. The *Marga* (clan) is the highest form of control on the awareness and unity of the group. This is what pushes the Batak people to establish the *Marga* (clan) gathering, be it in the homeland or abroad.