

Subaltern Woman in Tradisional Wedding of Banjar Tribe Called Anom in Postcolonial Prespective at the Paluh Manan Village, Deli Serdang, North Sumatera''

Rosramadhana

Ph.D student at Faculty of Social and Political Science, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia

Abstract: *This study speaks of married women in the tradition of the Banjar Tribe called anom in Paluh Manan Village, Deli Serdang District, North Sumatra. Based on the focus of the study, it presents three research questions: (1) How does the phenomenon of the dynamics of anom practices that have occurred since the colonial period to the present to the women at Banjar tribe, Paluh Manan Village? (2) How does woman in Banjar interpret anom and subaltern? (3) How is the position of women in the social order on the cultural traditions of wedding anom seen from postcolonial perspective? This study uses qualitative methods using ethnografy feminis approach. Techniques in collecting data are: interview, observation and documentation. Technique analyzing data used to assess the data from various sources by grouping them into categories based on the intent of the study. The collected data is analyzed and categorized and interpreted, and confirms the statement of the informant. To find the truth and accuracy of data interpretation, the researcher reconfirm the obtained data with the concepts related to the type of research conducted. This ethnographic qualitative research operations uses fieldwork as follows: initial preparation for entering the field, activism fieldworker with informants, ethnographic reporting process, the process of writing analisis, and the process left the field.*

Wedding anom views of various elements, namely the cultural values reproduced through a matchmaking system that applies to girls and boys. The wedding of political value anom becomes a symbol to dominate women. From the economy point of view, wedding anom gives very many benefits for the invaders. Social values that appear in the live of women during the wedding anom based on the submission of women to the household. Anom reproduced through traditional wedding rituals such as bathing badudus / bapapai. In the economic aspect, anom reproduced social capital to gain status in the community. Women do marry anom because parents are afraid of their children trapped in promiscuity. While the girls marry anom because they want to escape from the desire of parents who set her up. Anom is interpreted as a form of freedom, hereditary tradition and trend, a sense of concern for the parents, and the value of resignation. Wedding anom shows that women suffer in obtaining the right of health during pregnancy and childbirth. Women only become a symbol of power and sexual satisfaction of men in the household. The attitude of male dominance against young women indicates that the subaltern women also applies to the right in obtaining offspring.

Keywords: *Banjar Tribe, Female Wedding Anom, Feminist Ethnography, Ritual Bath, Subaltern,*

I. Introduction

The young marriage has become a national phenomenon; culture greatly influences the pattern of people's lives, especially in Indonesia. The phenomenon of young marriages in various ethnic groups in Indonesia shows that the problem of young marriages needs to be considered. Social-culture vulnerability due to young marriages tends to have an impact on the psychological aspects and sosologist especially in girls who are still young. Young marriage tends to cause problems in the domestic life of a young married couple. The mindset is still not mature enough in preparing for allegedly married and will give impact on attitudes and behavior in the household.

This research is about women in the wedding tradition *anom* (young) at Banjar tribe, Paluh Manan Village, District of Hamparan Perak, Deli Serdang, North Sumatra. Banjar tribe is a tribe that originated from South Kalimantan. Arrival rate was originally due to be opened plantations at East Sumatra by Dutch. They serve as indentured projected opening of the rice fields. Banjar tribe in the village of Manan Paluh is Muslim area with 3.209 people, where Muslim is 3007 while Christians is 202. In general, the people's livelihood in the village Paluh Manan are as farmers and fishermen, woman after marriage is also working at the paddy to help her husband work, some of htem work as a stripper areca and trade.

Anom marriage in the village of Manan Paluh already in progress from colonial times, since the opening of the rice fields in East Sumatra in 1917 until now. Based on the results of interviews with community lead by Mr Murshid (January 23, 2015), said that the anom marriage in their village had lasted longer. Even since the time of Dutch colonial until today. Anom marriage is done according to him because women were no

longer students, the parent is poor and the culture of shame / embarrassment is still embedded among the parents in the village of Paluh Manan.

In 1975, young marriage in the village of Paluh Manan is still high. The secondary data is difficult to be obtained. Based on interviews with sources of *anom* marriage committed by young people in the Paluh Manan is not registered with the Religious Affairs Office, it makes difficult to record and graph the numbers of young marriage on Religious Affairs Office (KUA) Hamparan Perak, Deli Serdang.

In 1995, the village of Paluh Manan unchanged, the livelihood of the farming system turned into a shrimp farm workers. Based on interviews with informants said that the *anom* marriage is actually increased since due to the arrival of outsiders for example the Chinese entrepreneurs for Paluh Manan Village to open fishpond. *Anom* marriage took place not only on the Banjar tribe but also migrants from outside the village are open ponds in the village Paluh Manan.

In 2002, shrimp farms damaged by a virus. The people's livelihood is also changing from the farm workers become roofers and laborers. According to the information given by Head of the village that this year (2002) the divorce rate began to rise as a result of *anom* marriage. *Anom* married women abandoned by men who were previous owners of the farm already has a wife. This year also rife establishment cafes veiled in the village Paluh Manan. Based on informants, cafe workers are young women who are widows and had divorced by the husband. *Anom* marriage affects freedom of women, for example, in social life and culture. In view of the Banjar tribe in the village of Manan Paluh, woman or a wife is obliged to take care of the household such as children and the husband. So there is a tendency that women place only take care of the domestic sphere alone. Besides, the prohibition for women to have the opportunity out of their neighborhoods.

Anom marriage also has an impact (domestic violence) to young couples who is married young. Based on interviews with informants, types of violence such as beating, confining, prohibit out of the house, not given meal and others are their reason to fight by leaving her husband and running away from home-in-law as practiced by the mother Rina. Based on data from the Office for Religious Court Lubukpakam, divorce cases recorded since the year 2012-2014 in the district of Hamparan Perak was only 184 cases. Based on interviews with Mr Asran (June 5, 2015), divorce cases were reported about domestic violence and others was happening in the marriage registered by the Office of Religious Affairs. Unrecorded was unknown by KUA.

The divorce of young marriage causes the negative effect for the women as it was happened to Rini. Due to early marriage and divorce because the husband beat and do not give money spending, Rini had to work hard to meal her children because the husband was not responsible. Rini's husband could not report the treatment to the authorities because their marriage was not recorded in the Office of Religious Affairs. The data relating to the cases of marriage and divorce can not be calculated based on the numbers, because in the village of Paluh Manan generally doing *anom* marriage was not reported to the relevant parties.

In the village of Paluh Manan, child mortality due to marry *anom* increase. Child deaths due to lack of knowledge of mothers in the care of children also happened to Ariyanti. Based on interviews explained that Ariyanti didnot know his son's illness. Even economic problem caused this young woman did not bring her children to the hospital.

Cultural structures that still maintained tends to lead to the development of various aspects of Banjar, especially for women in the area. Wedding *anom* performed may have an impact on social, cultural, economic society which impact on social problems such as disruption of reproductive health, especially for women, the death of a child, divorce, crime, prostitution disguised the fact that women suffer oppression (subaltern). Subaltern women in the traditional wedding *anom* still reproduced through culture. Ritual bath *Bapapai / Badudus* performed at the marriage ceremony is interpreted in order to avoid the influence of spirits. But this ceremony is a symbol that gives women a figure that should be obedient to her husband. Culture in the tradition of binding women who are still visible in the implementation of the bathing ritual of *bapapai / badudus* for young women who are getting married.

The practice of oppression against women still happens to this day, where women are not given the right and the space to speak and obtain the freedom of self exploration. Restraint against women in the family, especially her husband because of the customs system / culture of patriarchy that runs since the colonial era, making women should follow the applicable customs. As a result, tribal women in the village Banjar experienced subaltern. In the culture of silence women not only in the context of finding a husband but also brought to the husband and wife relationship. So that the rights of women in private subaltern representation of women at all levels and structures.

The study of young married women affecting many do. Likewise, the study of violence against women in the family. However, this study is very interesting because mating *anom* done since colonial times through a transformation that women who do marry *anom* beginning precisely follow the tradition. There is no resistance and is subject to patriarchal culture. Women experience a subaltern. Women Banjarese in Paluh Manan live in silence without being able to express the suffering endured during the sustainability of early marriage, the issue of culture and religion is also the cornerstone of this mindset Banjar woman to keep quiet. Oppression of women

because of early marriage that occurred in Paluh Manan became an interesting study to study as noted above. Because of the oppression of women who experience marginalization by culture for generations of the parents, husband and in social function. In terms Spivak as subaltern becomes free because she could not speak and be silent. Female self-orientation are still entangled in the framework of local structures in the patriarchal culture because the controls and labels that are so strong, causing the women are no longer questioning their rights in personal and social life.

Related to this research, subaltern women not only take place in the context of a patriarchal culture that is acceptable for example accept arranged marriages, ritual bath *bapapai* / *badusus* and secretly abused by her husband. However, women have been able to resist matchmaking parents, decided to run away and divorced from her husband even did promiscuity openly.

Anom mating is an ancestral tradition still existed in colonial times, even to the post-colonial era. Mating anom at Banjar tribe initially accepted as a cultural product that is passed from generation to generation parents of girls. But the transformation mating anom changed version like picture presented. Subaltern women not only accepted as a continuation of a process of local cultural traditions. However subaltern started resisted outside influence and a woman because of advances in technology. Anom mating dynamics in Banjar tribe in the village of Manan Paluh occur from the process so long in historical periodization. Starting from the colonial period until after the time of independence. The role of women in the context of a patriarchal cultural relativism has also been engaged for emancipation, whereby the position of women has begun to be taken into account. But the tradition mating anom (young) is an illustration that women are still undergoing a process of subaltern (suppression) so that more precise examined post-colonial perspective. Anom mating phenomenon could give an explanation about the women who are still colonized. Deprivation of women's rights is a model of the new colonialism. Where women lose voice and chose to remain silent in maintaining a marriage. Is a new post-colonial discourse in explaining that the occupation has ended. But postcolonial provide resistance against colonial domination and heritages are still *ditingggalkan* the colonizers. Enculturation cultural values prevailing in the colonial period still maintained, is a picture of postcolonial in exposing the persecution of ethnic little scope like.

II. Methodology

This study used a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach. In determining the informant is not based on the number of informants in the field. This study should describe a fact based on vision directly sourced from the subject. Determination of informants also unspecified quantity but the main one can describe it based on the findings. As performed by Clifford Geertz known as thick description.

Ethnographic studies focus on the study of cultural phenomena and have different characteristics or traits based paradigm, approaches and models are typical. But it makes ethnographic research into a color in the search for data in the field. For example, such as the acquisition of field data by researchers that may change due to limited time situations. For example part time researchers used the method. Because ethnographic research is very dynamic so it is not surprising to change at any given moment. Included are a value, tradition, ritual and cultural value orientation of society. As described by Pelto (1984: 23):

From the perspective on the nature of science and scientific method-adopted in the preceding section, all anthropologists are "doing science" Whenever they are Actively engaged in accumulating raw or inputting the data together observational generalizations based on the data in a search for reliable knowledge about human behavior.

Ethnographic research can be assumed that a general knowledge systematically, but can be interpreted based on the study aspect ontology (existence), epistemology (the philosophy of the origin) and appearance. Ethnographic research is a general description of the community that have a specific pattern of its own life. In his book "Ethnographic Methods", James Spardley reveals ethnographic journey from the early to the new form of ethnography. Then he himself also provides practical steps to conduct ethnographic research which he calls the new ethnography.

Perspective research is feminist ethnographic studies. Feminist research approach focuses on a variety of problematic situations of women and institutions that frames the situation. In the context of anthropology ethnographic approach is a condition in which finding something gained from our experiences in the community and dig deep events. Ethnography is a method to look at the cultural phenomenon and describe it. Symptoms were found to be unique and systematic prior to formulate a conclusion. Ethnography is basically better utilize the techniques of data collection participant observation (*partisipant observation*).

III. Discussion

Anom mating society understood as a tradition that has existed since the Banjar of ancestral tribes originating from South Kalimantan. This tradition lasted for generations in the local cultural context. Anom mating views of various elements. First, the cultural values reproduced through a matchmaking system that applies to girls and boys. Mating anom an inherited basis through matchmaking tradition and philosophy *urang Banjar* for girls can reinforce patriarchal power.

Domination of parents of girls who realized in mating ritual is a form of power of parents to children. Culture influences of the mindset of parents so that fetter the rights of girls in determining the fate of the household. The new colonization of parents of children freedom is a legacy of colonialism which was tied in a patriarchal culture to be strong, so that children become subaltern because dihegemoni by the power structure in this case is a parent. Political value that mating anom become a symbol for female master. Women deliberately limited space and serve as a marginal group, even women are created so as not to be against the domination of men. The patriarchal system promoted by Western colonial administration deliberately planted for women.

The economic value of that mating anom very favorable to the imperialists. Workers who brought his soul mate does not come out of the estate, they deliberately fixed so that the salaries of workers into the treasury of the Dutch at the farm. In the colonial period, wages of women workers is also smaller than the males. Anom mating is an ancestral tradition, but reproduced by colonial plantation companies to benefit them in East Sumatra Deli into cultural values, political and economic. Inherited colonial patriarchal culture is a form of power of men over women.

Social values that appear in the lives of women during the mating anom Banjarese be based on the submission of women to the household, parental acceptance inherited from generation to generation in order to avoid divorce. Things that are passed down from parents to girls who marry young are impatient attitude in running the household, such as a husband with a good serve, cooking, taking care of children because it is the responsibility of the wife. In a cultural function, mating anom reproduced through traditional rituals such as bathing *badudus / bapapai*. Prior to mate mating pair anom perform the ritual. Badudus bathing ritual is performed by the king's beginning to show its power, became a tradition for the tribe Banjar including those still defend it. In terms of tradition that is still in progress show that women are still positioned as silent and subaltern subjects through symbols mating In the economic aspect mating anom reproduced into social capital to gain status in the community. The position of married women anom be subaltern where the status of being a woman desires to get married. Women feel forced marriages anom to save the family status also to get the status. Women gain new status as a wife and regarded as filial to parents for forced marriages anom to reduce the burden on parents, but increasingly make women experiencing subaltern.

Women do marry anom because parents are afraid their children trapped in promiscuity anom while girls marry because they want to escape from the desire of parents who set her up, a new colonization of parental factors (outside of itself) can create a new subaltern in the woman who married anom. Subaltern women in the context of power relations husband become real in the lives of married women anom Banjarese. In the domestic life of the husband power not only in the private sphere, but it occurs in the public sphere. Husband shows the power relations does not allow his wife to work and out of the house. According to the informant This condition causes them to gain experience and knowledge in a variety of ways. Anom mating interpreted as freedom, that adolescence for restrictions in the association gained from the advice of their parents and even the living conditions of the elderly who are less able to make them want to escape from the situation. In addition, smoking, having sex because they are no longer bound to the sin. Anom mating meaning as hereditary tradition, even mating anom be used as a trend. Anom married women when seeing his young married then led to a desire to marry too young. Anom mating meaning as a sense of concern for the situation of parents. Receive matchmaking decided early marriage according to the confession as an act of surrender to life.

Meaning mating anom as surrender value of the life. Education is only a junior high school in elementary school even still thinks they do not have a future anymore. Expression conveyed that "when it does not want any more school" is a sentence in despair because he could not finish the school. Anom interpreted mating female is (1) as a form of freedom, (2) as a hereditary tradition and trends, (3) a sense of concern for parents, (4) as the value of resignation. The conditions of women who are still entangled in the realm of culture and beliefs make women remain silent and not able to take action openly because women lose rights as a woman (wife), so the silent symbol for women Banjarese is a form of resistance against the power of parents and husbands in making decisions Subaltern by local cultural practices depicted in the symbols that still prevail in the social order, culture as seen from various aspects. Such as building houses, in religious rituals also shows the position of subaltern women. The marginalization of women is also seen in the household for example of the ways they dress. Matchmaking tradition that people in this village Banjar interpreted as structural and cultural heritage. In the context Spivak who says there is no space for the subaltern can speak. But the actions of women to accept the mate interpreted in the context not only receive, but in the woman have inherited the values of

respect for generations. So that the power of custom, culture system, religious for girls to be stronger than the urge courage to do disobedience.

Women in terms of accepting polygamy without grounded true religion is a form of oppression to women and raises the public at emotional violence against her own self.

Anom mating showed that women suffer oppression in obtaining the right of women to get health during pregnancy and childbirth. Women only become a symbol of power and sexual satisfaction of men in the household. Selfish attitude of men towards women young showed that the subaltern women also applies to the right to obtain offspring.

IV. Conclusion

Application of patriarchal culture is a form of male power on women. Anom amplify subaltern female mating Banjarese during the colonial and post-colonial. Subaltern women continue to live and act not as a struggle more complicated because tradition has bound subaltern women to become silence and result in the condition of women are oppressed is a period in which they are embedded patriarchal culture according to Mohanty is a form of post-colonial period. in the socio-cultural aspects of patriarchy lead to women experiencing subaltern (suppression) of the social and cultural values that apply such a system of arranged marriages and prohibitions husband against wife in private and public activities. Women become silent so patriarchal culture is growing and fertilize subaltern. Reinforce patriarchal culture subaltern women. In the aspect of the cultural value of silence and subaltern women are positioned as in the tradition of ritualized bapapai / badudus.

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