



Technium.

50/2023



The 7th International Conference on Social Sciences
Organized by Faculty of Social Science
and Law Manado State University

The Innovation Breakthrough in Digital and Disruptive Era



Powered by

PLUS
COMMUNICATION



MARRIAGE PATTERNS BETWEEN SOCIAL LAYERS IN TANA TORAJA REGENCY

By: Supriadi Torro¹, Yenni Misi², Zinal Arifin³, La Sunra⁴

^{1,2,3} Sociology Education Departemen, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, ⁴ English Department, Faculty of Languages and Literature
Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine: 1) the differences in marriage patterns between social strata in traditional and modern times in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency, and 2) the impact that occurs from shifting marriage traditions. This research is qualitative in nature using descriptive approach. The research was conducted using purposive sampling technique. 10 informants were selected by using the criteria: (a) families that have married their children more than once, (b) representing lower-class criteria, (c) representing upper-class criteria, and (d) representing position in religion. Data collection techniques are observation, documentation, and interviews. Checking the validity of the data is done by member check. Data analysis stages include data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and data verification. The results of this study indicate that 1) there are differences in the pattern of marriage between social strata in traditional and modern times in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency. (a) In traditional times, only men from the upper-class may marry lower-class women. (b) In modern time, a specific pattern of marriage occurs among social strata. If a man derived from *tana' bulaan* or *tana' bassi* family will marry a woman from *tana' karurung* and *tana' kua-kua*, then their descendants will become the descendants of *tana' bulaan* and *tana' bassi* or aristocrats. On the other hand, if a woman from *tana' bulaan* or *tana' bassi* marries a man from *tana' karurung* or *tana' kua-kua*, then their descendants will no longer be aristocrats even though they still have royal blood. 2) The impact of the shift in wedding traditions covers positive and negative. (a) the positive impacts are marriage does not longer rely on social class, anyone can find his / her own partner, and everyone is allowed to take care of it in the government system without involving the wider community. (b) the negative impact is the waning of the value and meaning of the *rampanan kapa'* custom; many people do not care about the Toraja custom anymore, especially in the wedding tradition.

Keywords: *Pattern of Marriage, Social Strata, Tana Toraja.*

INTRODUCTION

Society in general has an appreciation for certain things related to society. People who have a higher appreciation of certain things, then their position will have a higher place, and vice versa. Narwoko dan Suyanto (2004, h. 360) "Society will value material wealth more, for example, those who have more material wealth will occupy a higher position when compared to other parties". These symptoms give rise to layers of society which are differences in the position of a person or a group in different positions vertically.

In the social life of society, various forms of facts and social phenomena have been put forward, namely, people who have social classes which are termed social stratification. The social stratification that appears in society is not formal but can be recognized as a social fact. This does not only occur in a certain form of society but can occur in both traditional and modern societies.

The condition of these social strata has an influence on related communities, where these social phenomena can cause people to compete in their lives so that they can have the position and strata expected by the community. This resulted in the occurrence of healthy conditions and unhealthy competition carried out by the community. In general, there are three forms of stratification that exist in society, namely the first is lower-class, people who have a lower-class position, the second is middle-class, people who have a middle-class position, third high class, namely people who have an upper-class position.

In general, in religion, all individuals in society have characteristics that have the same degree, no one distinguishes them based on certain positions and strata. However, based on facts and realities in life, humans have social class groups or layers of social classes.

There is a negative impact from the occurrence of social stratification in society, namely that society can be differentiated into groups or social strata which are part of universal phenomena that are part of the social system of every society. Situations like this can lead to social problems (pathological behavior). Competition that arises in society results from the formation of a system of social strata in society that does not always go well, which will lead to unhealthy competition.

One of the tribes that applies a stratification system based on community position is the Toraja tribe. In general, the Toraja people have a form of social strata

based on three levels. As for the levels of social stratification, namely, the terms *to makaka* (*to* = person, *makaka* = elder brother), *tosama'* (ordinary people), and *to kaunan* (*kaunan* = slave) which means part of the three lowest castes, and *puang* (nobility) are the highest caste.

Traditional conditions are generally based on heredity. Within each caste, there are many sub-castes formed by inter-caste marriages. Based on the tradition that marriage was carried out in ancient times, only men could marry women who were below their caste, and the one who would determine the caste of their children was the mother.

Rampana kapa' is part of the *rambu tuka'* ceremony which means marriage. Sampeasang and Bethony (2018, h. 3) that "according to the Toraja people *aluk rampanan kapa'* was the first work done by *Puang Matua* to the first human, namely *Datu Laukku'* with *To Tabang Tua* and this marriage was the basis for the formation of *aluk rampanan kapa'*". The marriage which is called *rampanan kapa'* in Toraja is one of the most respected and respected customs in the Toraja tribe.

Rampanan kapa' (marriage) is largely determined by customary law decisions which are based on the existence of a caste structure (*tana'*) in which everyone who is going to get married or who is going to be married according to custom that especially must be understood or recognized is that there is a *tana'* for those who are related. *Tana'* is determined according to one's social strata. The levels of marriage in Toraja society are generally carried out according to the caste or *tana'* of the two parties to be married but in reality, must comply with the basis or position of a woman if a man comes from *tana' bulaan* (caste of the upper aristocratic class) and if you are going to marry a woman from *tana' bassi* (middle aristocratic caste), then the standard for this marriage is *tana'* rather than a woman with a legal value of *tana' bassi*.

The formation of social groups in society results in different rules for each caste. Rules applied to the aristocratic class would not apply to the common people. Vice versa for the lower class. There are rules that are applied in order to achieve a better life flow, one of which is the rules in marriage.

Based on the scope of social strata which cover all aspects of people's lives, in the end, an interesting problem to study and discuss further is how the pattern of marriage (*rampanan kapa'*) is in the social strata.

This research hopes to carry out marriages, social strata is not one of the forms that will be used as a problem in carrying out marriages. Because, from the point of view of religious understanding, there is no human being who has a higher position, meaning that everyone who will carry out the marriage will be carried out according to the abilities of the person concerned. The magnitude of the goal in a marriage becomes a procession of sacred moments. Therefore, based on the explanation above, it is an interesting thing for the writer to study further with the title "**Patterns of Inter-Social Strata Marriage in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency**".

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative in nature using descriptive approach. The number of informants in this study was 10 people who were determined by purposive sampling technique with the following criteria: 1) families who had married their children more than once, 2) represented lower class criteria, 3) represented upper-class criteria, and 4) represented positions in religion. Data collection techniques are observation, interviews, and documentation. Checking the validity of the data is done by member check. Data analysis namely data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and data verification.

RESEARCH RESULT

This section is focused on analyzing the results of research on Inter-Social Strata Marriage Patterns in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency, where in this study the subjects of the study were people who live in Makale District and priests in Tana Toraja Regency. The following is a discussion and results of Marriage Patterns between social strata.

1. Differences in traditional and modern marriage patterns based on social strata in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency.

In ancient times, the Toraja people only did the *ma'parampo* event. *Ma'parampo* means the wedding process of the Tana Toraja people in traditional times where the man would come to the bride carrying betel leaves and a new white sarong. However, this marriage event is carried out based on the form of social strata or carried out based on social class. The following will explain the process of implementing *ma'parampo* based on social classes.

The process of implementing *ma'parampo* (proposal) is based on *tana'* (social strata), namely *tana' bulaan*, an upper aristocratic class who performs

marriages during the day by first bringing envoys from the male side who will bring betel leaves and new sarongs to the house. the bride, *rampo allo* is a marriage performed during the day by the aristocratic class, namely the *tana' bulaan*. *Tana' bassi* is a lower aristocratic class who performs marriages during the day and in the evening. *Tana' karurung* is a middle class whose application process is carried out in the evening after the sun has set, so the application process (*ma'parampo*) is called *rampo karoeng*, the application process is the same as the previous classes by bringing betel leaves and a sarong but what distinguishes it is the time of implementation. *Tana' kua-kua* is a slave class or lower class where the process of carrying out the proposal is carried out in the middle of the night with a simple meal, the form of the marriage which is carried out at midnight is *rampo bo'bo' bannang*.

Marriage in Toraja tribal customs is carried out based on the form of social strata or carried out with social class, because the Toraja tribe is classified into four social classes called *tana'* (caste), namely *tana' bulaan* (higher aristocratic caste), *tana' bassi* (ordinary aristocratic caste), *tana' karurung* (middle caste), *tana' kua-kua* (lower caste). The results showed that the pattern of marriage in traditional times was very much based on social strata because according to the people of Tana Toraja in ancient times, social strata were very important for the future life of their children and social strata were also a tradition where the aristocratic class was not allowed to marry the lower class or was called the *kaanan*. Because the lower class called *kaunan* are slaves of the nobility.

In the past, when people wanted to get married, the most important thing was their social strata. Society is not allowed to marry between upper strata and lower strata. In ancient times, people were very concerned about their lineage. However, there is a noble class that can marry the lower class and this noble class is from male aristocrats so he remains in a position at the top of the nobility strata.

Over time and with the development of the era, the pattern of marriage between social strata in modern times has changed. Where there is a pattern of marriage in modern times, namely:

- a. Marriages within the same social strata, marriages carried out with the same social strata from ancient times to today are not an issue because people can marry between the same social strata.
- b. Marriages between different social strata, marriages between different social strata that are being carried

out nowadays have no problem with caste differences because there are already lower-class people who have good backgrounds such as education or good jobs. There is a pattern of marriage between different social strata, namely if a man from the aristocratic class from both *tana' bulaan* and *tana' bassi* marries a woman from the lower class from both *tana' karurung* and *tana' kua-kua* then their offspring will become royalty. But if, on the other hand, men from the lower class, from *tana' karurung* and *tana' kua-kua*, marry women from the aristocratic class, from *tana' bulaan* and *tana' bassi*, then their offspring will follow the lower class, namely from the male side. although still has royal blood from women.

Marriages are carried out based on social strata in society in Tana Toraja as a review in carrying out marriage. However, in modern times there is something interesting, namely that there have been changes both in terms of knowledge and work so that the social strata are no longer a problem because almost all Toraja people have royal blood.

So that the pattern of marriage based on social strata in modern times has been carried out by many couples of different castes. For example, in the past, the aristocratic class only married to the aristocratic class and the lower class could only marry the lower class, but now there are aristocratic families who accept lower families but with backgrounds such as education or good jobs from the lower class.

Some experts explain that the social strata have actually existed since people already know about life together. The society is still simple, social strata are generally based on several genders, differences between those who are led and those who lead, age differences, and even differences based on wealth.

Related to the theory presented in this study is the theory of structural functionalism and social stratification. Where is the theory of structural functionalism put forward by Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore as quoted by Raho (2021, h. 67) explaining that "Structural functionalism is a point of view that interprets society as a structure with different or related parts". They explain that there is no society that is not stratified or completely classless.

Social strata show that people have social layers, starting from the lowest to the highest. As stated by Pritirim A. Sorokin in Narwoko dan Suyanto (2004, h. 360) explains that "...those who have goods or

something that has value in large quantities will occupy the top layer and vice versa".

It can be seen from the results of research conducted by the author regarding the pattern of marriages carried out by the Tana Toraja people based on social strata. Marriages carried out by the Tana Toraja people involve social strata, both in terms of traditional weddings and customs carried out by the ancestors of the Toraja tribe from traditional times to the present day. The marriage process varies according to class or social strata.

The link between previous research is the research of Tobar, dkk (2020, h. 19) entitled "Relationships between social strata in modern society (the case of *rampanan kapa'* in Tana Toraja society)". The similarities between past and present studies are that they both examine marriage based on social strata and where the difference is in Tobar research, et al. focus on the relationship between social strata in marriage, while this research focuses on patterns of marriage between social strata from traditional times to the present day and the impact of changes age of wedding traditions.

Meanwhile, Sampeasang and Bethony (2018, h. 6) entitled '*tana'* (strata) in *rampanan kapa'* (marriage). The similarity of the research conducted by Asang and Bethony with this research both examines social strata in marriage and where the difference lies in Asang and Bethony's research focusing on the meaning of *tana'* (strata) in the tradition of *aluk rampanan kapa'* (marriage) and implications (involvement) for the whole Christian family. While this research focuses on patterns of marriage between social strata from traditional times to the present day and the impact of changing times on marriage traditions. Another difference is the different research locations where Asang and Bethony's research was conducted in Sesean District, North Toraja Regency, while this research was carried out in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency.

2. The impact that occurs from the shift in wedding traditions

Every era will experience changes either directly or indirectly. As is the case with culture, which continues to develop over time, the culture itself is increasingly changing due to certain factors. The culture of carrying out Toraja traditional ceremonies in the past and now is much different, one of which is the wedding tradition in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency. There are many impacts arising from the shift in wedding traditions which can be seen both in positive and negative terms.

It can be seen from the results of interviews about the shift in wedding traditions in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency, which has positive and negative impacts. The positive impacts are:

a. Marriage regardless of class

Marriages performed by the people in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency In ancient times, the aristocratic class could not marry slaves or the lower class because they had caste differences, where jobs and positions were different, however, in modern times there are already families who marry off their children. different castes. So nowadays there is nothing that involves marriage based on social strata or caste.

b. Can find their own partner

In ancient times, people who did not have a partner would be matched by their parents because their position and social strata played an important role in a family. However, now you can find a partner or tie your own heart without having to arrange an arranged marriage with your parents.

c. It is permissible to take care of it in the government system without involving the wider community.

In the past, if you wanted to do a divorce in the household, you had to go through a traditional leader and then ask all the witnesses who came during the previous application to discuss the legal agreement of *kapa'* that had been agreed before. But now that has changed, if you want to carry out a divorce in the household, only the marriage certificate will be brought as proof to the Religious Court.

Meanwhile, the negative impacts felt by the community from changing patterns of marriage in the past and today are:

a. The fading of the values and meaning of the traditional *rampanan kapa'*

In carrying out the Toraja traditional ceremony, it can now give rise to several characteristics which have shown its non-authenticity, especially in the Makale District, because the personality or behavior of the people who are more fond of the tradition of the wedding ceremony are carried out with modern perceptions so that the equipment used in the traditional wedding ceremony is almost not the same as the provisions or rules of the original culture.

b. many do not care about Toraja customs, especially in wedding traditions.

From the differences in the implementation of the wedding ceremony itself, there were informants who felt the negative impact, for example, marriages carried out in a modern perception would erase the original traditional values and culture which contained customary and human values in them because many did not involve traditional leaders in carrying out the marriage. in the form of the participation of traditional leaders, it also looked very different when weddings were held in ancient times, and there were also those who saw this as a splendor and celebration so that it became a positive impact for them.

Related to the theory used in this research is the theory of structural functionalism and social stratification. Where in the theory of social stratification found two main elements, namely status or position, and role. Status and role have an interrelated relationship which is a determining factor for the placement of a person in certain strata in society. The position in the stratum that is owned can give someone influence, honor, and authority; while the role is the behavior of someone who has a status in the life of society. Syarbaini dan Fatkhuri (2016, h. 133) that "a person's inherent role must be distinguished from his position in social relations. A person's position or place in society is a static element that indicates an individual's place in a social organization.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and discussion described in the previous chapter, it can be concluded that: 1) Differences in marriage patterns between social strata in traditional and modern times in Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency, namely, (a) marriage patterns in traditional times, namely only men from the upper class who are allowed to marry lower class women because the aristocratic class are not allowed to marry the lower class or are called *kaunan*. (b) there is a pattern of marriage between social strata in modern times, namely if a man from the descendants of *tana' bulaan* or *tana' bassi* wants to marry a woman from *tana' karurung* and *tana' kua-kua*, then their offspring will become the descendants of *tana' bulaan* and *tana' bassi* namely nobility. On the other hand, if a woman from *tana' bulaan* and *tana' bassi* marries a man from *tana' karurung* or *tana' kua-kua*, then their offspring will no longer be of royal descent, even though they still have royal blood. 2) The impact that occurs from the shift in wedding traditions, namely; 1) the positive impacts are a) Marriage nowadays no longer involves marriage based on social strata or caste (regardless of class), b) it is permissible to arrange it in the

government system without involving the wider community, c) can find a partner on their own. 2) while the negative impacts are a) the values and meaning of the *rampanan kapa'* custom have faded, many do not care about Toraja customs, especially in wedding traditions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdulsyani. 2012. *Sosiologi: Sistematika, Teori, dan Terapan*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Anwar, Yesmil, dan Adang. 2013. *Sosiologi Untuk Universitas*. Bandung: Rafika Aditama.
- Asang, Sampe, dan Bethony, Lian Membalik. 2018. *Tana' Dalam Rampanan Kapa'*. *Jurnal Kinaa*, 4 (2), 3-6.
- Bigalke, Terance W. 2016. *Sejarah Sosial Tana Toraja*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Miles, M.B, Huberman, A.M, dan Saldana, J. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis, A Methods Sourcebook (Edition 3)*. USA: Sage Publications. Terjemahan Tjepjep Rohindi Rohidi, UI-Press.
- Najah, Naqib. 2014. *Suku Toraja: Fanatisme Filosofi Leluhur*. Makassar: Arus Timur.
- Narwoko, Dwi, dan Suyanto, Bagong. 2004. *Sosiologi Teks Pengantar dan Terapan*. Jakarta: Predana Media.
- Noling, Banne Lois, dkk. 2019. *Perubahan Hukum Adat Pada Tradisi Perkawinan Masyarakat Suku Toraja Di Lembang Denge' Kabupaten Toraja Utara*. *Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya*, 12 (4), 14.
- Reho, Bernard. 2021. *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. Maumere: Ledalero.
- Sanderson, Stephen K. 2011. *Makro Sosiologi: Sebuah Pendekatan Terhadap Realitas Sosiologi*. Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Setiadi, Elly M. dan Kolip, Usman. 2011. *Pengantar Sosiologi Pemahaman Fakta Dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial: Teori, Aplikasi dan Pemecahannya*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.
- Soekanto, Soejono, dan Sulistyowati, Budi. 2017. *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: PT Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Syarbaini, Syahril, dan Fatkhuri. 2016. *Teori Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Sugiyono. 2017. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Tobar, dkk. 2020. *Hubungan Antar Strata Sosial Dalam Masyarakat Modrn (Studi Kasus Rampanan Kapa' Dalam Masyarakat Tana Toraja)*. Skripsi. Makassar: Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar. 19.
- Yusuf, Muri. 2014. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan Penelitian Gabungan*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.