

# Marga Legoen

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**MARGA LEGOEN AT WAY URANG :  
A SUSTAINABLE LOCAL CULTURE OF SAI BATIN ETHNIC OF LAMPUNG AND THE  
ULUN LAMPUNG IDENTITY IN SOCIAL-POLITICAL CHANGES<sup>1</sup>**

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This paper examines the sustainability of an identity of *ulun* Lampung in social-political change. The method used is ethnography, with an in-depth interview technique and field observation. Lampung consists of various ethnic groups in which Lampung ethnic group covers 11% of Lampung population, which means a minority compared to Javanese which reaches 60%. The arrival of Javanese from the beginning of the colonization era up to the era of transmigration program has completely changed the ethnic composition of Lampung resulting the condition of the native people become a minority in their own country. The problem that arises is how is the marginalization applied to Lampungese in terms of marginalization of the land, identity and local culture. However, the political situation in Indonesia has provided new changes for the native people and local cultures. Local politics becomes a new force for the identity of local communities. The identity of *Ulu*n Lampung becomes very important for local power and politics, while the preservation of customs and culture becomes a kind of tool in this dynamic. The study was conducted at Marga Legoen, in Way Urang sub district of, Kalianda, South Lampung.

Keywords: *Marga Legoen*, Identity, *Ulu*n Lampung, Social-Political Change.

## A. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the challenges of Lampung local culture in the face of socio-cultural and political changes. It is known that Lampung ethnic group who lives in southern Sumatra region is an ethnic group that is minority in quantity compared to Javanese. In 1905, Lampung was a colonized area of Dutch and then after Indonesia got its independence, Lampung turned into a transmigration area, so that Lampung becomes an ethnically heterogeneous area. Javanese as the ethnic of immigrants comes up as the largest number of population. This can be seen in the following table:

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**Table 1. Demographic Structure of Lampung Province  
based on Ethnic groups in 2000 and 2010**

No.	Ethnic groups	Population in year 2000	%	Population in year 2010	%
1	Javanese	4.113.731	61.88	4.856.924	64.0
2	Lampungnese	792.312	11.92	1.028.190	13.5
3	Sundanese / Banteneese	749.566	11.27	901.087	11.8
4	South Sumateran	36.292	3.55	416.096	5.4
5	Other ethnic groups	754.989	11.35	406.108	5.3

Source : BPS 2000 and 2010.

From the table above, it can be seen that Javanese tends to be the majority compared to Lampungnese as the native people. This gives a socio-cultural impact on the native people – the Lampungnese. Some research indicated that the arrival of the Javanese to Lampung has given a big socio-cultural change for Lampungnese, especially in term of marginalization. However, the marginalization also occurred as the result of the influence of national and local political dynamics in Indonesia. During the New Order period in Indonesia, Lampung ethnic group in Lampung province experienced a marginalization both culturally and politically. It can be seen that the local politics is controlled by the Javanese. Culturally, the culture of Lampung also is marginalized. It is important to discuss that what is most important for the identity of Lampung is the land. The land has a high value for Lampungnese, because the land is a symbol for self-esteem and power for the people of Lampung. With the arrival of Javanese in Lampung, the lands that belonged to clans of Lampung were mostly traded to the immigrants, especially when many companies came to Lampung, many lands were traded to the business corporations. During the period of regional autonomy in Indonesia, there was a change of local political system in Indonesia, including in Lampung where the issues of local and native people were strong. This makes the native groups and communities strive to gain opportunities to become rulers at the local level. In Lampung, the native communities belong to clan groups.

In this study, the clans investigated was *Marga Legoen* clan. *Marga Legoen* is administratively located in South Lampung. In Lampung, there are two groups of main custom namely *Sai Batin* and *Pepadun*. The *Sai Batin* is an ethnic group that follows the blood hierarchy system, in which the leader is crowned with the basis of descendant. On the other hand, the *Pepadun* is the group in which the position of the leader is based on the ability to reach an achievement. The *Marga Legoen* clan is one of the clans under the *Sai Batin* group.

## **B. MARGA LEGOEN AT WAY URANG**

Way Urang is the name of an area which is inhabited by of people of Lampung ethnic group, especially of Coastal Lampungnese or called *peminggir* which belongs to *Sai Batin* custom. According to some sources, Way Urang is made up of a group of relatives who came from *buay* Wawang. Then they also name their clan group as *buay* Wawang. A *Buay* is a group of descendants related to blood brotherhood from one ancestor. The term *buay* seems to be the original term belonging only to Lampung ethnic group which is not present in other places in the world. This is the smallest unit of an ethnic group in Lampung. The Lampung ethnic people live in the *buay* groups. Prior to the large socio-cultural changes in society, the *buay* groups kept exist, but then underwent changes in which the groups began to expand by forming villages which is administratively called *kepaksian*. Those *kepaksian* groups then formed a bigger unit called *marga*. The forming process were done by the Dutch or colonial government as well as by the *buay* groups themselves.

It can be understood that there are four different terms related to this ethnic group namely *buay*, *marga*, *kepaksian* and *kebandakhan*. *Buay* is what described earlier. *Marga* is the administrative boundary of groups that recognized as a clan – despite the fact that they are not connected through no blood relation or as that in *buay*. It may happen as they have similar historical background that makes the unity of administrative territory based on the proximity of the location. The development of *Marga* can derived from two perspectives: those created by the Dutch and created by the community groups based on the proximity of place and the resemblance of custom. In addition, there is also a clan created based on only one *buay* group or *kebuayan*. So in its development, the number of clans in Lampung has always been growing in number, in accordance with the agreement of the sub-ethnic groups. The *Kepaksian* is the structure of indigenous government in the marginalized society of the *Sai Batin*. The *Kepaksian* is the highest structure in some of the *Sai Batin*'s indigenous people. But in some places, then some *kepaksian* groups then allied together and raised one *Kebandakhan*. This *kebandakhan* declare themselves united, electing one of the leaders of one of the *kepaksian* groups by their agreement. The leader then is called a *bandakh* or *kebandakhan*. Nevertheless, for some places of *Sai Batin* such as *Sai Batin Tanggamus*, the term *kebandakhan* system does not exist. One of the examples of the existence of *kebandakhan* is in the coast of District of Kalianda. The *Way Urang* as a *kebandakhan* was raised by *kepaksian* groups of *Cangguh*, *Tengkujuh* and *Maja*. As a *bandakh*, the duty of *Way Urang* holds a very heavy duty and has a very broad the rights to preserve the *kepaksian* groups under its authority. As the consequence, then it is only *Way Urang* leader who can be titled *pangeran* (the prince), while the other three *kepaksian* groups use the term *dalom* for the highest leader.

*Way Urang* people acknowledge that they are originated from *buay wawang*. The origin of *buay Wawang* is not known for sure yet. However, among various folk mythologies in the local society, there is one version that empirically feasible to believe that is the *Way Urang* society is originated from *Pagaruyung Minangkabau* of West Sumatera. It is marked by the first person to come namely *Kahula Hulubalang* whose grave is situated in *Way Urang*. In *Way Urang* there are three sacred patrons that show the original descendants of *Way Urang*: 1. *Karoelah Ole Balang* 2. *Khadin Sanguda* and 3. *Kuda Sengaung*.

It is said that the three sacred people sailed from *Pagaruyung* and occupied *Way Urang*. The name *Way Urang* itself, according to what believed in the local society, comes from the word 'way' that means 'water' and *urang* that means 'shrimp'. So, *Way Urang* means the water with lots of shrimps. It is believed that *Kahula Hulu Balang* put a kind of palm fiber in a river, and it turns out the next day that a lot of shrimps were found there. Since then, it is known as *Way Urang* or previously called *Way Ukhang* as local people pronounced. Furthermore, another folk story mentioned that the three sacred people stuck a baton stick with an agreement with the *Cangguh* people who lived there: if the baton can be pulled out by the *Cangguh* people then the *Cangguh* people might live in *Way Urang*. But after trying hard, no one of *Cangguh* people were able to pull out the stick. Then finally the *Cangguh* went from *Way Urang*.

*Kepaksian Cangguh*, located in *Kalianda* district, is called administratively as *Pekon Cangguh* or *Cangguh* village. *Pekon Cangguh* has been in existence since 1865 in *Kalianda*. According to what they believe, they are originated from *buay nyerupa* of *Sekala Bekhak* region. It is related to a village name in *Sekala Bekhak* which is also named *Cangguh*. That is why the village is also named *Cangguh*, because it is a dispersion of the residents of *Cangguh* in *Sekala Bekhak*. Those ancestors traveled from *Skala Bekhak* and stopped at *Kunyt* or *Panjang* area (nowadays this region is called *Bumi Waras*). They then continued the trip to *Sebalang* or *Tanjung Selaki*. After *Tanjung Selaki* then they continued the journey to *Suak*, the center part of *Kota Dalam* region. After that they continued the trip to *Way Urang Lakar*, and settled temporarily there. From *Way Urang Lakar* they moved to *Saka* village or now known as *Cukuh Balak*, after settled for some time, they moved and finally entered a region name *Cangguh*. Up to now (2017) *Cangguh* village has reached the sixth generation.

*Tengkujuh* is the name of a *pekon* (similar to a village) or an administrative boundary in which the citizens are from *buay Masindi*. According to their confession *buay Masindi* comes from Ranau area, West Lampung. *Tengkujuh* was usually written in the Dutch era as *Tengkoejoeh* – an area located along the coast of Kalianda, which is administratively included in the district of South Lampung. *Tengkujuh* is defined as ‘observed / watched and then occupied’. It is believed that the idea was derived from the origin of *Tengkoejoeh*. Formerly the ancestors of the *Tengkujuh* came by sailing. It is said that they moved from one area to another by using simple means of transportation either through the sea or river. They kept moving as it was their way of living and to find the most suitable land and village for farming. Because this *Tengkujuh* area was along the coast, then the farmland is also located along the coast, until finally they found a suitable and fertile village to be occupied. In farming, *Tengkujuh* community applied mutual cooperation which is called ‘*nyakai*’. This practice is similar to Indonesian famous term of mutual cooperation called *gotong royong* that has been maintained since Indonesian ancestors. Firstly, this village was called *Way Babalang*, then changed to *Lintang Tujuh*. Afterwards, they finally decided to name the area *Tengkujuh* by somewhat combining the names of *Lintang Tujuh* and *Way Babalang* with their meaning system.

### C. IDENTITY : ULUN LAMPUNG IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

Identity on the people of Lampung is called *Piil Peseinggiri*, which is a kind of philosophic identity of life. Formerly having a vast land is a prestige as well as an identity. But then the identities change, as the land lost then the identity remained was the *piil peseinggiri*. This condition may in line with Barth (1988) who indicated that ethnic identities are an inherent relationship to blood relationships. Then Banks (1996) mentioned that identities are relative and depending on ideas and changes. The most important view is from Giddens (1991) in *Modernity and Self-Identity*. According to him the identities are our understanding about ourselves and it is sustainable (Giddens 1991: 52). As Giddens (1991, 52-53);

*“Identity is not something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual’s action-system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography. Identity here still presumes continuity across time and space: but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent. This includes the cognitive component of personhood. To be a ‘person’ is not just to be a reflexive actor, but to have a concept of a person (as applied both to the self and others).”*

The explanation above indicates that identities are not something given, but a result of the continuity of relationships between individuals in a system. Identity is how the individual or group understands and describes themselves, and identities exist between us and others. Identity is a sustainability and continuous creation in a system and structure of society.

In accordance with the theory of Identity from Giddens (Giddens, 1991), this study finds that identities are something we create, something that always proceeds, and changes. Lampung people define themselves as *Uluh Lampung* (the native people of Lampung) with *piil* (self esteem) as the identity. They think that they are native people in the land of Lampung, among the crowd of Javanese around them. The strength of this identity is as strong as their cultural strength which is almost gone. In addition, local political changes also affect this identity.

To restore their glory, Lampung people try to strengthen and preserve their original identity in order to regain a power. This is done through reaffirming the philosophy of *piil peseinggiri*, the philosophy of self-esteem of the people of Lampung. *Piil Peseinggiri* which is a belief derived from the idea that Lampung has never been colonized by other kingdoms. In *piil peseinggiri* there are four important things namely *nemuy nyimah* (being friendly to guests); *nengah nyappur* (hard work and skillful in the nuance of competition); *sakai sambayan* (mutual cooperation); And *juluk*

*adek* (deserve a title). But this philosophy is often misinterpreted by the Lampung people where they think that *Piil* is an indiscriminate pride of self-esteem without considering what is wrong and true. It is understood merely as a pride which in turn, for the sake of maintaining self-esteem or pride, they may neglect the value of wisdom in life.

Some efforts have been carried out to preserve and strengthen the original identity such as including the Lampung language in school curriculum, and providing rules and obligations to all shops, supermarkets and modern markets to display a *siger* symbols at their shop. *Siger* is the crown of Lampungese women worn at the time of marriage. It is also found that identity is also used during the political campaign period in which the political elite uses the identities claiming "I am the native Lampungese" for political purposes. It indicates that the issue of native candidate might be preferable by voters as the result of trending issue of 'native non native candidate'. As the result, currently there is rarely Javanese name emerged as a candidate who dared to be a candidate for governor of Lampung. This simply shows that finally local customs and wisdom can be used for political purposes.

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