

PADANGBULIA PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO PUBLIC POLICY NUMBER 10 OF 1951 CONCERNING THE ABOLITION OF THE MANAK SALAH TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

In Bali, the birth of "kembar buncing," or mixed-gender twins, is often associated with negative connotations. Specifically, in Padangbulia, such births are traditionally accompanied by a ritual that includes the exile of the infants to a location deemed haunted by the local community. This practice of exile is a violation of human rights, leading to the issuance of Paswaran Number 10 of 1951, which mandates the abolition of the "Manak Salah" tradition. However, despite this regulation, the Padangbulia community continues to uphold the tradition. This study aims to explore the processes and forms of resistance by the Padangbulia community against the mandated abolition. The research adopts a qualitative descriptive approach, utilizing cultural semiotics and resistance theory to understand the community's actions. Data collection involved snowball sampling to select informants, supported by participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. Findings reveal that the "kembar buncing" tradition in Padangbulia involves several stages, including preparation, exile, and purification. The resistance to abolishing the tradition manifests both openly and covertly, highlighting the community's deep-seated cultural values and the complex dynamics between tradition and regulatory enforcement. This study sheds light on the persistence of traditional practices despite external pressures and the role of cultural resistance in maintaining local customs.

Keywords *Kembar Buncing, Padambulia Society, Resistance, Tradition.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The tradition of *Kembar Buncing* and *Manka Salah* has existed since ancient Greek times and since the time of the kingdom in Bali. The birth of *the Spiky Twins* in royal circles was considered to bring blessings, fertility, and prosperity. Those born *Sharp Twins* are hailed by society and bring very deep happiness.

According to Irwin & Khairunnisa (2013), a massive folk feast was held in the royal palace because, according to myth, if Goose Twins are born in a royal environment, they are considered a blessing that brings good luck. In contrast, *Spiky Twins* in the royal environment were raised separately. After reaching adulthood, the two will be reunited and married as husband and wife.

These *Pointy Twins* have a very honorable place in the royal circle. But it was different when the child was born *Twin Pointed* outside the royal palace. Instead, they were given punishment to be exiled in places that were considered haunted such as graveyards, and village intersections, some were even killed, or separated. This tradition continued until Indonesia became independent (Firdaus et al., 2023).

Since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, this tradition began to be questioned and contradicted because it was not by humanity by the practice of the ideology of Pancasila (Prabandani Wahanu, 2020). Exile carried out is considered to violate human rights by Article 28I paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution affirming that

the protection, promotion, enforcement, and fulfillment of human rights is the responsibility of the state, especially the government. In addition, every child should have the right to equal treatment and equal rights by Article 28 B Paragraph (2) the right of children to survive, grow, and develop, and the right to protection from violence and discrimination.

From the perspective of many religions and legal systems, marriage is often seen as a union intended for procreation. The expectation of having children is deeply ingrained in numerous religious teachings and social norms, often viewed as a blessing and a fulfillment of the marital bond. Many couples eagerly anticipate and hope for children as a natural outcome of their commitment (Inhorn & Birenbaum-Carmeli, 2008).

Since the enactment of the legislation, the Balinese people have become aware of their partiality and have begun to realize the error of the implementation of the *Manka Salah* tradition (Spagnoletti et al., 2018). The *Manka Salah* tradition is considered very contrary to human rights so on July 12, 1951, the Bali DPRD enacted Regional Regulation Number 10 of 1951 concerning the Abolition of the *Manka Salah* Customary with the following points. (1) If anyone gives birth to a girl who according to Balinese Hindu custom used to be called *Manka Salah* or *buncing* then after the entry into force of this regulation the persons concerned shall not be deemed guilty and shall not be subject to any punishment. (2) With

the enactment of this ordinance the custom called *Manka Salah* or buncing is abolished. (3) This regulation may be called the regulation on the abolition of the *custom Manka Salah* or buncing and shall enter into force on the day of its promulgation (Dewi et al., 2021a).

Public Policy Number 10 of 1951 is considered to be a solution to the misunderstanding of the implementation of the *Manka Salah* tradition. Public policy is made to homogenize and make a better order of government. People under this policy should heed with legowo. Since the enactment of the policy, slowly the *Manka Salah* tradition began to decline in its implementation. But it is different from the Padangbulia community.

The persistence of the *Kembar Buncing* tradition in the local community is evident in the recent cases of I Nyoman Adnyana and Gede Sadia's families, both exiled in 2019. These families were sent to separate locations within the Padangbulia Village area, highlighting the continued adherence to this practice. Gede Sadia's family was exiled to the upper reaches of the river, while I Nyoman Adnyana's family was sent to the edge of the village for a period of three "tilem" (traditional Balinese weeks). Based on this phenomenon, researchers are interested in examining the process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tradition and the form of resistance of the Padangbulia community to public policy number 10 of 1951.

2. FOCUS AND SCOPE

In this study, the problems include:

1. The scope of the problem in this study is the existence of Public Policy Number 10 of 1951 concerning the Abolition of the Manak Salah Tradition. The Manak Salah tradition is a tradition that is carried out to isolate a twin birth, by placing them in different places in their original environment and far from settlements.
2. This research is limited to the form of resistance of the Padang Budia Community to the existence of Public Policy Number 10 of 1951 concerning the Abolition of the Manak Salah Tradition.
3. The plan of the results of the explanation of the twin buncing tradition carried out by the Padang Bulia Community, as well as the explanation of the form of resistance of the Padang Bulia Community regarding Public Policy Number 10 of 1951 concerning the Abolition of the Manak Salah Tradition.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This research is a qualitative descriptive research supported by data from observation, interview, and documentation techniques. Researchers conduct active participatory observations to obtain accurate data. To achieve this goal, researchers use in-depth interview techniques as data reinforcement and are complemented by documentation techniques. Documentation techniques are used to assist researchers in collecting data related to village regulations and laws related to the implementation of the *Manka Salah* tradition in the local community.

Researchers use snowball sampling techniques in determining informants to obtain valid data in line with saying that Snowball Sampling is a sampling technique that is first small in number, then enlarged, like a snowball rolling (Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Sugiyono, 2022; van Haastrecht et al., 2021). The data obtained related to the process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tradition and community resistance were processed by data collection techniques, data presentation, and data analysis to achieve research objectives. Data processing is supported by the theory of Cultural Semiotics and the Theory of Resistance. The theory of semiotics is used to achieve the first goal, which is to understand the process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tradition in the Padangbulia community, while to achieve the second goal using James C.Scott's theory of resistance (Suparni & Saputra, 2023).

James C. Scott, as referenced in Susilowati & Indarti (2018), emphasizes the importance of examining everyday forms of resistance, particularly among marginalized groups lacking the power to engage in overt defiance. He categorizes resistance into two main types: a. Open resistance involves organized, systematic actions, often taking the form of social protests or demonstrations. It may include violent means such as rebellion.; b. Closed resistance encompasses more subtle and symbolic forms of rejection, such as gossip, slander, or withdrawal of respect for authority figures. It challenges societal norms and imposed categories.

Scott argues that resistance stems from oppression experienced in daily life. Oppressed individuals utilize resistance as a means to defend their rights and maintain their subsistence in the face of imposed changes. They resist through various movements and actions to protect their well-being and challenge the status quo.

4. DISCUSSION

In this section, we delve into the intricacies surrounding the implementation of *Kembar Buncing* traditions within the Padangbulia community. The discussion explores the cultural significance, procedural nuances, and societal impacts associated with these traditions. Specifically, we analyze the preparation stages, ceremonial practices, and the community's responses to regulatory measures aimed at these age-old customs.

4.1 The Process of Implementation of *Kembar Buncing* Traditions

The process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tardisi in the Padangbulia community is carried out through three stages, namely the preparation stage, exile, and purification stage. The following is classified as the preparation stage, namely when there are baby *Kembar Buncing* residents report to *Bendesa Adat* Padangbulia, that the family has Twin Buncing children and is ready to follow the process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tradition thoroughly (Dewi et al., 2021; Pageh, 2021).

When the report is received, *Bendesa Adat* announces to *Sabha Desa*, *Jro Mangku Desa*, *Kerta Desa*, *Prajuru*, *para Kelian Banjar Adat*, *Babinsa*, *Bhabinkamtibmas*, *Kelian Dadia* local and *Nepak Kukul* desa as a sign that *paberatan* has begun. The assigned villagers immediately installed *straits* on each *Sangghah Dadia*, temples in each school located in Padangbulia Village, *Lawangan*, residents' houses, Village Temples, Dalem Temples, Muayu Temples, Bedugul Temples, Siwa Gunungsari Temples, and Siwa Dharmajati Temples. Only Pura Siwa Silagatra is not given a *strait* because people believe that only Pura Shiva is not exposed to *sebel* or *cuntaka*. All ceremonies of Lord Yadnya related to the temple that is subject to *cutaka* must not be carried out.

In certain Balinese communities, the worship or ritualistic handling of twins born from a breech birth (locally known as "Kembar Buncing") traditionally occurs within the private homes of designated spiritual leaders like Jro Gede Penunggun Karang or at specific sacred locations like Laapan ring Carik and Jro Gede. However, communal ceremonies like quarterly rituals and funerals are exceptions to this practice. The collection of holy water ("tirta") for these rituals is also confined to residential settings (Firdaus et al., 2023). Following the sounding of the village alarm ("kukul"), the village head ("Bendesa Adat") directs the community to construct a temporary dwelling at a designated location for the twins' exile. This place is typically a crossroads ("campuhan") or the outskirts of the village, aligning with the belief that the birth of *Kembar Buncing* necessitates collective action and adherence to the customary laws outlined in the *Tatwa Dewa* (Divine Law) (Dipta, 2020). Semi-permanent huts are usually made of bamboo lined with *calcibod*. The hut is made in such a way that families who have *Sharp Twins* can live their daily lives. The hut is equipped with a place for *MCK* and cooking. Since *the kukul* is beaten until it passes three *tiles*, the Padangbulia community cannot perform prayers because it is considered *sebel* or *cuntaka*.

In the process of exile, it began with the move of families who had *Sharp Twins* to the exile hut that had been prepared. Since entering the exile hut, the family is not allowed to travel anywhere. The people of Padangbulia are also not allowed to attend the invitation to the *Manusa Yadnya*, *Bhuta Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya* Ceremonies especially those related to the invitation of Lord Yadnya outside Padangbulia Village. This was done in the hope that the ceremony carried out by the community outside Padangbulia Village could run smoothly. During the isolation, namely *three* tiles, the people of Padangbulia keep the *Kembar Buncing* family in turns according to their division. During the exile, the people of Padangbulia visited the baby *Kembar Buncing* in the exile hut with baby equipment as souvenirs. When undergoing exile for three tilems at the end of the village, the family and the baby *Buncing Twins* are prohibited from returning home or traveling out of the exile area (Dewi et al., 2021).

In the final stage of the *Manka Salah* tradition is marked by the practice of purification. When the *Manka Salah* tradition has stepped on the third tile, a *mecaru* ceremony is carried out in the exile house, namely in *Campuhan*. After *searching* at the location of exile, it was followed by the demolition of the exile house. The *mecaru* ceremony continued at the Padangbulia Village Temple which ended with the distribution of *tirta* to each *kelian dadia*. The *tirta* should be implied in each *dadia refutation* as a sign of cleansing. Before *tirta* is implied, cleaning is carried out in each *dadia rebuttal* such as opening *the strait*, cutting grass or other cleaning that is considered necessary in *secular*. On the same *dadia*, a *mecaru* ceremony was also held at *Sangghah Dadia* of the *Kembar Buncing* family.

The next day after the tilem (*apisan calendar*) then the people of Padangbulia carry out a *melasti* or *melis* ceremony as a sign of cleansing *Bhuwana Agung*. Families including *Kembar Buncing* babies must also participate in the *melasti* ceremony held at *Pura Segara* Expelabuhan Buleleng. After the *melasti* ceremony is over, the *Kembar Buncing* family is not allowed to go home directly, but they must stay in three villages where the village temple has a *long bale pegat* (in the middle of the *long bale* there is a *kukul* as a barrier). Such village temples are usually found in Panji Tua Village, Banyuning Village, and Ambengan Village. After completing the communal assistance ("*ngayah*") in constructing the temporary dwelling, the family is permitted to return to their daily life within the Padangbulia community. However, after three months, the parents and the *Kembar Buncing* twins will undergo a series of purification ceremonies ("*Manak Salah*") at various locations, starting with the place of meditation and isolation ("*tapa brata*"), followed by rituals at the village temple ("*Pura Desa*"), and culminating at the beach ("*segara*"). Upon completion of these rituals, the family will be escorted back to their home, signifying their reintegration into the community (Wulandari & Klinken Whelan, 2021).

4.2 Padangbulia People's Resistance to Public Policy

Resistance is opposition or resistance that is based on the relationship between power and domination. Resistance takes the form of a lawsuit against and negotiation with the ruling order or the 'ascending' power (Barker et al., 2018). The people of Padangbulia engage in both closed and open forms of resistance, as defined by James C. Scott's framework of resistance. Closed resistance in Padangbulia is evident in subtle acts of non-compliance, such as veiled criticisms or quiet challenges to traditional authority. This type of resistance often operates within the existing social structures, making it less visible but nonetheless impactful in its cumulative effect. Open resistance, on the other hand, manifests as direct challenges to the dominant power, such as protests, boycotts, or public dissent. In Padangbulia, this may take the form of organized efforts to modify or eliminate practices deemed harmful or discriminatory. Both forms

of resistance are employed strategically to navigate the complex social and cultural landscape of Padangbulia, ultimately contributing to a dynamic process of social change and evolution (Parlak & Islam, 2022). Resistance carried out by individuals or groups usually has certain goals such as defending their rights and existing substance by resisting changes set by the government.

Resistance was carried out by the people of Padangbulia because they were unhappy with the enactment of Public Policy No. 10 of 1951, namely the elimination of *Manka Salah*. The people of Padangbulia tend to believe in the mythical story behind the exile. The community is proud of the implementation of the *Twin Buncing* Tradition because it is different from other villages. Those who have *Sharp Twins* feel proud to be isolated because they are guarded by all members of the community.

Until now, the people of Padangbulia continue to carry out the *Kembar Buncing* Tradisi despite regional regulation No. 10 of 1951 which emphasizes that all forms of customary regulations related to the *Twin Buncing* Tradition or *Manka Salah* must be abolished. This shows that the people of Padangbulia are fighting openly because they are still carrying out the *Twin Buncing* Tradition until now. All the series of implementations are well organized.

The people of Padangbulia want to fight against the domination of the ruler over the abolition of the *Manka Salah* Tradition because the local community makes the birth of *Kembar Buncing* a reference to carry out *melasti*. As long as no family has *Sharp Twins* then there is no *melasti* ceremony and their village is considered dirty. They want to break the assumption that exiled families are discriminated against so that every time there is an exiled community members carry out guard in rotation. The *Kembar Buncing* family receives essential supplies and financial support from the Padangbulia Village Fund, covering all expenses throughout the entire duration of the tradition. This communal assistance aligns with James C. Scott's concept of open resistance, which is characterized by organized, collective action that aims to bring about tangible change and directly impacts the well-being and survival of the involved parties. In this context, the community's financial support serves as a form of open resistance against potential economic hardships faced by the family during the adherence to tradition (Suraya et al., 2024).

Resistance is carried out not only openly but some individuals also tend to carry out resistance behind closed doors. There are individuals in Padangbulia Village who tend to oppose related to changes in the implementation of the *Twin Buncing* Tradition, especially related to the abolition in accordance with regulation No. 10 of 1951. The people of Padangbulia tend to carry out their own rejection without being organized. Individuals who resist changes in the implementation of the *Manka Salah* Tradition tend to have their own goals to fulfill their interests.

As stated by Nyoman in the meeting said that why change or abolish, it because the tradition of *Kembar Buncing* is a sacred tradition. When there is a citizen who has *Sharp Twins* and then works as a civil servant who has to accept the risk of being fired, that is his karma. These opinions truly reflect the interests of the individual himself. Other individuals also refused but could not disclose directly. Only dare to talk in the stall among other individuals. He said that the *Twin Tapering* Tradition does not need to be changed or abolished, because it is a sacred tradition.

Some individuals fear the adverse repercussions of their involvement in the abolition of the *Twin Tapering* tradition, as stipulated in Regulation Number 10 of 1951. This illustrates that the clandestine resistance observed among members of the Padangbulia community aligns with James C. Scott's conceptualization. Scott describes such covert resistance as a less structured form of opposition, characterized by individual actions that impede the momentum of reform movements. These acts tend to lack systemic organization, occur sporadically, and often fail to contain the full force of societal change (Stacey, 2023).

Both rejections were carried out by the community and individuals in Padangbulia Village as a concrete action that the continuity of the *Kembar Buncing* tradition was considered oppression. Exiled families accept generously and even take pride in their traditions. This is considered unique which is the difference between Padangbulia village and other villages in Bali. The *Kembar Buncing* family feels lucky with this tradition because it is cared for by all residents of the Padangbulia community. During the exile period, all expenses are covered by the village community. This collective support leads individuals like Nyoman Sadia to express satisfaction with the *Kembar Buncing* tradition. This sentiment aligns with Mr. Sadya Utama's statement, a community member who has undergone the *Manak Salah* tradition. He describes feeling treated like royalty during the process, expressing deep gratitude for the unwavering support of the entire Padangbulia community (Ariyani et al., 2023).

5. CONCLUSION

The process of implementing the *Kembar Buncing* tradition, especially the implementation of exile in the Padangbulia community, is carried out based on the agreement of the *Kembar Buncing* family with the Padangbulia Traditional Bendesa. When the family of *Kembar Buncing* reports that they already have *Kembar Buncing* children, a tradition of exile is carried out which is funded by the village. Exile was carried out for three terms. There are three stages in the *Sharp Twin* Tradisi namely preparation, the implementation stage, and the purification stage or the final stage.

The Padangbulia community resisted regulation no. 10 of 1951 concerning the abolition of *Manka Salah*. They resist because they feel disturbed by these regulations so



they resist privately and openly. Open resistance is evidenced by the realization of the implementation of exile to this day. Closed resistance was carried out by some individuals because they felt aggrieved by the celebration No. 10 of 1951.

6. SUGGESTION

The existence of government policies on the tradition of manak salah or kembar buncing, it is currently hoped that the government and the community that owns the tradition should discuss so that in the implementation of regulatory policies on traditions that apply in the community can be accepted wisely by the community that owns the tradition.

Traditions that have been in place for a long time in society must be able to adapt to the development of society because a tradition or culture will undergo adaptation and will continue to live on as long as the values it has are still relevant to the development of science and technology because if not, the tradition will also gradually be abandoned by the supporting society.

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