



***Contestation of Javanese Culture and Identity in Deli: An  
Analysis of Jawa Deli Wedding Ceremonies Using the  
Bergerian Approach***

**Kontestasi Identitas Budaya Jawa di Deli: Analisis Upacara  
Perkawinan Jawa Deli melalui Pendekatan Bergerian**

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**Abstract**

*This paper aims to demonstrate that Javanese culture is not uniform. According to several research findings, there are numerous cultural variances among Javanese people, who regard themselves as different from other Javanese. In the Deli Serdang Regency, the marriage ceremony analyzed in this study does not only see a rich parade of a Javanese Deli cultural tradition. On the other hand, the Javanese Deli's marriage ceremony procession in Deli Serdang depicts identity that is produced through a historical process tailored to their socio-cultural environment. In this study, the building of the Javanese Deli identity during the wedding ceremony is examined from a Bergerian perspective, in which the Javanese Deli identity is constantly transformed and shaped socially and culturally. When in Deli, the essence of Java Deli is significantly influenced by changing situations and conditions that continue to evolve. As a result of the externalization, objectification, and internalization processes, Java Deli's manufactured identity is situational.*

**Keywords:** Javanese culture, Deli Javanese identity, wedding ceremonies

**Abstrak**

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menunjukkan bahwa budaya Jawa tidak seragam. Berdasarkan beberapa temuan penelitian, terdapat banyak perbedaan budaya di kalangan masyarakat Jawa yang menganggap dirinya berbeda dengan orang Jawa lainnya. Di Kabupaten Deli Serdang, upacara perkawinan yang dianalisis dalam penelitian ini tidak hanya melihat parade kekayaan tradisi budaya Jawa Deli. Tetapi di dalam pelaksanaan upacara upacara perkawinan orang Jawa Deli di Deli Serdang menggambarkan identitas yang dihasilkan melalui proses sejarah yang disesuaikan dengan lingkungan sosial budayanya. Dalam penelitian ini, pembentukan identitas Jawa Deli pada upacara perkawinan dikaji dari sudut pandang Bergerian, yang mana identitas Jawa Deli terus-menerus ditransformasikan dan dibentuk secara sosial dan budaya. Ketika berada di Deli, esensi budaya Jawa dipengaruhi oleh perubahan situasi dan kondisi yang terus berkembang. Akibat proses eksternalisasi, objektifikasi, dan internalisasi, identitas Jawa Deli bersifat situasional.

**Kata Kunci:** budaya Jawa, identitas Jawa Deli, upacara perkawinan

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## INTRODUCTION

The history of the Javanese in Deli is inextricably linked to the presence of the Javanese people, who went to East Sumatra in the late nineteenth century to organize workers for plantations (Breman, 1997; C. Geertz, 1976; Lulofs, 1985a, 1985b; Pelzer, 1985; Said, 1977; Stoler, 2005). Since the establishment of plantations in East Sumatra, the number of contract laborers from Java has expanded yearly, in lockstep with the company's rapid growth and extension of the plantation area. The majority of the coolies are snatched from impoverished communities in Central and East Java (Breman, 1997). Over 50,000 contract coolies were imported from Central Java in 1911. Brokers recruited laborers in the major coastal cities of Semarang and Betawi, the densely inhabited royal territories of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and the Purwerejo and Banyumas areas (Stoler, 2005). Thus, the author defines the Javanese coolie as a collective name for coolies brought from the island of Java.

Although the Javanese who came to Deli were not limited to labor as laborers (coolies) due to the development of plantations and urban areas in East Sumatra, Javanese personnel, teachers, and doctors were also brought in, particularly

in the early twentieth century (Said, 1976).

The arrival of the educated class or those classified as priyayi only sometimes serves as a reference point for the Javanese deli, who are a part of the plantation community and keep their language of interaction the same. Javanese Deli continues to serve *ngoko* in the Javanese dialect (*Soeara Djawa 1 Juni 1916*, n.d.).

The movement and mobility of the Javanese Deli people from isolated plantation barracks to villages resulted in an identity construction process as a manifestation of the Javanese Deli's identity. Two distinct processes take place. The first is that when they live in isolation in plantation barracks, they adapt and become accustomed to plantation life practices in general. As a result, the Javanese people experienced a loss of connection to their ancestral lands. This process takes a long time, affecting the formation of Javanese cultural norms and values that no longer apply in social interactions. Second, when they leave the plantation barracks and live on the city's outskirts, they come into contact with various ethnic groups, including Javanese from the group of newcomers from the priyayi group who were brought in as professional workers. At this point, culture serves as "imagined values" about their

original culture in their minds. Numerous studies on identity, such as Javanese Suriname (Suparlan, 1995) demonstrate that the relationship between ethnic groups is not based on origin and background. Maintaining ethnic limits is not about territorial boundaries; individuals identify as members of a particular ethnic group due to their position within a culturally defined system of inter-group relations.

Additionally, Kumbara published a study on identity construction, specifically the identity construction of the Sasak people in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara (Kumbara, 2008). According to Kumbara, the Sasak people's identity construction is a process of indigenization and adaptation that has been ongoing since the fall of the New Order regime as an expression of the Sasak people's resistance to historical marginalization. Kumbara views the Sasak people's identity construction in three ways: How is the Sasak elite constructing identity? Second, the traditional Sasak elite's strategy establishes legitimacy. Thirdly, the modern/political Sasak elite's plan shows legitimacy. This approach demonstrates that identity construction occurs exclusively through reproductive discourses about preserving traditional values in the contexts of religion, politics, and public policy.

The study of identity construction, which was analyzed based on Berger and Luckman's Social Construction approach, was also studied by looking at the community empowerment model (Augus et al., 2023; Tanjung et al., 2021). In contrast to the Sasak people's identity, this study of the Javanese Deli's identity demonstrates that the process of identity construction is not confined to a particular social class. This research on identity construction explores how well the Javanese maintain their based on cultural existence in social interactions, both within and between ethnic groups. Often, identity studies examine the relationship between the majority and the minority. As revealed in the book *Identity Chinese Muslims, Indonesia* examines the history of the Chinese ethnic group in Indonesia, their struggle for identity, and their success in gaining recognition and acceptance from the indigenous people. As a group of immigrants, they must adapt to the conditions in Indonesia for their presence to be accepted by indigenous people, one of which is conversion to Islam (Afif, 2012).

Javanese identity is more homogeneous than many previously believed. There are several cultural variations in how Javanese perceive themselves to be distinct from one another. This is stated in several works of literature. There are still very few studies on Javanese

culture in North Sumatra. An article titled "Wong Jawa in North Sumatra" discusses the Javanese in North Sumatra. However, this book contains data on the number of Javanese in several locations throughout Sumatra, most notably Simalungun, which does not necessarily reflect the Javanese's overall identity in North Sumatra. The spirit of the Javanese who were willing to embark on inter-island travel in the early twentieth century was founded on behavior science, the term of the term, and the era's term (Siyo, 2008).

Suparlan's research on Surinamese Javanese demonstrates how Surinamese Javanese perceive themselves differently than Javanese on Java Island, owing to their culture mingling with Suriname's ethnic culture and cultural customs (Suparlan, 1995). As Barth (Barth, 1988) demonstrates, ethnic identification occurs based on the same region of origin and background. Because these migrants originate on the Indonesian island of Java, they are also referred to as Javanese.

When a group of people transitions from one cultural environment to another, sociocultural processes can influence their mode of adaptation and identity formation (Appadurai, 1994). The forces that shape the diverse artistic expressions and social actions of immigrants are new groupings,

new definitions of life histories, and the giving of meaning to identity. The destination area's culture has established a new cultural framework, providing reports and measures of value for a group of people's lives (Featherstone, 1990). Cultural reproduction is a dynamic process that ensures its continued existence in social life, necessitating adaptation for groups with diverse cultural backgrounds.

When the social context changes, so do a culture's social and individual meanings because the social context provides purpose for individual actions (Abdullah, 2006). Individuals redefining their culture and identity gain new awareness due to context changes. Cultural reproduction is the process by which immigrants affirm their cultural identity; in this case, it establishes the existence of their indigenous culture within the context of a new social space.

## **METHOD**

Qualitative research was used to conduct the study. Qualitative research is thought to be the most appropriate method for capturing sociocultural phenomena because it is more likely to provide an in-depth picture of the human phenomenon being studied. Second, by examining events in their entirety within their context and attempting to gain a holistic understanding.

Thirdly, comprehending or comprehending the meaning, and fourthly, viewing the research findings as speculative (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Isfironi, 2011; Patton, 1990).

With a qualitative approach, researchers can comprehend meaning as the community's perspective (native point of view), allowing for the creation of a description of the social process by which the Javanese Deli construct their identity through marriage ceremonies. In this research, two villages are examined in order to observe cultural expressions in people who are socially distinct due to their populations' homogeneity. To begin, Klambir Lima Village in the Hamparan Perak District of the Deli Serdang Regency is a model village for colonial heritage plantations. This village is located at the intersection of two major routes connecting Medan Sunggal and Belawan, a port city (built around 1890) that served as the historical entry point for planters and plantation workers from Java, China, and India in connection with the establishment of plantations in Deli. Second, Saentis Village is one of the villages adjacent to tobacco plantations and is administered by the Percut Sei Tuan District government. Saentis Village was previously a forest area before plantations were established. Javanese contract laborers were brought in to clear forests and prepare beds for tobacco cultivation. These contract laborers hail

from a variety of villages on the Indonesian island of Java, including Solo, Yogyakarta, and Wonogiri.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. Javanese Deli in Deli Serdang**

The Deli plantation's history begins with Jacobus Nienhuys and the early pioneers of plantation entrepreneurs who worked on or established plantation areas in North Sumatra. Since the beginning of this plantation, it has shown tremendous growth and development, as evidenced by the results of the plantation, which at the time produced tobacco plants in the Deli land pioneered by Jacobus Nienhuys. It was established then that the tobacco produced was profitable in the European trading market. It then elevated Deli to the world's most famous producer of cigar leaf wrapping production areas. Jacobus Nienhuys' business continued to expand, even after the plantations he established began to produce results, and few entered the European trade market, as evidenced since November 1, 1869, when Jacobus Nienhuys founded the Deli Maatschappij company, a limited liability company operating in the Dutch East Indies (Breman, 1997).

The establishment of tobacco plantations in East Sumatra by Western private companies entails at least two components: land provision and labor

utilization. Plantation companies require a significant amount of workforce. They were later employed as land laborers, cultivating tobacco, processing tobacco leaves, and porters. Harvested tobacco is transported to processing wards, packaged, and transported to delivery points for export to the European world market.

Apart from housing for plantation workers, coolie housing must also be provided. Coolies were separated into long wards, while gardeners, assistants, and supervisors were housed separately. With the expansion of plantations, the onderneming party desperately needs additional labor. Entrepreneurs initially relied on local laborers to meet labor needs. However, because many residents are disinterested and also less skilled, plantation entrepreneurs are expanding their operations outside of East Sumatra. The entrepreneurs imported workers from China, India, and Java to alleviate labor shortages. This is where the Javanese developed in Deli, which can still be traced back to the descendants of former contract coolies who established a sizable population in North Sumatra.

## **B. The Process of Developing a Javanese Deli Identity for Traditional Javanese Marriage Ceremonies**

The Process of Construction of a Javanese Deli Identity for Traditional Javanese Marriage Ceremonies Of course, the Deli Javanese, descended from former plantation contract coolies and now a part of the North Sumatran community, have been influenced by various cultures and environments. As a result, a dialectical process of externalization, objectification, and internalization occurs. As a result, all values, ideologies, and social institutions (institutions) are constructed by humans, who always make them by their own goals and interests. Wedding ceremonies are social and cultural events that involve the entire family in their execution. The performance of a marriage ceremony by a community member from a particular culture symbolizes the group's collective identity. The references to how the wedding will be conducted are based on knowledge and experience gained through interactions with the community, both the Javanese and the local ethnic groups. The wedding ceremony serves as a forum for social exchange and manifests an understanding of ethnic identity in its basic form. To the various beliefs surrounding the series of ceremonies, the wedding ceremony is

classified as a part of the life cycle ceremony. The concept of *awa* defines the various ceremonies as *slametan*, which is the essence of Javanese life (Syam, 2007). The marriage ceremony that an ethnic group expresses and practices can be a marker of their cultural identity, as a custom becomes a habit through which they express their culture. Maunati asserts that identity markers derive from the peculiarity of *adat* in culture as expressed by the ethnic group (Maunati, 2007). Thus, the Javanese Deli's marriage ceremony represents the Javanese Deli identity.

### ***B.1 The Adjustment Phase of Externalization***

Social products are the result of human activity being externalized. Extending one's self to the outside world in both physical and mental ways is known as externalization. For human life to thrive, it must be exposed to the outside world; this is an anthropological necessity. Its very existence necessitates constant activity. When dealing with their environment, humans do not need to be biologically complete (Berger & Luckman, 1990). The rules or laws guiding Javanese social institutions are the foundation of cultural

values. It is human nature to create these rules to keep society in order, so even though the rules are restrictive, individual "violations" are still possible.

Put another way, the individual's failure to adapt to society's rules is the root cause of the rule-violating behavior that occurs in society. Deli communities, previously isolated communities living on plantations under contract laborers who pressured them to violate Javanese cultural values and norms, form their identity when interacting with the surrounding community and other Deli communities in the surrounding area. They devote themselves to this externalization process by adjusting to their socio-cultural world, represented by marriage ceremonies.

The Javanese Deli, who has lived in Deli for a long time, have interacted with other ethnic groups and changed their historical social situation. These elements could be incorporated into a broader cultural context. Malay cultural elements were incorporated into the Javanese Deli wedding ceremony to show this. Malay cultural symbols like *Marhaban*, *Tepung Tawar*, and *Balai*<sup>1</sup> were displayed during the ceremony. There are no Javanese Deli ethnic

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<sup>1</sup> *Balai* is a container with legs made of wood and given motifs. This object is a symbol of Malay culture which is usually used in circumcision and marriage ceremonies.

This hall is usually used as a container for sticky rice colored yellow and topped with coconut cooked with

brown sugar, or called the *inti*. This sticky rice is interpreted as an expression of enthusiasm. Then, the sticky rice is decorated with artificial flowers, which are always used to decorate the *Balai*. Inside the artificial flowers, there is a boiled egg filling. The combination of

wedding ceremonies on Java island where Malay cultural elements can be found.

There is more to life than mere objectivation; there is significance in the form of human-created signs. There is a difference between a sign and an objectivation. Malay cultural symbols like the Balai, *Marhaban*, and *Tepung Tawar* in Javanese Deli ethnic marriage ceremony distinguish them from Javanese on Java island. Semiosis is an excellent term to describe this phenomenon. According to semiotics, semiotics is a theory that deals with how cultural experiences influence one's interpretation of what is seen and heard. Symbolic cultural elements are given "meaning" by the semiotic process. There is a close relationship between "semiosis", "representation," and "order of marking," namely between the human innate ability to produce and understand signs (semiosis), activities in human cognition to link representations with knowledge and experience (representation), and systems a sign that lives and is known together with the culture of the people (signifying order) (Benny, 2008).

A social construction approach to objectivation only looks at the signs

embodied in the Javanese ethnic marriage tradition as a representation of Javanese culture as a human formation. These structures are inherently unstable and subject to constant change. Change is inevitable because we are a human product. Balai, *Marhaban*, and *Tepung Tawar* are not considered part of the close connection between "semiosis," "representation," and the "signifying order" in the social construction approach. According to the social construction approach, the Javanese Deli wedding ceremony's Malay cultural elements are seen as a product constructed from extensive interaction with the local community's culture. According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, identity is a crucial component of subjective reality and, like a personal reality, is dialectically linked to society. This identity construction follows their lead. Social interactions shape our sense of self. Social relations preserve, modify, and even reshape once it has taken shape. Social structures influence the processes of forming and maintaining one's identity. While the identities that emerge from the interactions between organisms, individual consciousness, and social systems act to maintain, modify, or reshape the

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sticky rice, *inti kelapa* (mix grated young coconut with sugar and cook until dry), and eggs that are arranged into this particular container has a symbol and

symbolizes cooperation and unity, which are difficult to separate.



existing social network, the former is the opposite (Berger & Luckman, 1990).

### ***B.2 Objectification: The Moment of Self-Interaction with Others in the Social and Cultural Environment***

It is based on the sociology of knowledge developed by Berger and Luckman as their social construction theory. To understand this theory, it is essential to know that reality and learning are two of the most important terms. When a phenomenon has its existence, it has the quality of being authentic; when a phenomenon has a specific set of characteristics, it has the quality of being knowable (Berger & Luckman, 1990). To understand social construction as a sociology of knowledge, a person must be aware of the knowledge in society and the processes by which it is established as a reality.

According to Berger and Luckman, societies exist in both an objective and subjective worldview. Put another way, as a human being, you live outside the community and are confronted by it, but as a human being, you exist as an integral part of it. Berger and Luckman argue that institutionalization and legitimacy are necessary for society to exist as an actual entity. They emphasize the importance of awareness and that awareness is always intentional because it is always directed

toward the object. Only in terms of physical reality and subjective reality can the essence of consciousness (consciousness) be fully realized by humans (Berger & Luckman, 1990).

Community social interaction can be seen as a means of experiencing and comprehending Javanese Deli cultural identity. The community's social interactions show that the Javanese on the island of Java are categorized differently. Even the Javanese believe that Deli is a world apart from their homeland. Although it refers to a physical boundary, it is also used as a cultural one. Based on an author's pseudonym, Mas Van Gendoet, who published it in the Soeara Djawa newspaper, namely:

*"Memang di tanah Deli banjak orang Djawa jang tidak punja maloe, sedang ditanah Djawa bangsa Djawa banjak jang „perwira”, sehingga lain bangsa tidak maoe menghinakan. Bandingkanlah! Seorang pegawai negeri ditanah Djawa jang bergadjih tjoema f 30 – kebanjakan tidak maoe minum kopi diwaroeng... tapi di Deli orang jang bergadjih f 100 – ada jang soeka ngopi di waoeng-waroeeng nasi. Zetter (Soeara Djawa 1 Juni 1916)"*

*" Many Javanese in the land of Deli have no shame, while in the land of Java, many are "officers," so they are not insulted by other people (nations). Just compare civil servants in Java with a salary of only 30 f, who will not drink coffee in a shop. However, in Deli, many people who earn 100 f drink coffee in the stalls".*

The actions of the Javanese Deli in Berger and Luckman's construction are

shown to be subjective realities in this expression. For this reason, according to Deli's former residents, Deli's behavior does not break cultural norms. As a result of this, Deli's Javanese culture and social stratification are eroding. Every Javanese on the island of Java is aware of their social position, which permeates every aspect of life on Java (Suseno, 2003), at least not in the Deli. They ignore the factors that restrict behavior based on social class, which an individual's income can determine.

Self-interaction with the socio-cultural world creates an illusion that social reality is separate from the human experience. In addition, it becomes an objective fact. Two realities exist for him because of his location in objective reality: subjective self-reality and objective self-reality. A relationship of intersubjective interaction is formed through institutionalization and institutionalization. This process of institutionalization is the result of human activities carried out because people do not have their world and must create one. Adopting Malay cultural elements in a marriage ceremony can demonstrate institutionalization in the Javanese Deli cultural identity as an objective reality. This shows that the Javanese Deli is open to the public. As stated by Berger and Luckman (Berger &

Luckman, 1990), this open world allows humans to engage in various pursuits. A person's world must be formed about the rest of the world, shaped by human activity (Berger & Luckman, 1994). Our world is a product of culture, which aims to provide solid structures previously unavailable to us biologically. Due to their human-created nature, these structures are inherently unstable. As a result, culture is always the work of humans. Material and nonmaterial human outputs are included in this category (Berger & Luckman, 1994).

Specific actions are repeated repeatedly to familiarize the community with the patterns. This is the foundation of institutionalization, which is based on habituation. When habitualization is complete, precipitation and tradition will follow. As a result of practice, the entire human experience is stored in consciousness, which eventually settles and can finally comprehend himself and his behavior about his surroundings.

A language is an essential tool for transmitting or transforming information. Humans use language to make these experiences relatable to others. The Javanese of Deli does not speak a stratified language like the Javanese of Java. The Javanese Deli's cultural identity can be traced back to its use of language. In their native land (Java Island),

they use different dialects of the Javanese language to communicate with people of different social classes, such as the *priyayi*, the nobility, the *abangan*, the farmers, workers, and other members of society. They speak Javanese *ngoko* to communicate with other *abangans*. The *abangans* speak Javanese Kromo, while the *priyayi* speak Javanese Kromo inggil, the language of their fellow *priyayi*. Javanese *ngoko* is used by the Javanese Deli only when interacting with other Javanese. Using the Javanese language as an indicator of social status was published in the newspaper *Soeara Djawa*, with the author's initials "M" as the illustration: a level or hierarchy:

*"Soeatoe waktoe ada kedjadian bahwa seorang Djawapranakan bersahabat dengan seorang Djawatotok. Doea orang itoe bertjakapan dengan bahasa Djawa. Tempo2 si Djawapranakan mengeloearkan perkataan ada kliroe, laloe si Djawatotok (sebab koerang pandjang pikiran) mesem. Sang pranakan merasa kliroe laloe ta' maoe lagi omong Djawa, sang totok koerang senang diadjak bitjara tidak dengan bahasa Djawa. Begini dengan begitoe sehingga mendjadi sebab koerang sefakat. Adapoen hal tatakrama begini: Adalah soeatoe-waktoe ada seorang Djawa jang ditanah Djawa mengarti benar hal tatakrama Djawa ia datang atau tinggal di Deli. Ia masih senang dengan tatakrama Djawa itoe. Kemoedian ia bertjampoer gaoel dengan Djawa-pranakan jang tidak mengarti betoel hal tatakrama tadi memakei tjara kebiasa-annja sadja laloe sang totok menoendjoekkan aer moeka jang koerang manis (sebab ia bodo). Sang pranakan tadjam fikirannja laloe timboel ingatan kewatir barangkali ia memboeat kliroe lebi banjak djadi moendoer mentjari kawan pranakan jang sama pengetahoeannja "At one time, there was an incident a Pranakan Javanese befriended a Totok Javanese. They both spoke Javanese.*

*Until the Javanese Pranakan uttered the wrong words, then the full-blooded Javanese (because he did not think long) smiled mockingly. This offended the Javanese Pranakan, which caused him to want no longer to speak Javanese. This event is related to manners in the land of Java. However, when he was in Deli, Jawa Pranakan already interacted and established social relations with locals. So they do not know any more about Javanese manners. To avoid further communication mistakes, the Pranakan Javanese withdrew and looked for other people to talk to who were both from Pranakan Javanes" (Soeara Djawa 1 Juni 1916).*

*"At one time, there was an incident a Pranakan Javanese befriended a Totok Javanese. They both spoke Javanese. Until the Javanese Pranakan uttered the wrong words, then the full-blooded Javanese (because he did not think long) smiled mockingly. This offended the Javanese Pranakan, which caused him to want no longer to speak Javanese. This event is related to manners in the land of Java. However, when he was in Deli, Jawa Pranakan already interacted and established social relations with locals. So they need to learn more about Javanese manners. To avoid further communication mistakes, the Pranakan Javanese withdrew and looked for other people to talk to who were both from Pranakan Javanese".*

As explained by Hildred Geertz (H. Geertz, 1985) every interaction in social relations that is built between fellow Javanese in Java must show respect in various ways, such as body posture, hands, tone of voice, greeting terms, and above all, the level language used. It is only possible for two people who meet and speak Javanese together to properly establish a respectful relationship with one another.

The expression of the language used describes a reality of everyday life

experienced by the Javanese Deli. In social interactions, people's most essential experiences occur in face-to-face situations (Berger & Luckman, 1990). In this face-to-face situation, people are constantly touching, interacting, and expressing each other. In that situation also occurs interpretation and reflection. Face-to-face interaction can change people's typification schemes. Face-to-face encounters that occur continuously can affect people's typification as quiet, vindictive, cheerful, and so on. In turn, this interaction gives birth to new typifications. A typification will apply until another development determines one's actions. The typifications of people who interact are mutually open to interference. The typification scheme "negotiates" continuously in face-to-face situations. The description of the use of language in the social interaction of the Javanese Deli gives an illustration of a new typification scheme. The scheme, among others, can be seen from its attitudes, actions, and characteristics. Existing and newly formed typifications occur continuously and become characteristics of ethnicity or ethnic identity.

Typification occurs when there is social contact with people of different cultures. Along with the growth and development of plantations, there was a high population mobility to the Deli region. At the

beginning of the 20th century, due to the booming economic activity in East Sumatra, both the government and the private sector needed Javanese migrant workers who had attended school, among other things, to be employed as employees of the Opium Regie, clerks, and various assistants in the health sector, including doctors (Said, 1976). Their status in Javanese culture is classified as a *priyayi* group. They came to Deli, different from the plantation Javanese who signed a work contract.

Typification, a particular characteristic of self-identification, results in categorizing through cultural practices, as seen in marriage ceremonies. In some practices, the Javanese Deli wedding party, in organizing the wedding ceremony, tries to carry out the marriage ceremony according to Javanese customary standards. The wedding ceremony uses the Solo custom but has been modified according to the cultural situation in Deli. Even though the implementation of this marriage ceremony was attempted to follow the standard of Javanese culture, it still could not be fully practiced. The puppeteer tries to fulfill various Javanese traditional attributes at the wedding, such as providing "*sanggan ayu*," namely ritual equipment consisting of plantains, betel, and *setaman* flowers. Then the other ritual equipment provided

is *sindur* cloth, a unique cloth used to deliver (carry) the bride to the aisle, and a bowl, a container used for flower water to wash the groom's feet during the egg stamping procession.



Picture 1. Equipment for the Egg Stepping Procession

In other instances, the procession to meet the bride and groom is conducted in a different ceremonial manner. In this scenario, the bridal puppeteer only leads the bride and groom down the aisle; they are not responsible for supplying any other wedding ceremony necessities. As a result, the wedding procession will proceed according to what has been learned and practiced thus far. They presented stone mills and mortars and setaman flower-filled water basins for the ceremony. Another option is to use a plate instead of a stone mill or a yellow plate used in the egg stamping process.



Picture 2. Sanggan

Additional evidence for using Javanese cultural symbols in Javanese Deli marriage ceremonies comes from interviews with descendants of formerly contracted coolies who have held wedding ceremonies and from looking at documents such as wedding photos kept by traditional healers. In addition to the clothes used being the Solo Putri traditional clothes, this can be seen from several phases, such as the bridal couple in the 1980s wearing Solo Putri clothes, which have shown Javanese symbols that have become clearer with the Jepara aisle model. Even so, some things could be more consistent, such as the blank that the groom used. Instead of a blank, wear a long hat like the ones worn by kings in the palace. Knight's clothing is typically referred to as "blanks" in Java. This refers to clothing worn by the bride and groom after the main event, or in other words, before the wedding ceremony. As recently as the 2000s, Javanese brides on the island of Java used symbols similar to those used in the early 2000s. Traditionally worn by the groom, blanks are no longer seen as an acceptable practice in Javanese Solo Putri wedding attire. They began wearing long hats to match the kings' dress in the palace. The variety of Javanese clothing is also more pronounced. This occurs due to the ease with which Java's emerging trends can be accessed. There has been an increase in people moving around

and learning about traditional clothing forms of our subjective consciousness models from different cultures. When (Berger & Luckman, 1994). When this level Javanese Deli brides begin using of internalization is achieved, individuals conventional Javanese symbols, it shows become members of society, according to they are discovering their true cultural Berger and Luckman (Berger & Luckman, identity. 1990). It is an individual's effort to identify

Regarding the Javanese Deli group's himself in the context of their social and symbolic actions, they are limited to models cultural environment. Another way to view of clothing, aisles, and fashion trends this is as a moment of withdrawing from the currently developing. The principles of the outside world into one's subjective reality. The ceremony cannot be changed or even SocialSocial reality can be defined as a reality incorporated into the wedding ceremony. within the human population. In this way, The Javanese Deli's wedding reception is a the socio-cultural world will recognize the symbol of hope for the survival of Javanese human self. It is possible to think of cultural values in Deli. When plantation internalization as a process of withdrawing workers have been employed as contract objective values from the social-cultural laborers for decades, the sacred institution realm into the subjective reality of each of marriage has been deconstructed. person.

### ***B.3 Self-Awareness: The First Step Towards Internalization***

When it comes to society, it is also An effort to identify causes of viewed as an internalized reality. internalization. As a result, it is impossible to Interpretation of objective events as completely internalize society, identity, or meaning disclosure is known as reality all at once. The process of internalization. According to Berger and socialization always continues. First, how is Luckmann, internalization occurs when the fact internalized in primary socialization place?

people identify as members of various social A cultural symbol's significance may institutions or groups (Berger & Luckman, shift over time. Cultural symbols are 1990). It is the process of re-absorption of constantly contested because meaning is reality by humans, which transforms it from never set in stone; instead, it is continually the structures of the objective world into the being negotiated and displayed in new

arenas (spaces). For example, holding a wedding ceremony in a new cultural area demonstrates how the Javanese Deli cultural identity is formed through the significance of social relations distinct from those in the traditional cultural setting. It was also found that when the community was no longer bound by the dominance of local culture and settlements were more heterogeneous; the people tended to reproduce the Javanese Deli marriage customs. It will be shown here how the Javanese Deli maintains its identity through marriage ceremonies.

The *nemokkan* ceremony, an integral part of the Javanese wedding party (*Duwe gawe/ewuh*), should have been included in the previous description of the wedding ceremony. These efforts to preserve the Javanese Deli cultural identity are detailed in this section, where cultural symbols are used in the marriage ceremony.

Overall, there are many differences between a marriage ceremony that does not include a *nemokkan* ceremony and one that does have one. The meticulous preparation of ceremonial processions and their accompanying elements of proper equipment is essential. In Javanese culture, the *nemokkan* ceremony is the most critical part of the wedding ceremony. In the *nemokkan* ceremony, the newlyweds are publicly acknowledged as husband and wife. Ceremony as a place to negotiate through

cultural symbols has become an arena of symbolism contestation. As a public declaration, marriage ceremonies are an excellent way to demonstrate the existence of culture.

## CONCLUSION

A person's identity often refers to specific groups in society with the same characteristics as a factor that distinguishes them from other groups. For Berger, everyday social reality is a social construction made by the community. This shows that when an ethnic group is in a new context of social space, the meaning of culture is no longer a monopoly of a center of value orientation because of the emergence of new orientation centers ready to build influence and reconstruct old values. So the various symbols that show the absence of standard in using Javanese cultural characters in Javanese Marriage Customs show the historical relationship of the Javanese journey in the Deli.

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