

The Impact of Education on Social Mobility in North Bali in the Early XX Century

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Article history

Received : 2021-04-07
Accepted : 2021-08-23
Published : 2021-09-30

Keywords

Education,
Colonialism,
Social mobility,
North Bali

Abstract: This research was intended to examine the impact of education on social mobility in North Bali during the Dutch colonialism era in the early twentieth century. The method used for this research was heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography, assisted by social science as an analytical tool. The research findings revealed that the colonial era education system in North Bali consisted of two groups, namely primary and secondary education up to the junior high school level as it is today. *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS) in Singaraja was built in 1916, while *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS) first opened in 1918 in Singaraja, then in Denpasar, followed by Klungkung and Karangasem. The Netherlands also established a *Volks School* in villages. The development of education and facilities and infrastructure was quite good at that time as evidenced by the number of existing schools totaling 142. The existence of this educational institution provided opportunities for many groups of aristocrats and ordinary people (*jaba*) to obtain an education. This condition had an impact on the change in the social structure of the Balinese from feudal to modern, where the *jaba* experienced vertical social mobility. This in turn resulted in competition among aristocrats and *jaba*, resulting in various organizations such as Surya Kanta and Bali Adnyana. The Surya Kanta organization, which was founded by the *jaba*, carried out a social movement by demanding equality in society, eliminating *ajawera*, adapting custom to the times, eliminating *asupundung* and *alangkahi karanghulu*, and returning the caste system to religious principles.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini dimaksudkan untuk mengkaji dampak pendidikan terhadap mobilitas sosial di Bali Utara pada masa penjajahan Belanda di awal abad ke-20. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi dengan bantuan ilmu sosial sebagai alat analisis. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa sistem pendidikan zaman kolonial di Bali Utara terdiri dari dua golongan, yaitu pendidikan dasar dan menengah sampai dengan tingkat sekolah menengah pertama seperti sekarang ini. *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS) di Singaraja dibangun pada tahun 1916, sedangkan *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS) pertama kali dibuka pada tahun 1918 di Singaraja, kemudian di Denpasar, disusul oleh Klungkung dan Karangasem. Belanda juga mendirikan *Volks School* di desa-desa. Perkembangan pendidikan dan sarana prasarana saat itu cukup baik dibuktikan dengan jumlah sekolah yang ada berjumlah 142. Keberadaan lembaga pendidikan ini memberikan peluang bagi banyak golongan bangsawan dan masyarakat biasa (*jaba*) untuk mengenyam pendidikan. Kondisi ini berdampak pada perubahan struktur sosial masyarakat Bali dari feodal ke modern, di mana *jaba* mengalami mobilitas sosial vertikal. Hal ini pada gilirannya mengakibatkan persaingan antara bangsawan dan *jaba*, sehingga muncul berbagai organisasi seperti Surya Kanta dan Bali Adnyana. Organisasi Surya Kanta yang didirikan oleh para *jaba* melakukan gerakan sosial dengan menuntut kesetaraan dalam masyarakat, menghilangkan *ajawera*, menyesuaikan adat dengan perkembangan zaman, menghilangkan *asupundung* dan *alangkahi karanghulu*, dan mengembalikan sistem kasta pada prinsip-prinsip agama.

Cite this article: Arta, K.S., Yasa, I.W.P., Pangeh, I.M. (2021). The Impact of Education on Social Mobility in North Bali in the Early XX Century. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 31(2), 205-214. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v31i2.29742>



INTRODUCTION

Education encourages social mobility in society. The majority of Balinese are Hindu with a social stratification system that is close to the caste system in India. Communities with a feudal caste system have a very difficult time experiencing social mobility. However, this becomes not so difficult because of the existence of modern education on horizontal and vertical mobility in realized society. Besides, other factors, such as contact with other cultures, respect for the work of others, tolerance, open systems, heterogeneity of population, military, economy, politics, religion, and marriage are also factors that cause changes to community structure (Soekamto, 1977).

The development of education in Indonesia in general and Bali, in particular, is inseparable from the implementation of ethical politics. Ethical politics at the beginning of the twentieth century encouraged the emergence of various educational institutions, from the lowest level schools to universities in the country, including in Bali. The policy of making Singaraja the capital of the Resident of Bali-Lombok since 1882 has made Buleleng a very important area during the colonial era (Pageh et al., 2015, 2021). Therefore, apart from being the capital of the residency and administrative city, the city of Singaraja also developed into the center of education in Bali at that time (Utrecht, 1962). The presence of a western model of modern education which was proclaimed by the Dutch government was an advancement in education in Bali at that time. This modern education is an alternative as well as an alternative to the traditional education system. The presence of modern education gives freedom to outsiders who meet the requirements to enter it, which through this education will change the mental attitude, behavior, and way of thinking of the Indonesian nation (Antara, 1996). People who have completed their education then become Dutch government employees where they then form a bureaucratic elite (Sutherland, 1983).

The conditions that occurred at that time led to changes in the structure of Balinese society. At first, Balinese society was only dominated by the tri-wangsa, but ordinary people (*jaba*) experienced vertical mobility through this modern education. This was supported by the Dutch administrative staff recruitment policy which required that western education no longer looked at caste. This provided equal opportunities, not only for the tri-wangsa group but also for the *jaba* group to join the Dutch government employees. The *jaba* group was sometimes more resilient in facing pressure from the

Dutch colonial government, considering that this group was used to being in the lowest structure of society. This is different from the tri-wangsa group who get a job because of the status they get from birth (ascribed status), not because of learning outcomes (achievement status) (Agung, 1996).

The social mobility of the colonial era seems to have been largely caused by the product of education itself. Through education, it would be easy for someone in this case to enter the colonial era bureaucracy which then made him a *priyayi* group. The emergence of national figures such as Wahidin Sudirohusodo, Cipto Mangunkusumo, Sutomo, Gunawan Mangun Kusumo, Mohammad Hatta, Syahrir, Sukarno, and so on, is indisputable historical evidence (Surjomihardjo, 1986). In other words, there are many teaching systems and methods that have been applied in the colonial era which may become a mirror for us to see the future of the Indonesian nation better (Kartodirdjo, 1988).

The change in the government system from the feudal system to the western bureaucratic system (beams that) provided opportunities for educated people to enter the ranks of the Dutch bureaucracy. This educated group then dissolved colonial planning. This happens because not all people who have completed their education want to enter the western bureaucracy. Many of them fought against the colonialists with the provision of education created by the colonial government itself. By using their superior intelligence and criticality, this group could change their way of thinking to oppose the invaders to lead their people to the society they aspire to. This group was known in colonial times as the national elite (Niel, 1984). The same thing happened to Balinese society, where the educated elite became the driving force for the emergence of resistance organizations such as Surya Kanta and Bali Adnyana. Resistance ideas were conveyed through the mass media which were published periodically. This group is then referred to as the national elite (Pageh et al., 2015).

The emergence of awareness behind the formation of the national elite cannot be separated from the Dutch attitude which was very detrimental to Indonesia in general. The resistance that was carried out was an accumulation of colonial injustice in all fields in treating the Indonesian nation at that time (Suhartono, 1994). This injustice can be observed from the division of social classes, for example, Indonesia is included as a third-class population after western and eastern foreigners. Injustice can also be seen from the existence of payroll which is given based on differences in race and

descent. The system that was created provided more opportunities for aristocrats and foreign eastern groups to be more advanced. These were the things that led the Indonesian nation to move to gather itself against the Dutch colonialists (Suhartono, 1994). During the colonial period, a higher social position armed with education alone seemed insufficient, because many other factors had to be fulfilled which were called *nyuwita* and apprenticeship patterns. The same phenomenon is also found in the traditional society of North Bali, especially the kingdoms and their subordinate aristocrats (Abdullah, 1985).

The new thing studied in this research is specifically the examination of the phenomenon of education in Bali, particularly after the entrance of modern education into Balinese society. This research also helps to understand the impact of education on social mobility among Balinese, namely explaining education to the evolving social structure of the caste system and the influence of modern education.

Based on the phenomena that have been described, this research is very important to do considering that North Bali is the city of the Resident of Bali and Lombok which received western education. Of course, this situation also has an impact on the mobility of the social structure. If guided by conditions in Java, this education system could end the traditional bureaucratic system that existed during the kingdom era (Aryana et al., 2017; Habermas, 1988). On the other hand, the existence of this new bureaucratic elite creates conflict between one group and another. In the case of Bali, caste conflicts between aristocrats and ordinary people are common in societies that are undergoing a transition from the old system to the new system (Hadi, 2020; Soekamto, 1977). It is this condition that is expected to be elaborated through the results of this study which will further provide an overview of the social mobility of the Balinese people as the impact of education in North Bali in the early twentieth century.

METHOD

In this research, historical research procedures and steps of historical research were applied which include: writing topic selection, heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This is because this research also borrows a lot of thinking frameworks and social science theories as an aid in building historical facts, so that social science research techniques cannot be ignored (Kuntowijoyo, 1994; Miles et al., 2014).

At the heuristic stage, data collection was carried out by visiting Gedong Kirtya Singaraja, which is the center of the Bali and Lombok archives. The data obtained was then combined with various national archives obtained from the Indonesian National Archives. All archives and other written sources undergo source criticism through checking the authenticity of the data as a form of internal criticism. Researchers also conducted external criticism by checking the physical authenticity of the archives. After the data was collected, interpretation was then carried out following the formulation of the research problem. The final stage in this research was to conduct historiography using the historical science approach and critical social theory to obtain a holistic historical study result. At the writing stage, various principles of historical writing were also used, such as the principles of chronology, causality, synchronicity, and diachronicity. All of these steps were carried out sequentially to get a complete overview of the impact of the development of education for the people of North Bali in the early twentieth century.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM THAT PREVAILED IN THE DUTCH COLONIAL ERA

After the end of the Banjar War in 1869, six years later, in 1875, the Dutch East Indies government succeeded in establishing the first school in Bali, namely the Tweede Klasse School, located in the city of Singaraja. At the time, the government had a problem attracting students. We have already mentioned this in the preceding description. One of the reasons is because it is motivated by the social system in Bali, namely the existence of a caste system and is still bound by traditional patterns of thought. Because of the urgent need for government administrative personnel and the promotion of the Balinese people in education, in overcoming the shortage of students, the government is sometimes forced by force. It lasted approximately until 1915 (Mantra et al., 1978). In Bali, the traditional education system based on literature and Hinduism is accessible only by the upper tiers, namely the Brahmana and Ksatria groups. The bigotry and social structure of life, which is always bound by the standards of religion and caste, accepted it openly. The democratic viewpoint of the western world is limited to the lowest caste group, the Jaba group (Mantra et al., 1978).

Consequently, in particular the conflict north of Bali was the conflict between the Knights and the Jaba castes. This conflict may be considered as

representing the conflict between groups with traditional and modern education. This happened because only the three Wangsa groups, the Kshatriya group, which represented the conventional educated group, became the representative of traditional education. While the Jaba group are the ones that are limited in the area of access to education, but are open to the influence of modern education (Putrawan, 2008). This condition is also in line with the characteristics of traditional education, which is centered around the house of the Brahman group called the *Griya*. *Griya* is an educational center that the Brahmana and Ksatria have access to only. This means that the mainstream education system does not expect the Jaba class to receive an education as well. Because socially, it could threaten the position of the Tri Wangsa group in the social structure of Balinese society, which is guided by the caste system. The arrival of the Dutch by providing opportunities for the natives, especially the Jaba in Bali, to get an education which prompted major changes in the Balinese social system.

Education in the Dutch era was generally categorized into three main parts, namely (1) Basic Education, (2) Secondary Education, (3) Higher Education. All levels of education that are available cannot be accessed by everyone because, in practice, discrimination occurs based on race. The school during the colonialism era was divided into three groups consisting of groups of Dutch people, East Foreigners, and schools for indigenous people (Priyatmoko, 2018). All aspects of education of the education system and infrastructure for the natives were distinguished by the European population, as were the foreign easterners. If we pay more attention to it, the education model for Foreign Eastern children such as Chinese seems to be closer to the Dutch education system (Pageh et al., 2015). School for natives is the lowest education quality. In more detail, the colonialism education model applied in general Indonesia and North Bali, in particular, is summarized in the following description.

Indies Primary Education

Europeesche Lagere School (ELS) is a Dutch lower school in the form of a Basic Education Institution intended for European children living in Bali/Indonesia. This school can be entered by Indonesians with rather strict requirements in the form of intelligence and socio-political statuses of their parents, such as having enough income where such income usually can only be met by the children of nobles, children of kings, and courtiers.

This kind of school was opened in Singaraja in 1916. It is the only ELS school in Bali and does not exist in other districts in Bali. This can be understood because North Bali at that time was the capital of the Resident of Bali and Lombok, where Dutch officials or many Europeans lived in North Bali. *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS) was first opened in 1918 in Singaraja or to be precise two years after ELS was founded. HIS was also opened in the South Bali area, namely in Denpasar in 1918 followed by Klungkung and Karangasem. This school is better known as the Class I elementary school, which is an elementary school for Dutch sons. *Holland Chinese School* (HCS) is a Chinese school dedicated to Chinese and Chinese descendants. However, this school did not develop and the Dutch finally decided to close this school in 1919 (Antara, 1996).

Grade II Elementary School (2^{de} *Inlandsch School* or *Tweede Klasse Schole*), is intended for natives, for 5 years. Graduates of this school can continue directly to the *Inlandsch Vak School* (vocational school) according to the expertise that they want to form or have to go through a transitional school to be able to continue to MULO, AMS, and then to High School. Besides, the Dutch government established the People's School (*Volks School*) for residents in rural areas. This school is for indigenous people whose education lasts three years. Graduates from this school can continue to higher levels, but first, have to take a transitional school called the *Schakel School* (Secondary School) for about three years. *Schakel School* graduates can continue to MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Leger Onderwijs*) and continue to AMS (*Algemeene Middlebare School*), and finally, be able to enter schools according to their potential or in Higher Schools (Pageh et al., 2015).

Dutch Secondary School

Some of the secondary level education that existed in the Dutch colonial era were (1) LYCEA (5-6 years), (2) HBS (5 years) where graduates from this school could immediately continue to high school, while HBS schools (3 years) had to proceed to Middle Vak School or Secondary Vocational School before going to higher school (Depdikbud, 1977, p. 311). Another secondary school is *Europeesche Vak School* or *European Vocational School* with a length of education of three and four years. Graduates of this school can continue to *Vocational High Schools*, *Kweek School* (School Teachers), or AMS, before finally being able to go to Higher Education. However, during the colonial era, there were no

Table 1. Total Number and Types of Schools in Bali

Afdeling	ELS	HIS	<i>Tweede Klass School</i>	Volk School
Buleleng	1	1	8	16
Badung	-	1	5	22
Jembrana	-	-	2	3
Tabanan	-	-	6	22
Gianyar	-	-	3	12
Kelungkung	-	1	3	23
Karangasem	-	-	2	11
Total	1	3	29	109

Source: L.J.J. Caron, *Memorie van Overgave van Bali en Lombok* (Caron, 1929)

Senior High Schools in North Bali.

The effectiveness of the time used in studies during the Dutch colonial period can be said to be quite long, especially for indigenous children. The learning time for indigenous students in the colonial era was around 20-21 years, starting from the people's school level to transitional school, MULO, AMS to finally higher education. Vocational education in Bali grows naturally, as reported in *MvO Bali Lombok* (Caron, 1929). Arts crafts grow very well as a result of the high demand for handicraft products from tourists who come to Bali. Letter dated 29 November 1929 No. 4054 from the Resident of Bali and Lombok proposed that 10 vocational teachers be appointed with a salary of f 20 per month. In this case, the resident provides a subsidy of f 1,600 as the price of a student's art craft so that it can be exhibited in an annual exhibition. The learning process from this vocational school is carried out in artisan or artist workshops. Balinese art crafts are widely immortalized for religion and religious ceremonies. The Balinese at that time only paid little attention to ancient relics, thus encouraging the Dutch to participate in helping preserve the culture and saving Balinese ancestral heritage. This rescue effort was proven by the efforts to save the Besakih Temple during the great earthquake in 1917 by rehabilitating the temple. The restoration of the Besakih Temple was carried out in 1928 accompanied by a large religious ceremony after the restoration (Caron, 1929).

The Development of Education in North Bali

As mentioned in the previous section, the ethical politics proclaimed by the Queen of the Netherlands on September 17, 1901, paragraphs 12, 13 and 14, stated that "as a Christian country, the Netherlands is obliged to better regulate the legal position

of indigenous Christians in the Indies archipelago. The Netherlands, giving more solid assistance to the Christian mission, and pursuing all government policies imbued with the awareness that the Netherlands has a moral calling that must be fulfilled towards these people (Erkelens, 1997).

This policy was outlined by the Minister for Colonial Affairs of the Dutch East Indies named A.W.F. Idenburg into a note with the title "Eeeschold Nota", which translates as "Notes of Honor payable". In 1903, the government stated that the state provided funds of f 30 million as a down payment to be used over 5-6 years for projects aimed at stimulating the creation of people's welfare and equality in the Dutch East Indies.

Ratu Wihelmina's speech was then embodied in ethical-political policies through three main programs, which included irrigation, emigration, and education (Kartodirdjo, 1988; Niel, 1984). This policy slowly had an impact in the Dutch East Indies, in the form of the construction of various schools, including in North Bali, especially Singaraja, which since 1882 served as the capital of the residency of Bali and Lombok as well as the center of government, economy, socio-culture, and education.

Educational Facilities and Infrastructure in North Bali

Since 1914, primary schools have been opened in North Bali, to be precise in several areas including Bubunan, Sukasada, Kubutambahan, and Bondalem. Meanwhile, primary schools in Tabanan Regency were built in Penebel and Kerambitan. Similar schools were also established in Denpasar, Gianyar, and Karangasem. Also this year, specifically in Buleleng, the Hollands Inlandsch School (HIS) was opened. Another HIS school was built four years later in Denpasar (Runa, 2016; Suarka, 2011)

The growth of schools in North Bali is closely related to schools in Bali considering that at that time North Bali was the center of education in Bali. Although there are not as many public schools as in Badung, all types of schools are available in North Bali. This is as presented in the table 1 which shows schools in Bali until 1929.

The condition of schools in North Bali between 1926-1929 was reported by Bali-Lombok Resident C.J. Caron in 1929 is as follows: (1) Until 1929, there was only one ELS that had 2 teachers in 1926 with a total of 39 students consisting of 23 boys and 16 girls. In 1929, the number of teachers was the same as in 1926, namely two teachers but with a change in the number of students to 45 students, consisting of 31 boys and 14 girls. (2) There

was only one HIS until 1929. HIS had a composition of 7 teachers and a total of 141 students consisting of 127 boys and 14 girls. The number of teachers in 1929 was still the same, but the number of students reached 199 students, consisting of 174 male and 25 female students. (3) The number of Class II schools from 1926-1929 was 8 schools consisting of 28 teachers in 1926 and increased to 31 teachers in 1929. The number of students in Class II schools in 1926 was 1,265 boys and 109 girls or the total was 1,374 students. The number of teachers and students in grade II schools experienced a tremendous increase. This implies that public awareness of the importance of education is getting higher. (4) Public Schools (*Volks School*) in 1926 consisted of 15 schools spread across North Bali and increased by one school to become 16 Public Schools in 1929. The number of teachers in 1926 was 24 teachers and increased to 33 teachers in 1929. Students at the People's School in 1926 were 1,029 boys and 41 girls with a total of 1,070 students. In 1929, the number of male students increased to 1,479 boys and 67 girls, or a total of 1,486 students. In 1928, another People's School was built in Panji Village, to be precise on January 18, 1928. A year later, 1 Community School was built again in Sidatapa Banjar Village on July 11, 1929, with 37 students in the first year (Caron, 1929).

THE RENEWAL OF EDUCATIONAL ELITE IDEAS AND COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE

Religious Social Organization and Its Purpose

The social organization that grows in Buleleng is based on the awareness of an educated elite to advance society. The background is due to the condition of society which is still traditional and most of them live underdeveloped. Seeing this situation, the educated elite were moved to make a change which was then carried out by both the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* groups. In Singaraja, an organization called *Suita Gama Tirta* was established in 1921 under the leadership of I Gusti Putu Jelantik, a student leader in Singaraja. The organization aims to glorify religion and make reforms in the field of customs (Atmadja, 2001) (Surya Kanta, 1926, p. 99). The membership of this organization is open to all groups (chess wangsa).

Early development began between the *jaba* and *tri wangsa* groups who unite to achieve organizational goals. However, due to a different understanding of the organization's goals, this association finally disbanded in 1922. In 1923, the Shanti association appeared which had almost the same objective as the *Suita Gama Tirta* organization, namely to

educate the wider community. Many of the members of this association come from *squat seka*, which is an association that operates in terms of savings and loans. Other members come from among the educated teachers, employees, and the wider community. The names who are members of this association include Wayan Ruma, Ketut Nasa, Made Kaler, Nyoman Kajeng, I Gusti Putu Jelantik, I Gusti Putu Cakratanaya, Ida Bagus Gelgel, Ida Pedanda Putu Geria. The positive response from the community is closely related to the role of the communication media/magazine they have developed called *Shanti Adnyana*.

The acceptance of *Shanti Adnyana's* organization and time of news was very positive. This can be proven by a large number of members and customers, who do not only come from Bali but also extend to Lombok. Through a deeper understanding of religion, people's understanding of the social system of society is colored by the caste system and understanding of Hinduism which is still dominated by traditions and customs. The educated circles at that time also began to become more critical, courageous, and able to distinguish between traditional and religious ones. It seems that at that time the *tri wangsa* clan tried to maintain the tradition of *aja wera* so that the heir as a brahmana could be maintained. Yet according to religious literature, being a brahmana is not due to birth, but because of one's function or self-help in society. This situation caused the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* groups to begin to split.

Educated Elite Radical Renewal Ideas

An in-depth study of Hinduism carried out by educated elites led to an increasingly open knowledge of the public that Hinduism did not recognize caste, as was the tradition of Balinese society at that time. This fact gave rise to the idea of reforming the educated group from the *jaba* class to reform the teachings of caste chess into color chess, namely social stratification based on professionalism or social functions based on expertise, not based on ancestry as taught by the brahmana at that time.

The more Balinese people who complete teacher training and other schools outside Bali with the Dutch education system, the greater the flow of wanting to change their customs that are no longer in line with the times. The idea of reform from the *jaba* group was opposed by the *tri wangsa* group represented by I Gusti Cakratanaya, where he still had traditional thoughts. Meanwhile, the *jaba* group is led by Ketut Nasa, a school principal in

Bubunan Village. This conflict between groups caused Shanti's organization to disband, while when Shanti Adnyana's news was taken over by I Gusti Merta Tanaya, who later changed her name to Bali Adnyana. This was published for the first time on January 1, 1924, with the chief editor was I Gusti Cakratanaya and the director was I Gusti Ketut Putra.

The *jaba* group then created a communication media called Surya Kanta Magazine in 1925. At the same time, the *jaba* group figures then created an organization called Surya Kanta. Surya Kanta's figures are Ketut Sandi (a retainer of Singaraja City), Nengah Metra (teacher), and Ketut Nasa (teacher). The Surya Kanta Association was founded on November 1, 1925, with the composition of the management referring to the Surya Kanta Statute in Surya Kanta magazine number 2 dated November 1, 1925, as follows: Ketut Sandi (President), Ketut Nasa (Vice President), Nengah Metra (Secretary I), Ketut Kaler (Secretary II), Ketut Purna (Treasurer), The Commissioner consists of Ketut Mudasara and Wayan Ruma

The purpose of establishing the Surya Kanta association is to advance the *jaba* and Hindu religion in Bali, so that they can be equal to those of the Hindu religion followers in Java, which is where the Balinese educated elite study. The efforts of educated elites to develop society through various fields of community life, including by fostering economic understanding in society to create people with economic awareness in their lives, for example by establishing cooperatives. The success of this business was marked by the establishment of several cooperatives in villages to help economically weak communities. Educated elites also encourage savings in the Ngaben ceremony. This saving is driven by the phenomenon of the community before holding the Ngaben ceremony, which first has to sell the land inherited from their parents. This was seen to lead the wider community into structural poverty, especially for the *jaba* (Surya Kanta, 1925a).

The main idea of the *jaba* group is to demand equal rights and obligations between the *jaba* and *tri wangsa* groups in terms of treatment and law (Surya Kanta, 1926: 10). The educated elite also demands someone's award in a society based on achieved status, not only based on the descent (ascribed status). This situation caused North Bali to appear in an inner war between *jaba* and *tri wangsa*. The public is worried that this hostility could have a far-reaching impact and disrupt harmony between Hindus in Bali. The resolution of this conflict is not easy because each group has its

own power base.

The Impact of Education on Social Mobility in North Bali

Education in North Bali which is increasingly advanced has led to an increasing number of groups who think forward or think based on science, equal rights and obligations in society and respect for the special justice that individuals have. The educated elite group consists of the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* groups. They both want to promote social and old customs that are left behind and are no longer following the times. This thought seems to be the basis for the social movement in North Bali which is concerned about the expansion of western culture in Balinese society, especially Buleleng, which not only affects the orientalist, but also the modern Balinese elite, both from the innards (*Tri wangsa*). or the *jaba* (sudra). The impact of education on social mobility in North Bali can be described as follows:

The implementation of Ethical politics in North Bali raises groups who have thoughts based on knowledge, equal rights and obligations in society, and respect the special skills possessed by individuals. This thought is shared by the *Tri wangsa* group and the *Jaba* group, it's just that the method is different. These two groups have different ideas in maintaining the identity of the Balinese. The modern elite of the *tri-wangsa* interpreted Balinese culturalism that Balinese people had to stick to the old order and lead to traditionalism. On the other hand, the modern *jaba* elite have a view that tends more to transformative social movements or to make Balinese people who are no longer traditional Balinese, but modern Balinese. Borrowing the ideas of Giddens, the modern *jaba* elite has the view that at least Balinese people should be post-traditionalism (Giddens, 2003). The demands referred to are as follows:

Firstly, demands for equal position in society. The educated group wants a change in caste customs according to religious teachings, namely adopting a color system. Caste in Bali should be adjusted to the teachings in religious books, namely based on the concept of color chess. This idea is in line with the thought of the Surya Kanta Association, which sees that in Bali, many customs are not following the demands of the times, especially about the relationship between the *Jaba* and the *triwangsa*. The Surya Kanta Association (Surya Kanta, 1926) argues that the relationship must refer to religious, *adigama*, or *purwagama* books. The different treatment between *triwangsa* and *jaba* is considered contrary to religious teachings so that

the Surya Kanta Association doesn't like it because it is considered degrading. This demand was strongly opposed by the *tri wangsa* group because it was seen as a threat to their position in the structure of Balinese society. The *tri wangsa* group in this case greatly benefits considering the position of the *jaba* group which is placed as the lowest class (Atmadja, 2001).

Secondly, *Ajawera* abolition. The main step that should be taken to increase Balinese religious knowledge is to eliminate *ajawera*. *Ajawera* is the concept of prohibiting the *jaba* from studying religious books, leading ceremonies, and becoming a leader because these things are not following the caste he adheres to. In Surya Kanta magazine, II, No.4, (1926, p. 24) the abolition of *ajawera* was carried out by replacing old customs or no longer following the times with new ones. To achieve the intended goal, the efforts made by Islam and Christianity to spread and deepen their religion need to be imitated by Hinduism (Pageh, 2016). For example, Balinese people should increase the number of schools or at least religious courses which are managed under the care of religious leaders. Religious knowledge conveyed in religious courses needs to be re-edited and published in various newspapers published in Bali. *Ajawera* teachings allow the *tri wangsa* to dominate the structure of Balinese society in general.

Thirdly, customary adaptation with the progress of the times. The *jaba* argued that the Balinese had to select the customs they had. Through this method, custom that hinders progress, especially customs that are not following religion, must be abandoned. This is very important considering that new progress will be realized if customs and religions are able to motivate humans to improve their destiny towards a better life. Besides, customs and religions must also be able to adapt to the changing conditions of society (Surya Kanta, 1927).

Fourthly, abolition of *Asupundung* and *Alangkahi karanghulu*. *Asupundung* means the customary sanction imposed on the *jaba* who is married to the *tri wangsa* group. The elimination of customary sanctions in inter-caste marriages was proposed by the educated elite group of the *jaba* group because these customs were no longer following progress and religion so they had to be straightened out. This injustice can be observed from the post-wara rules of 1900, which regulate *jaba* who marry with the brahmana caste, ksatria dalem, wesya, and royal descendants, must be subject to sanctions *asupundung* (Surya Kanta, II, No.8, 1926: 112). The sanctions imposed are very heavy, namely *lebok*

(being drowned in the middle of the sea to death). This punishment was changed during the Dutch East Indies era to become a sentence of life banishment to Parigi (Sulawesi). Furthermore, this sanction has been changed again, namely to become a 10-year exile to Lombok or another island, as long as it is outside Bali. Over time, the sanctions were changed again to someone who did it must be thrown outside the area, but still in the area of Bali Island (Atmadja, 2001). Marriage of a man from the Vaisya and Shudra caste with a female knight (not a ksatria dalem) is also prohibited. The violation of the prohibition is called *Alangkahi karanghulu*. The sanction imposed for this violation is a fine. This prohibition or restriction does not apply to the *tri wangsa*.

Fifthly, return of the caste system to the principles of religion. The Surya Kanta Association, which is the place for the struggle of the *jaba* elite, realizes the inequality, injustice, or obstacles they face in upholding democratic principles concerning social and legal equality, which lies in the enforceability of the caste system. Even though the *jaba* has a high status when viewed from an educational perspective, they are still humiliated by the *tri-wangsa* group even though they are both humans. This factor is what encourages the elite from the *jaba* circles to make changes with the principle of equality of social democracy (Shiraishi, 1986).

The change that this group wanted was realized by fighting for color chess or the caste system prevailing in Hinduism, which emphasized the principle of professionalism. To legitimize these demands for change, they refer to religious literature, including those listed in the *Brahmakta Widiasastra* which explains the origin of caste (Surya Kanta, 1925b)

All actions and demands made by the *jaba* group in Bali are a form or way of legitimizing the social mobility of education that has been obtained so that it is accepted as a whole by the Balinese people. Because only by eliminating these various rules, the expected vertical mobility can be realized. However, in the end, the Dutch used the opposition to the *tri wangsa* and *jaba* groups to prohibit the various organizations they had founded. The Dutch saw this as a threat to the Dutch existence in Bali or Indonesia in general (Pageh et al., 2015).

CONCLUSION

The development of education in North Bali has had a broad impact on the socio-cultural sector of Bali which in turn has led to the emergence of social mobility, especially among the *jaba*. The develop-

ment of education in Bali was marked by the existence of *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS) in 1916, Tweede Klass School, *Hollandsch Inlandsche School* (HIS) in Singaraja, Denpasar, Klungkung and Karangasem, as well as the *Holand Chineesche School* (HCS). The number of these schools reached 142 with details of 1 ELS, 3 HIS, 29 Tweede Klass School, and 109 *Volks School*. The education of these schools gave rise to a new elite group which led to the emergence of organizations such as Surya Kanta from the *jaba* group and Bali Adnyana from the aristocratic group. The competition between these two organizations has caused disturbing conditions in the community. The Surya Kanta organization, which is led by the *jaba*, has made this organization a fighting tool that demands equal rights in Balinese society. They demanded equality in society, the elimination of *ajawera*, adaptation of customs to the progress of the times, the elimination of *asupundung* and *alangkahe karanghulu*, and the return of the caste system to religious principles. This situation is certainly a strange thing before the existence of modern education in North Bali. Starting from that education, North Bali or what is known as Buleleng, various major figures in Balinese history then emerged, such as Anak Agung Pandji Tisna, the poet, Angkatan Baru, and Mr. I Gusti Ketut Pudja as governor of Sunda Kecil.

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