

The Position of Women in the Patrilineal Kinship System (Literature Study on the Position of Women in Social Structure of Hindu Society in Bali)

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ABSTRACT

This article was written to explore the position of women in the patrilineal kinship system, especially women in the kinship system of the Hindu community in Bali. According to Balinese customary law, the position of women tends to be in a subordinate position to men. This can be seen from the inheritance system which tends to give privileges to men. This means that in the inheritance system within the Balinese traditional community, women are not entitled to inherit property from their ancestors unless their position has been exchanged to masculinity (*purusa*) in the *nyentana* (*nyeburin*) marriage system. Similarly, in terms of decision-making, both within the family and within the indigenous community, women tend to be excluded. This cannot be separated from the hegemony of masculinity (*purusa*) against the feminine (*pradana*) socio-culturally in the kinship system of the Balinese indigenous people. However, in reality, many women are less aware of their position as a controlled class, because they have been being hegemonized ideologically. This means that they unwittingly accept the ideas of the ruling class, which in this case is the male class, as something normal and natural, without the slightest critical rational attitude.

Keywords: patrilineal kinship, feminine (pradana), masculinity (purusa), inheritance system, and nyeburin marriage.

I. Introduction

The patrilineal kinship system is one of the basic components of the theory of the development of the human family called the

theory of family evolution. One of these theories was developed by Bachopen in his book "Das Matter Recht" (1861) which asserts that the human family around the

world developed through four stages of evolution. The four stages of evolution include, first, the period of promiscuity, which is a period in which humans live like a herd of animals in groups, men and women can relate freely and give birth to offspring without marriage ties. As a result, the nuclear family group as the core of community life is unknown at this time. Gradually, humans began to realize the relationship between mothers and their children as a nuclear family group in society, and children living in that group only knew who their mother was without knowing who their father was. In this model family group, the mother is the head of the family and is responsible for her family life. Marriage between a mother and her son in this model of a kinship system is avoided so that the custom of exogamy arises children as a nuclear family group in society, and children living in that group only knew who their mother was without knowing who their father was. In this model family group, the mother is the head of the family and is responsible for her family life. Marriage between a mother and her son in this model of a kinship system is avoided so that the custom of exogamy arises.

Second, the nuclear family group with the mother as the head of the family is increasingly expanding and developing in people's lives and hereinafter referred to as the matrilineal kinship system. Third, in its development, this kind of matrilineal kinship

system turned out to make men feel dissatisfied so that when they wanted to have sex with women they took their future wives from other family groups and brought the girl into their group. With this system, the children who are born also remain in the male family group, and henceforth it is the man who is responsible for the life of his family and the lineage is determined based on the male lineage. This situation has evolutionarily led to the emergence of a patrilineal kinship system in which the head of the family and the responsibility for family life are no longer held by the mother but by the father. Fourth, in its development, the exogamy system then turned into an endogamous system, namely the children in this model family life, not only in direct contact with the father's relatives but also directly with the mother's relatives which Bachopen called the parental system [13]. In subsequent developments, Bachopen's theory was applied in various colors of Indonesian culture by a Dutch anthropologist, namely Wilken (1847-1861) and it turned out that the existence of this theory was compatible with the various colors of Indonesian culture [3]. By following Bachopen and Wilken, it can be said that some areas in Indonesia, including Bali, until now still adhere to the kinship system that takes into account the male lineage (patrilineal). In the

patrilineal kinship system, there is a conventional view that says that women (wives) have a nurturing role or a domestic role known as an expressive role, while men (husbands) have a role as breadwinner or a public role which is often also called an instrumental role [9]. However, when viewed in feminist studies, the role described by Olson and Defrain is not absolute, meaning that the wife does not always take on domestic roles, but under certain conditions the wife may become the backbone of the family economy or as the breadwinner, and the opposite can also happen to the husband. This phenomenon often occurs in the life of modern society, so the role of a wife becomes very complex [5]. Talking about the role of women or the position of women, both in the family and in society according to the Hindu view is equal. This can be seen from the *Ardhanareswari* concept promoted by the Hindu community in positioning women in family and community life. In the *Ardhanareswari* concept, men and women are created differently, but not for a dichotomy, but to complement one another, to create harmonization in family life. In the *Siwa Tattwa* teachings, God is referred to as *Shiva*, which is the only eternal truth and dissolves in power over the universe. According to Hindu mythology, in the process of creation that has no beginning and no end, Shiva is accompanied by his magic

(*Dewi Uma or Dewi Durga*) which then gives rise to the concept of *Ardhanareswari* [4]. The concept of *Ardhanareswari* which is a combination of masculine and feminine traits, in reality in the life of the Hindu community in Bali is often paradoxical. This is because women in the social structure of Balinese indigenous peoples are often positioned as human beings who are subordinate to men in various social constructions. For example, in the inheritance system, Hindu women in Bali are not positioned as parties who are entitled to receive the inheritance as experienced by boys. Likewise, in terms of enjoying education, there are still some families in Balinese society who distinguish the rights in terms of enjoying education between boys and girls in their family environment. In such families, there is a tendency for the education of sons to be prioritized, compared to the education of their daughters. In this regard, it is very interesting to study the position of women in the patrilineal kinship system, which is generally embraced by families in the Hindu community in Bali.

II. Discussions

A. The Position of Women According to the Hindu's Point of View

The position of women and their interactions with men in the social structure of Hindu society in Bali can be seen based on Balinese customary law, which is mostly based on Hindu religious values [6]. The position and role of women in Hinduism can be seen in the contents of the *Manawa Dharmasastra* verse, Book III, verse 58 which emphasizes that:

jāmayo yāni gehāni
śapantya prati pūjitāh,
tāni kṛtyāhatānīva
vinaśyanti samantataḥ

It means :

a house where women are not properly respected

say curse words, the family will be destroyed

entirely as if destroyed by magical power.

[11] .

Observing the contents of the verse above, it can be said that conceptually Hindu teachings glorify women, and if respect for women is denied, the household where women are not respected will be destroyed. Given the importance of women's roles, both in the family and in society, for Hindu families, especially in Bali, there is no reason to hurt women in living life in this world.

There is also the role of women in family life or community life according to [12], besides being housewives, sometimes they also act as workers in the public sector, and at the same time as educators for their children in the family environment.

In line with [12 and 8] explain that Balinese Hindu women who used to only act as prayers for their family members and as workers in the domestic sector, now many Balinese Hindu women have been able to play a dual role, namely in addition to being workers in the domestic sector. The domestic sector is also often involved in work in the public sector. However, in reality, in the social construction of the Balinese indigenous people, there are still stereotypes that assume that the position of women is lower than that of men. This can be proven by the exclusion of Balinese Hindu women in the decision-making process, both within the family and in the indigenous community. Likewise, until now the position of women in the family environment according to Balinese customary law does not have the right as heirs, except for women whose status has been exchanged from *pradana* to *purusa* in the *nyeburin* (*nyentana*) marriage system.

According to [15], the phenomenon of *nyeburin* (*nyentana*) marriage is closely related to the inheritance system in

Balinese indigenous peoples based on the father's lineage which is often also called patrilineal lineage. By referring to this phenomenon, it can be emphasized that in the Balinese traditional kinship system, only children (boys) (*purusa*) have the right to become heirs when their parents have died. Meanwhile, children with the status of girls (*pradana*) are not entitled to the inheritance left by their parents. At first glance, it seems that Balinese customary law applies unfairly to women, but on closer inspection, this is not the case. Because after marriage, daughters have the right to enjoy the inheritance belonging to their husbands in their parents-in-law's extended family. Thus, Balinese customary law in the context of the inheritance system cannot be said to be discriminatory (unfair).

In the development of an increasingly modern world today, the position of Balinese Hindu women seems to have begun to experience a shift, namely, in the current era of modernism, many Hindu women, especially in Bali, have obtained the right to take part in the public sector. This is proven by many Balinese Hindu women who have been able to occupy important positions, both in the government sector and in the private sector. There are even some Balinese Hindu women who have successfully pursued their careers in politics, some have even become regents and some have been able to hold ministerial positions during the Joko Widodo

administration. Another thing that can be said as a change related to the position of Balinese Hindu women is the provision of property to their married daughter which is often called "jiwadana" or "*tetatan*" property, but this property may not be used as joint property with his partner. As for the source of this *tetatan* property, it is from the wealth of the user or *the gongini* property that was obtained by his parents after they got married.

Departing from the description above, it can be emphasized that the position of Hindu women, especially in Bali according to the Hindu view, must be respected, glorified, and loved. But in reality, there is still a gender-biased treatment of Balinese Hindu women. However, recently, along with the increasing level of education for Hindu women, little by little their position in the social structure of Balinese indigenous peoples has begun to be taken into account. As mentioned in the previous description that now many Balinese Hindu women have obtained their right to take part in the public sector, and not only dwell on work in the domestic sector, although it must be admitted that there are still some women who are still treated unfairly in the social community in life

B. The Position of Women as Housewives

As housewives, women have very heavy duties and responsibilities. Because in addition to having to serve their husbands and children in the family environment, women also have the task of taking care of the cleanliness of the house, household management, and educating their sons and daughters to grow and develop into good children (suputra). As the first human being recognized by children after they were born into the world, it is the mother who can be called the first and foremost educator. It is called the first and foremost educator, because it is the mother who first teaches everything in this world to her children, including the teachings of divinity. Teachings about the phenomena related to the existence of God are called theology or also called *Brahma Widya* or *Brahma Tattwa Jnana* [10]. This teaching emphasizes that the concept of divinity according to Hinduism is monotheistic, that is, everything comes from God and there is only one existence, namely God Almighty with all its manifestations.

Then, concerning teaching everything (read: science) God took prabawa (manifestation) as Dewi Saraswati. In the Hindu concept, Dewi Saraswati is the magic of Brahma which is a symbol of the primacy of science. Departing from this conception, it can be analogized that women (goddesses) according to the Hindu view are a symbol of the existence of science. Thus, it can be

interpreted that the position of women as educators in the family environment is the key to the success of education for their children, including the success of their husbands in pursuing their careers. Departing from the description above, it can be understood how important the position of women is as housewives according to Hinduism's point of view. Because apart from being housewives (dharmapatni) women also play a role as coaches, regulators, and drivers of family members in carrying out various activities. This is explicitly stated in the Mānawa Dharmaśāstra Book IX verse 27 which states as follows.

*utpādanam apatyasya
jātasya paripālanam,
pratyaham lokayātrāyāh
pratyakṣam strī nibandhanam.*

It means :

Birth of children, nurturing
towards those who were born and life
every day for men, will all
It was women who cause it
[11].

From the contents of the verse, it is clear how important the position of a woman in domestic life according to the Hindu view is. It is said so because the contents of the verse implicitly mean that the high or low dignity of the family is

largely determined by the role of women as housewives. After all, women are the builder of the basic personality in the family. In addition, the importance of the role of women in domestic life can also be seen in how women educate and nurture their children for their future. Thus, it is not an exaggeration if, in the context of education, mothers are said to be the first and foremost educators, because, from the time they are born until they are adults, the parenting pattern for children in the family environment is mostly done by a mother than by a father. This proves how important the position of women as housewives is in running the ark of family life. However, in reality, women, especially in societies that adhere to a patrilineal kinship system, are often positioned as subordinate to men in various social structures. For example, in the family decision-making process, women are often excluded for various reasons. Likewise, in terms of inheritance, women are also not entitled to enjoy the inheritance of their parents, including the right to enjoy education. There are also Hindu families in Bali who are discriminatory against their daughters. In a sense, the right to enjoy education in the family environment is prioritized for sons, while daughters are secondary. This depends on the economic capacity of their parents, if the economy of their parents allows paying for the education of all their children, then girls will get the same rights as boys in terms

of enjoying education, but if the family's economic capacity is less, then they will enjoy the benefits. education is the privilege of boys, and girls tend to be marginalized.

C. *The Position of Women as Traditional Village Krama*

Before discussing the position of women as adat village manners, it is necessary to first explain the notion of *adat* village as a forum for *adat* village manners itself. According to the Bali Provincial Regulation No. 4 of 2019 concerning traditional villages, what is meant by traditional villages are:

“the customary law community unit in Bali which has the territory, position, original structure, traditional rights, own assets, traditions, manners of the social life of the community from generation to generation in the bonds of the sacred place of heaven three, duties and authorities, as well as the right to regulate and take care of his household”.

Departing from the understanding of the traditional village, and in the context of developing its function in society, the traditional village is equipped with two organs as working partners of the traditional village *prajuru*, namely (1) the village *sabha* which acts as a work partner

of the traditional village *prajuru* who carries out the consideration function; and (2) village papers, as working partners of customary village *prajuru* who have the function of resolving customary or speech cases based on customary law in force in the local village. Judging from the existence of the traditional village *prajuru* and the two organs that were formed as working partners of the traditional village *prajuru*, so far none of them have involved women. Thus, the Balinese Hindu women have not yet obtained equality in the social structure of indigenous peoples. Whereas according to Hindu theology, women are not a small part of men but are an equally large, equally strong, and equally decisive part in the realization of a complete life.

In this context, according to Hindu theology, women are called *ardanareswari*, which is an expression that comes from the word *ardha* which means half or equal parts, and *nara* means male human, while *iswari* means female human. Based on the meaning of each of these words, it can be understood that the word *Ardhanareswari* means that without the feminine element an incarnation will not be fully realized. However, in reality, until now there are still some communities, including indigenous peoples in Bali who position women as human beings who are subordinated to men. The differences in the social roles of men and women are

constructed socio-culturally through a long historical process. For example, women are personified as gentle, beautiful, emotional creatures, or have maternal traits (feminine), while men are identified with strong, rational, mighty, and masculine creatures [1].

Cultural roles as described by Fakhri above can be exchanged in the sense that, factually, in people's lives there are men who have emotional, gentle, motherly, and other feminine traits, while on the other hand there are also strong women, rational, and mighty. Based on several studies on gender differences, these differences are due to several things, including being formed, socialized, strengthened, even socially or culturally constructed through religious teachings or state power. Through this process, over time, these roles seem to be the nature of men and women who cannot be changed. Whereas dialectically, the social construction that was built through a fairly long evolutionary process has unwittingly affected the biological aspects of each sex. For example, because men are stereotypically identified with strong, valiant, aggressive, and other similar names, men finally have to adapt to the stigma attached to them by a socio-cultural society. On the other hand, the stigma attached to women is gentle, feminine, and so on, so from infancy the

socialization process has been carried out among women, so that the stigma not only affects the emotional development, vision, and ideology of women, but also affect their subsequent physical and biological development.

Considering that the process of socialization and social reconstruction took place in an established manner and over a long time, it was finally difficult to distinguish from a gender perspective, which traits were formed through social construction and which traits were formed based on biological nature. However, this does not mean that these traits cannot be distinguished, but that they can still be distinguished through an understanding of the characteristics inherent in each sex. The trick is to understand that as far as these traits are interchangeable, then these traits are the result of social construction by society. On the other hand, if these qualities are not interchangeable, they are only natural traits that have been outlined by the Creator. For example, giving birth is a natural trait that must be carried out by women, because women can't exchange the nature of childbearing by women to men. Likewise, fertilizing an egg in a woman's uterus is the nature of men, because it is impossible to exchange these eggs with women. After all, women do not have sperm, and so on. So, what can be categorized as cultural roles in a gender perspective are roles that can be

exchanged, while roles that cannot be exchanged are called biological nature.

D. Hegemonic Masculinity in the Patriarchal Kinship System

The patriarchal kinship system is a social system that places men (masculinity) as the main power holder and dominates in political leadership roles, moral authority, social rights, and property control. In the family domain, the figure called father in this model kinship system has authority over women, children, and property owned by the family concerned [2]. Meanwhile, hegemony according to Gramsci [14] is not a relationship of domination by using power, but a relationship of agreement using political and ideological leadership. Furthermore, according to Gramsci [2] hegemony is a chain of victories that is obtained through a consensus mechanism and not through the oppression of other social classes. Departing from the concept of patriarchal kinship and if it is associated with the concept of hegemony according to Gramsci, an understanding can be constructed that the prioritization of the position of men in a kinship system called patriarchal kinship occurs through a very long and very subtle process of social and cultural construction, so that those in subordinate positions do not realize that they are under oppression or power. For

example, mistakes in reflecting the concepts of *purusa* and *pradana* in the form of men and women in the social life of Balinese society have created gender injustice in the lives of women. The reason is that the concept of *purusa* which is translated explicitly into male and *pradana* into a female has resulted in the emergence of the view that men have a more special position than women, and this condition tends to be not realized by women themselves.

According to [16] Balinese indigenous people adhere to a patrilineal or patrilineal kinship system which in Balinese society is better known as lime or *purusa*. As a result of the enactment of this kinship system, men in Balinese society are considered to have a more important position than women. Thus, in various social constructions, men in the life of the Hindu community in Bali always receive priority, while women are often placed second. To understand the social conditions related to the different roles between men and women in the Hindu society in Bali which causes injustice for women, Karl Marx's class analysis can be used, which essentially says that in every society there is a ruling class and a ruled class. or often also referred to as the upper class and the lower class [7]. By using Marx's analysis of class structure, the position of Hindu women in Bali in various social structures can be described as the dominant class while men are the dominating class. For

example, in the case of inheritance where men are entitled to become heirs of all the assets owned by their parents, while women are not justified unless they are given voluntarily by both parents as administrative assets.

The assets that parents may give to their daughters are the assets of the use of wealth or *gono-gini* assets, namely assets that are obtained by their parents as a result of joint work after they are married. Meanwhile, assets received from generation to generation from their ancestors may not be given to daughters. Likewise, in terms of decision-making, Hindu women in Bali are rarely involved, both in family decisions and decisions made in social institutions. This proves that the Hindu community in Bali still views women as a subordinate class to the male class. This condition has been going on for a very long time and women themselves are not even aware of it, because they have been hegemonized socio-culturally. This is in line with Gramsci's view that hegemony is not a relationship of domination by using force, but a relationship of the agreement through political and ideological leadership. For Marx ideology is a tool, by which the ideas of the ruling class can be accepted in society as something normal and natural. Likewise, in the patriarchal kinship system in Balinese society, ideas

with the tool of the lime system make women tend to take for granted ideas from the male class in various social constructions without a critical rational attitude because men are considered to have power in the prevailing socio-cultural system. Departing from such a phenomenon, it can be emphasized that the ideology referred to in this context is more participation of all social classes, rather than just a set of ideas imposed by a certain social class on other social classes.

III. Conclusions

Based on the description above, several conclusions can be drawn, including the following. First, conceptually Hinduism views that women have a very important role and position in the social structure of society. This is contained in the *slokas* of the holy book where women must be respected and glorified. If this provision is violated, then the family in which the woman is not respected will be destroyed according to the Hindu's view. Second, as housewives, women also have very important roles and functions, because in addition to serving their husbands, managing household affairs, women also act as the first and foremost educators of the children in the family environment, so that their children can grow and develop into mal children. Third, the position of women in indigenous peoples is equally important, because women and men according to *adat* (tradition) or religious views are equally

important, so the term *ardhanareswari* appears, which means that without the element of feminity this incarnation will not be complete. So, between men and women are two different things, but these differences are not meant to be mutually dichotomy with each other but must be used to complement each other. Fourth, in the patriarchal kinship system, the hegemony of the masculine and the feminine often occurs. This happens through a very long social and cultural construction and this is often not realized by women, because they have been hegemonized socio-culturally. This means that women can just accept the existing systems and structures without a critical rational attitude because they have been ideologically drugged.

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