Minang Women in The Patriarchy Cultural Maelstrom: Viewed from The View of Religion and Culture

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Abstract. This study aimed to determine the position of women in Minangkabau when viewed from a patriarchal culture in terms of religious and cultural perspectives—using the theory of nature and nurture by using the perspective of religion, culture, and family. The method used in this study is a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. At the same time, the object of this research is Minangkabau ethnic women who are active in organizational activities both in the realm of government or in non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Technique’s data collection is done using interview and observation methods, and then the data is analyzed through interview transcripts and reduced by making abstractions as a core discussion. This study shows various opinions stating that currently women: women in minang customs have experienced degradation. Their success in holding heirlooms is only a symbol, the management of property by Bundo Kanduang is only possessing, not controlling, so the expression "women reign but not rule” applies. The degradation is caused by the current globalization, capitalism, which makes minang women's position beyond the limits of ability. Judging from the contact of customs and religion, the position of minang women benefits because by custom, they are the owners of high heirlooms, and the man is the head of the family. He is obliged to provide for his wife. This, the position of women in Minangkabau in patriarchal culture is seen in the context of culture and religion by nature cannot be equated because it cannot be separated from the teachings of "adat basandi syarak and syarak basandi Kitabullah".

Keywords: Culture; Matrilineal System; Minangkabau Women; Religion

1 Introduction

The relationship between women and men in Indonesia is still dominated by gender ideology, giving birth to a patriarchal culture. Gender as an analytical tool is generally used by conflict social science schools which refers to construction and system errors caused by gender. Gender, as stated by Oakley in sex, gender, and society (Fikih, 2005), means a difference that is not biological and not God’s nature. This culture does not accommodate attention, balance so that women become unimportant to be taken into account. Based on studies conducted using gender analysis, it turns out that there are many manifestations of injustice, such as (1) marginalization or economic impoverishment of women. For example, many rural women are marginalized and become impoverished due to the green revolution agricultural program, which only focuses on male farmers. male. (2)
The occurrence of subordination to one gender, generally women in the household, where many policies are made without considering women important (3) negative labeling (stereotypes) of certain sexes resulting in discrimination against women, for example, there is belief in society that men are breadwinners and that women outside work is seen as supplementary and may therefore be paid less. (4) women have more and more extended domestic workloads (burden). In other words, women's gender roles in managing and maintaining have resulted in the growth of community traditions and beliefs that they must be responsible for the overall implementation of domestic work. The socialization of gender roles creates a sense of guilt in women if they do not carry out these domestic tasks.

Meanwhile, for men, it is not considered a responsibility, even in many traditions. According to custom, men are prohibited from being involved in domestic work. The workload is doubled for women who work outside the home (Fikih, 2005). According to United Nations statistics in the 1980s, information was obtained that (a) Women work 2/3 of jobs worldwide, but only receive 1/10 of the world's income (b) Of the world's population who are still illiterate, 2/3 are women while he has the burden of "educating" his offspring (c) Women in the world only have less than 1/100 of the world's wealth.

The ideology used as the basis for thinking determines the relationship system between the sexes based on the legal basis of fatherhood so that all aspects are seen from the father's point of view. This ideology becomes lame when women consider them subordinate to men and are not included in making life institutions. In its development, this subordinate relationship of women produces gender inequality, humans as individuals lose their identity because of social and religious construction. The change from matriarchal culture to patriarchal culture occurs when men get to know the farm. Nature creates a property that requires delegation as an inheritance; because of this need for delegation, men begin to look for their offspring to be given inheritance rights.

Since then, the child is known from the father's lineage. The initial change was natural because the warehouse is also a food buffer. However, in the following process, the human view of property rights is expanded. Not only property rights to goods but also ownership rights to decision-making in life. The journey of patriarchal culture is getting stronger when social changes occur, society develops into a capitalist society, and then it is not locked into a militaristic system. As a result of these social changes, there is a view that human norms are considered correct when viewed from the point of view of men. All of this applies in all aspects of life, whether social, economic, political, cultural, and even religious.

The Minangkabau people are the largest matrilineal ethnic group in the world and the only one for Indonesia. His social and political organization approaches a purely matrilineal type from an anthropological point of view. However, they have also long been known as staunch adherents of Islam and their market-oriented and outward-looking mental attitude; on this basis, Minang people in Indonesia are often considered the rightful owners of the merantau tradition. (Banda & Thomas, 1985).

All of this is with the internal contradictions that accompany it, giving rise to a sense of pride and high historical awareness for the Minang people to live together, although sometimes it is excessive from the point of view of social studies rise to exciting speculations. All of these characteristics are side by side with the internal contradictions that accompany them, giving rise to a sense of pride and high historical awareness for the Minang people about communal life. However, sometimes they tend to be exaggerated from the point of view of social studies, which raises exciting speculations and seems to be continuing. It is an exciting puzzle that cannot be explained thoroughly.
The culture of the Minangkabau community, which is embodied in the philosophy of Tigo Furnace Jararanjan or Tigo Tali Sapilin, is the role of the three primary forces represented by the Ulama, Ninia mamak, Bundo kanduang, Cadiak pandai is a formal force in a matrilineal society. Socio-culturally, Minangkabau women or also known as bundo kanduang has a unique position in Minangkabau customary law. Especially in the hereditary system taken from the mother's lineage (matrilineal). Economic resources and their use are also for women; meanwhile, in the context of political dynamics in indigenous communities, especially in deliberation for families, the Suara Bundo Kanduang determines the results to be achieved (Idrus. H, 2001).

Social phenomena that occur in society are very dynamic. Therefore, it cannot be denied that people's lives are full of changes. As a result, not a few shifts occurred in the socio-cultural value system of the Minangkabau ethnic group. The actualization of socio-cultural values by the community is not in a vacuum. This means that these socio-cultural values will continue to develop and change according to the conditions of the individual or community who apply them; thus, their actualization is highly dependent on the surrounding environment. Religious teachings and utterances have dominant potential in the application of a biased gender ideology.

In this context, religion can provide inspiration and encouragement for the emergence of gender inequality. In the practical level of religious life, the reality often shows that all forms of oppression and injustice can occur through religious teachings and speeches. When religion is put forward, culture is used as a driving force, how gender ideology enters the community, whether male or female, educated or ignorant. If they believe that community life begins with the individual, then the family as the smallest community in society becomes a very strategic nursery area for preserving and developing gender ideology.

In the family inductively and deductively, the values of gender ideology are developed. This development process is not based on sufficient and critical understanding and appreciation. In essence, it is only a process of impoverishment of civilization because human culture does not develop towards goodness but runs with full exploitation. Based on the description above, the problem in this study is how the Position of Minangkabau women when viewed from a patriarchal culture when viewed from a religious and cultural perspective. The purpose of the study was to determine the Position of women in Minangkabau when viewed from a patriarchal culture in terms of religious and cultural perspectives.

2 Methodology

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. This approach is used to find out and analyze the Position of Minangkabau ethnic women more deeply in terms of patriarchal culture from a cultural and religious perspective. The object of this study is ethnic Minangkabau women who are active in organizational activities, both government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In contrast, the data collection techniques used in the study were interview and observation methods. In-depth interviews with research informants who have been selected according to existing criteria, this observation is carried out to obtain accurate data in this study, the documentation that the researcher will do is to collect various materials related to the position of Minangkabau ethnic women from a cultural perspective and religion. Then the data were analyzed systematically through interview transcripts, field notes, and other field documents.
The data were collected to improve understanding and make it easier to explain the research results. The data is reduced by making abstractions as a core summary, which will be described in the results section of this study. In addition, it will relate to the depth of the researcher's analysis in analyzing the data systematically. The researcher describes this relationship as a proposition as in other qualitative research through a descriptive and conceptual writing. In addition, the analysis is carried out based on the views of the informants (emic) that have been validated using the triangulation method and will obtain conclusions from the analysis carried out related to the combination of data obtained from informants (emic) and the researcher's interpretation (etic) of data in the field.

3 Result and Discussion

Many changes occurred in the history of the Minangkabau community, one of which is the change in the concept of the model proposed by (Gertz 1972) in the matrilineal Minangkabau society, the relationship between Mamak and nephew is mutually binding. Mamak is obliged to educate his nephew to become "people." For this reason, the nephew is required to obey all the advice and directions given by his mother. However, along the way, it turns out that the traditional teachings have evolved evolutionarily, the relationship between Mamak and nephew is getting looser, the Position of Bundo kanduang in the Rumah Gadang is no longer clear; these changes are also followed by the diminishing role of extended family in Minangkabau households, and the tendency to live in the form of nuclear families is increasing.

Although, in reality, the Minangkabau society has changed a lot, almost all ethnic residents believe and look proud - that society is based on a matrilineal kinship system, in which lineages and inheritance systems are traced according to maternal lineage. What is more, if it is associated with the teachings of Islam that heaven is under the mother's palm. The most prominent symbol of this matrilineal kinship system is the Rumah Gadang, a communal house consisting of cubicles for each woman, either a girl or a husband. Boys are not allowed to live in this communal house, and their place is in the surau, which is expected to provide them with various knowledge and skills, including if one day they have to go abroad. The husbands of the women who live in the house also cannot be there during the day. They can only come at night and have to leave before sunrise. Their daytime life is at their mother's house or their sister's house.

In the Minangkabau context, there is a term called Marumakkathayam, and this term is the same as the Jurai umbrellas or tribe. These tribes are then divided into families in Minangkabau where withdrawing the tribe is based on maternal or matrilineal lineage. Of the many changes in the Minangkabau community's culture at this time in this study, the researcher focuses more on changing the Position of women themselves "Bundo kanduang" in a patriarchal culture that has long been inherent in Minangkabau society.

As it is known that future projections from the dynamics of social phenomena are one of the changing patterns of function shifts of Minangkabau ethnic women, these changes occur in various sectors in society. Ethnic Minang women enter many new functions that they are not familiar with. As a logical consequence of structural and functional changes of the society as a whole. There are several parameters raised by Mohtar Naim in (Hasanah, 2006) to see the shift in the position function of Minang women, one of which is Mohtar Naim making a parameter or conceptual paradigm about the parameters and Position of Minang women by using a simple calibration method (using the + and symbols -) to determine the level of function of Minang
women's position by looking at the general trend of changes that occur from rural to urban situations.

Table 1 Parameters of the Position of Minang Women in Villages and Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Position Parameters</th>
<th>Minang Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social standing</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political position</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic position</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property ownership</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control over children and descend</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household arrangements</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of human rights</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem possession</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to make your own choices</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of movement</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gradually there was a change in the Minangkabau family moving towards a complete nuclear family, not only because it had to be taught in Islam and the fundamental law of marriage, but also because of social changes in society, which on the one hand gave a more significant role. To fathers and mothers as parents. On the other hand, they were loosening up the relationship between mamak and their nephews because mamak also have to pay attention to their own family.

3.1 The Position of Ethnic Minangkabau Women in the Patriarchal World From a Religious Perspective

The prevailing norms, institutions, and praxis of the Minangkabau ethnic matrilineal kinship system have two main conclusions that are beneficial for the interests of women in Minangkabau, namely:

a. They are formally protecting the interests of women in marriage because lineage and inheritance are entrusted to women, who are generally in a vulnerable position in marriage.

b. Theoretically, the order can violate legal norms, both international human rights law and criminal law. International human rights law is violated because the matrilineal kinship system commits systemic discrimination against humans, not individuals but also against gender.

This means that the order which was designed and implemented about ten centuries ago without any problems to protect women nowadays has the potential to be substantively seen as a systemic institutionalization of gender discrimination in reverse order. The good thing here is that there are no Minangkabau men who have initiated protests against reverse discrimination. However, this does not mean that the kinship system is compatible with a sense of justice or the national legal system.

As previously discussed, the Minangkabau people are the most significant matrilineal adherents globally and steadfast adherents of Islam. In Islam, women and men have the same role. Islam views that women are human beings with a set of potentials that exist in themselves; with these potentials, Allah has assigned them to have various roles.

When talking about Minang women, we need to clarify one thing: who are Minangkabau women? Minangkabau women (Bundo kanduang) are ethnically Minangkabau. It does not
matter if they were born in the village or overseas, have Minang cultural values to shape their personality and behavior consciously shape their personality and behavior. In the past, the values of Minangkabau culture and society were still limited to religious and customary values.

The Position of women in Minangkabau is a stereotyped image, strong, strong, and graceful. The Minangkabau woman, symbolized by the nickname I, is a central figure in the family. Bundo kanduang is the center of the road of the whole system in a family. All problems that exist are always delegated to him, and he is the policymaker in the family. Bundo kanduang in its functional sense is personified by older members of the family. The figure of Bundo kanduang is a woman who has matured, strong in personality, and has wisdom, and is in the prime of her life.

The process of property ownership in the clan's family is also left to women whose arrangements are controlled by Bundo kanduang. At that time, the property search still did not play an essential role because life was still agrarian; land, houses, and other assets were owned collectively by the clan's family. In terms of faith law, religion is only movable goods shared, but the management remains with women. After the changing times, bundo kanduang in property management has disappeared, and they are even more marginalized by the growing culture. Their role is only a kind of symbol because its function has shifted to the hands of the nuclear family, namely the father or husband.

Various opinions state that the Position of Bundo kanduang in Minang customs has been degraded. Their glory in holding heirlooms is only used as a symbol at this time. Property management by Bundo Kanduang is owned but not controlled. In Minangkabau, the expression "women reign but not rule" for women connotes female gender socio-culturally and female sex biologically. The contact between customs and religion that places women in a position is robust, respectable, and well-maintained. It is true that the teachings of Islam are more patriarchal and place the husband as the head of the family.

However, Islam has obligated men to be the breadwinners so that Minangkabau women get protection from both parties, namely from customs in the form of high heirlooms and Islam. With the combination of custom and religion, the Position of women not only gets stronger but also gets a new meaning, if custom so far is primarily only social norms that have ethical values, with religion at the same time being sacred and transcendental, so that sanctions and social control are layered, namely from custom. And religion.

3.2 The Position of Ethnic Minangkabau Women in the Patriarchal World From a Cultural and Family Perspective

By nature, women and men from Minangkabau customs cannot be equated. Because the natures of women and men are equated, it will be contrary to the teachings of "Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah". In Minang custom, the Position and role of women are substantial, and their existence is highly expected. Women in Minangkabau have a critical position in the tribe, clan, and Nagari, and here women function as heirs of high inheritance from their mother to their nephews in the tribe or tribe.

Minangkabau custom places women in a very noble position, the role of women is seen in the matrilineal kinship system (SKM) a principle which has the following characteristics:

a. The lineage comes from the mother
b. The tribe of children according to the mother's tribe "basuku kakeh ibu, babangso kakeh ayak mancari induk, tabang basitumpu, hinggok mancakam"
c. High pusako descends from Ninik mamak, low pusako descends from father to son. In this case, "ganggam bauntuak" occurs, the right of power is in the hands of women, the right to maintain is in the hands of men, and the people agree on the right to enjoy together.
d. The title of high pusako is passed down from mamak to nephews

e. Matrilocal (husband at wife's house)

f. Exogamy (marrying outside the tribe)

g. Sehina, as shy as Saraso and Sapareso.

Based on the understanding of the results of the interviews above, in terms of the Position and role of women, 7 points must be actualized by the Minang women in their environment:

a. Take care of himself

b. Maintain the dignity of his people

c. Take care of children and their families

d. To protect his inheritance

e. Promote and continue the economic life of his family

f. To make the nagari and minangkabau nature happy

g. Carry out the teachings of abs-bk

Given the critical role played by women inside and outside the household, according to Minangkabau custom, women can be classified into three types:

a. Simarewan (a place for deliberation and exchange of ideas)

b. Mambang tali awan (a woman who is referred to as arrogant)

c. Parampuan (a good woman, a mother who has a commendable nature, good character, and character, has a shy nature in her)

The degradation of customs and culture has also hit West Sumatra due to the current globalization, capitalism. The function of women in the family and culture is sometimes beyond their capabilities. The traditional Tambo-tambo that regulates the pattern of women's lives only remains as history that can only be read by the younger generation now without understanding the true meaning and meaning.

4 Conclusion

Social changes have resulted in the degradation of customs and culture in West Sumatra, especially in Minangkabau. The Position of Minangkabau ethnic women seen from the patriarchal culture in religion and culture has changed quite a lot. When viewed from a traditional and religious perspective, women are in a position that is even stronger, respectable, and well-maintained. It is true that the teachings of Islam are more patriarchal and place the husband as the head of the family.

However, Islam has obligated men to be the breadwinners so that Minangkabau women get protection from both parties, namely from customs in the form of high heirlooms and Islam. With the combination of custom and religion, the Position of women not only gets stronger but also gets a new meaning, if custom so far is primarily only social norms that have ethical values, with religion at the same time being sacred and transcendental, so that sanctions and social control are layered, namely from custom, and religion.

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