

Kinship System of Minangkabau Matrilineal Fisherman Society in The City of Padang

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Abstract. Minangkabau is famous for a matrilineal kinship system where lineage is based on maternal line. Women in a matrilineal society have a stronger position in the family and in decision making. The matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau cannot be separated from the livelihood system that comes from agriculture. Minangkabau are known communal heirlooms; the inheritance is in the form of agricultural land such as rice fields or fields. Meanwhile, a small part of the Minangkabau community also earns a livelihood as fishermen. The livelihoods of fishing communities do not depend on agriculture, their source of livelihood depends on the expanse of the ocean; they earn their livelihood from fish catches. Therefore, the aim of this study is to better understand the application of the matrilineal kinship system in fishermen communities. Our research uses a qualitative approach by using observation, structured interviews and in-depth interviews techniques. The research was conducted in a fishing village in Pasia Nan Tigo Village, in the city of Padang. The result of the research indicates the matrilineal kinship system does not play an important role in the life of the fishing community. Fishermen know the name of their family clan, but they are not influenced by the kinship system in their daily life. Husbands and sons play more roles in the household as the economic backbone of the family and decision makers, meaning that in fishing communities there has been a shift in gender roles compared to gender roles in Minangkabau matrilineal society in general where women have a stronger position. Economically, the males play more and more important roles because since they are teenagers they have been able to sail to the middle of the sea to fish and make money for their families while girls are not yet able to work in that age range.

Keywords: Fisherman, Gender, Kinship, Matrilineal, Minangkabau

1 Introduction

According to Fox (1966) the kinship system has an important meaning in many societies, both simple and advanced societies. Relationships with ancestors and relatives are the key to relationships in the social structure. Relationships with relatives become the axis of various interactions, obligations, loyalties, and sentiments. In a society where kinship is very important, loyalty to relatives replaces loyalty to others. This means that the kinship system is closely related to the social structure it builds further.

The Minangkabau ethnic is famous for its matrilineal kinship system. The matrilineal kinship system is rare because only a few ethnic groups in the world have it. Heider (1997: 182) mentions several examples of matrilineal societies in the world such as the Navajo and Hopi people in North America, several ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa, some cultures in

India, especially in the southern state of Kerala. According to Heider, the largest matrilineal population is the Minangkabau ethnic group in Indonesia.

According to Marzali (2000) the characteristics of the matrilineal system are as follows: 1) descent is traced through the female line; 2) lineage group members are recruited through the female line; 3) inheritance and political succession are channeled through the female line. Meanwhile, Kato (1978) describes the characteristics of the Minangkabau matrilineal system, namely: 1) The formation of the lineage group is organized according to the female line; 2) The lineage group is headed by a man called the penghulu; 3) The pattern of local dual settlement in the sense that a man stays at his wife's house at night and during the day at his parents' house; 4) The authority in the family is in the hands of the mamak.

Furthermore, Kato also discussed the changes and sustainability of the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system. He explained that there had been a change from communal life in the Rumah Gadang to the life of the nuclear family by living in separate houses. The role of men as fathers becomes important where he no longer lives in two places but settles uxorilocally in his wife's house. On the other hand, the role of the mamak is reduced where they are no longer economically responsible to their nieces and sisters. But his position in the family is still strong where he still has ceremonial duties in his community.

In terms of gender, the position of men and women in Minangkabau is different from that of non-matrilineal society in general. The female occupied a rather special position because she was the continuation of the lineage. The inheritance belongs to the matrilineal women who have the right to process the inheritance. When a man gets married, he comes to a woman's place. This causes differences of opinions among anthropologists whether in Minangkabau apart from being matrilineal it can also be called matriakhat (power in the hands of women). Some anthropologists say that Minangkabau is only matrilineal because the men in power are the leaders of the people. But Sanday (1998) says Minangkabau besides being matrilineal is also matriarchal because men actually only represent the interests of women. A penghulu in Minangkabau acts according to an agreement with his mother and sister. Sanday concluded that women in Minangkabau are more powerful than men.

The Minangkabau community is an agrarian society or a farming community because their main economic mainstay is shared inheritance. The heirlooms are in the form of rice fields and fields that are processed to produce staple food and some of the proceeds are sold to buy things they don't produce. Thus, maritime culture is less synonymous to Minangkabau culture because fishing communities do not rely on communal heirlooms as their main source of economy. Fishing communities make the sea their main source of livelihood. The sea is not a private or communal property, everyone is free to exploit it to take fish or other resources in the sea.

Ginkel (2007) said fishing are men's world, people who go to sea looking for fish are men, not women. Women in fishing communities are supporting the work of their husbands or sons. Usually, women in fishing communities work to help their husbands in repairing and folding nets, as well as selling fish after their husbands return from the sea. Their main duties are generally doing housework and taking care of the children. West Sumatra as a province that has a coastline along the province from North to South and faces the Indian Ocean certainly has fishing communities. Based on BPS data (2020) the number of fishermen in West Sumatra is 45,305 people, if on average each fisherman has 4 family members, it is estimated that the population of fishing communities in West Sumatra is around 225,000 people.

The fishing communities in West Sumatra are generally Minangkabau people. As mentioned above, the Minangkabau matrilineal system is actually supported by an agrarian or agricultural lifestyle where there is inheritance that supports the family economy. While in

fishing communities the main economic source is the result of the sea which incidentally is not an inheritance, everyone is free to take advantage of the sea.

Based on Ginkel's opinion and the differences related to the general condition of the matrilineal community, it is assumed that the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau fishing communities has a different application compared to Minangkabau society in general. Based on this, the main question of this research is "how is the sustainability of the matrilineal kinship system in fishing communities?" with details of the research questions as follows: 1) How important is the matrilineal clan or tribe in fishing communities?; 2) What is the role of mamak or wife's brother towards children in fishing communities?; 3) What is the role of husband and wife in decision making in fishermen's households?; 4) What is the value of boys and girls in fishing families?

2 Research Method

The research location is Pasia Nan Tigo Village, Koto Tengah District Padang West Sumatra. This research uses qualitative research approach . Data collection techniques are observation, structured interviews and in-depth interviews. Collecting data through observation to observe the actual behavior of fishermen and the community on a daily basis is done in order to get a closer picture of the social life of the fishermen's families and communities in the research location. The next data collection technique is to conduct structured and in-depth interviews with key informants and regular informants. Data analysis is done by organizing, sorting, grouping, coding or marking and categorizing them so that a finding is obtained based on the focus or problem to be answered.

3 Research Results

3.1 Fishermen Overview

The fishermen in Pasia Nan Tigo sub-district are mostly migrants. They come from various regions in West Sumatra Province but generally also have family backgrounds as fishermen in Pesisir Selatan and Padang Pariaman Regencies among others. Apart from these two areas, there are also fishermen who come from Solok and Tanah Datar Regencies. The reason they become fishermen in Pasia Nan Tigo Village is because being fishermen in urban areas has a higher income than being fishermen in their area. The fish can also be sold faster than they are in rural areas.

It is estimated that around 75% of the existing fishermen are immigrants. The rest are natives to Pasia Nan Tigo Village. Most of these migrant fishermen are small-scale fishermen and are crew members of fishing boats. As small-scale fishermen they catch fish using simple fishing gear such as kapal pukot tepi or inshore trawler, and perahu jaring net boat. Some of the the indigenous fishermen, may own more modern fishing vessels called kapal bagan. They work as labor and generally also come from areas outside Pasia Nan Tigo as mentioned above.

The migrant fishermen have lived or moved to Pasia Nan Tigo since the 80s. They live in Pasia Nan Tigo by renting land or houses from local residents. Those who rent land build simple semi-permanent houses on it, as well as rent houses in general as well as semi-

permanent simple houses. Since their arrival in the 80's they have lived for almost 40 years and have had children and grandchildren living in Pasia Nan Tigo.

3.2 Clans or suku in fishing communities

The fishing community of Pasia Nan Tigo is divided into two groups, natives and immigrants. Indigenous people are those who have inhabited the village since their ancestors. They own land and land belonging to their matrilineal people in the kelurahan. Based on their history, their ancestors came from the Solok district which borders the city of Padang. Solok district is located east of the city of Padang.

Clan is a kinship group based on a patrilineal or matrilineal kinship system. In Minangkabau society that line is the maternal line and Minangkabau people call it tribe. There are several tribes found in the indigenous Pasia Nan Tigo population, namely the Sikumbang, Caniago, Guci, Balai Mansiang Tanjung, Malayu, Jambak, Koto, and Panyaringek tribes. Meanwhile, migrant fishermen still remember the names of their tribes according to the tribes in their family of origin. The names of their tribes also vary, there are Tanjung, Sikumbang, Koto, Jambak, or Piliang.

Indigenous fishing communities still consider tribes to be important, this can be seen from their way of living is still based on kinship groups. Generally, they live or settle based on groups of the same ancestors, going as far as four or five generations. They have an inheritance in the form of jointly owned land that is used for fields, rice fields or shelter. Migrant fishermen all still remember their clan or suku but the pattern of residence and family relations for them does not show the importance of clan or tribe. The sedentary pattern of immigrant fishing communities is not grouped into groups like the natives. This is because they come from different areas and have to live on other people's rented land. The relationship with their hometown is also not too intense, they rarely return to their hometown and their children already consider themselves to be Pasia Nan Tigo people.

In Minangkabau matrilineal society, the pattern of settling after marriage is matrilocal or uxorilocal. This is still true in fishing communities but there are also quite a lot of patrilocal or virilocal settled patterns. This is related to the number of fishermen's sons who follow in the footsteps of their parents while their wives may come from other areas. So then they took their wives to their parents' house. This is very different from the matrilineal tradition which determines that a married couple after marriage lives at the wife's parents' house.

3.3 The role of the wife's brother or mamak

The pattern of settling after marriage still follows the matrilineal kinship pattern, namely uxorilocal even though they are not natives of Pasia Nan Tigo. For example, if a man has married, as a new family with his wife, he will live in his wife's family home. After some time, they live and have enough money they can move to a new place to rent or rent a house. Children, as in the matrilineal kinship system are closer to their mother's relatives than their father's relatives.

Wife's brothers or mamak have less role in the fishermen's families. The position of the father is considered the only central position in the family. Some fishermen's houses are inhabited not only by one nuclear family but also by several nuclear families, consisting of senior nuclear families with nuclear families of their daughters. So, in addition to households in the form of nuclear families, households in the form of extended families also exist, so they are in the form of broad matrilineal families. Mamak or mother's brothers usually don't play a role because they are far away from their hometown and also mamak is not important because there is no inheritance to be taken care of.

Informal leadership is mostly held by certain people because of their position in fishing communities, not primarily due to leadership in kinship groups. People who are valued or older in fishing communities have more to do with ownership of fishing gear. The owner of the Bagan boat or the owner of several Payang boats is considered more influential and respected. Other informal leaders are people who work outside the fisheries sector but are willing to help fishermen by establishing fishermen's groups to obtain assistance from the government. The fishermen seem to lean on these people and ask them questions to help solve their problems.

However, the informal leaders mentioned above are actually indigenous people. This is because the natives generally own the charter boats and have more fishing gear than the migrant fishermen. This means that they become informal leaders not because of their relationship with the kinship system but because of their wealth or economic ability. The informal leader is not always a man but can also be a woman. One of the women in this village is the head of a fishing group. She is a retired teacher. Wanting to help fishermen to improve their standard of living, she formed a fishing group and made a proposal on behalf of the group to obtain assistance from government programs aimed at fishermen. This figure has become the foundation for around 40 traditional fishermen to obtain loans to fishing equipment or to repair damaged fishing equipment.

3.4 The Role of Husband and Wife in the Household

In a fishing family, a father or husband plays an important role in family life because they are the main backbone for the family's needs. Meanwhile, the wife is the main supporter to help ease the burden on her husband at work. The number of fisherman's family members is generally neither large nor small. Generally, women are not directly involved with their husbands' work as fishermen, but women as wives help their husbands with certain jobs, such as pushing the boat when their husbands are about to go out to sea, pulling the boat to the beach when their husbands arrive from the sea. Some of the wives join in selling the fish caught by their husbands to traders who are already waiting on the beach and some directly peddle fish to people's homes.

Some fishermen's wives also work for other people by receiving wages as cleaners, drying or boiling fish that will be used as dried or salted fish. They work for people who own home businesses making salted fish. Their work is not permanent depending on the presence or absence of fish available for salted fish. If there is a fish shortage or difficult fish season, they do not work because the business owner cannot afford to buy fish because it is expensive. When it's fish season and the price of fish is cheaper, then they get a job.

Actually, the women are not just housewives. They generally work, except for those who still have small children, because they have to look after and care for children so that they cannot work. After their children grow up or have entered elementary school age, they generally try to find additional income. There are several jobs done by fishermen's wives to increase family income, namely working for other people as mentioned above, working as a fish seller, selling grilled fish, working as a housemaid and so on.

Because the location of the village is adjacent to housing complexes, where many people live, some of the fishermen's wives also work as housemaids. They usually do laundry and iron clothes. They leave early in the morning after finishing their own household chores and come home in the afternoon or evening. One of the fishermen's wives does not only do cleaning but also takes care of the employer's children because both of his parents' work. For this kind of work, they are having to come home late because they are waiting for their employer to come home from work.

The wives play a very important role in the domestic sector; raising children, cleaning the house, washing, and cooking. The men rarely do this. If they are not fixing their nets or boats after going to sea they will sit in a “warung” which in the local language is called a “lapau”. The wife's position in matrilineal society is so strong because she is actually the ruler of her house. The house in Minangkabau belongs to the wife. This is because houses are generally built on communal land or inheritance owned by the wife's family. Even though the husband is involved in the construction of the house, the house cannot be sold or pawned. If a divorce occurs or the wife dies, the husband is not entitled to the house, he will return home to live with his extended matrilineal family. In general, women have an inheritance in the form of land where she and her husband can cultivate the land for family needs.

Such conditions are difficult to imagine in fishermen's families because they are generally migrants; they live in rented or contracted houses. This can make the position of women different from the one in the Minangkabau matrilineal system. Here, fishermen's wives also come from other areas. The wife of a common fisherman manages household finances, usually the men give most of the proceeds from selling their fish to the wife. The amount of income given to the wife as they often tell is about 80% of the income. The 20% cut that the husband takes is to buy cigarettes and pocket money when sitting at the stall. Wives are expected to manage expenses for food, fees and snacks for the children to go to school and others. Wives are also expected to save money by saving or joining social gatherings to be able to meet their needs if at any time they need money suddenly due to damage to nets and boats or when they are sick. A wife who can manage finances well is highly appreciated by fishermen.

But there are also many who do not believe that fishermen hand over 80% of their money to their wives because they think that some fishermen are wasteful, they like to sit at the stalls to drink tea, coffee or milk, then they eat cakes or snack or instant noodles. According to them, the fisherman may take more than 20% of the money for himself and then hand it over to his wife. With the number of men who often sit at the stalls spending their money on cigarettes or snacks, some informants are increasing convinced that men give their wives far less money than they should.

In terms of decision making in the family husband and wife share roles. In terms of spending for daily needs, generally the wife decides, such as spending for children's needs and spending for daily consumption. This is because the husband is often at sea or at the beach repairing fishing gear rather than at home. For expenses for repairing fishing gear, such as repairing boats, buying nets, are repairing nets is generally the husband's decision. Meanwhile, for certain things, such as buying household appliances, children's needs for school, or participating in social gatherings, it is generally a joint decision between husband and wife.

3.5 The value of sons and daughters in the family

Although fishermen generally live-in houses that are not the house of the wife's family, nor on land belonging to a matrilineal family, the pattern of settling after marriage still follows the uxori-local pattern where after marriage men leave the house and live in the house of their wife's family before they can be independent. This means that the kinship relationship is still closer to the mother's relatives than the father's relatives for a child. After parents become elderly, girls are more likely to play a role in caring for their parents than boys. If a person does not have daughters, sons take care of their parents.

But for certain cases there are some men who bring their wives to their parents' houses or live in their parents' relatives' environment. This is due to their work as fishermen, they take their wives to their parents' houses. Usually, the parents of the male side allow their son's family to live in their house if there is a family house that happens to be not inhabited.

Another option they allow their son to build a simple house on the land they own. Living in this house or building on this land is usually only limited to usufructuary rights, not ownership rights after the man dies, his wife and children do not have the right to own the house or land.

Girls and boys in the family go through different types of socialization because of the influence of life in fishing communities. Boys make fishing activities a play environment. They play on the beach watching fishermen work pulling boats or trawls and repairing boats or nets. They watch fish being lowered into baskets on the beach. This activity for some boys can also earn them money. They are sometimes involved in taking some fish from the fish baskets that get off the boat and then sell them so they can get their own snacks. Children's activity like this is called "mancacak" activities that are allowed but are seen as somewhat negative.

Girls do not do activities on the beach like the boys. They play more around the house or helping the mothers with household chores. Boys after adolescence also often sit at the stalls chatting with their peers watching television together while eating snacks at the stalls. Sometimes they play cards or dominoes with their peers. This seems to be due to the influence of the matrilineal kinship system which places men outside the home and the owner of the house is a woman, especially since generally the size of the house is small so boys may feel more comfortable when doing activities outside the home.

In terms of the economy, boys play a very important role in the family economy. After they are generally in their teens, they start going out to sea. At first they accompany their fathers to go out to sea to become fishermen, then when they are older they go out to sea by themselves in their own boats. Apart from being able to support themselves, they also hand over part of their income to their parents to help meet their daily needs at their parents' house. This causes more boys from to drop out of school than girls. Generally, boys' highest level of education are the junior high school and girls' at reach the senior high school.

4 Conclusion

This article is based on the results of research in Pasia Nan Tigo Village related to how the matrilineal kinship system takes place in fishing communities. The Minangkabau matrilineal system is actually a system that takes place in an agricultural society where shared inheritance is important for the survival of the matrilineal people or kinship groups. Meanwhile, in fishing communities, the source of their livelihood is the sea, which is a public property, not private or group property, and the work is determined by the importance of the role of men.

The results show that the matrilineal kinship system in fishing communities has its own distinctive style. This is not only influenced by their work as fishermen themselves but also by their backgrounds as immigrants from other regions. In fishing communities, the family tends to take the form of a nuclear family and an extended family that is matrilineal and patrilineal. The role of the wife's brother or mamak in the extended family is no longer important.

That role is replaced by figures in the fishing community such as skipper and group leaders in the fishing community. Men as husbands are the main breadwinners and wives generally also look for additional work to meet household needs. A son in a fishing family may take his wife to his parents' house. Meanwhile, economically, boys also play a very important role in helping the family's economy because generally at a relatively young age they have gone to sea to become fishermen.

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