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Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Linguística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

Año 35, 2019, Especial N°

21

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

ISSN 1012-1587/ ISSNe: 2477-9385

Depósito Legal pp 198402ZU45



Universidad del Zulia
Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
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Maracaibo - Venezuela

The Struggle Of The Tabanan Women As “Sentana Rajeg” In The Patriarchal Culture Domination In Bali

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Abstract

This is because the Balinese follow the patrilineal system which follows the father's lineage, which is called kaprusa. The kaprusa system places men at the top and they become the heirs of the family. The kaprusa system also places men as purusa and women as predana. Not all families have sons and some only have daughters. To overcome this problem, the family will raise their daughters to become sentana rajeg to overcome the family's difficulties of not having putung because they do not have sons. They seek to give equal rights to their daughters, which are the rights that would normally be obtained by boys. To strengthen the status of a sentana rajeg, nyentana marriage must be done. This is where men are married and live in women's homes. The appointment of the rajent sentana has been carried out in the Tabanan community through nyentana marriages. The marriage of nyentana as a form of matrilineal marriage was broken by the domination of patriarchal culture. The purpose of this writing is to describe the process of appointing women to be sentana rajeg so then women have the same position as men in a marriage. The method used in this research was qualitative using primary data from the results of the field research and the interviews related to it. The location of this research was in Tabanan Regency using Jacques Deridda's deconstruction theory.

Keywords: Sentana rajeg, Nyentana, Patriarchal culture, Purusa and Predana

La Lucha De Las Mujeres Tabanas Como “Sentana Rajeg” En La Dominación De La Cultura Patriarcal En Bali

Resumen

Esto se debe a que los balineses siguen el sistema patrilineal que sigue el linaje del padre, que se llama kapurusa. El sistema kaprusa coloca a los hombres en la cima y se convierten en los herederos de la familia. El sistema kaprusa también coloca a los hombres como purusa y a las mujeres como predana. No todas las familias tienen hijos y algunas solo tienen hijas. Para superar este problema, la familia criará a sus hijas para que se conviertan en sentana rajeg para superar las dificultades de la familia de no haberlo puesto porque no tienen hijos. Buscan otorgar los mismos derechos a sus hijas, que son los derechos que normalmente obtendrían los niños. Para fortalecer el estado de una sentana rajeg, el matrimonio nyentana debe hacerse. Aquí es donde los hombres se casan y viven en hogares de mujeres. El nombramiento de la sena rajent se ha llevado a cabo en la comunidad de Tabanan a través de matrimonios nyentana. El matrimonio de nyentana como una forma de matrimonio matrilineal se rompió por el dominio de la cultura patriarcal. El propósito de este escrito es describir el proceso de designación de mujeres para ser sentana rajeg para que las mujeres tengan la misma posición que los hombres en un matrimonio. El método utilizado en esta investigación fue cualitativo utilizando datos primarios de los resultados de la investigación de campo y las entrevistas relacionadas. La ubicación de esta investigación fue en Tabanan Regency utilizando la teoría de deconstrucción de Jacques Deridda.

Palabras clave: Sentana rajeg, Nyentana, cultura patriarcal, Purusa y Predana.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Hindu-Bali community is a society that adheres to the patrilineal kinship system where the lineage or child follows the male side (ARJANI, 2006: 149). The kinship system with its male patrilineal lineage illustrates that in the family, it uses the male lineage (in the physical sense) to determine the successor among the offspring (ASMARAJAYA, 2017: 113).

This manifests when the wife enters the husband's family. Their children will be related to the father's family and they do not have a straight relationship with the mother's family (ARTHADI, 2017: 8). The establishment of the patrilineal kinship system will certainly prioritise the existence of boys as the successor to the family and they will rule out the existence of girls. Besides that, the concept of purusa (male) and predana (female) in the Balinese perspective increasingly emphasises the presence of men as the main member of the family compared to the presence of women (ARTHADI, 2017: 9). The boy is assumed to be the successor of the family, doing his duty as a child to take care of his parents later on in life, continuing on the responsibilities of his parents in the community and to the ancestors. Prioritising the male bloodlines or patriarchal systems adopted by the Balinese is known as the kapurusa/purusa, where all family problems will be based on the purusa conception (ancestry, marriage, adoption and inheritance). Inheritance itself becomes the main thing in Balinese society as stated by KADEK HEMAMALINI and UNTUNG SUHARDI (2015). The problem of inheritance is a very important problem, especially in terms of the acquisition of male offspring, especially related to the belief of the Balinese people as liberating the spirits of their parents from hell and enjoy the happiness of the world. It is also a continuation of the rights and obligations in relation to kinship as the successor to the next generation in relation to society. For example, in terms of manyama-braya (ups and downs), ngayah (mutual cooperation) etc. and in relation to religious matters such as the worship of familial ancestors in the place of worship.

In reality in terms of offspring, not all marriages in Bali have male offspring and they may have only female offspring. When a family does not have male offspring and only female offspring, the daughter is appointed as a sentana rajeg by conducting a nyetana/nyeburin marriage. The form of nyentana marriage should be that of a normal marriage and it may be an alternative for those who do not have sons as sentana (offspring) to make their daughters the successors of the family by changing the status of women into sentana rajeg. This is to strengthen the position of the women in the family to allow them to be able to obtain rights and to carry out the same obligations as men in the family and in the community (JAYANTI, 2013). By holding the status of sentana rajeg, the parents and their families make their daughters their heirs in order to carry on their responsibilities towards the family, ancestors and society. In this situation women are required to have multiple burdens and responsibilities (RUSTINSYAH,

2018). Their status will become legal if a marriage of nyentana/nyeburin has been established, where in this marriage women will propose to men and then the men will live in the women's family home. The bloodline follows the female line. This marriage system is the same as an ordinary marriage except for the inverse procession of the marriage.

This nyentana marriage is mostly carried out by the Hindu-Balinese community in Tabanan Regency compared to some of the districts in the Bali area. This is due to the large number of girls compared to boys in the Tabanan community. To maintain the continuity of the family generation so as not to become putung (broke up), the appointment of the sentana rajeg through this marriage is thus carried out. The appointment of sentana rajeg if observed according to customary law is legitimate and recognised by customary law in Tabanan, as stated in KETUT META (2013) in his article entitled "Appointment of Sentana rajeg in the Legal Perspective of Balinese Indigenous Marriage". This research explains that according to Balinese customary law, for families that have no sons but who have indigenous daughters, they can provide a way for the family to make legal efforts to appoint girls to change their status to boys. This act is known as sentana rajeg. The appointment of sentana rajeg is the main aim of the next generation given the kinship system adopted by the people of Bali. It is a patrilineal system where bloodlines are drawn from the men. The appointment of the sentana rajeg will result in a change of status from female to male, so if a family does not have a son and they do not raise the sentana rajeg, then the family will be camput (no descendants). All inheritance will fall on the closest purusa family. To avoid this, Balinese customary law provides an opportunity to change the status of a daughter to the status of a son so then they can continue their parents' generation.

To maintain the robustness of women as the centre of the country, they must be supported by the community leaders and institutions such as the "Desa Adat" and legal institutions (traditional Balinese law). In 2016, SARI ADNYANI, RATNA ARTHA WINDARI and RAI YULIARTINI conducted a research study on "Indigenous Village Decisions As Legitimacy of Indigenous Peoples Against Marriage (Matriarchy) in Tabanan Regency". Based on this research, a matriarchal marriage is considered to be a tribute to Balinese women because of their status as sentana rajeg, women can become heirs of their parents' property. However, in certain cases, when regarding the women's freedom to choose a mate, Balinese

women must be careful when falling in love because they must ensure that the men who approach them want to do a marriage that is matriarchal (matriarchy). This is so then women can be sentana rajeg. The rights of the villagers to influence the community interests allow them to defend their rights in society. From the results of “Pasamuan Agung III Majelis Desa Pakraman Bali”, a special decision was produced regarding women and children in Balinese customary law. According to the community, customary law is determined by genealogical factors or blood relations. The relationship involves three kinds of blood relations according to men, blood relations according to women and blood relations according to the line of both the mothers and fathers.

2. METHOD

This research used a descriptive qualitative research method that seeks to uncover the phenomenon of persistent living in nyentana marriages in Tabanan Regency as a marriage system. This research is located in Tabanan Regency which is one of the regencies in the province of Bali. The study was carried out for two months, namely from the beginning of May to the end of June. This location was chosen purposively on the basis of consideration that it is an area that receives and conducts nyentana marriages in order to strengthen the status of women in terms of obtaining the same position, rights and responsibilities as men. The Balinese indigenous community is very homogeneous in terms of its cultural practices and the religion adopted.

The research subjects amounted to 15 people including women who have been appointed as sentana rajeg through nyentana marriage and men who have become bridegrooms in a nyentana marriage. In addition, there are also surrounding communities, religious leaders and traditional leaders to question in order to find out the position of women in terms of the views of the Balinese religion and customs as well as in the Balinese traditional legal system. This is a guideline to the social life in Bali. The data in this research used primary data obtained directly from the field through observations and in-depth interviews. The data collection techniques were carried out through field observations, which included observing the process of lifting the diligent sentana through a marriage of nyentana. The data from the results of the observations and in-depth interviews were obtained in the form of records and then converted into transcripts in a written form

for later reduction and selection in accordance with the data related to the research. The data collected from the results of the reduction and selection were then analysed using Derrida's deconstruction theory approach to obtain the results and conclusions. The deconstruction theory from Derrida is considered to be very suitable to be used in this research in order to break the patriarchal values found in Bali society in the appointment of the sentana rajeg through matrilineal marriage to elevate the status of women in order to achieve equality between women and men in Bali. After analysing the data with the aforementioned theory, the results of the data analysis have been presented in the form of scientific papers and finally the conclusion was drawn from the data analysis.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sentana Rsajeg is a term used to elevate the status of a woman to a male status (*purusa*). The word sentana rajeg itself consists of the words sentana and rajeg. Sentana has the meaning of offspring, including children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and so on. Rajeg has the meaning of being sturdy and strong (HEMAMALINI & SUHARDI, 2017: 40). Sentana rajeg can be interpreted as a child who is strengthened by their skill. A sentana rajeg has the same position as a man and they become a family heir that has been determined by their parents through a *nyentana* marriage (JAYANTI, 2013). Sentana rajeg originates from the patrilineal system adopted by the Balinese people who are, of course, very much expecting the presence of boys as family successors and heirs. In reality, not everyone is able to bring a boy into the family, like the phenomenon in Tabanan Regency where the presence of a girl exceeds the presence of a boy. The absence of a son in the family certainly causes anxiety for the family when it comes to carrying on the family's inheritance. For this reason, through marriage, the daughter will be confirmed and upgraded to the status of being *sententious* through a ceremony of vigilance in a steady marriage. After the ceremony is carried out traditionally, the women have changed their status to *purusa* or *kapurusa*. Daughters already have a legitimate position related to inheritance in the family as well as carrying out their responsibilities in the family and community. This is because women already have the same position as men, as *purusa* (UDYTAMA: 2015). The other explanation that underlies the adoption of a daughter to be sentana rajeg is related to the religious belief in society of a *suputra* child who will deliver the spirits of their parents to heaven. Responsibilities within the family, such as the ven-

eration of the ancestors, can be carried out by elevating the sentana rajeg, so the process of continuing the veneration of the ancestors can be carried on by the rajeg sentana so then he can continue his community rights and obligations as part of the community. The appointment of the sentana rajeg has the main goal of being the next generation to carry on the traditions of the family. With the adoption of the patrilineal culture by the Balinese people and becoming a sentana rajeg, of course, they have to make a special struggle to strengthen their status as a sentana rajeg. A sentana rajeg has the requirement to find a male partner or a husband. A sentana rajeg will try to find a man who wants to marry and who is ready to release his family to then live with a female family.

3.1. Sentana rajeg in Nyentana Marriage

Balinese traditional marriages are known as mes conversions, nganten, pawiwaham, pawarangan, and others. In Hinduism, marriage is defined as a sacred relationship between men and women carrying out dharmabakti as a whole human being (SARI ADNYANI, 2016: 755). This is known as mepandik marriage (ARJANI, SUPARWA & SUDARTA, 2006: 167). Ngororod marriages are done by eloping, where the men or women are rushed from their home without the knowledge of the parents of the woman or man to have a marriage in secret. This type of marriage is usually done because it is blocked by the blessing of their parents or they belong to different castes or social backgrounds (SWASTIKA, 2017: 71). In a nyentana marriage, the women are domiciled as purusa and men as predana, so the marriage follows the maternal lineage (ASMARAJAYA, 2017).

The form of marriage that is carried out by sentana rajeg and the husband is called a nyentana marriage. Marriage is usually done by a nyentana family that only has a daughter who is later appointed the status of sentana rajeg. The process of adopting a daughter to be a sentana rajeg must meet the requirements and procedures including, first, approval from the purusa family. This is because there will be a problem if there is no agreement from the purusa family. Second, the children who are appointed as sentana rajeg are adults in the sense that they are ready to get married. Third, they carry out a nyentana marriage to establish the status as sentana rajeg. Fourth, because the marriage is carried out, the bridegroom must be willing to carry out a nyentana marriage and to enter the women’s family. Fifth, they must get approval from the family of men which must be by asking the customary

head. Sixth, the ceremony is attended by the head of adat and the priest is the person who leads the process of the appointment of the sentana. They ratify the appointment of the sentana rajeg in religion and custom. The customary head will question the child who will be made a sentana rajeg. Then they will ask the family of the woman and man for approval. After all are in agreement, the Widi Wedana ceremony is held. This is a religious ceremony to ask for protection from the Almighty God so then the process of lifting the sentana rajeg goes well. After the Widi Wedana ceremony is completed, the customary chief announced to the community as a witness that the appointment of the sentana rajeg had taken place. Finally after it was announced, the appointment of the sentana rajeg is considered to be valid by customary law. The marriage process that is carried out in the appointment of the steady sentana in several stages and conditions that are almost the same as an ordinary marriage that is distinguished by only the process of marriage and the existence of the appointment of a steady sentana.

In addition, the mabyakaon ceremony must be performed at the women's home. The stages of the ceremonial procession carried out in the Balinese traditional marriage (SUJANA, 2017: 6-7) are: 1) memadik or proposal, namely the bride with the status of purusa comes to the house of the man who will become a predana. The bride introduces herself in front of a big family of male parties; 2) the family of the woman g to the house of the man to negotiate for a good day to carry out the marriage procession; 3) in the mebyakaon ceremony, there are two stages. The first stage will be done in front of the bride's house and the second will be done in the bride's yard. The first stage of the mebyakaon ceremony has the meaning of being a welcoming ceremony for the bride and groom. It is meant as a way of cleaning the bride and groom before entering the house. The second stage of the mebyakaon ceremony was carried out in the yard of a woman's home and begins with the burning of tetipung (young bamboo) with api takepan (fire made from dried coconut leaves) to make an eruptive sound. This ceremony is interpreted as a noetic witness to the bhutakala or negative magical power so as not to interfere with the ceremony so then the wedding ceremony can run smoothly. 4) The natab banten pekala-kala pesakapan ceremony is the ceremony that is interpreted as a cleansing ceremony for the bride and groom, especially in suklaswania (male and female seed cells) as well as a testimony to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa and the people present at the wedding ceremony. 5) The trade-trading cer-

emony (sale-purchase) is a ceremony that has the meaning of there being an agreement between the bride and groom to take on a new life and to obtain offspring. 6) The ceremony is done. This ceremony is a ceremony that involves tearing a mat that is made of coconut leaves that are still green with a dagger carried by the bridegroom. The bride holds the mat with both hands and the bridegroom tears the mat in the middle with a dagger. The symbolism of this ceremony is the breaking of the bride's virginity. 7) A ceremonial or severing of threads or ropes - this ceremony is carried out by terminating the stretched threads or ropes from two branches that can be tied. It is meaningful as it represents the termination of the bride and groom from their teenage years as they have entered a new life with conjugal relations and the last 8) is natab banten dibale (mewidiwedana) ceremony. This ceremony is a testimony ceremony to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa, the bride's ancestor whose aim is to ask for a blessing so then the bride and groom can be given a harmonious and happy life until the end of their lives. After the ceremonies have been carried out, the marriage ceremony procession in a nyentana marriage is followed by the husband and wife carrying out their obligations in accordance with the objectives of the marriage. Inheritance in Balinese society is a continuation of the rights and obligations of a person both in relation to kinship as a successor to the next generation in relation to society, for example in terms of welcoming, ngayah etc, and in relation to the religion that worships their ancestors in sanggah or merajan and so on (eg HEMAMALINI & SUHARDI, 2015: 37). The presence of children in Bali is very important to continue on the family for them to inherit the family inheritance. Inheritance in Balinese customary law does not only take on the form of inheritance objects such as family assets and heirlooms but it also includes swadharma for their continuing descendants and responsibilities to society such as the community obligations in religious ceremonies, humanitarian ceremonies and so on.

Balinese customary law is different from civil law. There are three inheritance laws, namely the parents (people who give or leave inheritance), inheritance (assets or something left by the testator) and heirs (descendants who are entitled to receive inheritance). The inheritance of Balinese customary law consists of four elements namely heir, inheritance, inheritance and heirs (WINDIA, 2015: 542). The difference here is the existence of inheritance which is interpreted as going to the descendants. However, not all descendants are entitled to become heirs or for those entitled to receive

inheritance, there are several conditions that must be fulfilled for them to become heirs. According to Balinese customary law, inheritance is not just about dividing inheritance between the heirs. Inheritance is not only in the form of assets but it also contains meaning as a form of preservation, management and the continuation of obligations by the heirs in the form of a good name and the inheritance itself. People who carry out their responsibilities (swadharma) properly have new rights (swadikara). Because the kinship or kinship system in Bali adheres to the captain system, the inheritance rights are passed on to the purusa. However, the kapurusa and purusa systems have experienced a shift in meaning in society that distinguishes between women and men.

In Balinese customary law, inheritance law in Balinese custom is formed from both old rules and new rules. Before 1900, the rules in Balinese customary law were based on custom (dresta) and their heirs are sons of the purusa line. Girls are not counted in the inheritance. When a daughter is married, she is no longer given the right to inherit from her family. She is provided or given an inheritance to be married according to the abilities of her parents. This year there have been no definite rules governing inheritance or inheritance rights. Inheritance is only based on habits (dresta). After 1900, inheritance in Bali was based on peswara (regulations) by the Dutch colonial government.

This inheritance system in Balinese customary law is determined and influenced by patriarchal culture and its patrilineal system. This kinship system is used as a reference and justification by the community in the distribution of inheritance, which in its distribution only takes into account the lineage of men as heirs. This system makes only men heirs and women are not taken into account. As a result, the presence of boys in Balimen society has become increasingly important. For generations, Balinese women have been marginalised in their lives, especially in terms of inheritance. This system then forms the power of men in all aspects of life in Balinese society, so in the patrilineal marriage system, it becomes about power and women are increasingly marginalised and discriminated against in their families when there are no boys in the family. In reality, when women cannot give birth to boys, they are discriminated against by their own families.

Hindu women in Bali should have the same position as men as in customary law, so women have the right to inherit from their parents. However,

Balinese women should get the same attention as men to raise the dignity of Balinese women, as quoted in the Manawa Dharmasastra I.32 book which says

Men and women were all created by God with a single and equal position. The difference is its role in this stage of life.

Women have the right to inherit as IX.118 in the Book of Manawa Dharmasastra states

...but to the sisters, the brothers will give a part of their portion, each quarter of the portion. Those who refuse to give it will be isolated

The presence of women must be calculated with that of men to create harmony in their complementary lives, and not as subordinates. The granting of rights to daughters is carried out by the appointment of daughters to the central state of affairs through nyentana marriages. The appointment of the sentana rajeg was initially developed in Tabanan society. This is where the daughter is appointed the same status and given the same rights as a man so then the family is able to pass on their inheritance to their children without having to give them to the nearest purusa family. Because of the large number of Tabanan people who have more daughters than sons, the appointment of a diligent sentana and unrelenting marriages developed in Tabanan and then developed in southern Balinese societies such as Badung.

The appointment of sentana rajeg and nyentana marriage by the Balinese people is considered to be a way of appreciating the Balinese women by enhancing their status as purusa. They have the same position as men in the family. Over time, the development of equality between women and men has become increasingly highlighted and it is considered to be important by the Balinese people. This equality requires the awareness of individuals in Balinese society and the support of traditional institutions and the government. A large meeting was formed by the pakraman village at the Main Supper of the Pakraman Village Assembly which discussed the customary law of Bali. It carried out an update in accordance with the current conditions of the community. Considering that we live in the 2000s, it was felt that the Paswara in 1900, which was the source of Balinese customary law, must be revised and renewed. As of October 15th 2010, the

results of the Main Assembly of the Pakraman III Village Assembly mentioned the inheritance rights of Balinese women and the kinship system in Balinese society.

In the Balinese kinship system, it now recognises that there are three systems: the patrilineal kinship systems, the matrilineal kinship system and the parental kinship system. However, the kinship system for a Balinese woman's marriage still has the works in accordance with the established rules. In nyentana or matrilineal marriages, women have the right to become heirs of the family through the process of the appointment of a diligent sentana and where the status of men in nyentana marriages is as the descendants of offspring in female families. They have the same rights and obligations as men in general as the head of the family. Patrilineal marriages are the opposite of nyentana marriages. Finally, the parental kinship system uses a form of marriage that follows the lineage of the mother and father. This form of marriage is a form of marriage that has just been ratified and it is the final conclusion for the problems that exist in Balinese society. This marriage is a solution and it is offered as an alternative where patrilineal and matrilineal marriages cannot be done, such as where the bride and groom are both single children.

3.2. Sentana rajeg in The Dominance of Patriarchal Culture

Amid the strong patrilineal culture, the presence of matrilineal marriages has meant that the concept of purusa and predana has undergone a reorganisation of meaning in the sense that it has created a binary opposition as women and men. The concept of binary opposition has been deconstructed by Derrida. Derrida states that there is no single and stable structure involved in determining definite meaning (LUBIS, 2014: 35). Derrida's deconstruction aims to dismantle a theory that is considered to be incorrect or irrelevant to his era, which means that deconstruction does not mean demolition in terms of the purpose of destruction (WIRAWAN, 2012: 284). Likewise, deconstruction can be described as a force to change unquestioned old standards. The concept of purusa and predana imaged as women and men tends to be unbalanced and it creates differences between women and men in Balinese society. Both of these concepts indicate the existence of opposition and the occurrence of dominance over one another so it must be deconstructed again. In the case of marriage, the existence of the concept of purusa and predana embraced by the Balinese is a reflection

of the teachings of Hinduism, which has shifted meaning and been interpreted wrongly. The community's mistake in understanding the concept of purusa and predana has given rise to an inequality between women and men, especially against the Balinese women who became subordinate to the customs of marriage. Women (predana) are shown to be inferior to men (purusa) (RAHMAWATI, 2016: 62). If we take a deeper look at the true meanings of the concepts of purusa and predana, these two concepts are interpreted as two united elements to create harmony and balance in the world spiritually and physically. Purusa is likened to a body and predana is symbolized as the soul (TANTRA, 2014: 15). If these two concepts are put together, then they will form a dynamic body and soul so as to create harmony and balance in life. Such is the case with women and men in a marriage; it is interpreted as a meeting or union between a man and woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family based on the Godhead (Law No.1 of 1974). Using this concept, we can interpret that purusa and predane are not just a differentiator between women and men, where purusa is male and predana is female. Males and females are the same; there is no difference except for the biological differences that cannot be changed. In marriage, women and men can become purusa or predana. This patriarchal culture depicts men as purusa, who have a higher position compared to women. Only boys are entitled to become heirs and to continue their family life by continuing their lineage. Sentana Rajeg in a nyentana marriage is depicted as a girl whose status is raised to be the same as a boy. Girls have the same position as men as purusa and men are described as predana. Girls are entitled to have an inheritance and to continue the life of their family.

These two concepts have also penetrated the family system in Bali in terms of inheritance. Women as predana are considered to not be entitled to inheritance because they will leave the family house for their husband's house where all of their responsibilities and rights will be tied to the husband's house. Women can only enjoy their inheritance so long as they are not married. Women are considered connoisseurs and not inheritance owners. Men are entitled to an inheritance because they are purusa who will stay at home and carry out their responsibilities to their ancestors, who are guardians of the holy place accompanied by the right to receive, use and carry the inheritance. The patrilineal kinship system then takes the presence of men more into account and in a marriage, the presence of boys is a hope of the community to allow them to inherit the family inheritance. Through

nyentana marriage, the concept of purusa-predana is deconstructed again. With the position of women as a sentana rajeg, women will be domiciled as purusa and men as predana. The women will have the same rights as men and they will also have the same responsibilities as men. These women will become the head of the family.

This research shows that the deconstruction of the concept of purusa-predana, which is still based on old standards, is carried out to find new meaning through the appointment of the sentana rajeg in the nyentana marriage. This marriage portrays a masculine figure who is displayed as being masculine. Masculine women also show to the community that women are not always weak, which can be seen from the struggle of women in finding a life partner and convincing their partners to carry out the nyentana marriage. The gender exchange can be seen from how masculine women are firmly convinced as being men so the men become determined to make the decision to accept the marriage in peace. Men become feminine, where men are usually portrayed firmly, as convincing women and so on. This research also seeks to illustrate how the patriarchal culture dominates in Balinese society and how the gender construction is formed based on biology / sex. In theory, gender and sex are different. Sex is the difference between men and women that is permanent and cannot be changed. Gender is the difference between men and women based on social construction such as nature, their role and their function in society. Gender is not permanent and it can be changed and exchanged between men and women (FAKIH, 1996: 8). Behind the patriarchal culture which is very strong and thick in Bali, matrilineal marriage has apparently been done by many people in Tabanan district. Tabanan Regency is the area where the most people carry out nyentana marriages. The presence of girls who number more than boys in this district is one of the reasons why this district legalises matrilineal marriage to continue the family's lineage. Matrilineal marriages have been carried out by the Tabanan people from the past until now. The Tabanan community is known for its legitimacy and openness on the issue of equality between women and men.

4. CONCLUSION

Sentana Rajeg is a term used to elevate the status of a woman to a male status (purusa). Sentana rajeg gives a woman the same position as a man and they become a family heir that has been arranged by their parents with-

in a marriage. Sentana Rajeg itself originated from the patrilineal system adopted by the Balinese people which very much expects the presence of boys to be the successor of the family. They will take on the family's inheritance. In reality, not everyone is able to bring a boy into their family, like in the phenomenon in Tabanan Regency where the presence of a girl exceeds the presence of a boy. The absence of a boy in the family certainly raises the anxiety of the family when it comes to carrying on the production of offspring in the family and regarding the family inheritance. For this reason, through marriage, girls will be strengthened and their status will be improved as sentana rajeg through the ceremony of *pepentent rajeg* in a *nyentana* marriage. After the ceremony is carried out traditionally, women in this case have changed their status to *purusa* or *kaprusan*. Girls already have a legitimate position in terms of inheritance in the family as well as being able to carry out their responsibilities in their family and in society. This is because the women already have the same position as men as *purusa*. The other explanation that underlies the adoption of a daughter to be sentana rajeg is related to the religious belief in society about a *suputra* child who will deliver the spirits of his parents to heaven. Responsibilities within the family such as the veneration of the ancestors can be carried out by elevating sentana rajeg. The process of continuing the veneration of ancestors can be carried on by sentana rajeg and by the appointment of sentana rajeg. This is so he can continue with his community rights and obligations as part of the community when carrying out their life in society. The appointment of sentana rajeg has the main goal of providing the next generation to carry out the traditions of the family. The appointment of sentana rajeg and *nyentana* marriage to the Balinese people is considered to be a way of appreciating the Balinese women by enhancing their status as *purusa* and letting them have the same position as men in the family.

The appointment of sentana rajeg can also be a solution for families that only have daughters by arranging marriages so then the family does not become broken up over the generations. Amid the strong patrilineal culture, the presence of matrilineal marriages makes the concept of *purusa* and *predana* undergo a reorganisation of its meaning in its sense that it has created a form of binary opposition between women and men. This concept can be interpreted in that *purusa* and *predana* is not just a differentiator between women and men, where *purusa* is male and *predana* is female, but males and females are the same. There is no difference except for the bio-

logical differences that cannot be changed. In marriage, women and men can become *purusa* or *predana*. Matrilineal marriage with the adoption of a steady *sentana* towards girls seeks to provide an image and communicate the idea of gender equality to the community amid the dominant notion of patriarchal ideas. This shows how the presence of girls means that they can also be a successor and heir to the family. This research shows that despite the gender deconstruction in the domestic life of both women and men, they continue to carry out their duties as husband and wife as usual, where only the function of gender can be exchanged. This marriage portrays a masculine figure that can be exchanged. Gender exchange can be seen from how masculine women firmly convince men to carry out *nyentana* marriages. Men become feminine. Appreciation for the women by raising *sentana rajeg* illustrates that Tabanan society has begun to highlight the gender equality between women and men. The struggle of Tabanan women to become *sentana rajeg* in *nyentana* marriages is a form of awareness on part of the women to carry out their responsibilities and to continue on the generations of their families as well. In addition to this, this struggle is a form of fighting for women's rights to gain equality with men.

5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At the end of the writing of this article, the authors would like to give thanks to their parents who always helped through prayer and motivation to continue the spirit of learning. I would also like to thank the sociology lecturers of Universitas Airlangga who have given their knowledge, especially Professor. Dr. Emy Susanti, MA, a lecturer on the subject of gender perspectives and related issues. She supported the author in compiling this scientific article. Special thanks go to Dr. Sutinah, Dra., MS. as Chairman of the Sociology department of the Faculty of Social and Political Science at Universitas Airlangga. They highly contributed to the preparation of this journal.

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Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 35, Especial N° 21, (2019)

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.
Maracaibo - Venezuela

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