



The Gender Equality and Justice of Balinese Women in Traditional Life



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Abstract

In the traditional activities and rituals of Hindu religion in Bali (both in the traditional village, sub-village or in groups of relatives and neighbors) appeared between the man with the women running a relatively balanced role. There was segregation between the types of ceremonial events for men and women. It is difficult to say whether gender equality has been going on because all the activities carried out is highly normative. However, in terms of gender equity, both male and female adults have had and given the swadhrama 'responsibilities/duty' of each in customary activities.

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1. Introduction

The status and position of women became a central issue in the social life of modern society. This is due to the tendency of the persistence of the gap between the roles of men and women based on the biological and physiological aspects. The role dichotomy gets a place in a patriarchal culture that became one cause of discriminatory treatment and less favorable for women (Arjani, 2003).

Differences in status of the roles of men and women who are often referred to gender differences are actually a common thing as long as not causing gender inequality. But in reality, gender differences that often give rise to inequality or injustice. The forms of injustice, as disclosed by Fakh (1996: 12) is: labeling negative against a particular gender (stereotypes), the process of marginalization due to gender differences lead to poverty or marginalization, assessment of the role of a particular gender lower or subordinated, dual role in one sex or double burden, and violence, both physical and non-physical.

Forms of gender inequality were incompatible with human rights so that the Indonesian government seeking the realization of gender equality through various policies, such as declared by Presidential Instruction No. 9 of

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2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. Gender Equality and Justice is a word formed containing the two concepts of gender equality and gender justice. Gender equality means sameness conditions for men and women to opportunities and rights as human beings, to be able to contribute and participate in the political, economic, social, cultural, national security, and equality in the enjoyment of the fruits of development. Gender equality is a process to be fair to both men and women (Bali government and PSW Unud, 2005: 10-11).

Currently, the gap and gender inequalities in society come to the surface both at national and local level. In the province of Bali, gender gap occurs in many areas of life such as education, employment, politics, and others. This condition is shown by the results of the National Socioeconomic Survey by BPS in 2002 namely to the field of education, the number of illiterate female population is much larger than the males who successfully completed high school and over: 21.0%: 32.1 %. The gender gap in employment appears from differences in labor force participation rates of men and women, namely: 75.9%: 59.0%. In the political, gender gap is reflected in the difference in the population of men and women involved in the legislative, executive and judicial.

Up to this time, it was thought that the issues of gender in the Balinese do not matter because basically, the division of roles between men and women or gender roles in Balinese society in general and particularly in indigenous aspect people has been a fair and equitable in the sense that there is no problem. However, when examined more closely, that assumption could be biased. Findings of Bali government and Center for Women Study in University of Udayana 2005 shows that the role of civil society, particularly formal activities such as meetings in villages and traditional villages is still dominated by men.

Thus, despite the social rules religiously in Balinese society recognizes gender equality as seen in the conception of *purusa* and *pradana*, but in practically Bali women often have a weaker position of than men.

In the traditional structure, women's role is only involving in activity alone, and they rarely get a chance to give a decision in village meetings. In activities relating to customs, in particular in the congregation or consultation which decides everything related to the problem of religious or other social activities, the role of men is still very dominant. Similarly, the hierarchical structure that prioritizes the position and rights of men put women only as a support and complement in social activities, customs, and religion.

Besides that condition, there are four fundamental problems that convolute Balinese women until now, whether they live in urban or rural (Mantra, 1993). First, the problem of education that is due to no ability and opportunity, especially in poor families. Second, there are problems in family upbringing. There is the more indulgent attitude of boys than girls. This attitude is related to the position of men who would be the successor to the obligations of parents and custom links, such as conducting service in the village. Third, there is still reluctance of women, are actively involved in activities outside the home. Fourth, too busy prioritizing in materialistic the matter. In fact forms, arguably they are fearful to be said not modern, outdated just because it does not wear certain clothes or jewelry.

In this regard, it needs to be studied further about the gap, injustice, gender equality, especially in the life of Balinese customs for women who live in urban and rural areas.

2. Research Methods

2.1 Location Research

This research was conducted in Gianyar Bali as represent regions of Central and Denpasar representative of South Bali. One *Pakraman* was taken from each district and the city, namely *Pakraman Penestanan* represents the rural area and *Pakraman Sumerta* represents an urban area. The two *Pakraman* were chosen purposively by the consideration that both were deemed able to describe gender equality in the activities of customs for Balinese women. This is because the indigenous people in Bali have relatively homogeneous conditions, especially in terms of cultural practices and religious affiliations. In addition, the choice of location as this is also done on the basis of the consideration to be able to give an idea of the condition of gender equality and justice for Balinese women in rural and urban areas.

2.2 Population and Sample

The population of this research is all households in each *Pakraman* predetermined as a research location. Of each *Pakraman* 20 households were taken to obtain respondents drawn purposively with the following criteria: women who are already married and are listed as women village member. It is preferred that household that is still intact or not a widow or widower. This is done to get a full picture of the gender issues that exist in the

community of Bali. In addition to these samples, some key informants will also be selected as a career woman who is a public figure or political and religious leaders.

2.3 Techniques of Collecting Data

The data was collected using observation method, namely to make observations on the activity of women, especially with regard to customs at the research sites. Besides, it is assisted by the technique of questionnaires/interviews structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews conducted on 20 respondents and unstructured interviews or in-depth interviews were conducted with several key informants.

2.4 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using qualitative data analysis technique. Qualitative data analysis was done by presenting the similarities, differences, relevance, category, key themes, concepts, ideas and logical analysis of the initial results, and weaknesses or gaps in the data. Further, the data was described by building category that put the behavior of the process was going on with organizing the data around the topic, or the central question. (Cassel and Symon, 1994: 220). After that triangulation was an analysis of certain information from unstructured interview techniques (from key informants) with the results of structured interviews (respondents), the results of observations in the field and re-checking of various other sources and other documents.

To show an idea of gender equality and equity of gender analysis technique that is used to parse the data and information systems on the status, functions, roles, and responsibilities of men and women in development programs and the factors that influence it. There were four (4) main factors that had to be considered in order to identify whether there was a gender gap, namely the factor of access, participation, control and benefits (Lenny N O'Rourke, 2001: 3).

Data analysis was carried out continuously from the beginning until the end of the study that resulted in grounded theory (Mantra, 2004: 30). The reasoning used was inductive reasoning because it allows deciphering the full background, and can make the relationship between researcher and respondent be explicit, identifiable and accountable, and to discover the realities of doubles in the data.

2.5 Gender Equality and Justice

The starting point of development policies to empower women and increase the role of women is gender equality and justice, welfare and protection of children in family life, society, nation, and state (Regional Autonomy Affairs, 2005).

In the appendix of Presidential Instruction No. 9 in 2000, there were three important insights to be understood and internalized related to gender issues, namely:

- a) Gender Mainstreaming in development are all strategies developed to integrate gender into an integral dimension of the design, preparation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and national development programs. The aim is to ascertain whether women and men gain access to, participate in, have control over, and benefit equally from development. With gender mainstreaming, gender gaps can be identified, which in turn raises gender issues. Thus, the ultimate goals of gender mainstreaming are narrow and even eliminate the gender gap.
- b) Gender equality is a similarity of conditions for men and women to opportunities and rights as human beings, to be able to contribute and participate in the political, economic, social, cultural, national defense and security, and equality in the enjoyment of the fruits of development.
- c) Gender justice is a process to be fair to both men and women. In order for the process fair for women and men materialized, the necessary steps to stop things that are socially and historically have hampered women and men in being able to contribute and enjoy the fruits of his role.
- d) Implementation of gender equality with careful planning it is important to note and has a great significance not only for family life but also for the life of the nation in the future in preparing the formidable development resources and potential.

2.6 Rural Communities in Bali

Village understanding in Bali is still ambiguous (dualism), namely: first, villagers carrying out various activities or official administration that is known as ' official village ' or ' administrative villages '. Secondly, Pakraman, referring to the traditional group with a base bonding customs, and bound by the three main temples called Kayangan Tiga (territorial temples) or other temples of other function as such, which is called Kayangan

Desa Village temples (Pitana, 1994; Pasek Diantha, 2003; Parimartha 2003; Windia, 2003). Based on consideration of the uniqueness, distinctiveness characteristics, as well as the nature of genuine autonomy labeled, in this paper, it has been chosen to discuss *Desa pakraman*, so the villagers are meant traditional society.

The existence of the Pakraman in Bali in the long history always linked and in line with the dynamics of the culture of Bali. Although they have certain traits and characteristics, because it is autonomous, then there is a local variation of forms and rules between Pakraman with one another. Of the various diverse, researchers about Bali and the Council of Trustees of Indigenous Institute on the basis of dominant tradition that characterize Pakraman, classify Pakraman into three types (Swellengerebel, 1960; Danandjaja, 1980; MPLA, 1991 and Reuter, 2005), that is: Bali Aga village (mountainous located) Apanage Village (lowland located/plains) and Anyar Village (new).

However, this now Pakraman in Bali has been arranged through the Regional Regulation of No. 3 of 2001 on Pakraman. According to Article 1 point 4 local regulation stated that Pakraman is the unity of indigenous people in the province of Bali which has a unity of tradition and manners of socially vibrant communities of Hindus from generation to generation within the bounds of *kayangan tiga* or territorial temples or *kayangan desa* that have a particular area and treasures as well as the wealth itself entitled to manage his own household.

2.7 Role of Bali Women in Indigenous Activity

The role of Balinese women and men in some customs activities still shows some distinctions. This can be seen when the congregation is held (consultation) of indigenous villages which addresses the issue of religious or civil society, a male role is still very dominant in determining the policies and decisions of the meeting, but in the implementation of its activities, it is more taken by the women. In this case, it appears that the recognition of women's representation in the congregation of meetings of indigenous villages in Bali. One of the customs of the activities of Balinese women is still dominant, namely the role and obligations in the practice of preparing religious ceremonies materials both within the household and in the surrounding community environment even in the traditional village homes.

In a variety of human resources, access to males is more dominant than females, due to the limitations of a particular resource ownership in the house in question. It is also because of the patrilineal kinship systems in society that led to the personal resources of women is lower than men (Provincial Government of Bali and PSW Unud, 2005).

3. Results and Analysis

3.1 Role of Women in Indigenous Activity

The role of women in the village and in the city is extremely complex both within families and communities in a variety of cultural activities (Sudemen, 2003). For women who are already married can be ascertained that in addition to being a wife to take care of their households also they play other roles in both *Pakraman* / indigenous rural environment and rural services. They have tasks or certain obligations that must be borne in conjunction with the obligation to take care of the household.

In general, the culture of Bali involvement or contribution of women to the tasks included as part of his responsibilities in his capacity as the wife of a husband who is already becoming a member of *Pakraman* / customs. Obligations of women in both sites are growing when they work for a living (self-employed) for a variety of reasons. Thus it would bring consequences on women's role as more and more. Consequently, the dual role of women in urban and rural *pakraman* can be classified into two roles of domestic and public roles. The domestic role is a role in domestic life, as well as the traditional role in *Pakraman*, and the role of the public that took part in working for a living.

In relation to the activities of customs, it is usually associated with the obligations that must be carried out and implemented in *Pakraman* respectively. Obligations in *Pakraman* according Court (1984: 9) includes: (1) implementing tasks of *kerama* village such as voluntary work repairing or building a temple belonging to *Pakraman*, held a ceremony of *dewa yadnya* in the temple festival, held a ceremony *Butha yadnya* sacrificing ceremony and *makiyis* ceremony annually (on dark moon of the ninth month of Saka Year), organized for the benefit *Pakraman* development, and carry out other tasks for *Pakraman*. (2) it is obliged with the regulations in force in *Pakraman* both written in *awig awig* and unwritten that is called *pasuara* and habitual activities applicable. Besides, the village members are also obliged to maintain security and peace together, keep the good name of the village and carry out mutual cooperation between each other.

Liabilities as *krama* 'member' of sub indigenous villages are essentially a part of the obligation of *Pakraman* members. In the main outline custom as sub-village member's obligations are obligations which it is the duty of sub-village member that includes: assisting in organizing the ceremony of *Dewa Yadnya*, *Pitra Yadnya*, *Manusa Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya* and *Butha Yadnya*. Thus the obligation of the most prominent in the life of sub indigenous villages members is to implement the principle of mutual cooperation with the family in communion living together in a state of joy and sorrow.

Of those obligations that are connected with the obligations which are generally carried out by Balinese women, especially in the two sites in outline can be broken down as follows: (1) The obligation of mutual help among fellow citizens in a series of ceremonies and religious like marriage ceremonies, deaths, tooth failing, *ngotonin* which is the life cycle ceremonies and other ceremonies which is an obligation that is both joy and sorrow. (2) The obligations undertaken with regard to religious ceremonies in *Pakraman* at certain times predetermined by the obligations contributed energy, mind, and matter for smoothing the ceremony. These activities e.g. *ngayahang* 'conducting service' customary obligations and issued *pepeson* (material goods or money) as well as participate in preparing ritual offerings and the like. (3) The obligations undertaken with regard to formal and informal organizational activities related to women's activities as the activities within the organization of PKK (welfare family organization), arts group, and social gatherings are temporary.

The traditional obligation in the household and in the village which is a domestic role is obtained automatically from their socio-cultural environment as a logical consequence of their social identity. The heritable role is expressed by "*sasana manut linggih, linggih manut Sasana*", which means that the role should be in accordance with the position or identity in a more specific sense, and include the identity of certain specific roles as well.

Because traditional roles are roles in the household and in the village as a domestic role that is obtained automatically, then the role binds women, especially in the context of the assessment of ideal Balinese women that is; *anak luh luwih*, *anak luh luwih* are women who can perfectly carry out the role as housewife, carrying out a role in the scope of the community as villagers as well as carrying out a role as breadwinner (working women).

In the role or obligations to help fellow citizens are included in the scope of the family in a series of ceremonies and religious activities more often referred to as *menyama beraya* behave. *Menyama Beraya* is behaving an activity of helping each other, a sense of family to family and residents in the neighborhood community of sub-village or village. *Menyama Beraya* activity is an activity and customary obligations that have been rooted in the people of Bali. The event was held in the framework of the ceremony *Panca Yadnya Yadnya god, sage Yadnya, Pitra Yadnya, Manusa Yadnya and Butha Yadnya*. This activity is directed to the formation of a sense of family, togetherness, solidarity, and sense of belonging that is poured into forms such as *nguopin / matatulung* (provide energy assistance to do related activities), *mejenukan* (come with the goods or materials and give the blessing as well as moral support).

The actual implementation of these activities is the implementation of Hindu philosophy known and believed as *Tat Tvam Asi* which means you are me, I am you. *Tat Tvam Asi* taught that in life people always guided to be able to understand others. This is consistent with human nature cannot live alone but requires the help of his neighbor each other because human nature is one. This is the foundation of a harmonious life in *Pakraman* commonly referred to as *paras-paros, sigilik- saguluk, salunglung-sabayantaka* that has a sense of unity in a state of joy and sorrow until the last breath (Agung, 1987: 5).

Liabilities related to activities performed religious ceremonies at *Pakraman* is an obligation that must be fulfilled and implemented in order to participate in the ceremony means to prepare, facilitate the ceremony, as well as participate in the establishment success of the ceremony. Since a person becomes a member of *Pakraman*, he is required to fulfill the obligations and understand their rights as members of society. Thus someone trying to adjust himself so as not to tarnish and cause lack of order in society. People are trying to avoid being banned for violating the rules that have been established or agreed upon. When that happens it will bring disgrace and a stain that is reprehensible in society, therefore the salient aspects of *Pakraman* function are a place of education to develop solidarity that is meaningful (Bagus, 1994: 19). Things that are valuable in *Pakraman* are things that are capable of uniting the lives of its members. The customary obligations can voluntarily provide power assistance (*ngayahang*), issued material/money (*papeson*), and the obligation to be present at certain times in accordance with the position and status in *Pakraman*. Meaning of *ngayah* is implied sacrifice, togetherness, unity, helping each other, a sense of devotion and give priority to the public interest in *Pakraman*.

While the obligation of women in both formal and informal organization can be either an activity or activities in organizations of the PKK with all the activities that should be supported by all members. In addition activities

are an informal form of association or *Sekehe* can either be permanent or temporary, such as associations or art group (singing a holy song, a group of instrument player gong/dance or other arts). Temporary associations can be *Sekehe* in the agricultural field as planting group, harvesting group, and other group interests at any time.

Almost every type of above ceremony is always marked and shall be considered completed or finished when using a means of the ceremony called offerings. *Banten* is *sajen* or offerings in religious ceremonies (Department of Teaching Level I Bali, 1993: 60). Names, forms, and types of offerings are very diverse in accordance with the view of Balinese culture that is imbued with Hindu religion. The name, form, type, and quantity of *Banten* required depends on the type and degree of ceremonies. Balinese people know the lower, middle and highest level ceremony often adapted to its economic capabilities.

To prepare the number and types of offerings are diverse and are often considered complicated, submitted to the female members, thus making offerings regarded as the responsibility of women. Making offerings starts with activities of preparing the material, *mejeahatan*, and organizing and preparing the means of offerings.

Some obligation or role to be performed by women in both locations of the study is attached by itself in accordance with status and position. The complexity of the role assumed by Balinese women, and coupled with a role in the effort involved to make a living has certainly needed the ability to regulate the implementation of these obligations so that no imbalance role that can lead to inequality and injustice in the fulfillment of these obligations.

3.2 Gender Equality and Justice

The activity of women in the indigenous activities in this study is divided into four (4) types, namely: *pasangkepan* (meetings), mutual cooperation, ceremonial activities and *pesantian* (religious singing in groups).

From the research, it appears that cultural activities are generally carried out by men and women. This is evident from the percentage of respondents following recognition. In the village of an average of 48 percent of respondents stated that men carry out cultural activities, and an average of 52 percent of adult women expressed a similar role. While in town, the participation of men and women carry out these activities, respectively 55 percent and 45 percent. That means in terms of the implementation of existing customary activities there have been relatively Gender Equality and Justice between men and women, both in rural and urban regions.

The dominant areas of activity undertaken include five types of ceremonies in Hinduism (*Panca Yadnya*), the *Dewa Yadnya* (ceremonial offerings to the Lord with all its manifestations), *Pitra Yadnya* (ritual offerings to the ancestors), *Resi Yadnya* (ceremonial offerings to priest and people saint), *Manusa Yadnya* (ceremonies in the stage-the stage of life as a human being) and *Butha Yadnya* (ceremony for spirit and lower life forms). Most respondents (86%) in rural and urban states have no clear distinction between the type of ceremony for men and women. Only 14 percent expressed a particular role in the activities of *Panca Yadnya* it can be replaced. This fact shows that the customs and religion in Bali have been arranged with great detail on the types of activities that are usually done by men and women in *Panca Yadnya* ceremonies. It is difficult to say whether gender equality is already underway because all the activities carried out are very normative. However, in terms of gender equality, both men and women already have and given obligations of each in cultural activities.

In the case of the congregation (deliberation) indigenous villages / *pakraman* that discuss religious or social issues, the roles of men and women in the city (75%) and rural (86%) are still not equal and equitable from a gender perspective. Adult males, because the lifestyle and culture of patrilineal (following the paternal line) is still very dominant in determining the policies and decisions of the meeting, but in the implementation of its activities are more taken by the women. The representation of Balinese women in the congregation (meeting) of indigenous villages in Bali has not been seen. One of the activities of customs Balinese women are still dominant, namely the role and obligations in practicing of making materials both religious ceremony in a domestic environment and in the surrounding community environment even in the traditional village / *pakraman* residence. Therefore, the respondents expressed very rarely (14% in the city and 5% in villages) aspirations of adult women can 'color' the results of resolution (*pasangkepan*) of *Pakraman* / customs. In other words, the making of strategic decisions in the activities of customs is still held by the dominant adult males.

The process of producing offerings for religious ceremonies is entirely done by women both in rural and urban areas. Most of the urban women (86%) and rural women (93%) could not estimate the average cultural activities carried out in the family environment and in *Pakraman* respectively. This is because in the tradition of Hinduism in Bali there are *Panca Yadnya* activities that include religious ceremonies, that *Dewa Yadnya*, *Bhuta Yadnya*, *Pitra Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya* and *Manusa Yadnya*. *Lontar Agastya Parwa* described each offering

meaningful oil, grains to Lord Shiva, the God Agni in a place of worship; to honor priest astors and read-read the scriptures; funerals in order to achieve the natural spirit of Shiva; welfare plants and conducting ceremonies tawur and Panca Wali Krama; and provide food to the public.

Although the intensity of cultural activities is unpredictable, Balinese women in customs and traditions are very dominant in conducting Panca Yadnya ceremony. In a ceremony Dewa Yadnya, for example, they deliver *canang* with daily supplies every Kliwon day that comes in every five days, Kajeng Kliwon (15 days) each Purnama and Tilem (once a month), each Tumpek, Buda Kliwon, Buda Cemeng, Anggar Kasih, Buda Umanis held once a month. Implementation of Dewa Yadnya was based on a calculation of *wuku*, *wewaran*, and *sasih*. Dewa Yadnya ceremony is carried out also in the form of *pujawali* ceremonies in temples or the family shrine/temple. *Ngodalin* ceremony was preceded by a ceremony also as *melaspas* temple or shrine for the newly create a sacred place. There is also a ceremony for the *pelinggihnya mendem pedagingan* not filled *pedagingan* and ceremonies also draw up *pedagingan* (add *pedagingan* *pelinggih* or corrected *merajannya*) for the already *mendem pedagingan* more than ten years.

Dewa Yadnya ceremony was held also in the form of celebrating a feast like *melasti* in order Tawur Kesanga, besides Galungan, Saraswati and other Hindu holy days. Looks how high intensity and routines of women in the implementation of this Yadnya god. It does not include the addition of four types Yadnya others, namely Bhuta Yadnya, Pitra Yadnya, sage Yadnya and Manusa Yadnya. There is no exaggeration to seem very-long Bali women with traditional activities, particularly Yadnya or religious ceremony because it seems like no day without ceremony yadnya / religious.

In terms of implementation of the obligations or *ayahan* village, claimed 85 percent of rural women could receive *ayahan* system that has been established in *awig awig Pakraman*. *Awig awig* that already govern what and how *ayahan* manners *lanang* (adult male) and wife manners (adult women). The same is also indicated by 74 percent of urban women. Both rural and urban women do not consider the difference in terms of the obligation or village *ayahan* it as one form of gender inequality and injustice.

Pakraman in urban areas, according to the recognition of 67 percent of respondents had to be flexible in terms of setting the schedule of activities, making it possible to be followed by most citizens including those located as civil servants (PNS). However, rural women generally still feel there is still no leeway in terms of time cultural activities. Looks most respondents or 82 percent said traditional activities are still held in conjunction with the working hours of civil servants (PNS) and private. If they cannot follow the activities usually penalized handed over a sum of money, called *dedosan*, unless they represent to the children of women who are considered capable of performing the customary activities. *Dedosan* magnitude at the time it was unable to vary considerably from one *Pakraman* with *Pakraman* others.

4. Conclusion

- a) In the normal customs and religious rituals of Hinduism in Bali (both in *Pakraman*, in hamlets or in groups of relatives and neighbors) appear among men with the women running a relatively balanced role.
- b) There is already a separation between types of ceremonies for men and women are. Difficult to say whether gender equality is already underway because all the activities carried out are very normative. However, in terms of gender equality, both men and women already have and given *swadarma* / obligations of each in cultural activities.
- c) In the case of the congregation (meeting) indigenous villages / *pakraman* that discuss religious or social issues, the roles of men and women in urban and rural areas are still not equal and equitable from a gender perspective. Adult males, because the lifestyle and culture of patrilineal (following the paternal line) is still very dominant in determining the policies and decisions of the meeting, but in the implementation of its activities more taken by the women.
- d) In terms of implementation of the obligations or *ayahan* village, the majority of rural women and urban states could receive *ayahan* system that has been established in *awig awig Pakraman*. They generally do not consider the difference in terms of the obligation or village *ayahan* it as one form of gender inequality and injustice.
- e) *Pakraman* in urban areas is relatively more flexible than *Pakraman* in the countryside in terms of setting the schedule of activities of customs/religion.

Suggestions

In an effort to further empower women in customary activities in *Pakraman*, especially in aspirations, then in the future need to involve women in decision-making in villages/hamlets *pakraman* by involving them in meetings / *pasangkepan* in banjo / *Pakraman*.

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