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## **Gender Equality and Justice Among Balinese Women in the Life of Traditional Custom in Bali**

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### **Abstract**

In the traditional activities and rituals of Hindu in Bali (both in the *Desa Pakraman*, in *banjar* or in groups of relatives, and neighbors) appeared between the man with the women running a relatively balanced role. There was segregation in the types of ceremonial events between for men and for women are. Difficult to say whether or not gender equality had been going on, because it's all the activities carried out is highly normative. However, in terms of gender equity, both male and female adults have had and given *swadhrama*/responsibilities in each of customary activities.

**Keywords:** Balinese women; gender justice and equality; indigenous village

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

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

The difference in the status of the roles between men and women, often called gender differences, is actually a common proposition as long as it does not cause gender inequality. But, in reality, gender differentiation often lead to various inequalities or injustices. These forms of injustice, as revealed by Fakih (1996) are: negative labeling toward sexes (stereotypes), the process of marginalization due to gender differences which results in poverty (marginalization), the lowering of certain sex roles (subordination), the dual role of one gender (double burden), and acts of violence, both physical and non-physical (violence).

These forms of gender injustice are not in accordance with human rights, so the Indonesian Government seeks to realize gender equality and justice through various policies, as stated in Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. Gender Equality and Justice is a term that contains two concepts, namely gender equality and gender justice. Gender equality means the equality of conditions between men and women to obtain opportunities and their rights as human beings, in order to be able to play a role and participate in political, economic, social, cultural, national security, and equality in enjoying the fruits of the development. While gender justice is a process to be fair toward men and women (Bali Provincial Government and PSW Unud, 2005).

Today, gender injustice and inequality in people's lives surfaced, both at national and local levels. In Bali Province gender disparities occur in various fields of life, such as in the fields of education, employment, politics and others. This condition is shown by the results of the National Socio-Economic Survey by the *BPS* (Central Bureau of Statistics) in 2002, which shows that for the education sector, the number of illiterate women is far greater than those of men who have completed high school above: 21,0%: 32.1%. The gender gap in the employment sector is evident from the differences in male and female labor force participation rates, namely: 75.9%: 59.0%. In the political field, the gender gap is reflected in the differences in the number of male and female population involved in the legislative, executive and judicial institutions.

So far there is an assumption that gender issues in Balinese society need not be disputed, because basically the division of roles between men and women or gender roles in Balinese society in general and indigenous peoples in particular, takes place fairly and equally, in the sense that there are no problems. However, if examined more closely, the assumption can be biased. The findings of the Bali Provincial Government and the University of North Sumatera PSW in 2005 showed that the social role, especially formal activities such as meetings in *Pakraman* and *Banjar* villages were still dominated by men.

Thus, even though religious social rules in Balinese society recognize the existence of gender equality as seen in the concept of *purusa* and *pradana*, in practice the position of Balinese women is often weaker than that of men.

In the *adat* (traditional custom) structure, the role of women is only as an actor, and they rarely get the opportunity to make decisions in village meetings. In activities related to *adat*, especially in communion (deliberation) that decide everything related to religious issues or other social activities, the role of men is still more dominant. Likewise, a hierarchical structure that prioritizes men's position and rights places women only as a support and complement in social activities, customs and religion.

In addition to these conditions, there are four other fundamental problems that surround Bali women today, both those living in urban and rural areas (Mantra, 1993). First, the problem of education is due to lack of ability and opportunity, especially in poor families. Second, the problem of parenting in the family. There is an attitude that spoils boys more than girls. This attitude is related to the position of men who are the successors of their parents' obligations and with customary relationships, such as singing in the *banjar* (traditional group of community). Third, there is still a reluctance of women to be actively involved in outside activities. Fourth, there is humiliation in materialistic life which prioritizes material. The real form is this situation in the form of fear is said to be ancient or not modern, outdated only because it does not use certain clothes or jewelry.

In connection with the phenomena outlined earlier, this study examines further the gap, injustice, equality and gender justice especially in the life of the customs of Balinese women who live in urban and rural areas in Bali.

#### *Gender Equality and Justice*

The starting point of development policy for the empowerment and enhancement of women's roles is gender equality and justice and the welfare and protection of children in family life, community, nation and state (Depdagri, 2005).

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

1. Gender Mainstreaming in development is all strategies that are built to integrate gender into an integral dimension of planning, drafting, implementing, monitoring and evaluating national development policies and programs. The aim is to ascertain whether women and men have access to, participate in, have control over, and obtain the same benefits from development. By carrying out gender mainstreaming, gender disparities which in turn lead to gender problems, can be identified. Thus, the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to narrow and even negate the gender gaps.
2. Gender Equality is a common condition for men and women to get the opportunity and their rights as human beings, in order to be able to play a role and participate in political, economic, socio-cultural, defense and national security activities, and similarity in enjoying the results of development.
3. Gender Justice is a process to be fair to men and women. In order for a fair process for women and men to materialize, steps to stop things - which have socially and historically prevented women and men from being able to play a role and enjoy the results of the roles they play-are required.

The application of gender equality and justice in a careful planning is very important to be considered and has a great meaning, not only for family life, but also for the life of the nation in the future in preparing strong and potential development resources.

#### *Village Communities in Bali*

The concept of village in Bali is still ambiguous (dualism), namely: first, it belongs to villages that carry out various government administration or official activities are known as service villages' or 'administrative villages'. Second, *Pakraman* village, this is a term that refers to a traditional group with the basis of customary ties, and is bound by the existence of three main temples called *Kahyangan Tiga* or other temples that function like that, called *Kahyangan Desa* (Pitana, 1994; Diantha, 2003; Parimarta, 2003; Windia, 2003). Based on the consideration of its uniqueness, distinctiveness of characteristics, and the nature of its original autonomy, this paper chooses *Pakraman* village, so that the intended village community is that of *Pakraman* village.

The existence of the *Pakraman* village community in Bali in the long journey of its history has always been related and in line with the dynamics of Balinese culture. Even though they have certain traits and characteristics, because they are autonomous, variations in local forms and rules occur between one *Pakraman* village and the others. From these diverse variations, researchers about Bali and the Council of *Adat* Institutional Trustees based on the dominant tradition that characterizes *Pakraman* village, classify *Pakraman* villages into three types (Swellengerebel, 1960; Danandjaja, 1980; MPLA, 1991; Reuter, 2005), i.e.: *Bali Aga* Village (mountain area), *Apanage* Village (plain area) and *Anyar* Village (newest).

However, nowadays *Pakraman* village in Bali has been regulated through Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2001 concerning *Pakraman* Village. According to article 1 point 4 of the regional regulation, *Pakraman* village is a unit of customary law communities in the Province of Bali that has a unity of tradition and manners of social relations of the people of the community from generation to generation in a *kahyangan tiga* or *kahyangan desa* that has certain territories and assets themselves and have the right to take care of their own households.

#### *Balinese Women Role in Customary Activities*

The role of Balinese women and men in some customary activities is still discriminated against. This can be seen when traditional village meetings discussing religious or social issues are held, where men still dominate the policy making decisions and meeting decisions. However, the implementation of the activities was mostly taken by women. In such a situation, women's representation in traditional village gatherings did not appear to be recognized. One of the most dominant Balinese women's customary activities is the role and obligation in the practice of making religious ceremonial materials, both in the household environment and in the surrounding community, even in the traditional village where he lives.

In various resources, men's access is more dominant than women, caused by limited ownership of certain resources in the house concerned. Besides that, it was also caused by the presence of the patrilineal kinship system in the community which caused women's personal resources to be lower than those of men (Bali Provincial Government and PSU Unud, 2005).

## II. METHOD

### Research Locus

This research was conducted in Gianyar District, as the representation of Central Bali and Denpasar City, representing South Bali. From each district and city, one *Pakraman* village was taken, namely the *Pakraman Penestanan* Village which represented the rural area and the *Pakraman Sumerta* Village representing urban areas. The selection of the two *Pakraman* villages was carried out purposively (deliberately) based on the consideration that the two were considered capable of describing gender equality and justice in the customs activities for Balinese women. This is because indigenous peoples in Bali have relatively homogeneous conditions, especially in terms of cultural and religious practices adopted. In addition, the selection of locations like this is also done on the basis of consideration to be able to provide an overview of the conditions of gender equality and justice for Balinese women in rural and urban areas.

### Population and Sample

The population of this study is all households in each *Pakraman* Village that have been determined as the research location. From each of the villages, 20 households were taken purposively to get respondents with criteria: married women and recorded as *krama* (community member) wives/

luh. The choice of women is prioritized for women who have households that are still intact or not widowed. This is done to get a full picture of gender issues that exist in the Balinese community. In addition to this sample, several key informants were also selected, such as career women who were community leaders or political and religious leaders.

#### **Data Collection Technique**

Data collection was carried out through observation of women's activities, especially those related to customs in the research location. In addition, questionnaires were also distributed and structured interviews and structured interviews were conducted. Structured interviews were carried out to 20 informants and unstructured interviews or depth interviews conducted on several key informants.

#### **Data Analysis**

Data were analyzed by applying qualitative data analysis technique that was supplemented by limited quantitative data analysis technique after the data were processed. Data are displayed in the instrument in the form of frequency distribution tables, averages, graphs and maps. Qualitative data analysis was done by presenting similarities, differences, interrelationships, categories, main themes, concepts, ideas, and logic analysis of initial results, and weaknesses or gaps in the data. Furthermore, the data were described by building categories that place behavior on the process that occurs by organizing data around the topic, or the main question. (Cassel & Symon, 1994). This step is called data reduction, i.e. selection, focusing on simplifying, abstracting and transforming crude data obtained from the field. After that, triangulation is carried out, namely an analysis of certain information from unstructured interview (from key informant) and the results of structured interviews (informant), and results of field observations and re-checking by comparing them with various other sources and documents.

To give depiction of gender equality and justice, a gender analysis technique is applied, namely systematically parsing data and information about the position, functions, roles and responsibilities of men and women in development programs and the factors that influence them. There are 4 main factors that must be considered in order to identify whether there is a gender gap or not, namely the factor of access, participation, control and benefits (Rosalin, 2001).

Data analysis of this study was carried out continuously from the beginning to the end of the research so as to produce grounded theory (Mantra, 2004). The reasoning used is inductive reasoning because it allows to describe the background in full and can make the relationship between researchers and respondents become explicit, can be known and accountable, and encounter multiple facts in the data.

### **III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Overview of Bali Province**

The province of Bali is located in the east of Java Island and is included in the series of islands of Nusa Tenggara which was once called the Lesser Sunda Islands. The Province of Bali covers several island, but the main one is Bali. The area extends from North to South at position 8°.03'40"-8°.40'48" of South Latitude (SL) and extends from West to East at position 114°.25'53"-115°.42'40" of East Longitude (EL). As an archipelago province, besides Bali which is the main island, there are also Nusa Penida Island, Nusa Ceningan Island, Nusa Lembongan Island, Menjangan Island and Serangan Island.

The Province of Bali has borders with the Java (North) Sea, the Indonesian Ocean (South), the Bali Strait/East Java (West) Province, and the Lombok Strait/West Nusa Tenggara Province (East).

In general, the Province of Bali has a tropical sea climate which is influenced by monsoons. There is a dry season and rainy season interspersed with transition seasons with rainfall ranging from 0.0-425.4 mm. The average maximum temperature ranges from 29,8°C-33,4°C and the average minimum temperature is 21,9°C-32,5°C. The highest temperature occurred in November and the lowest occurred in July with an average humidity of 73.3 to 82.1% (BPS Provinsi Bali, 2003: 3-4).

The Province of Bali was established on August 14, 1958 through Law Number 64 of 1958. At

that time, the capital was Singaraja. However, with the decision of the Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy dated June 23, 1960 Number 52/2/36-136 which was taken on the basis of the resolution of the Bali Level I Regional People's Representative Assembly (Indonesian term is "DPRD"), the position of the capital was transferred to become Denpasar (Soemargono, 1992). Until now, Denpasar has remained the capital of Bali Province.

Administratively, Bali Province is divided into nine districts and cities, 51 sub-districts, 565 village (the village headed by a *kepala desa*, who is elected by popular vote) and 79 *kelurahan* (a kind of village in urban area headed by *lurah*, a civil servant appointed by local government (city or district)). The nine districts and cities are Jembrana District (4 sub-districts, 51 villages, 259 *banjars*); Tabanan District (8 sub-districts, 117 villages, 756 *banjars*); Badung District (6 sub-districts, 61 villages, 547 *banjars*); Gianyar District (7 sub-districts, 69 villages, 317 *banjars*); Klungkung District (4 sub-districts, 59 villages, 272 *banjars*); Bangli District (4 sub-districts, 69 villages, 317 *banjars*); Karangasem District (8 sub-districts, 71 villages, 595 *banjars*); Buleleng District (9 sub-districts, 146 villages, 572 *banjars*); and Denpasar City (3 sub-districts, 43 villages, 448 *banjars*) which became the capital and center of government of Bali Province (BPS Province of Bali, 2005). In the beginning, Denpasar City became part of Badung District, but since February 27, 1992 each has officially become a different District/City.

Each district and city shows different characteristics. In the context of demography, the most heterogeneous regions are the City of Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan which are often called "*Sarbagita*". These differences occur due to the touch of tourism, either as a domicile, a visit, or an area supporting tourism. The population growth of the island of Bali during the 1990-2000 period was 1.31%. This figure is higher than the population growth of Java island 1.19%, but lower than the national population growth of 1.49%. In Bali, population growth ranged from 0.32% - 3.32%, dominated by Denpasar city at 3.32%, which was influenced by urbanization, and the lowest occurred in Klungkung district 0.32% (BPS Bali, 2005).

The province of Bali has an area of 5,632 km<sup>2</sup> or 0.29% of the Indonesian archipelago. The population of Bali Province reached 3,179,898 people in 2005 with a density of 565 people/km<sup>2</sup>. Most of the population (93.18%) are Hindus. The highest population density (3,450 people / km<sup>2</sup>) is in Denpasar City, exceeding the population density of Bali (565 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>). The district that has the widest area and the largest population is Buleleng, which is 588,662 people or 19.05% of the population of Bali. The district/city with the lowest population is Karangasem (166,552 people), and the lowest population density is in Jembrana District (259 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>).

### **Characteristics of Respondents**

In this study, the unit of analysis is households. Households are defined as the smallest social unit consisting of husbands, wives, children and other family members, who are bound in one economic unit and eat in one kitchen. While the respondents were women who had status as *luh* (wife) in the *banjar/pakraman* village.

Respondents taken for this study amounted to 40 people; each of the 20 people in the village of Pakraman Penestanan Gianyar represents the Village Region category; and 10 people in the village of Pakraman, Sumerta Denpasar, representing the category of City Region. Field data shows that the age of respondents ranged from 25-60 years. Overall, the majority of respondents (45.0%) were in the age group of 25-35 years, followed by the age group of 36-50 years (30.5%), while the smallest number (24%) was in the oldest age group namely in over 50 years.

In general, the education level of the respondents is quite high. This can be seen from the condition that there were many respondents who completed high school education, namely 66% and only 3% of respondents did not graduate from elementary school. Participants who succeeded in completing higher education were 31%. Meanwhile, the number of household respondents both those who live in the village area and in the city is relatively small or few. Only a small percentage of respondents, namely as much as 5%, have household members above 5 people and as many as 10% of respondents have household members 4-5 people. Respondents with 2-3 household members reached the highest number, 85%.

In general, the types of work undertaken by respondents vary. They are spread in various types of livelihoods such as civil servants, farmers, craftsmen, private employees and others.

### **Women's Role in Indigenous Activities**

The role of women in the village and in the city is very complex both in the family and in the community in various traditional activities (Sudemen, 2003). As women who are married, it can be ascertained that in addition to being a wife who has to take care of their household, they also hold other roles in the village environment both *pakraman/adat* and *dinas* villages. They have certain duties or obligations that must be borne together with the obligation to take care of the household.

In general, in Balinese culture, the involvement or contribution of women to these tasks is included as part of his responsibility in his position as the wife of a husband who has become a member or *krama* of the *Pakraman/adat* village. The obligations of women in both research locations are increasing when they also work for earning a living (entrepreneurship) for various reasons. Thus, this activity will bring consequences to its role as women, namely to become more and more. Thus, the dual role of women in the city and village of *Pakraman* can be classified into two, namely domestic roles and public roles. Domestic role is its role in household life and traditional role in *Pakraman* village, while its public role is participation in working for a living.

In relation to customary activities, the role of women is usually related to obligations that must be carried out and carried out in the respective *Pakraman* villages. Obligations in *Pakraman* village according to Agung (1984: 9) include: (1) implementing *ayahan desa* (duties in the village), such as voluntary work to repair or build temples belonging to *Pakraman* village, holding a ceremony for *dewa yadnya* (*ngodalin*) in the temple, organizing *butha yadnya* (*mecaru*) and *makiyis* ceremonies once a year (*tilem kesanga*), organizing development for the benefit of *Pakraman* village, and carrying out other tasks for *Pakraman* village; (2) duties of complying with the regulations that apply in the village of *Pakraman* both written and unwritten in *awig-awig*, namely the so-called *pasuara* and *sima* that apply. In addition, the village manners are also obliged to maintain security and peace together, to maintain the good name of the village, and to carry out mutual cooperation between each other.

Whereas the obligation as *krama* Banjar *Pakraman/adat*, in essence, is part of the obligation of *krama* of *Pakraman* Village. In the broad outline, the obligations to the Banjar *adat* are to carry out obligations which are the duties of the banjar, which include: helping in holding the *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony, *Pitra Yadnya*, *Manusa Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya* and *Butha Yadnya*. So, the most prominent obligation in the life of *krama* Banjar is to carry out mutual cooperation with the principle of kinship in the communion to live together in conditions of joy and sorrow.

This obligations, if connected with the obligations that are generally carried out by Balinese women, especially in the two research locations, the outline can be detailed as follows: (1) The obligation to help each other in a series of traditional ceremonies and religious ceremonies, such marriage ceremonies, death, cutting teeth, *ngotonin* which are ceremonies of the life cycle and other ceremonies which are obligations relating to joy and sorrow. (2) Obligations carried out relate to religious ceremonies in the village of *Pakraman* at certain times that have been determined with the obligation to contribute energy, mind and material for the smooth running of the ceremony. This activity, for example, is carrying out the customary obligations of *ngayahang* and contributing *pepeson* (material objects or money) and participating in preparing the means of religious ceremonies, such as *banten* and the like. (3) The obligations carried out relate to the activities of formal and non-formal organizations concerning women's activities, such as activities in the *PKK* (Family Welfare Development) organization, as well as the arts and temporary social associations.

Traditional obligations in the household and in the village which are domestic roles are obtained automatically from their socio-cultural environment as a logical consequence of their social identity. The inherited role is expressed with "*sasana manut linggih, linggih manut sesana*", which means the role must be in accordance with the position or identity in a more specific sense, and identity includes certain specific roles as well.

Because the traditional role - the role in the household and in the village as a domestic role - is obtained automatically, it is binding on women, especially in the context of the ideal assessment of Balinese women, namely *anak luh luwih, anak luh luwih*, which means women can perfectly carry out their roles as housewives, carry out roles within the community, namely as villagers, and carry out roles as breadwinners (working women).

The role or obligation to help fellow citizens, including in the family sphere in a series of traditional ceremonies and religions, is more often referred to as *menyama beraya* activity. *Menyama beraya* is a mutual helping activity, a sense of kinship towards family and community members in the

neighborhood of the *banjar* or village community. The activity of *menyama beraya* is a customary activity and obligation that has grown its roots in Balinese society. This activity was carried out in the context of conducting the *Panca Yadnya* ceremony namely *Dewa Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya*, *Pitra Yadnya*, *Manusa Yadnya* and *Butha Yadnya*. This activity is directed at the formation of a sense of kinship, togetherness, a sense of solidarity and a sense of belonging which are manifested in forms like *nguopin/matatlung* (providing energy assistance by carrying out something), *mejenukan* (coming by carrying goods or material and giving blessing and moral support).

The implementation of these activities is actually an application of Hindu philosophy known and believed to be *Tat Twam Asi*, which means he is you, you are him. *Tat Twam Asi* teaches that in his life, people are always guided to be able to understand others. This is in accordance with the nature of humans who cannot live alone but need each other's help because human beings are essentially one. This is the basis of a harmonious way of life in Pakraman village, which is commonly referred to as *paras-paros*, *sigilik-saguluk*, *salunglung-sabayantaka* that contains the concept of being united in a state of joy and sorrow until the last breath. (Agung, 1987).

The obligation in this kind of activity is related to religious ceremonies in Pakraman village, which are obligations that must be fulfilled and carried out in order to participate in preparing ceremonial facilities, expediting ceremonies, succeeding and participating in carrying out the ceremony. Since someone became a member of the Pakraman village, he was required to fulfill obligations and understand rights as members of the community. Thus, a person tries to harmonize himself so as not to tarnish and cause disorder in society. People try not to be ostracized for violating regulations that have been set or agreed upon. If that happens, it will bring disgrace and blemishes that are reprehensible in society, and therefore, a prominent aspect of the function of Pakraman village is as a place of education to develop solidarity as something meaningful (Bagus, 1994). The things that are valuable in Pakraman village are things that are able to unite the lives of their citizens. This customary obligation can be in the form of providing voluntary assistance (*ngayahang*), contributing material/oney (*papeson*), as well as the obligation to attend traditional activities at certain times according to their position and status in Pakraman village. The meaning of *ngayah* is the willing to sacrifice, togetherness, a sense of unity, mutual assisting, a sense of devotion and prioritizing the public interest in the village of Pakraman.

Meanwhile, women's obligations in both formal and informal organizations can be in the form of activities or activities in the Family Welfare Development organization with all activities that must be supported by all citizens. In addition, informal activities can be in the form of association or *sekehe* both permanent and temporary, such as association or *sekehe of arts* (*pesantian*, *sekonghe gong/dance* or other arts). Temporary associations can be in the form of agricultural fields such as *sekehe mamula*, *sekehe panen* and others whose interests are at any time.

Almost every type of ceremony above is always marked and is considered completed if using a ceremonial facility called *banten*. *Banten* is offerings in religious ceremonies (Dinas Pengajaran Tk I Bali, 1993). The name, shape and types of *banten* vary according to the cultural views of the Balinese people that are imbued with the Hindu religion. The name, shape, type, and quantity (amount) needed are dependent on the type and level of the ceremony. Balinese people recognize the level of ceremonies: *nista*, *madya*, and main ceremony, which are often adjusted to their economic capacities.

To prepare *banten* - whose numbers and types are varied and which are often considered complicated - are handed over to women, so that making the *banten* is considered the responsibility of women. Providing the *banten* begins with the activities of preparing the means of the offering i.e. *sajen* and *mejeahatan* and arranging and preparing facilities for ceremonies or *metanding*.

Some of the obligations or roles that must be carried out by women in the two locations of this research are inherent according to their status and position. The complexity of the role played by Balinese women as well as the role in the effort to join in earning a living certainly requires the ability to regulate the implementation of these obligations so that imbalances in roles that can lead to inequality and injustice in fulfilling these obligations do not occur.

### Gender Equality and Justice

Women's activities in customary activities in this study are divided into 4 types, namely: *pasangkepan* (gatherings), mutual cooperation, ceremonial and *pesantian* activities (group religious singing).

From the research results, it appears that customary activities are generally carried out by adult

men and women. This can be seen from the percentage of respondents following acknowledgment. In the village, an average of 48 percent of respondents stated that adult men carried out customary activities, and an average of 52 percent stated that adult women played a similar role. Whereas in cities, the participation of men and women in carrying out these activities, respectively, was 55 percent and 45 percent. This means that in the implementation of relative adat activities, there is already Justice and Gender Equality between adult men and adult women, both in rural and urban areas.

The dominant fields of activity including five types of ceremonies in Hinduism (*Panca Yadnya*) are the ceremony for *Dewa Yadnya* (ceremonial offerings to God with all its manifestations), ceremony for *Pitra Yadnya* (ceremonial offerings for ancestors), the ceremony for *Resi Yadnya* (ceremony offerings for pinandita and saints), ceremony for *Manusa Yadnya* (ceremonies in the stages of life as humans), and the ceremony for *Butha Yadnya* (ceremonies for *butha kala* and lower forms of life). Most of the respondents (86%) in the village and in the city stated that there was a clear separation between the types of ceremonial activities for adult men and women. Only 14 percent said that certain roles in *Panca Yadnya* activities could be replaced. This fact shows that adat and religion in Bali have arranged in great detail the types of activities that are usually carried out by adult men and women at the *Panca Yadnya* ceremony. It is difficult to say whether gender equality has taken place, because indeed all activities carried out are very normative. But, in terms of gender justice, both men and women have had and given *swadarma* (their respective obligations in traditional activities).

In the case of traditional/*pakraman* village *pesamuan* (deliberation) that discuss religious or social issues, the roles of adult men and women in the city (75%) and villages (86%), and are still not equal and fair from a gender perspective. Adult men, because of their patrilineal lifestyle and culture (following father's lineage), still dominate policy decisions and meeting decisions, but in carrying out their activities, women work more. The representation of Balinese women in gatherings (meetings) of traditional villages in Bali is not yet apparent. One of the dominant Balinese women's customs activities is the role and obligation in the practice of making religious ceremonial materials both in the household environment and in the surrounding community, even in the traditional village/*pakraman* where they live. Therefore, respondents stated that the aspirations of adult women are very rare (14% in the city and 5% in the village) to be able to 'dominate' the results of the meeting decisions (*pasangkepan*) in traditional/*pakraman* villages. In other words, strategic decisions in customary activities are still dominated by men.

The provision of *banten* (offerings) for religious ceremonies is fully carried out by women both in rural and urban areas. Most of the urban women (86%) and rural women (93%) cannot estimate the average customary activities carried out in their families and in their respective *Pakraman* villages. This is because in the Hindu religious tradition in Bali, there are *Panca Yadnya* activities, which include religious ceremonies, namely *Dewa Yadnya*, *Bhuta Yadnya*, *Pitra Yadnya*, *Rsi Yadnya* and *Manusa Yadnya*. According to Lontar Agastya Parwa, each of these means oil dan seeds offerings to Lord Shiva, Agni at the god's place of worship; to respect the pastor and to read the scriptures; the ceremony of death so that the spirit reaches Shiva's realm; welfare of plants and holding *tawur* and *Panca Wali Krama* ceremonies; and to provide food to the community.

Even though the intensity of the traditional activities cannot be predicted, Balinese women by custom and tradition dominate the implementation of the *Panca Yadnya* ceremony. In the *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony, for example, they deliver *canang* with its catches each *Kliwon* (once every five days), *Kajeng Kliwon* (15 days), *Purnama* and *Tilem* (once a month), and each *Tumpek*, *Buda Kliwon*, *Buda Cemeng*, *Anggar Kasih*, *Buda Umanis*, which is held once a month. The *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony is carried out based on the calculation of *wuku*, *wewaran*, and *sasih*. The *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony is also carried out in the form of a *pujawali* or *ngodalin* ceremony in the temple or in *sanggah merajan*. The *ngodalin* ceremony is preceded by a *melaspas pura* or *pelinggih* ceremony for those who had just made a holy place. There are also ceremony of *mendem pedagingan* for those whose *pelinggih*s have not been filled with *pedagingan* and also the ceremony of *menyusun pedagingan* (adding *pedinggih pedagih* or *sanggah merajan*) for those who have done *mendem pedagingan* for more than ten years. The *Dewa Yadnya* ceremony is also held in the form of a celebration of a holiday like *Melasti* in the framework of *Tawur Kesanga*, in addition to *Galungan*, *Saraswati* and other Hindu feasts. From here, how high the intensity and routine of women in the implementation of God *Yadnya* ceremony is seen. This has not yet covered additional activities from



the other four types of Yadnya ceremonies. There is no exaggeration if Balinese women are said to be very busy with traditional activities, especially on their *Yadnya* or religious ceremonies, because there seems to be no day without working for the ceremonies in question.

In implementing obligations or *ayahan* in the village, 85 percent of rural women stated that they could hold up the *ayahan* system that had been set in the *awig-awig* of *pakraman* village. *Awig-awig* had arranged what and how the *ayahan krama lanang* (men's) and *krama istri* (wife's) are carried out. The same proposition is shown by 74 percent of women's statements that both rural and urban women did not consider the differences in terms of obligations or village obligations as a form of gender inequality and injustice.

Pakraman village in urban areas, according to respondents' testimonies, 67 percent has been flexible in terms of setting the schedule for the implementation of activities, making it possible for most residents to participate, including those who are located as civil servants. However, rural women generally still feel that they do not yet have the flexibility to schedule for customary activities. 82 percent of respondents stated that customary activities are still carried out at the same time as the working hours of civil servants and the private sector. If they cannot take part in the activity, they are usually subject to sanctions in the form of submitting a sum of money, which is called *dedosan*, unless they are looking for a replacement, such as their daughters who are considered capable of carrying out the customary activities. The amount of *dedosan* varies between one Pakraman village and the others.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In traditional activities and Hindu religious rituals in Bali, both in Pakraman village, in the *banjar*, as well as in groups of relatives and neighbors, men and women play a relatively balanced role. There is already a separation between the types of ceremonial activities for adult men and women. It is difficult to say whether gender equality has taken place or not, because indeed all activities carried out are normative. But, in terms of gender justice, both men and women have had and been given *swadarma* (their respective obligations in traditional activities). In the traditional village or Pakraman village gathering activities discussing religious or social issues, the role of adult men and women in cities and villages is still not equal and fair from gender perspective. Adult men, because of their patrilineal life system and culture (following father's lineage) still dominate the determination of policy and decision-making in a meeting, but in the implementation of their activities, women do more. In terms of implementing the obligation or village *ayahan*, the majority of women in rural and urban areas stated that they could take the *ayahan* system that had been established in the *awig-awig* of Pakraman village. They generally do not consider the differences in terms of their obligations or village functions as a form of gender inequality and injustice. Pakraman village in urban areas is relatively more flexible than Pakraman village in the countryside in terms of managing the schedule for the implementation of traditional/religious activities.

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