Pressure on Socio-cultural towards Post-divorce Hindu Women in Denpasar City

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Abstract

This research was focused on reviewing the post-divorce Hindu women's regarding socio-cultural pressure in Denpasar city. The analysis results found that the high dominance of the patrilineal culture caused Hindu women to experience social and cultural pressure after the divorce. An oblique labeling was often related to Hindu women after a divorce due to patrilineal culture dominance. The field findings indicated the fact that the divorce rate was increasing. The number who were widowed also increasing. Even those who were widowed classified as young due to they were early marriage. The pressure on socio-cultural after the divorce included first, the dominance of the patriarchal culture that was still strong in Bali. The men (*purusa*) have a strategic position in Balinese culture. This can be seen from people's view of the men rather than women. In this case, the decision-making authority was still on the husband. Second, having to accept social stigma, Hindu women who are experiencing divorce will also be faced with a more religious stigma. A divorce in religion was actually not permitted, due to marriage was a very sacred procession. This causes divorce to be considered a family disgrace. However, the bad stigma was more predominantly directed at women, not men. Third, the social-cultural pressure for the Hindu women can be seen from the lack of protection and protection provided by traditional institutions in Bali, whether in village regulations (*awig-awig*) towards Hindu women, resulting in divorce cases increase.

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1. Introduction

Hindu women have a very complex role in the present and future. In addition, being responsible become citizens, as well as assisting their husbands and as housewives. As citizens, Hindu women have an obligation to realize the nature of national development goals, *i.e.* to build a whole Indonesian human being and the entire Indonesian people who are coveted as supporters and guards of Pancasila values. It is to live independently, able to work in a condition to grow and flourish society leads development of the quality improvement of life. It is physically prosperous and spiritually happy.

One of the complexities Hindu women role is responsible for the ongoing transformation of the Hindu values. This is more than responsibility for carrying out ritual activities. As a child guide in the transformation context of Hindu female teachings, it may be key. Due to the first world for children is a mother. If the next generation will be wanted "literate" religion in order to combat spiritual poverty. The first to have religious literacy is women (mothers). Hindu women are *dharma-patni* (Sudharta, 1993:92). The named *patni* is due to an important holder in the religion implementation, worship to the God.

The women have experienced their dynamics. Although the women in some places have not experienced significant changes, other data indicate that women's position has significantly improved. They are no longer just subordination but have become the global power, even women have dissolved in it.

If the rationale is acceptable, then the women role in the globalization era should not be separated from its role as a Goddess who is able to portray the mother functions [*Uma*], educator [*Saraswati*], Queen [*Laksmi*], shade [*Ganga*], and purifier [*Durga*]. These values make women are required to maintain their loyalty and love for husband, both during life and death. The moral message, specifically implies that only women can maintain loyalty as they deserve to be called *Mother*, and have the right to educate children. However, a phenomenon has been developed lately shows that the divorce rate of the Hindu women in Bali has become so high. Two decades ago, it can be stated that very rarely heard divorced Hindu women. But in the last three years, the data reported by the Radar Bali media shows that the number of divorces in cities/regencies in Bali is increasing. This can be seen in the following Table 1.

Table 1
Divorce numbers in Bali the last three years

District Court (PN)	The year 2013	The year 2014	The year 2015	Percentage of average increase per year
PN Denpasar	661	698	699	5%
PN Gianyar	82	111	175	35 – 113%
PN Semarapura	40	61	68	34 – 70%
PN Amlapura	54	52	87	61%
PN Tabanan	152	189	198	24 – 30%

PN Singaraja	181	311	513	72 – 183%
PN Bangli	32	67	92	109 – 187%
PN Negara	53	83	98	56 – 85%

Source: Radar Bali newspaper

Reflecting on the data above, it can be seen that the highest number of the divorce cases in Denpasar City. This may be due to the high population with a high divorce rate. It can also be caused by the courageous Hindu women to convey their rights including demanding a divorce. If there is no understanding in their household, as well as other reasons that need to be examined more deeply.

It can be imaged the pressure that must be faced by the Hindu women after the divorce. When they married they had left their family and when divorced the family would not accept their presence again. In the midst of the hegemony of the patrilineal culture (borrowing Bourdieu's term, 2010) which is very thick for Hindu society culture in Bali, the women position after the divorce becomes very marginalized. This, of course, creates a social and cultural pressure for Hindu women after the divorce. This condition, if it is allowed to drag on, makes it possible for the social disasters for Hindu communities in Bali and Denpasar particularly. Therefore, the effort is to conduct research on the social and cultural impacts of the Hindu women after the divorce is interesting to do.

Three decades ago, it can be stated that there are rarely heard of the Hindu women who dare to demand a divorce from their husbands if something happens in their household life. Along with the era development for the Hindu women in Bali, they have now dared to submit their demands for divorce, if there is no agreement in their household. The indication can be seen from the higher divorce rate in Denpasar District Court as stated in Table 1.

The problem is not solved at the District Court, due to as the Hindu woman in Bali who is very thick with her patriarchal culture, divorce becomes a very heavy social and cultural pressure that must be borne by the Hindu woman after the divorce. Moreover, if the Hindu women are meant to marry men of different nationalities. This is a big problem for the Hindu community in Bali if it is not pursued a way out of the social-cultural pressures referred to. Based on the explanation above, this study focused on reviewing the Post-divorce of the Hindu women's Socio-cultural pressure in Denpasar City (Ginaya, 2018).

Literature review

Putra (2003: 115), discussed the views and attitudes of intellectuals of Balinese Tempo Doeloe women (*women in a long time ago*) in an effort to fight for their people fate. The contact occurrence between Balinese and other people in the world who have different views will influence the lifestyle, mindset, and behavior patterns of the Balinese people. In the change process, there is also a perspective change, attitudes, and behavior towards women, therefore, it will also change the views, behavior, and attitudes of the women themselves face of change ongoing process.

Facing the socio-cultural changes for the Balinese people, many are interested in highlighting women. Women are considered unique creatures because as a social category, generally women as "second class" creatures are some expressions that exist in the community referring to understanding, including women as companion husbands, women as additional breadwinners, women as back workers (*kitchen affairs*) highlighting people's views on Balinese women, many role and position for the Balinese women as quite high compared to other regions.

There are those who view Balinese women as having a lower position with men. There is a difference between the high and low role and position of the Balinese women due to different perspectives. Putra (2003) and; Arniati, 2018), does not discuss the socio-cultural pressure of the Hindu women in Denpasar after the divorce. Nevertheless, the relevant is used as a reference to understand the inner world of the Balinese women who have experienced discriminatory treatment since a long time ago.

Wahyuni (2015) found that patriarchic culture domination in Bali due to the women become subordinated to men, especially in politics. Although quota has been given the number of women council members should be around 30 percent, in reality, the quota is very difficult to achieve. This is due to the lack of guidance made

by political parties towards the Balinese women. This happened because of the strong dominance of male cadres against women, so that female cadre had to fight on their own in gaining positions in the party. As a result, the Balinese women cannot be maximum in playing their capital due to the strong pressure of the patrilineal culture.

Haryanto (2015), discussed the gender issue of a religious perspective. The gender bias in religious life broadly originated from religious teachings that sort out gender roles and from interpretations of the religious teachings that allow gender bias practice. Besides that, a gender bias can also occur due to public policy in relation to religious life. In general, the religion teaches egalitarian principles for all sexes, but in religious practices often appear gender-biased. However, the women position in the society changes over time and this affects religious life. So, the relationship between gender and religion is reciprocal.

The cultural values are often a barrier to women's position and role in religion, while various socio-political aspects are manipulated in a way that reduces women's access to important positions in religion. According to Haryanto (2015), the religious beliefs also have the fight women power who are in oppressed situations, although they can be mobilized to overcome it.

Dewi (2016) and; Suarta, *et al.*, 2018), the women marginal position in religion in many cases is caused by gender-biased religious interpretations. Most of these interpretations come from men. Balinese with its Hindu culture inherits a patrilineal cultural system, thus, positioning women as subordinates of men. The social construction established in the community places women in the domestic sector, while men move in the public sector. Along with the era development of the gender, construction has undergone a shift. The partition currently separates that the public sphere is only for men, while the domestic realm is the women realm becoming increasingly blurred. The Balinese women who have inherited hard work spirit, and have not relied too much economically on their husbands, are currently starting to explore jobs in the public sector (Kumbara, *et al.*, 2018).

2. Materials and Methods

Concept

Related to this research, there are several concepts that need to be affirmed so as not to cause multiple interpretations, therefore, is obtained a clear understanding of the research topic.

Socio-cultural pressure

KBBI (1993: 103), the *pressure* in a figurative sense is defined as something that is *heavy* (difficult) that must be conducted (borne); obligation; dependents; responsible. For social pressure term, it can be compared to the term social pressure in English which means any violence type or coercion carried out by an institution or one group of individuals (Chaplin, 1981: 472).

Post-divorce Hindu woman

The word '*perempuan*/woman' comes from the Sanskrit language, from the verb root "wan" means respect. From the root verb "wan" then get the suffix '*hita/ita*' meaning good, noble happiness. Based on the meaning of the word '*perempuan*/woman' defines those who have the most important and honorable qualities.

Theoretical framework

Phenomenology theory

The term "*fenomena*/phenomenon" was first introduced by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) in the midst of the strengthening debate between rationalism and empiricism (Adian, 2002: 46). Kant (1724), tried to reconcile the two understandings by giving the assumption between ratio and empirical are equally important to get the right knowledge. Therefore, the subjects and objects must be considered as inseparable. They are not differentiation worthy. It's intertwined and influences each other true knowledge emergence. Kant (1724), distinguished between '*fenomena*' (what surfaced in our perception) and '*noumena*' (something in itself) (Adian, 2002: 46).

The agenda development to the change of the intersectional theory, turning to the oppressed knowledge and the old evaluative principles, they hold firmly to faith and justice. This theory argued about the need to witness, protest, and organize change in the context of the oppressed communities, because only in the community people can remain loyal to the justice victory which is understood not in the narrow breeding of the legal rationality, but as something works within institutions and social relations principles for the justice and concern for others and themselves (Ritzer, 2008: 515-518). This theory is used as an analysis tool in dissecting the problems of socio-cultural pressures experienced by Hindu women after the divorce in Denpasar City.

3. Results and Discussions

3.1 Domination of patriarchal culture

Goode (in Atmaja, 2008), explained that the family is a private network, but also a larger community social network. In the Balinese society, the social structures and kinship systems are very complicated, especially if it is analyzed more deeply. Generally, the principle of Balinese descent uses a management system. This system appears in Bali traditional marriage when the women leave their house and live in the husband's house. This governance system is also demonstrated in the form of a predominantly predominant *heir system* intended for men. The men in this case who are responsible for their parents and ancestors, both *sekala (real world)* and *niskala (unreal world)*.

The patrilineal/patriarchal kinship system directly influences the women position in the kinship system of the Hindu community in Bali. The women in this context do not have the cultural and customary legitimacy to get their rights. For example inheritance rights, child custody, and other social rights. Here the position of women becomes a subordinate of the men, let alone the women experience the divorce problem, so they no longer have the right to inheritance in their house, political rights, even the right to speak out. The moral stigma against a woman who experiences divorce often appears in the family.

The weak women position in a patriarchal kinship system was expressed by the Chairman of the Sruti Bali Foundation, Ni Ketut Riniti. When interviewed, the female activists known as Luh Riniti did not deny that the patriarchal culture in Bali greatly influenced the women position in the social system and cultural system. The women do not have a safe and comfortable position in their lives. Moreover, the women who have married, then they must follow the rules of the *purusa/*men party because they must live with their husband. It is possible that women experience violence both physically and symbolically in their families. The women, in this case, are identified as objects in the male family, not as subjects.

Another problem when the women did not bring wealth, whether in the form of occupation and other skills in the *purusa's* house or their husband, then they will experience mental stress is considered a migrant, a second-class person in their husband's family. Not even a few treats as servants. At least, according to Riniti, this is a real fact often found in the field. According to Riniti, a patriarchal social system makes women do not have the right and strategic position in managing life. The women tend to be positioned lower than men.

Referring to a theoretical view, *patriarchy* is a system of grouping social societies that emphasize the lineage of the fathers/men. *Patrilineal* is the descendant relationship through the lineage of the male relatives

or fathers (Sastriani, 2007: 65). The patriarchy can also be explained where the community condition places the position and position of the men are higher than women in all social aspects, cultural, and economic life (Pinem 2009: 42).

In the western countries, Western Europe, including Indonesia, patriarchal culture, and ideology is still very strong in the various aspects of life and the social structure. If it is viewed from the lineage, North Sumatra people are more likely to be patrilineal, in this case, the fathers/men position is more dominant than the mother/women position. For example, the tribes adhere to patriarchal cultural factors included Batak, Malay, and Nias (Syukrie, 2003).

In the social life order, the patriarchy concept as an ideological basis, the pattern of the gender relations in society systematically in practice with other social institutions. The cultural factors are one of the causes of increasing rates of violence against women. This is due to the men are overly prioritized (masculine). The gender differences actually do not matter as long as they do not give birth to gender injustice. However, it turns out that gender differences in both myths, socialization, culture, and government policies have given birth to laws that are unfair to women. In patriarchal societies, the cultural values related to women's sexuality reflect gender inequality placing women in an unfair position (Widianto, 2005: 10).

The strong attitude of this patriarchal society has caused people to tend not to respond or empathize with all violent acts that befell the women. The people often find more comments and show attitudes that force the women. The results of inequality in a patriarchal culture are masculinity. *Masculinity* is a stereotype about men which can be contrasted with femininity as a male-female stereotype is a male type. Masculinity is a man's virility that is related to the sexual quality (Sastriani, 2007: 77).

Hegemony in men in society seems to be a universal phenomenon in the history of human civilization in any society in the world, organized in a patriarchal society. In a society like this, men are positioned superior to women in various sectors of life both domestically and publicly. *Male hegemony* over women gains legitimacy from social values, religion, socialized law downhill from generation to generation (Darwin, 2001: 98).

The men also tend to dominate subordinating and discriminating against women. Due to patriarchy is a male domination or control over a woman, her body, her sexuality, her work, her role, and status, both in the family and in the society and in all fields of life which are ecocentrism centered on men and women (Manurung. 2009: 95). Darwin (2001: 3), suggested that the masculinity emergence in the patriarchal culture is due to the assumption that the men become true if they succeed in showing their power over women. Meanwhile, in the patriarchal culture, the care pattern for the women is also still dominated and the emphasis on the labor division based on gender (Sihite, 2007: 6).

Masculinity is also evident in the birth, the community actions, namely in the birth ceremony of the baby (*Jagong*). If the baby is a girl then the gift is less, if the baby is a boy. The number of school-age girls dropping out is due to their parents prioritizing their sons because the boys are thought become family heads and breadwinners. In doing homework, the men get a small share of the women because women are required to serve and do homework and clean the house. So that the hope of having a boy is very clear than that of a woman in the elements of the patriarchal culture (Widianti, 2005). The Balinese culture, it is still relatively the same. A family feels incomplete when they don't have a son. There are even mystical efforts that are carried out only to be able to get boys like praying to temples or sacred places. The Balinese families do not want their family status to be mixed due to they do not have sons. This shows that in Bali the patriarchal system is very dominant and seems to gain cultural and religious legitimacy.

Second, authority in decision making. The decision is a reaction to alternative solutions that are conducted consciously by analyzing the alternative possibilities along with the consequences. Every decision will make the final choice in the action form or opinion. It all starts, when we need to do something but don't know what to do. For this reason, decisions can be felt rational or irrational and can be based on strong assumptions or weak assumptions.

The gender welfare can be measured by the similarity of decision-making rights (Darwin, 2001) and the husband's dominance in decision making, including in making decisions in family planning. The women are in the lower stratification so that autonomy fear is different in the family while the autonomy notion is able to act on activities, to make decisions to act on their own accord. In family planning programs, the women must be positioned as subjects, and/thus their reproductive rights including the right to make decisions must be respected. In this case, the decision-making authority is still with the husband. One indication of the weak

women position in the society is not enough protection level in the reproductive process in Indonesia (Darwin, 2001).

3.2 Family disgrace and contrary to religion

The other mastering to accept social stigma, the Hindu women in Denpasar City who are experiencing divorce will also be faced with a more religiously religious stigma. A divorce in religion is actually not permitted, due to marriage is a very sacred procession. In the Hindu view, marriage is one of a series of 16 sixteen *samskara* (self-purification) which must be carried out by every Hindu human being, *i.e.,* Grhasta Samsakara.

Jrutan samskara (purification) was *Garbhadana samskara* (*Megedong-gedongan* since the women were declared pregnant one month, *Punsavan* (3 months pregnancy), *Simantoyan* (4-8 months pregnancy), *Jatakarma* (newborn child giving a holy mantra: Gayatri) , *Amakarma* (naming), first-time Niskama inak, become *Imah Annaprasan* (given food for the first time), *Munda* (shaved the child), *Karnadeva* (her/his pierced), *Upanayana* (child starts at school), *Vedarambha* (the child who first gets lessons from his/her teacher), *Samavartana* (after the child completes his/her education), *Grahsata* (after the child enters the marriage gate), *Vanaprasta* (resigns and seclusion from worldly life), *Myasin* (takes off worldly relationship) and *Antyesthi samskara* (*ngaben*/cremation). In Manawa Dharma Sastra, the marriage has three main objectives, included:

1) *Dharmasampati*, the bride and groom jointly carry out *dharma (moral action*) according to the life phase and carry out *yajna (offering to the God)* together.
2) *Praja*, both brides are able to give birth to offspring and pay off ancestral services (*pitrarna*).
3) *Rati*, the bride, and groom can enjoy the sexual satisfaction and other satisfaction (*Artha* and *Kama*) which do not conflict with the *Dharma.*

Marriage is a necessity due to marriage is expected to get offspring, especially the boys. The beliefs of the Balinese people, only the boys can deliver ancestral spirits if they have passed away. The consequence of the patriarchal system as far as the *purusa* line is the men domination in very large kinship, especially the control of inheritance and inheritance, falls into his hands. As for women who are born in one blood, as brothers are very forgotten. There is even a tendency to educate the boys much higher than the women. The reason is cliché, that girls will be taken in marriage and become part of the other's family so that they are not considered to provide inward benefits. Although the shift in orientation in Balinese thinking has also changed considerably, the reality of the phenomenon is still felt. There are so many career women and professionals who are carefully educated who give birth to women who have the integrity and new understanding that the boys and the girls are the same, are born in the same degree and status, enter the husband's family.

Marriage according to the Hindu tradition is not merely two individuals, but also two large families of the different lineages. This gives a psychological impact on a bride who is responsible and mutually supportive on both sides. Both have a strong commitment to the marriage to be lasting (Aripta, 2006). The birth existence is not only destined to be born as a man who is much expected, and even dominates the family's desire to have boys, but also, in reality, many women who are born adorn this universe. Even in the *Kali Yuga* (modern) era, it has been illustrated that many women are born dominating the world's population density. In the Bhagawadgita book X.34 mentioned:

Sanskrit:
Mrtyuh sarva harascahan
Udbhavas ca bhavisyatam
Kirtih srir vakca narinam
Srtir medha dhrtihksama

English:
I am a destroyer and also a lover of everything.
I am a woman's seven abilities: prosperity, wealth, virtuous speech, memory, intelligence, harmony, and fortitude).

Marriage can also change the legal status of a person originally considered immature, after the marriage can become an adult or who was originally considered a young person (*deha*) with a marriage will become husband and wife (*alaki-rabbi*), with various juridical and sociological consequences that accompany it. Marriage is the initial foundation for taking responsibility for survival because with this marriage it is expected that besides being able to continue the descendants also assume the responsibility for carrying out *pitra puja* (*ngaben* or *tarpana/cremation ceremony*). Thus, the marriage importance so that it can only be held after various conditions specified in the country law (in this case Law No. 1 in 1974 concerning marriage) and in this case the Bali Customary Law), are fulfilled by the bride and groom, both in the marriage form and procedures for proceeding marriage.

3.3 The minimum protection towards women in awig awig

The socio-cultural pressure of Hindu women in Denpasar City can be seen from the minimum protection provided by the traditional institutions in Bali, whether in the form of the *perarem (village regulations)* or *awig-awig* towards the Hindu women, resulting in divorce cases is percentage increases. Before discussing further it, it would be nice to explain about *awig-awig*. There are various terms used in indigenous law communities in Bali to mention *awig-awig*. The terms, for example, there are those which mention included *pangeling-eling, paswara, geguat, pararem, gama, dresta, tunggul, kerta, palakerta,* and *sima*. Awig-awig concept, in this case, is a legal product of a traditional organization in Bali, generally made in consensus by all its members and applies as a guideline for the conduct of the organization members concerned. *Awig-awig* is the behavior standards made by the community concerned based on a justice sense and propriety sense that lives in the community concerned.

Awig-awig is a rule made by *Krama Desa (villagers)* through *Paruman Desa Pakraman (villagers meeting)* and generally many are not written. However, due to developments, *awig-awig* currently has been successfully written as a guideline for the Desa Pakraman administrators in carrying out their obligations and for the citizens, and in the *awig-awig* found sanctions for the villagers who violated them. In *awig-awig*, Desa Pakraman can be seen as a prohibited act or action and sanctions are either imposed on the citizen or their family or imposed on the village community itself (Supartha, 2003).

According to Regional Regulation No. 3 in 2001 stated that *awig-awig* is a rule made by *krama desa pakraman* and/or *krama banjar pakraman* that are used as guidelines in the Tri Hita Karana implementation, in accordance with the *desa mawacara* and *dharma agama* of the *desa pakraman/banjar pakraman* respectively. The traditional organizations are authorized to make *awig-awig* as mentioned above are Desa Pakraman. Besides it, there are many other traditional Balinese organizations that also have *awig-awig*, such as *Subak* (farmer's rice field organization). *Subak Abian* (dry rice farmer's organization), and other social groups that are community members, such as *sekaha teruna* (youth organization), *Dadya* (social groups based on ancestral similarities), and so on.

The lack of traditional institutions attention through *awig-awig* on the role and position of the Hindu women also opens up opportunities for violence towards the women, polygamy efforts, and arbitrary attitudes of the husbands towards their wives. In fact, the traditional institutions have a strategic role in making rules and sanctions for someone who triggers a household divorce. The sanctions can be in the form included *kesepekang*, *artha danda*, or *jiwa danda*. Actually, some ancient of the Balinese villages have clear and strict rules about polygamy. Call it in Penglipuran Village, Bangli Regency. As noted Atmaja (2008: 39), that in some ancient villages in Bali, such as Tenganan Pengringsingan, Karangasem still prohibited exogamy

marriage, polygamy, and divorce. While in Penglipuran Village, the men who are *ngemaduang* or polygamous were ostracized in a place at the southern end of the village, a hut was made exactly like the sanctions imposed by a married couple when giving birth to twisted twins in several villages in Bali. This polygamous couple can only cross the road south of the *Bale Kulkul*. The southern region was chosen by villagers due to it was considered a bad place, while in the north was a sacred place.

In Bayung Gede Village, according to Atmaja (2008), in the village polygamy even lost the right to obtain village land. The most painful side for polygamists is exclusion sanction which comes from a meeting of the village councils that on the surface diligently guard the monogamous marriage morals. The polygamy act whatever the reason is as if, it is an immoral act. It is asymmetrical with other groups or individuals. Referring to customary norms in some ancient villages in Bali, there are efforts to protect women from polygamous efforts carried out by the men. The sanctions given will be a deterrent effect for a man who wants to abandon his wife. There is a real effort to maintain the monogamous marriage morals.

According to Haviland (1988: 84), the monogamous marriage form is indeed most common not only for moral reasons but also for economic reasons. Even so, at least ancient villages in Bali have clear rules for maintaining and caring for the monogamous marriages. The sanctions on the men are enforced, thus, as not to repeat their actions. Even in Panglipuran village, for example, the polygamy perpetrators were placed in the south of the village because they were considered *leteh* or *cuntaka (bad luck)*. This means that in their customary norms, polygamous marriages are prohibited. The different situations actually occur in this modern era, especially in Denpasar City. The divorce cases actually increase without any effort to protect and sanction. Someone who deliberately polygamy is not given sanctions which also becomes a deterrent effect. The customary norms stated in *awig-awig* also do not give sanctions to the men who *ngemaduang* or abandon their first wife. This fact actually reinforces the assumption that the women do not have moral and social legitimacy on their life in the Hindu community in Bali.

It can be stated that the women position is very weak, due to there are no norms or rules that protect their rights as a man. The polygamous men were also not given strict sanctions, as applied in ancient villages in Bali. Therefore, it makes sense that divorce cases have increased. Regarding the lack of traditional institutions protection in providing protection for the women in the villages form of *awig-awig*, the Chairman of the Bali Sruti Foundation, Luh Riniti Rahayu stated. As a foundation leader who is concerned about the women's issues, Luh Riniti also realizes that all this time the protection provided by traditional institutions against women is minimal. *Awig-awig* is for the Hindu Balinese women or Balinese Hindu widows particularly is very minimal.

The Desa Pekraman role against divorce is actually regulated in *awig-awig*. Unlike the women when married. There was a handover between traditional villages when the woman moved to her husband's house. Likewise, when divorced, she will be accepted back to her home village as long as reported by her father or brother who will be responsible for her. However, the problem is that this process is often difficult due to the handover from the husband often does not conducted to the woman's family. Through the *juang kejuang* procession, the *prajuru adat (traditional structure)* from the *purusa* party surrendered the wife's to later become the wife's *krama* in the groom's village. Even during the procession, the indigenous *prajuru* party from the *pradana (woman family)* charged the *penanjung batu (finalty payment)* to the men. Although at the end of the request, the *prajuru adat* will convey an attitude that does not intend to sell their *wife's krama*, still there is a pretense of exchanging *krama* with the money.

In a divorce, as stated by Luh Riniti, the women are not treated as when they were taken by the men. Even the women return to their customary place is often not conducted by the men. In addition, this process is often difficult because the handover from the husband is often not conducted with the woman family. The woman here does not get the proper treatment. Not a few of the Hindu women in Denpasar City whose status is unclear due to they did not return to their first house. Luh Sari claimed that she was not reported to the adat party where her parents lived. Until now, Luh Sari's status was divorced but was not returned by the customary men. Luh Sari's status became unclear. Whereas, when the marriage took place, the *adat* party both from *purusa* and *pradana* witnessed the handover of her to become a wife's *krama* in her husband's village. However, when Luh Sari divorced, the *purusa* did not return her to the before married house. Here is Luh Sari's confession.

"Selama ini saya tidak mendapatkan pembelaan atau perlakuan yang sebagaimana mestinya dari adat. Status saya pun belum juga dikembalikan secara adat. Padahal saya sudah bercerai. Tapi saya bairkan saja dulu pak, kebetulan saya juga tinggal sendiri, tidak kembali ke rumah orang tua. Tapi menurut saya memang perlu ada perlindungan dari adat tentang posisi perempuan. Saya sangat berat membawa status janda karena ada anggapan saya nakal, saya bisa digoda dan sebagainya. Ini memang sangat menyakiti kami sebagai kaum perempuan. Hak waris juga kami tidak punya. Jadi saya harus menghidupi diri saya sendiri. Mestinya lembaga adat harus memberi sanksi tegas kepada laki-laki yang berpoligami atau menjadi penyebab perceraian, agar ada efek jera. Selama ini kan belum ada itu, mereka seperti bebas saja bercerai dan kawin lagi, sementara saya menyandang status seperti ini". (Wawancara, 12 Desember 2017)

"So far I have not received a defense or proper treatment from *adat*. My status has not yet been returned by *adat*. Even though, I was divorced. But I just said, Sir, I happened to live alone, not back to my parent's house. But in my opinion, there needs to be protection from the *adat* about the women position. I am very pressure on widow status because I think I am naughty, I can be teased and so on. This really hurts us as women. We don't have inheritance rights either. So, I have to support myself. The customary institutions should give strict sanctions to the men who are polygamous or be the divorce cause so that there is a deterrent effect. So far, there is no such thing, they are free to divorce and remarry, while I have a status like this." (Interviewed on December 12th, 2017)

Based on the interview excerpt above, it can be explained that this problem is often experienced by the women so that the citizenship status becomes unclear. Even though, the women also have rights for the *adat* system in Bali, especially, the right to get protection and good service. But in reality, all this time the *adat* protection against the women contained in *awig-awig* does not work optimally. The weak adat role in addressing the divorce issue also contributes to the increasingly subordinate position and the women role in the patriarchal cultural system in Bali.

This was also affirmed by the informants who were asked for their information, views, and experiences when divorced from the husband. They want *desa adat* or *desa pakraman* to pay serious attention to the women role and position, as well as impose the customary sanctions on someone who is the divorce cause, as imposed in ancient villages in Bali.

3.4 Pressure on social stigma

Subono (2000), cited the theory of Lacan (1998), a French philosopher who spoke of "symbolic rules." Lacan (1998), stated that every society is regulated through a series of related symbols, as well as the roles and rituals that exist in the community. In other words, "symbolic rules" govern their society through their social language, internalizing certain rules such as gender and class roles. What goes on here is that the community continues to produce the forms of the rules of the game that apply in the community.

The girls because of their anatomy, have difficulty being able to internalize themselves in the "symbolic rules" that apply in their society. The women in the end always feel excluded from the "symbolic rules" for their society. Even further, the women feel pressured due to they are forced to understand the symbolic rules that apply. On that basis, Lacan (1998), stated that the women always become "something else" (the other). He, by local "symbolic rules" is not included in the logical men, in the ideology "phallogocentrism" namely a phallus conspiracy that hardens in culture, social, and politics. This conspiracy is certainly packed with the rationality of the patriarchal system. The foregoing is in accordance with the thought shows that in the socio-cultural construction that is packed with patriarchal rationality, puts the women in a subordinate position, subject to various rules, and various other control forms that place the women in the "the other" position, as others.

Sociologically, the women are also analogous to the second-sex which is different from the men who are considered first-sex. This analogy is formed to strengthen the patriarchy dominance in the social and cultural system of the society. The women here are defined according to the categories made by the men. When related to the women position in Bali's patrilineal social system, we can draw a red line that post-divorced of the Hindu women experience social stigmatization in social and cultural systems called *phallogocentrism*. This pressure can be in the form of symbolic rules and negative stigma towards the women after the divorce. The women here will experience alienation from their identity and try to survive in the midst of a patriarchal centric social stigma.

For example, Luh Luih is intended for the Hindu women who carry out their duties and obligations as a woman in the household such as serving their husbands well, caring for children, carrying out religious *dharma* and so on. Luh Luih category here focuses more on the subordinate the women role to the men. The term serving a husband, being a good wife and serving the husband, is one form of sociological patriarchy categorization on the women role. Even though, the women are male companions in building a household ark or living *Ghasta Asrama* life. During this time, categorizing women's tasks are only directed to serve husbands formed in the social awareness of the Balinese people, so that moreover the women do not play themselves well in the household according to the above categories, so they will be referred to as Luh Luih, the woman who is considered unable play the job well.

The pressure of the Hindu women's socio-cultural of the post-divorce in Denpasar City is dominantly seen socially. They will receive a social stigma that tends to be negative rather than positive. The Hindu women who have divorced from their husbands are called widows. This title invites social perception which is more negative than positive. As stated by one of the participants named Deny Daryanti.

> *"Menyandang status janda memang sangat berat, baik dalam pergaulan maupun dalam bersikap. Saya sendiri sering dicurigai menggoda suami orang, malah ada yang menganggap salah perempuan yang tidak benar. Di Bali kebanyakan seperti itu, kalau orang berstatus janda dianggap kesepian dan perlu digoda, padahal tidak demikian. Memang persepsi sosialnya agak menyimpang, padahal orang mengenyam status janda bukan karena moralitas, tetapi dikhianati oleh suami. Kita yang berstatus janda terkadang harus hati-hati bersikap, jika salah sedikit akan dihujat dianggap begini dan begitu. Kenapa kita dianggap perempuan tidak benar? Bukankah kita mempertahankan martabat sebagai seorang perempuan yang ingin dipoligami oleh suami? Ini menurut saya yang tidak adil. Kita sesama perempuan juga banyak yang tidak mengerti, cuman gara-gara suaminya menyapa saya terkadang dicap buruk. Jadi kami sebagai janda dianggap tidak benar. (Wawancara 12 Desember 2017)*

> "Having the widow status is very difficult, both in association and in acting. I am, myself often suspected of teasing someone's husband, even some who think that a woman is wrong. In Bali, it is mostly like that, if a widow is considered to be lonely and needs to be tempted, even though, this is not the case. Indeed, the social perception is somewhat distorted, even though people get the widows status not because of morality, but betrayed by their husbands. We, who are widows, sometimes have to be careful, if they are a little wrong, they will be treated like this and so. Why are we considered women not right? Aren't we maintaining dignity as a woman who wants to be polygamous by her husband? This, in my opinion, is unfair. We are also many women who do not understand, just because her husband greeted me sometimes labeled bad. So we as widows are considered to be a bad woman." (Interviewed on December 12th, 2017)

The same explanation was also conveyed by another participant, named Ni Luh Sari. Here's her explanation.

> *"Iya pak sangat berat menyandang status janda seperti saya ini. Apalagi umur kita masih relatif muda, kita sering dicurigai begini dan begitu. Dicurigai mengganggu hubungan suami istri keluarga orang lain. Saya sendiri pernah merasakan sakitnya dituduh sebagai perempuan penggoda, padahal yang menggoda adalah suaminya bukan saya. Tetapi arah anggapan negatifnya selalu ke kita yang menyandang status janda, bukan ke mereka lelaki hidung belang. Dalam masyarakat juga seperti itu, ketika tahu saya janda mereka seolah menjauh, mungkin karena takut dianggap merayu saya. Hubungan pertemanan dengan laki-laki juga harus hati-hati. Ada apa dengan status saya? Saya bercerai karena kekerasan dalam rumah tangga, bukan karena saya nakal atau bagaimana. Saya masih punya orang tua yang mau menerima saya. Tidak kuat dengan anggapan itu, akhirnya saya diijinkan untuk mencari pendamping oleh orang tua saya, daripada menyandang status janda. (Wawancara, 12 Desember 2017)*

> "Yes, sir, it's very hard to bear the widow status like me. Moreover, our age is still relatively young, we are often suspected like this and so. Interfering suspected with the family's husband family relationship. I am, myself once felt the pain being accused, being a seductive woman, even though, and the one who seduced her was not me. But the direction of the negative assumption is always those us who bear the widows status, not those who are johns. In a society as well, when I knew a widow seemed to be away, maybe because of the fear of being perceived as seducing me. A friendship with the men must also be careful. What's with my status? I was divorced because of the domestic violence, not because I was naughty or how. I still have parents who want to accept me. Not strong with this assumption, I was finally allowed to look for a companion by my parents, rather than bearing the status of a widow." (Interviewed on December 12th, 2017)

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Based on the two participants above statement it can be stated that there is a negative social stigma towards the Hindu women after the divorce. This is part of the social pressure on the Hindu women who carry widow status. It could be stated that the status is labeled for the women who have divorced will lead to other social perceptions, such as a widow who is considered to have a sexual vacuum, can be tempted, is considered to interfere with other people's the family relationships, and so on. It has become a general assumption if the widow status gives a man the opportunity to enter the sexual widow area. This perception seems to dominate the general assumption in the public so that a bad stamp on divorced women continues to crystallize. Even though, their divorce was caused by their respective husbands. Here, it is very apparent that, under a patriarchal system of the society, the women do not have a good position and image, whether socially or morally. Their image tends to be built by a male system and culture.

The hegemony of the public discourse on the women has been very strong in Bali. The women are always the object of the power, not as subjects. Luh Luih was given to the women when they were unable to maintain the household ark, especially not being able to serve her husband. The parameters of the women roles and functions are determined by a social system dominated by a discourse that leads to patriarchy. Referring to Beauvoir (1962) (in Saptandari, 2013) who argued that the men are called "men" the Self, while "women" are the Other or the Liyan. If Liyan is a threat to the Self, then the women are a threat to the men. Therefore, if a man wants to remain free, he must subordinate the woman to him. It can be stated that Simone de Beauvoir was the first philosopher to discuss the problem of being a woman philosophically, by asking the initial question "what is a woman?"

The fundamental question arises in the answer of a person is not born as a woman but becomes a woman (*One is not born, but rather becomes a woman*), which can be drawn further on the language analysis, meaning, and power. Through, the thought of Simone de Beauvoir can understand why the women existence has been placed as another (*the other*). Where theoretically as if there is nothing, meaningless in science. Practically, routine, superficiality, and inequality have made the women existence increasingly neglected, drowned, immersed in the domination of the patriarchal ideology not only exists and strengthens in the social system.

Regarding the above explanation, it can be seen that the Balinese society structure generally still shows the dominance of the patrilineal culture, thus, the women are still regarded as subordinates of the men. The structures and agents engaged in the Balinese cultural system (*read men*) are still so dominant that if a divorce occurs, the negative stigma is often attached to Hindu women, regardless of their divorce background. This is what causes social-cultural pressure felt by the Hindu women after the divorce in Denpasar City. For this reason, the role of the religious institutions is very important in mediating the conflict possibility both at the micro level (between husband and wife) and a macro level such as involving a trainees family considering that marriage involves two large families. The role of the religious institutions becomes very significant in protecting the people who experience various social pressures (Utama, 2016).

Findings

Based on the results of the data collection in the field, and theoretical discussion, the researchers explain the findings of this study both theoretical and field findings. This research strengthens theories used such as phenomenology and intersectionality theory. The analysis results found that the strong dominance of the patrilineal culture caused the Hindu women to experience social and cultural pressure after the divorce. Oblique labeling is often attached to the Hindu women after a divorce due to the dominance of the patrilineal culture. Meanwhile, according to the intersectional theory, it begins with the understanding that women experience oppression in various configurations and in various intensity levels. The basic idea is although all women are potentially subjected to gender-based oppression, the women are also oppressed differently by various intersections of the social inequalities. In addition, the findings of this study also reinforce Giddens's structuration theory stated that reconceptualization of the action concept, system, and structure in social practice continues continuously. The social action occurs throughout space and time, not because of structure coercion and also not because of the agent awareness solely. Integrated agents and structures to repeat the social practices. Inside and through social practice, agents produce conditions that allow the existence of their activities and in that way, they express themselves as actors. So, the social action is not born by the coercion of the actor's structure and awareness, but through continuous the social practice. This theory confirms the role

that can be played by both individuals, socio-religious institutions in helping to overcome the socio-cultural pressure for Hindu women after the divorce in Denpasar City.

The field findings indicate the fact that the divorce rate is increasing in Denpasar City. The number of the Hindu women who are widowed is also increasing. Even those who are widowed are classified as young because of early marriage. In addition, so far there have been no special institutions, including religious institutions, to participate in counseling the Hindu families who experience shocks, including the Hindu women after the divorce. This causes divorced the Hindu women to experience psychological problems if they have to deal with divorce.

4. Conclusion

The cause of the Hindu women's socio-cultural pressure after the divorce in Denpasar City included *first*, the dominance of the patriarchal culture is still strong in Bali. The men or *purusa* have a strategic position in Balinese culture. This can be seen from people's treatment for the men rather than the women. In this case, the decision-making authority is still with the husband. *Second*, besides having to accept social stigma, the Hindu women in Denpasar City who are experiencing divorce will also be faced with a more religious stigma. A divorce in religion is actually not permitted, due to a marriage is a very sacred procession. This causes divorce to be considered a family disgrace. However, the bad stigma is more predominantly directed at the women, not the men. *Third*, the social and cultural pressure of the Hindu women can be seen from the minimum protection provided by the traditional institutions in Bali, whether in the form of the village regulations or *awig-awig* towards the Hindu women, resulting in divorce cases in the Denpasar city.

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