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The Inequality of Rights and Obligations of Minangkabau Men in Matrilineal System

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ABSTRACT

Matrilineal in Minangkabau is well-known, especially by social scientists. This research is also deal with matrilineal in Minangkabau society. It specifically focuses on the position of men in the matrilineal and their view of the position. This research was conducted in Padang by a qualitative method. The data collected from participant observations and in-depth interview. Research findings showed that Minangkabau men experienced an imbalance between obligations and rights in kinship. They were honored as the leader of their relative through some social and economic responsibilities. On the other hand, they did not have a complete right to the economic resources that are controlled by the woman. The men discriminated against based on this regulation. There are massive differences between men and women related to the legacy. There were numerous abandoned men in their old age. However, the Minangkabau men did not consider it because of the effect of matrilineal customs.

Keywords: Matrilineal, Discrimination, Inequality.

INTRODUCTION

Matrilineal in Minangkabau society attracts social and cultural scientists from all over the world. There is many research about Minangkabau since the Dutch era. These studies consist of Netscher (1850), Korn (1941), Joseline de Jong (1978), Kato (1977), Mochtar Naim (1971), Franz von Benda Beckmann (1975), Amir Syarifuddin (1984), Peggy Reves Sanday (1998), etc. the Minangkabau men feel dilemmatic in status and role due to matrilineal issues. He is respected as a leader in his relatives. He has a substantial duty in order to respond for his relative's socio-economic. He is responsible for economic fulfillment, safeguarding the security and honor of relatives, educating his nephews, and maintaining traditional sustainability. Minangkabau men duties

contain working and attempting to support his nephew, they need to enrich his inheritance (Syarifuddin, 1984).

Minangkabau men respected as husband (*urang sumando*) at his home. Husband (*urang sumando*) is as "honorable guest". He treated like carrying oil in a fully loaded container (*bak manatiang minyak panuah*). He must be tolerated. His wife must pay attention to his daily need. The relative must appreciate his contribution and respect his position. However, a husband is not the owner of the house, therefore he should not as a mother's brother (*mamak*). *Mamak* is the leader in his family of *Rumah Gadang* (Minangkabau traditional house). He cannot be a clan leader (*penghulu*) in his wife's house. *Urang sumando* described as like non permanent and as a husband "*bak abu di ateh*

tunggu” (like is dust at tree stumb). He is as cinders in high winds that will be easily flown (Indrizal, 2007). So, if the man cannot put himself in his wife's relative's situation, then he will easily be expelled from his wife's house. The position of men as *urang sumando* is a marginal position because it depends on wife's family kindness to hold onto him (Arifin, 2012).

Minangkabau men roles as mother's brother (*mamak*) in his relatives and as husband (*urang sumando*) in his wife's relatives are not worth to the rights he receives. There is no room for men in *Rumah Gadang*. *Rumah Gadang* is a shelter for women and children. Matured men are required to migration (*merantau*) to study or try to improve the economic condition as Minangkabau philosophy “*karatau madang di hulu babuah babungo balun, marantau bujang dahulu di rumah baguno balun.*” Matured Minangkabau man is required to leave his hometown to seek experience in another country by studying religion, science, and economy. He can go home when he is successful. They must give their contribution to increasing the inheritance of his clan. This inheritance is controlled by woman relatives (grandmother, mother, sister, and niece).

There is no place to return for the less successful man in the *rantau*. According to Usman Pelly, the cultural demands of man must be successful in the *rantau*. Those who fail in the *rantau* will be booed. They will be mocked like a snail returning to their home (*pulang langkiang*). They will be called “go and back with nothing” (*baitu pai, baitu pulang*). There is proper response for the failed man in the *rantau*. They must return to the other region and try it again, or they stay in the *rantau* without return (*laruik di rantau urang*) (Sobari, 1996).

Meanwhile, there are several men lived in *surau* (mosque), they did not go *merantau*. *Surau* is a place to learn religion and tradition as a provision of life to become mature. A married man is only considered a guest in his wife's house. He can visit his wife and children at night because he must return to his mother's house or his relatives during the day to perform socio-economic functions. The socio-economic responsibility of his wife and children is in his wife's brother or his children's *mamak* as well.

Based on these issues, matrilineal in Minangkabau constructs the discrimination against men. Indeed, the focus explanation shows more traditional Minangkabau male portrayals. Now, these things have been changes such as spacious family weakening and strengthening of the main family member. There is a reduced role of *mamak* with a dominant role of fathers, and the shift from kinship terms (Syahrizal & Meiyenti, 2012). However, there is characterized by matrilineal due to the calculation of heredity and sedentary pattern.

Although matrilineal has changed, the discrimination still occurs to Minangkabau men. Even those changes are reinforcing male discrimination. However, there is fascinating finding of these issues. Minangkabau men are not aware of it. There are little issues about Minangkabau men demand to repair Minangkabau customs because it had harmed them. The demand of Bahar and Tadjoeidin (2004) is one of these examples. This demand is based on his personal experience of his father. His family was extinct because he did not have a niece as their descendants. But his father could not bring his relatives' inheritance to his children because it was obstructed by Minangkabau's matrilineal custom rules. Inheritance should not be inherited to boy. Based on this issue, Bahar and Tadjoeidin propose to change the Minangkabau matrilineal regulation into parental plus. This offering regulation does not really focus (Bahar & Tadjoeidin, 2004).

There is only parental term in the theory of affiliation; they count descent from the father and the mother side at the same time. However, Saafroedin Bahar's demands are not expected in favor of other Minangkabau men. So, who is in charge due to the issues of power in the Minangkabau society? Are they men or women? There are still debates for social scientists related to these issues. Evelyn Blackwood concludes Minangkabau women's power in the everyday life and tradition (Idris, 2010). In addition, matrilineal admire the position of women. It is not only abstraction of origin (*nasab*) from the matrilineal, but it is also the traditional provision for women to own and control the inheritance (Iskandar, 2012). Based on this

research, the Minangkabau man is the dominant leader in the family or wife house. They are the leader called *mamak* or *datuk* in their clan. They are the leader of their family. However, are they really in charge of power? This main question is related to the material or property because the power is sustained by material or property, while the property is the right of Minangkabau women. Arifin assumed that the group leader was impressed by men, but actually women became leaders behind the scenes (Arifin, 2013). It is extraordinary problem. Based on these issues, this article attempts to describe the obligations and rights of Minangkabau men based on the matrilineal. The obligations and rights are related to the status and role of Minangkabau men in their lives.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted from September to November 2016. It was funded by DIPA of Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Andalas. This research is

an anthropological research by ethnography approach. It is an approach to understand the reality profoundly and holistically. The ethnographic approach uses qualitative methods. Researcher uses observation and in-depth interviews in obtaining a picture of the lives of Minangkabau man. Observations were conducted around the informant's residence. Observations focus on residence social environments such as society (his relatives or not), social interaction (between *mamak* and nephew, Minangkabau men with his sisters, *mamak* with *sumando*), and decision making. The social environment is a particular concern because it focuses on behavior in the social relationships. It focuses on the interaction of *mamak* and his nephews such as their activity and communication. This observation examines the interactions between them. In addition, it observes their problem-solving. Do men decide it? Do they discuss it with women? This observation data is important to obtain a big picture of society behavior. In addition, observation data is required to cross check the truth of the interview data.



Figure 1: Map of Koto Panjang Iku, Koto Tengah Padang

Meanwhile, in-depth interviews explore the social interaction of society and Minangkabau men. This social interaction focuses on their childhood education pattern, the management of inheritance (the distribution and utilization of inheritance),

the rights and obligations of men in the family. The interview was conducted at the informant's home.

The informant of this research is the indigenous Minangkabau society. The main concern is about their social relations and

interactions with relatives. Based on these criteria, the informant is selected by purposive technique.

The research was conducted in *Kelurahan Koto Panjang Iku Koto, Koto Tengah* districts, the city of Padang. There are still Minangkabau indigenous people living in this area. This indigenous classification is based on ownership of inheritance¹. Most of them have much inheritance. They generally live in groups with the relatives. Thus, the problem is still relevant to this study.

The analysis unit is based on the individual experiences. Data processing techniques are based on the analytical descriptive analysis. Data were analyzed thematically from the problems. Emik focuses on a cognitive map of the society related to the status and role (rights and obligations) of men in their life. By referring to this cognitive map, this research conducts an ethical analysis. This research aims to discover the common relationship with a gender approach.

THE POSITION OF MAN IN MINANGKABAU SYSTEM BASE ON GENDER

This research tries to analysis the Minangkabau men life by gender approach. Gender is different from sex. Sex is the sexual category of men and women due to biologically. While gender is categorized by social such as roles, behaviors, duties, rights, and functions imposed on women and men. Generally, gender issues develop from a condition of gender gap (Hermawati, 2007). Women's Studies Encyclopedia explains about gender as a cultural concept to make a distinction in terms of roles, behavior, mentality, and emotional characteristics between men and women in society (Lestari, 2016). Both of these gender definitions emphasize the differences between men and women based on gender or physical characteristics, but the differences are based on socio-cultural values.

We argue about differences between men and women based on the nature personality. Women are gentle and men are firm and harsh. It creates the term famine for

women and masculine for men. Every human being is born as a man and woman by nature, but these categorizations are the arrangement of biological structures and socio-cultural constructions. Previous research turned out the feminine nature for women and masculine for men is not naturally (Rahmawaty, 2015). Margaret Mead's classic entitled *Sex and Temperament Three Primitive Societies* (1934) shows different personality and temperament of men and women, it is non-natural. In his research on Arapesh, Mundugumor, and Tchambuli in Papua, Mead shows the man and woman personality uniqueness (Dananjaya, 1988).

There is no difference in man and woman temperament in Arapesh culture. Both types of human beings generally have a soft, smooth, and passive personality, as is commonly believed by women in the Ero-American culture. In contrast, they do not show personality differences between men and women in the Mundugumor. Both sexes show a violent and active personality. Meanwhile, the personalities are contradictory of both sexes in the Tchambuli. Women generally behave violently, roughly, actively, and do heavy work and dominate in plantation work and look for sago. They do not beautify themselves with a variety of jewelry. Instead, men work in the field of carpentry and art. Tchambuli Men are the one who cares about their body (Dananjaya, 1988).

Differences between women and men often lead to discrimination to one type of gender, especially against women. There are misunderstandings about gender. Gender is associated with women inequality. In fact, gender is related to women and men.

Discrimination against women often associated with patriarchal culture. It is not only in traditional societies but also widespread in modern societies. The women's oppression, exploitation, and pressure are an integral part of an intensely influential of the political, economic and cultural system in the all over the world - whether it encompasses a backward society that is still feudal, or characterizes modern industrial societies (Saadawi, 2001). Moreover, there has been a predominance of men in all societies at all the time, women suffer unfair behavior in various aspects of

¹ Inheritance is communal treasures in Minangkabau. Generation acquire them based on the matrilineal.

life during this time, except in the matrilineal society (Mutrofin, 2013).

Based on Mutrofin's opinion, gender approach focused on men, specifically in Minangkabau men. If there is discrimination to women in a patriarchal, this research will focus on men discrimination in matrilineal society especially Minangkabau society. Men have a substantial responsibility on their clan, but their right to the property is not as great as their woman relatives. Armini Arbain assumed the Minangkabau man was marginalized by his custom. They experience injustice. Hamka similarly said Minangkabau men as miserable men. They do not have a permanent residence and full power in both at wife and niece home (Arbain, 2010). In fact, the implications of the social construction make the Minangkabau elderly male increased vulnerability when his wife died or divorced (Indrizal, 2007).

Minangkabau men have the insecurity of residence. Based on Minangkabau cultural construction, the divorced man must leave the house he used to live with his wife before divorce due to death or divorce. He needs to move especially for the house in the ward of the wife's extended family. In Minangkabau society, married men will live around wife relatives or matrilocal.

THE RIGHT AND OBLIGATION OF MAN IN MINANGKABAU SYSTEM

1. Men Childhood

Family in Minangkabau society wants to have a daughter and boy. It is not complete if they do not have both kinds of gender. Girls are important for the Minangkabau society as their descendants. Boys are also important because he is the future leader or *ninikmamak*. This is often not realized by common people. Most people think in Minangkabau society the very important sex is the only daughter.

They want to have a boy as their first child because they can defend the family if there is a problem with others. Then, they will hope for girls as their second child. However, at least they should have a daughter in the worst case. Girls are very important for descendants. If a family does not have a daughter, then the family feels like a plant without buds

(*indak batuneh*) or the lights will not turn on again (*lah padam lampu*). The family will become extinct because no one will continue his descendants because it cannot be replaced by the descendants of the boys.

There is no difference in the treatment of boys and girls in parenting. Children are treated equally in daily need such as consumption, clothing, education, shelter, and affection. Children, both boys, and girls are sleeping with parents from their childhood until the 10 years old, especially if the child does not have the sibling. Why is the age of 10 becoming the standard? Based on the information from the interview, it is a religious rule. They are *baligor* become adult at the age of 10 years old.

It is quite differenced to boys parenting, they should not be spoiled. If they fall in the playground and cry, parents and adults will say "*antoklah nak jaan managih malu awak, anak laki-laki jatuh saketek tu ndak baa*" (do not cry, it is embarrassing, it does not matter if boys fall). Girls are not forbidden to cry. Most are only persuaded not to cry for a long time. This difference in behavior seems to have something to do with the boy's hopes. He is expected to be the protector of the family. He has been planned to be a brave and strong man.

2. Life of Men in Adolescence

There is a different controlling between girls and boys in their teens. The children have started separating sleep with parents at this time. Every child sleeps in his own room for capable economically parents. If their parent cannot afford it, boys are not given rooms because the rooms are only intended primarily for parents and girls.

There were *surau* for boys to sleep. They would learn about the religion and tradition from their *mamak* to be a mature man. Almost all the people have their own *Surau* to educate their boys or nephews (Firdaus & Wekke, 2017). Nowadays, *Surau* already lost because boys live and stay at their home. Along with the loss of *Surau*, a social and economic responsibility of *mamak*

against his nephew is also disappearing. *Mamak* who manage the inheritance for the life of his descendant is one of the factors effects in these issues. There is no *mamak* trying to increase the wealth of his descendant. Inheritance in the form of land is generally managed by the women themselves with their husbands to support their families. Likewise, *mamak* manages his wife's inheritance for the life of his wife's son.

At the present time, boys are sleeping in their parents' homes. They do not have their own bedroom for a bad economic condition of parents. Therefore, they will sleep in the living room or in the living room by rolling out the mattress or just by using a mat. They can sleep with the boys of their other relatives at the home of one of their relatives. They even sleep in *warung* (traditional tony shop) or at their base camp post where they usually gather with peers and friends.

Minangkabau society does not provide special rooms for boys. He will move to his wife's house. While girls must have their own room to be ready when married later. Thus, the Minangkabau house was made a special room for the elderly and girls. This home is indirectly reserved for girls.

Indigenous Minangkabau society generally builds their houses in a communal land of the descendant. The house will be inherited by the girls automatically. Boys have no right to inherit and it is not even common to bring their wives and children to their parent home. Based on the jokes of the Minangkabau men, they are the most unfortunate man. He does not have a house. They cannot answer the question about the location of their house. He lives in his mother's house, and his wife's house in another place. Although there are a mother's house and his own house from his salary, this house is still not a male house.

Children are in education time in their teenage years. The parents do not distinguish between their children, they have the same rights. All of their children are encouraged in education as high as he wants especially for a capable family. For less capable families, they only send their

children either girls or men as high as the ability of the family. Children are still the responsibility of parents for daily needs such as eating and clothing during teenage years. There is no difference between girls and boys.

Meanwhile, children responsibilities at this time there are differences between boy and girl. A girl is required to help mothers in the domestic works such as cleaning and arranging homes, cooking, and washing. Boys at the farmer family are required to assist in farming and family farms. Otherwise, most boys play more with their friends.

3. Life of Men in Their Adulthood

Boys are encouraged to work although they have finished school as high as the ability of parents. Their parent is not really selective for types of job. They can work anything as long as it is *halal*. It becomes an anxiety for the family for a boy who is already an adult but he is not working. It would be better if a boy who has grown up but not work to go *merantau* to looking for experience in other countries. Unemployed mature man will be bad issues because he is as a burden to the family and also a gossip of the neighbors as "*bujang lapuak*".

It will become a problem for the unemployed boy for staying at home all day. Their parent became stifling to see unemployed boys. Parents will push them to find a job. They try to encourage the boy in various ways such as seeking job information, asking relatives and acquaintances to find a job. There is also a parent to capitalize the business.

Meanwhile, a girl is allowed to work and it is a good thing. However, it does not matter if she does not work. There is no big demand for girls to work for a living. The educated girl will be an exception. They want her to work because they have invested deeply in education for her degree.

Unmarried working boys use the salary to their own needs and partly given to parents. There are even boys who have substantial incomes helping to build their parents' homes. There is a kind of duty for boys to help build a

decent home for parents. If the boy has a good income, it will feel embarrassed to let his parent live in inadequate housing. However, his house will never be inherited by his son because the house was built in the communal land of his relatives. He will not bring his wife and child to stay at his mother's house, though the house was built as a result of his need. The house will inherit to his sister or niece. Yet, none of the men demanded the right to the house. It is similar to their parent's homes.

There is a Minangkabau man who brought his wife and his children live in his parent home. However, it can happen if they do not have any sister lives in her mother's house. Although there is a boy who takes his family to his mother's house, he only stays for a while. He cannot bequeath to his children. If she does not have a sister, her mother's sister has a right to her parents' home.

There is a provision in Minangkabau society about parent inheritance. It will be passed on to their children based on the principle of Islamic law, i.e. the boy gets the double part than girls. However, in practice, it is a rare situation. There is a tendency of homes and land of parents to be handed down to girls when the parents have died. This is the reason of the inheritance division often controvert to Islam rule. The other materials are shared such as cars, money, and gold or merchandise. Most boys plead not to sue according to Islamic rules. It is a matrilineal influence. The elderly are cared for by the girls. So the boy does not demand significantly in relation to the parent's estate when both parents die. There is assumed the sister and the niece is the place to return when they are old and sickly and no one nursed at the wife's house. In addition, the property in the women control will perpetuate the matrilineal.

These days, there is a tendency of husbands to take full responsibility for the family economy in the wife's house. Husbands are fully responsible for living up to family needs such as daily living expenses, tuition fees, and housing costs. Traditional responsibilities to their relatives, especially to parents, sisters,

and nephews are reduced along with the strengthening of men's responsibilities in their own households. However, they demanded the man to give attention to his relatives. He is expected assistance and economic services such as giving money for his nephew or helping his sister. This is important because it is a social insurance for men. If the man is not paying attention to this situation, his sister and niece will not want to take care of him at his old age. In the worst case, no children and wife care for his sickness and his other problem.

Based on the informant experience, the relatives will pick up *mamak* to take care of him when he is sick at home wife. It will be common things when the pain is already severe and no longer possible to recover. This condition applies when *mamak* is still carrying out traditional responsibilities as described earlier. Nowadays, it is still prepared even though it has gone through a change especially for responsible *mamak*. It is not for the ignorance *mamak*. This condition does not apply to women. Women are not required to carry out social insurance. However, her children and relatives feel obliged to take care of her in her old and sickly. They will fell shame to abandon their relatives such as a sick grandmother, mother or daughter.

In general society, maturity is identified by having married someone. This also applies to the Minangkabau society. If a person is not married even though his age is already an adult category, then he will not go to negotiate in the discussion because he is not mature yet.

Minangkabau determines the rules in the selection of a mate to get married. Mate election traditionally is based on exogamy of clan and endogamy of ethnic, religion, and even some endogamy of land. In *exogamic* of clan requires a person to choose a mate outside his clan. Instead, endogamy requires choosing a mate in the same ethnic group, the same religion, even within the same area. If any person breaks this rule, it will bring consents to the offender. The consents are often not only burdened with the offending individual but also to his

relatives. The form of consents ranging is formed the lightest penalty to the hardest penalty. The lightest penalty is such as mocked, ostracized, and penalized. The hardest penalty is expelled from their hometown.

This dating election is functional for the matrilineal because *mamak* is responsible morally and materially to his relatives and nephew. On the other hand, the son and wife of a man are the responsibility of his *mamak* as well. If this tradition went well, no relatives would be abandoned and the relics of the relatives could be whole.

Nowadays, the dating election has undergone a change. There has been a tolerance to choose a mate from another area, from other clans, even from other nations. What should not and does not change until now is to take a mate outside of Islam. There are consequences for marrying other clans, especially for men. If Minangkabau man married other ethnic groups -e.g: Batak clan-, it will bring consequences for marrying other ethnic groups. There is a provision of inherited property based on the male line in patrilineal Batak tradition, while the treasures descended through the mother line in matrilineal Minangkabau. If a Minangkabau man marries a Batak woman, then her children will not inherit from her father's (Minangkabau) relatives and possibly also from her mother's royalty (Batak and other patrilineal family system). When the family settles near the male relatives, they get nothing from the inheritance of men.

There is a phenomenon in the area of research. This area became the development area of Padang. They build a shop in the houses for rent. It is built on communal land, so the only ones allowed to build are woman relatives. A woman can leave them to their children. Meanwhile, men should not build because it will become a polemic in inheriting it. The boy should not inherit because it is disadvantaged by the rules of matrilineal. If men do not have a steady job, their life is more difficult than their sister's life. This research found it as discrimination for man.

4. Life of Men in Their Old Age

Indrizal (2007) states the dilemma for elderly Minangkabau men who have divorced from his wife - both divorce alive and divorce because of wife died-. The researchers discovered it in this study. In addition, this dilemma is not only suffered by elderly men but also men who are economically difficult or do not have a regular job.

Divorce men will leave the house although the house was built together during the marriage. The husband can still stay in the house for divorced because the wife died. If he had a daughter, he will stay in the house. If the man is remarried, he will automatically out of the house. He was not allowed to bring his new wife to the house. It is a different case to a woman. She will remain in the home for the rest of her life, whether she has a daughter or not and even when she is remarried.

In the old age, Minangkabau elderly men experienced vulnerability in their lives, especially for men who were economically unstable. It will be worst for irresponsible men who could not be clever or not cultivate good with sisters and nephews. He will be alone by himself in his old age. There is no place for him to stay. He could not stay in his home because he was divorced. He could not stay in his sister and niece house because he did not fit them.

There is discrimination for men in this old age especially for men who are not married anymore because of the matrilineal in Minangkabau. The male joke about homeless is the real thing. The house they live in during his life is his mother's house or the house of his family. He is homeless when he is divorce. In the worst case, his separation brings deep wounds to his wife and children. Meanwhile, staying at the mother's house is not possible because the mother's house is occupied by his sister and his family or by a niece. It is bad for ignorance man.

This research discovers several cases about the abandoned man. He lives in a *warung* (traditional tiny shop) after divorce. There is the unemployed adult

man who lives alone in a cabin in the middle of rice fields. The first case is about Mr. A. He is divorced and homeless (stay in a *warung*). He lives from scavenging. He cannot go home to his parents' home because it's their relative house. The house is very old and has dropped. Woman relative built a new house in the former area. It is impossible for him to live there. So, he would stay in someone else's shop.

The second case is Mr. B. Mr. B's father is divorced. He stays in another person's shop. It is almost the same as the case of Mr. A. His house is his parents' home during his life. Then, it is controlled by other matrilineal relatives. Mr. B condition is more heart-wrenching. He was sick. His relatives picked him up and brought treatment to the hospital when the illness was severe. Mr. B died in hospital care. So, he never went home to his relatives since he was divorced.

The third case is Mr. C case. According to the informant, Mr. C never married, he also does not have a permanent job. Mr. C lived in a man's lodge in the middle of rice fields. No relatives are paying attention.

There were no cases of abandoned women as experienced by the men above during the study. There was no information about abandoned women from the informant. There are elderly women in the research area. They live with their children or other relatives.

MINANGKABAU MEN POINT OF VIEW AGAINST MATRILINEAL CONSEQUENCES

There are interesting things related to in the discrimination in Minangkabau men life. Numerous men do not admit about injustice due to matrilineal regulation. According to them, if there are men abandoned in old age, it will relate to his young age. It is due to divorce and careless to relatives and nephews. Children often stay with their mother and rarely do they need any more attention. Relatives and nephews rarely or never provide economy support. He will never get support in his old age after he was sick and economically incapable. No one takes care of him.

Unlike a divorced woman, she has a place to live. She does not get out of the house. She usually conquers even if she remarries her new husband to stay with her. Then, there is no demand for women to help her relatives or enhance their heritage in order to be noticed in her old days.

The male informants said about Minangkabau man's duty to his clans was substantial issues. He is obliged to protect his family and the inheritance. They are expected to enrich and keep their inheritance. They are also obliged to regulate the management of inheritance for women in their relatives in order to avoid disputes within the family. In addition, they are obliged to educate their nephew to be in unity. He is like a fence for his family. This is an ideal duty of Minangkabau men against his relatives. Most of the men are not implement these ideal duties.

However, they responsible for some duties for their inheritance such as arranging the management to their relatives, keeping it from others, and settling dispute within the family. Meanwhile, enrichment of the inheritance is rarely completed now. They are now encouraged to mortgage or sell the wealth. Mamak rarely educates his nephews. It is their father responsibilities. However, his help and financial support are sometimes expected.

Inheritance in Minangkabau is exclusive for women. Men may use the inheritance such as earning a portion of the harvest to his family or asking for rice for his child's marriage party. There are rice fields for Minangkabau man. It is for wealthy relatives who have inheritances. He can handle it for his family daily need. However, the rice field belongs to his clan. The fields are returned to the man's house after the man dies. Meanwhile, men rarely get part of the inheritance for the deprived clan. The woman is the most prominent in inheritance. Men accept it without questioning its provisions.

It shows less aware of discrimination against Minangkabau men due to matrilineal. They have a great obligation, but they have little right. It is different from women. They get fewer obligations and extra right to their inheritance.

A number of women have admitted it as an inequality. It is more obvious because of changes in the management of inheritance.

There was a profit-sharing mechanism in the past from handling the inheritance. The profits share is used for social funds of relatives. Now the mechanism is not operating anymore. Women are confused about this condition because the normal provisions are also functional against the integrity of the matrilineal family inheritance. Minangkabau women find the solution by giving the harvest to their married siblings. In addition, it demonstrates her daughter to take care of his brother when it is no longer married.

The gender analysis concerns the inequality of obligations and the right to the clan and the inheritance of Minangkabau. It focuses on men and women discrimination. The main focus is on Minangkabau men. They do not realize a greater obligation for men in matrilineal. However, the rights of men are less significant than women.

CONCLUSION

The matrilineal in Minangkabau lines discrimination against men. Discrimination begins when men enter adolescence, adult and old age. The discrimination is not so visible in his childhood because there is an equal controlling of boys and girls.

Discrimination experienced by Minangkabau men are about their access to material resources belonging to relatives. Their rights to property are not equal to women. Minangkabau men get nothing from the assets except for the cost of living up to and tuition fees. There was almost no inheritance after they got married. Meanwhile, the duty Minangkabau men to their relative are substantial.

This discrimination is more visible to the elderly man. There is a homeless elderly man but not for the woman. The remarkable finding is no men acknowledge it as discrimination due to matrilineal in Minangkabau. The phenomenon of homeless elderly man is the reflection of his careless life to his wife, son, and daughter, brother, and sister, and niece and nephew. Meanwhile, the women admit there is discrimination against men in matrilineal. Men get less portion of inheritance than a woman

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