



## Balinese men's perspective on Nyentana marriage

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**Abstract:** *Balinese people who are unable to produce male offspring use Nyentana, a matrilineal mating system. In the midst of patriarchal culture and a dense patrilineal kinship system, it is difficult for men to perform Nyentana marriage. The study intends to discover how Balinese men perceive Nyentana marriage as a type of matrilineal marriage. This is an exploratory qualitative study with a phenomenological approach, and data was gathered through direct interviews with four Balinese men who had performed Nyentana marriages. The findings revealed that the concept of patriarchal society was used, which stated that men were dominant and women were subordinate. According to the participants in this study, there is no clear distinction between patrilineal marriages in general and Nyentana marriages in particular; men remain the head of the family and exercise leadership in the indigenous community system. Men who have participated in Nyentana Marriage believe that this matrilineal marriage is widespread, particularly in the Tabanan region. Some participants also mentioned that this type of marriage is not permitted in all areas of Bali. Men who have participated in Nyentana mating believe this is normal because men continue to dominate and are encouraged by the customary system. It can be concluded that men who have participated in Nyentana marriage see no distinction between Nyentana marriage as a type of matrilineal marriage and patrilineal marriage in general.*

**Keywords:** *matrilineal, Nyentana, patriarchy, patrilineal, Balinese men*

**Abstrak:** Masyarakat Bali yang tidak dapat menghasilkan keturunan laki-laki menggunakan sistem perkawinan matrilineal yang dikenal sebagai Nyentana. Bagi laki-laki sulit untuk melakukan perkawinan Nyentana di tengah budaya patriarki dan sistem kekerabatan patrilineal yang kental. Penelitian bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana pemahaman laki-laki Bali mengenai perkawinan Nyentana sebagai suatu bentuk perkawinan matrilineal. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif eksploratif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi dan pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara secara langsung kepada empat orang laki-laki Bali yang telah melakukan perkawinan Nyentana. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa gagasan masyarakat patriarki digunakan, yang menyatakan bahwa laki-laki dominan dan perempuan memiliki kedudukan lebih rendah. Partisipan dalam penelitian ini berpandangan bahwa tidak ada perbedaan yang jelas antara pernikahan patrilineal pada umumnya dan perkawinan Nyentana secara khusus; Laki-laki tetap menjadi kepala keluarga dan menjalankan kepemimpinan dalam sistem komunitas adat. Laki-laki yang telah melakukan perkawinan Nyentana percaya bahwa perkawinan matrilineal ini adalah umum, khususnya di wilayah Tabanan. Beberapa partisipan juga menyebutkan bahwa tidak semua wilayah Bali mengizinkan perkawinan semacam ini. Karena laki-laki terus mendominasi dan didorong oleh sistem adat, laki-laki yang telah melakukan perkawinan Nyentana percaya ini normal. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa laki-laki yang sudah melangsungkan perkawinan Nyentana memandang tidak adanya perbedaan khusus antara perkawinan Nyentana sebagai bentuk perkawinan matrilineal dengan perkawinan patrilineal pada umumnya.

**Kata Kunci:** *matrilineal, Nyentana, patriarki, patrilineal, laki-laki Bali*

## INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, there is a strong patriarchal culture that views males as in charge and women as inferior. Therefore, the idea of gender is directly tied to this patriarchal culture. According to DeVito, gender is characterized by masculine and feminine attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs. This covers how to act, talk, and interact with one another (DeVito, 2019). Gender expression is expressed through the perspectives and placement of male and female figures in society. Gender can be expressed through language, behavior, hairdo, cosmetics, dress, and other externally evident signals. Gender expression can also be divided into various categories; however, the most well-known are masculine and feminine (Jandt, 2018). Masculine culture places a strong importance on aggression, strength, and success. In contrast, feminine culture stresses kindness, modesty, and concern for relationships (DeVito, 2019).

Gender expression is also frequently associated with work; male tendencies are associated with politics and the economy in particular, sports, and metro are considered to be more masculine; thus likened to have a public role, because their position is thought to be a trendsetter and capable of controlling social change. Meanwhile, the roles of health, education, society, culture, and entertainment are considered feminine, and are thus commonly led by women (Ritonga et al., 2017). Gender conformity exists in masculine and feminine societies, which means that opinions on gender expression conform to cultural standards that demand women to be feminine and men to be masculine (Jandt, 2018).

Gender conformity is also present in marriage relationships. In Indonesia, which is largely patriarchal, men are given power or dominance (Murtiningsih et al., 2017). Men, for example, as the head of the family, are synonymous with breadwinners and home decision makers. Meanwhile, women as non-dominant and subordinates are synonymous with housewives who service the needs of family members. These situations already mirrored male and feminine society, with men taking the lead and women supporting them (de Beauvoir, 2010). This is especially evident in patrilineal marriages, which look at the lineage from the male side and tend to prefer male offspring because they may pass on the family bloodline.

Marriage, as defined by constitutional law, is a connection between a man and a woman, and there is only one type. While they are common in Indonesian society, there are other types of marriage, such as matrilineal marriage, which occurs in Minangkabau (Rosa, 2021). The Balinese Hindu community believes that a marriage must be legalized in accordance with Hindu law, which is undoubtedly affected by the culture of the indigenous Balinese people (Adnyani, 2017). The Balinese Hindu community follows the patrilineal kinship system, which recognizes kinship from the father's side (Wiratama et al., 2020). Bali is one of the regions with a strong patriarchal culture that follows the patrilineal kinship system. This approach becomes troublesome when a family lacks a

male descendent who will be the family's heir. If a family solely has female offspring, they can still be the successors and heirs of the family under conditions, that is doing a *Nyentana* or *Nyeburin* marriage (Adnyani, 2016). *Nyentana* marriage is a marriage in which a man is asked by a woman to become their husband and continuing the lineage of the female side (Wahyu et al., 2015).

Matrilineal kinship is not often practiced in Balinese Hindu society. Bali is heavily influenced by patriarchal society and patrilineal marriage, in which lineage is decided by the father's (Adnyani, 2017). However, there is one custom that challenges the dense patriarchal culture: *Nyeburin* Marriage, also known as *Nyentana* Marriage (Pursika & Arini, 2012). In Balinese society, *Nyentana* marriage is not a popular tradition. Only households with no male descendants are likely to adopt the tradition. The *Nyentana* procession is similar to the patrilineal marriage ceremony in general. The distinction is in the swapping of male and female figures. In *Nyentana* Marriage, the female party acts as the person who requests permission from the male's family to live in the woman's family as in-law. This marriage must take place with the approval of both parties (Kusniarti, 2021).

*Nyentana* is typically conducted by a woman who has no male siblings from her parents (Kusniarti, 2021). In practice, *Nyentana* marriage remains tough. Balinese women who do not have brothers still struggle to locate men interested in *Nyentana* marriage. The challenges that men and women encounter in *Nyentana* Marriage are obvious because not all regions in Bali permit it and not all of Balinese families are open-minded and modern. This is linked to the patriarchal culture and patrilineal kinship system. According to Johnson (2005), patriarchy is society, and society is a collection of people. A patriarchal culture gives men privileges, is dominated by men, and is oriented on men. Culture as an inherited way of life stems mostly from the dominant group. When people reach the point of writing mythology, history, and law, patriarchy is fully formed, because the person who writes is a masculine figure. Men naturally assign women the position or status of subservient (de Beauvoir, 2010).

According to social beliefs on patriarchal culture, men are superior to women (Rahmawati et al., 2019). Men are considered superior main figures and are always positioned in the public sphere, whereas female figures tend to be positioned in the domestic space and are always considered subordinate (DeVito, 2019; de Beauvoir, 2010). In other situations, a woman does not even have rights to land or inheritance at a time when patriarchy is so powerful (Chigbu, 2019; de Beauvoir, 2010). Patriarchal society elevates men to dominant positions in political, economic, law, religion, educational, military, and household power (Johnson, 2005). Male dominance creates power disparities between men and women. With patriarchal control, males will readily build a culture based on their perspectives (Johnson, 2005).

Patriarchal culture then refers to the patrilineal kinship system, which is followed by the majority of Indonesians. The patrilineal kinship system is the system that determines the paternal family's defined lineage (Tamara et al., 2019). As previously stated, this kinship arrangement becomes problematic when a patrilineal community lacks a male heir in its family (Adnyani, 2016). In the Nyentana tradition of Bali, this is what happens when a family has no male descendants who can carry on the family bloodline (Adnyani, 2017, 2016). Adnyani (2016) defines Nyentana marriage as a type of matrilineal marriage in which lineage is determined by the mother's family. Several tribes in Indonesia practice matriarchy, these tribes include the Minangkabau Tribe in West Sumatra, the mainland half of Riau, the northern part of Bengkulu, the western part of Jambi, the west coast of North Sumatra, the southwest of Aceh, and Negeri Sembilan in Malaysia; The Enggano tribe on Enggano Island; Petalangan Tribe in Pelalawan Regency, Riau Province; Aneuk Jamee tribe in Singkil, South Aceh, Southwest Aceh and Simeulue; and Sakai Tribe in Pedalame Riau (Habib, 2018). People outside the tribe may be unaware that the tribe follows matrilineal kinship in the tribes already stated. In Indonesia, the community tends to follow the patrilineal kinship structure based on the father's lineage. This type of matrilineal marriage is not widely known among Indonesians.

The purpose of this research is to explore how Balinese males view Nyentana Marriage. It is hoped that this research would benefit Balinese culture, particularly men and women who have or will have Nyentana Marriages, and that it will help Balinese society understand why a man decides to Nyentana. Several challenges must be overcome in order to carry out this research. It is not difficult to find journals that address patriarchal, patrilineal, and matrilineal issues. However, because the specialized Nyentana Marriage only occurs in Bali, it is difficult to find communication articles that examine this, particularly international journals. The majority of Nyentana research comes from a legal standpoint.

Some journals used as references in this study include Pada gelahang: Suatu Pernikahan Alternatif dalam Mendobrak Kekuatan Budaya Patriarki di Bali which analyzes people's perceptions of marriage in gelahan, inheritance systems in men and women, parenting patterns, and similarities and differences with Nyentana marriage (Pursika & Arini, 2012); Minangkabau Matrilineal Relationship in the Love For Sale 2 Film that explains the meaning of denotation and the meaning of Minangkabau matrilineal kinship connotations in the Sibeetle family in Love for Sale 2 (Maharani & Hudoyo, 2022); ; Peran Perempuan Samin dalam Budaya Patriarki di Masyarakat Lokal Bojonegoro which identifies and explains the role of women in Samin society who still maintain patriarchal culture in modern times (Huda, 2019); Masculinity, men and patriarchal issues aside: How do women's actions impede women's access to land? Matters arising from a peri-rural community in Nigeria this study investigates the frames that impede women's access to land due to women's actions in peri-rural communities in

Nigeria (Chigbu, 2019); Hak Anak Laki-Laki yang melangsungkan perkawinan Nyentana this study examines the legal position for men as heirs who carry out nyentana marriages according to Balinese customary law (Tamara et al., 2019); Sistem perkawinan Nyentana dalam Kajian Hukum Adat dan Pengaruhnya terhadap Akomodasi Kebijakan Berbasis Gender this study aims to determine the legitimacy of Customary Village Decisions in the form of awig-awig on Nyentana Marriage (Adnyani, 2017).

## METHODS

This study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is a research method used to analyze and investigate the significance of individuals or groups in connection to societal problems that humans encounter (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The purpose of this qualitative research is to describe the phenomena that occur between individuals and groups, such as perceptions, beliefs, social difficulties, and beliefs. Creswell & Creswell (2018) defines qualitative research data gathering as "in-depth interviews and direct observation of participants who experience the problem under study".

Phenomenological research can represent the experiences of participants in relation to certain events researched by researchers (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). According to Creswell & Poth (2018), phenomenological investigations describe the broad meaning of a topic or phenomenon based on the life experiences of multiple persons. Jonathan Smith's interpretive phenomenology method was used in this investigation. The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis or Science method is a qualitative approach that aims to investigate how a person's response or comprehension of events in his life (Smith et al., 2009). According to the book, persons who go through a significant life event tend to have a significant impact on what they go through. This interpretive phenomenology method research has a small number of participants with the goal of understanding more fully the meaning of the events that participants have encountered and investigating any similarities and differences from the experience (Smith et al., 2009).

Participants in interpretive phenomenology study are chosen precisely based on criteria established by the researcher. The goal of deliberately selecting participants that meet this condition is to provide a more meaningful knowledge based on participant experience (Smith et al., 2009). The study chose four men who had been on Nyentana marriages and were from Balinese families as study subjects based on their compatibility. The classification of participant criteria was based on the study's suitability; the researcher sought to know how men saw Nyentana Marriage from their perspective.

Data for this study were gathered through an in-depth interview method with four participants who were chosen based on predetermined criteria. According to Smith et al. (2009), the most appropriate data collection approach employed in the science

method is in-depth interviews. This is due to the fact that in-depth interviews will provide rich data and match the experience of participants. Researchers conduct semi-structured interviews during the data collection phase. Researchers also employ tools to document the interview process, such as notes and audiotapes.

The first participant was Adi, a 30-year-old man who works as an engineer in a villa. Adi and his wife are both from Yeh Gangga. Adi has been married for about 9 years, since 2014. Adi first began dating his wife in 2012, when he was still in high school. Adi had previously discovered that his wife was searching for sentana because she lacked a brother. Adi admits that he is not the type to stay at home, so Nyentana is not a big deal for him. Adi also has a younger brother at home. Adi stated that his wife had no brothers and that the four siblings were all sisters.

The second participant was Ari, a middle-aged man from Batunya village who is married to a woman from Apuan village in Tabanan. Ari works as a security guard. Ari married in 2012, so they've been married for about 11 years. Ari presided over the Nyentana Marriage because his wife lacked a brother to succeed the family lineage. Ari was permitted to do Nyentana marriage because he had three brothers. If you don't have a brother, you are not permitted to do Nyentana marriage. According to him, while Nyentana is not uncommon in other regions, it has become a Tabanan tradition. So this isn't something new in Tabanan.

Sutisna, a man in his 50s from Tabanan, was the third participant. Sutisna, an entrepreneur, has been married for about 19 years. Sutisna is already aware that his partner is looking for sentana when they are in a relationship. Sutisna's wife has two brothers, so she is not obligated to do a Nyentana marriage. However, Sutisna's wife's parents asked her to perform the Nyentana Marriage at the time. Sutisna had no objections to the request and agreed to it. According to him, his age was mature at the time, and he could live anywhere.

Sunada, a man in his 50s from Tabanan, was the fourth participant. Sunada first performed a Nyentana marriage with his wife, who was still in the same *banjar*. Sunada had known his wife since childhood and had started a romantic relationship with her before marrying in 1996. Sunada mentioned that his wife lacked a brother, so she had to have a Nyentana marriage. Because he had two brothers, there was nothing stopping him from marrying his wife at the time. Sunada's life story is quite unique because the first time Sunada do the Nyentana Marriage and not long after that he returned to his home to do the patrilineal marriage. Sunada and his wife had one child and then divorced conventionally. Sunada then returned to his original house to carry out a traditional marriage with the same woman (his wife).

In qualitative research, data validity means that researchers examine the accuracy of findings using certain processes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). One of the characteristics of qualitative research is validity, which is based on establishing whether



the findings are regarded correct by researchers, participants, or readers (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). According to Smith et al. (2009), the validity criteria expressed by Yardley can be used in qualitative research. Criteria that can be used to measure the validity of a data are sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence, impact and importance, and independent audit.

Smith et al. (2009) also explained that in qualitative research on interpretative phenomenology there are 6 steps that can be used in data analysis. The first stage is reading and re-reading, in which the researcher reads the transcript and listens back to the interview results to imagine the interview conditions in order to explore deeper meaning. Following that, researchers conduct in-depth analyses of semantic concepts and language use by participants. The initial noting process is divided into three stages: descriptive comment, linguistic comment, and conceptual comment. Descriptive comment aims to describe what participants are talking about, linguistic comment aims to explore the language used by participants, and conceptual comment aims to attract conceptual things. At the third stage, researchers reduce data and map patterns from existing records to create an emergent theme. The fourth stage involves researchers looking for relationships between emerging themes by mapping these themes into a systematic arrangement in order for researchers to find interesting aspects of the collected data. The researcher repeats the process from stage one to stage four in the fifth stage. Finally, in the final stage, researchers look for patterns between cases. Researchers must be able to find correlations between cases and identify the strongest themes that can be used as interesting findings at this stage.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In phenomenological studies, the information obtained by researchers will be grouped or clustered into specific themes that fall under the category of motives and meanings after an in-depth interview process and transcript creation. The results of the research that have been analysed are then outlined in the form of themes that have been summarized in the following table. The data presented in the table are important points from the findings of the interviews that have been conducted. The data presented has been processed so that it refers to what is the purpose of the research.

### Reasons for Nyentana

According to the data in the table 1, three of the four participants in the study had nyentana marriages because the female family did not have male offspring. As a result, they must engage in nyentana marriage in order to preserve their family lineage.

Table 1 Research Themes

| Reasons for nyentana   |
|--|
| Adi: istri saya itu 4 bersaudara. Dari anak pertama sampai anak terakhir putu, made, komang, dan ketut itu semuanya cewek. |
| Ari: karena rasa kasih sayang dan saya punya saudara 4 orang   |
| Sutisna: Ibu istri saya menginginkan anaknya harus tinggal di rumah  |
| Sunada: kalau istri tiang itu kan dia itu cewe 2 orang   |

The four participants who had held the Nyentana Marriage revealed that there was an encouraging factor on the part of women who wanted the man to marry into his house so that he could continue the lineage (Adnyani, 2017; Wahyu et al., 2015; Wiratama et al., 2020). One of the reasons Nyentana Marriage occurs in the Hindu community of Bali is that certain families do not have male descendants to continue their family lineage (Adnyani, 2016). In interviews, three of the four participants indicated that their wives did not have any brothers who could carry on their family. This is consistent with prior study, which indicates that in Bali, a type of matrilineal marriage known as Nyentana Marriage is practiced by families without a male lineage (Pursika & Arini, 2012; Tamara et al., 2019). Another participant stated that his wife has two healthy brothers and could have more children, but her parents would not allow her to marry patrilineally.

This suggests that the main reason for the occurrence of Nyentana marriage is due to women's needs. Aside from the requirement to pass down the lineage, it turns out that women can do Nyentana marriage even if she has brothers. This happened to Sutisna, a participant who stated that his wife had two brothers. So a woman's decision to have a nyentana marriage is not always because she lacks a brother, and a man's decision to have a nyentana marriage is because of his partner.

### Family Respons

Table 2 Research Themes

| Family response  |
|--|
| Adi: Kalau respon dari orang tua sih pertama itu biasa aja           |
| Ari: dulu pertama kali pasti juga gak dikasih                        |
| Sutisna: sudah pasti melarang dengan bahasa apapun                   |
| Sunada: mau nyentana itu karena dorongan dari orang tua terutama Ibu |

The presence of patriarchal culture and a patrilineal kinship system in Bali, on the other hand, does not afford many options for families lacking male heirs (Adnyani, 2016). In relation to this, women's roles and voices are minimized, and they are marginalized (Ritonga et al., 2017), as though they had no choice owing to a family obligation to continue the lineage. Previous research has also found that a strong patriarchal culture



limits women's independence in expressing their thoughts (Huda, 2019). Patriarchal structures place women in lower positions and significance than men, implying male dominance over females (Murtiningsih et al., 2017). The patriarchal tradition adopted by indigenous peoples in Bali undoubtedly influences how families and communities react to this matrilineal marriage. Male descendants are, of course, particularly significant and desirable in patriarchal cultures and patrilineal kinship systems (Tamara et al., 2019).

Based on the assessment of the participants' meanings, it appears that not all regions in Bali permit the presence of Nyentana Marriage. This is a social construction of a thick patriarchal culture that was designed from the start for men (Adisa et al., 2020). Men are thought to be more valuable than women, men have a public role, as their position is thought to be a trendsetter and capable of controlling social change (Ritonga et al., 2017). A man's decision to Nyentana will undoubtedly influence the family's reaction. Two participants claimed that their families accepted their decision without comment, however the other two were not allowed by their family (Adnyani, 2016).

Of course, the culture inherent in Balinese society has an impact on this. Participants one and four are not forbidden by their families from performing Nyentana's marriage. His mother, according to the participant four, was very supportive of him doing a Nyentana marriage to help his partner's family, who did not have male offspring. This is most likely due to the fact that they already have brothers who can pass on the bloodline from their original home. The family was initially opposed to participants two and three. Of course, they are the male offspring who are expected to stay at home and continue the lineage of the family.

### Interpreting Family Responses

Table 3 Research Theme

| Interpreting family responses   |
|---|
| Adi: Dalam artinya saya sih berat, sebenarnya. Karena kalau dibilang di Balinya itu anak pertama kan memang jarang dikasih keluar |
| Ari: kita beri penjelasan yang benar  |
| Sutisna: Cuma saya yang bisa ngasih pemahaman   |

After learning how the family reacts to their son's desire to perform Nyentana's marriage, we must examine the interpretations of the participants. According to the participants' interpretation of the responses from the families, it would be difficult for families to release their sons to marry. However, each of them provided an explanation and understanding that they were only married, despite the fact that leaving home does not imply stranger and inattention to parents. They are still filial children; it is only after marriage that participants become members of their ist's family.

The first participant stated that his parents did not comment or respond much and appeared ordinary. But, as the eldest son, there is a strong desire to leave home, especially since the eldest son bears more burdens and responsibilities and is even expected to stay at home. The second and third participants, who were initially opposed, then commented that they could only explain until their parents melted.

### Interpreting Nyentana's Marriage

Table 4 Research Theme

| Interpreting Nyentana's Marriage   |
|--|
| Adi: menyelamatkan keturunan si keluarga yang cewek  |
| Ari: di Tabanan kan kebanyakanlah artinya sudah mendarah daging istilah nyentana itu kan gak jadi masalah juga |
| Sutisna: menurut tiang sendiri kalau di Bali itu bukan semacam adat atau aturan                                |
| Sunada: nyentana itu cuman image di masyarakat kita itu laki-laki berjiwa perempuan padahal sebenarnya enggak  |

Each participant has a unique perspective of Nyentana Marriage. Some participants indicated that Nyentana is just to continue the family lineage (Wahyu et al., 2015), while others added that Nyentana is not a tradition or culture but a choice, while the next participant sees Nyentana as something that happens in his location (Adnyani, 2016). Finally, a participant stated that Nyentana marriage is the same as patrilineal marriage; it's only that many people mistake males who are Nyentana for being female at heart, when this is not the case. What was conveyed by the four participants was not in line with previous research which stated that in matrilineal marriages that occurred in Minangkabau, women and their lineage were prioritized (Maharani & Hudoyo, 2022).

Participants' interpretations of Nyentana's marriage differed but remained related in the sense that when answering questions, participants believed men still had more positions and values than women (Murtiningsih et al., 2017). According to the first participant, he saw this marriage as only one option for keeping his wife's bloodline intact. It is clear from this response that there is a strong patriarchal bias.

### Communication with Family

Table 5 Research Theme

| Communication with family   |
|---|
| Adi: Jadi kalau keluarga yang si cewek itu sudah senang karena sudah ada keturunan cowoknya begitu. |
| Ari: Ya sama aja dari pertama pacaran terus sampai saya di sini gak ada perbedaan apa.              |

A man who has a matrilineal marriage will almost certainly leave his home and live in his wife's home (Adnyani, 2017). Communication must be adjusted when joining the wife's family. Participants one and two said they had no trouble communicating with their families. One participant even stated that the wife's family was overjoyed when they had a son (Tamara et al., 2019). At this point, men are still considered dominant (Novarisa et al., 2019). Because, when they had a son, the role of a woman is considered successful in continuing the family lineage, which will later return to patrilineal.

If participants one and two had no difficulty communicating with family, particularly the wife's family, it is likely that this was due to difficulties for women in Bali who want to hold a Nyentana marriage. According to the participants, Nyentana marriage is not common and is not permitted in all areas of Bali. As a result, the woman's family attempts to avoid conflict with the man. This is reflected in the responses of the participants, who state that there has never been any conflict or difficulty in communicating with the woman's family.

### Wife's Family Treatment

Table 6 Research Theme

| Wife's family treatment   |
|---|
| Adi: Kalau dari keluarga yang cewek sih biasa aja. Cuma memang ya kita sih masih proses lah |
| Ari: Gak ada perbedaan  |
| Sutisna: semenjak tiang masuk ke keluarga istri saya perlakuannya sama tidak ada perubahan  |

Aside from communication, the treatment of the wife's family by the man who performs the Nyentana Marriage is also a point of contention. How does the woman's family treat the son-in-law? According to the participants, there is no difference in treatment before and after marriage. The treatment of a man in his wife's family is rarely discussed in public. This is most likely one of the reasons why men who are Nyentana are perceived to have the same status as women in patrilineal marriage. Participants stated that their treatment did not change before or after marriage. That they are still well-treated by their wife family, as are the family's sons. Even the fourth participant stated that his in-laws adored him. This certainly contributes to the difficulty that women have in finding men who are willing and able to do Nyentana marriages.

### Pros and Cons of Nyentana Marriage

Nyentana marriage as a matrilineal marriage that is not common in Bali (Adnyani, 2017) certainly raises pros and cons as well as marriage in Pada Gelahang (Windia, 2018). As a person who performs a Nyentana marriage, participants are undoubtedly asked how their opinions relate to the benefits and drawbacks of this marriage.

Participants one and two commented that these benefits and drawbacks are subjective. Each person's perspective can differ depending on their life experience and how they live it. While participant four stated that there were not many pros and cons in their environment due to the variety of marriages.

Table 7 Research Theme

| Pros and cons of Nyentana Marriage  |
|---|
| Adi: nyentana kalau dipikirin sebenarnya biasa aja sih sebenarnya. Tergantung pembawaan si suami dan si istri |
| Ari: Ya seperti kata tadi tergantung kita menjalani   |
| Sunada: Tabanan itu udah biasa apalagi di banjar tiang banyak   |

If this is the case, it is believed that the social environment has a significant impact on individual opinions about the Nyentana marriage. Individuals raised in a patriarchal environment and with local customary rules prohibiting Nyentana marriage are more likely to have a negative attitude. Nyentana has no objections to some people who, despite being raised in a patriarchal environment, follow customary rules that allow Nyentana marriage.

### Adjustment in The Family and Customs After Marriage

Table 8 Research Theme

| Adjustment in the family and customs after marriage   |
|---|
| Adi: Kalau saya di adat sih sudah biasa   |
| Ari: karena saya itu orang jalaran lah dulu. Artinya kalau bergaul di desa sini kan gampang jadinya |
| Sutisna: pertama kali saya itu sudah sah jadi milik keluarga istri rasa canggung itu pasti ada      |

Nyentana Marriage, as a form of matrilineal marriage, is implemented similarly to Minangkabau matrilineal marriage (Adnyani, 2017; Maharani & Hudoyo, 2022). Despite their similarities, the findings of research show that they have significant differences. Men continue to have more dominant roles in the family, according to previous research, which states that in patriarchal cultures, men are the holders of control and attention centers (Adisa et al., 2020). Although Nyentana Marriage has many advantages and disadvantages and is not permitted in all areas of Bali (Adnyani, 2016), three participants interpreted it as normal. Two people revealed that these advantages and disadvantages are dependent on the individual. They state that this stems from the perspective of husbands and wives who perform Nyentana Marriage. Two participants said they got along well and it wasn't too difficult, while one admitted they were a little awkward at first but eventually adapted well with the adjustments.

### Standpoint Theory

Based on the results of the study, this research related to the standpoint theory proposed by Sandra Harding, a philosopher from the United States. According to

standpoint theory, our perspective on the world is influenced by our social location (Griffin et al., 2019). Wood (2019) goes on to say that the social group to which we belong can shape our experiences and knowledge, as well as how we understand and communicate with ourselves, others, and the world. Standpoint as an erroneous concept is related to gender and patriarchal research. It is stated that a particular religion is not shared by all people. Culture is organized hierarchically so that different groups of people can provide different levels of wealth, pleasure, and happiness to each individual (Griffin et al., 2019). This is followed by an explanation of why, in a group that promotes patriarchy, male benefit more than women.

In this study, standpoint theory is linked to the perspectives of Balinese men who serve as subjects. Men are placed in a dominant position and given more power in patriarchal culture, while women are placed in a subordinate position (de Beauvoir, 2010). According to indigenous peoples who follow the patrilineal system (Wiratama et al., 2020), social groups in Bali will form patriarchal individual understandings.

Men who were raised in patriarchal social and cultural groups must unconsciously carry the concept of patriarchy within themselves. This can be seen in the Nyentana marriage in Bali, where men still have a strong dominance in the family and indigenous communities despite the matrilineal form of marriage. As a result of the mindset and environment that supports it, patriarchal culture remains ingrained in domestic and social life.

## CONCLUSION

According to the research, Balinese males who have participated in Nyentana Marriage saw the marriage as normal. Nyentana marriages are similar to patrilineal marriages, which are widespread in Bali. Because, in its implementation, the man who does the Nyentana Marriage remains the head of the family in national law, has the same values as men who execute patrilineal marriage, and controls decision-making in the family. Balinese who are unaware of the existence of Nyentana Marriage believe that the male party will be treated as a woman in this marriage. As a result, male families frequently oppose the Nyentana marriage. The community should be able to realize that the males who perform the Nyentana Marriage are not considered as women, but instead remain the head of the family and dominate both in the home and in indigenous communities. As a result, men whose spouses require sentana because they lack brothers do not need to be fearful or concerned about holding a Nyentana Marriage.

According to the findings of this study, there are still regions where Nyentana marriage is not permitted. Indigenous peoples should recognize the need for women who do not have a male sibling to produce offspring. May indigenous peoples be allowed to evaluate customary law and regulation from the perspective of the customary.

Hopefully, this study will help people understand that nyentana marriage is not only a tradition, but also a necessity to certain someone or some family.

I also would like to thank Universitas Multimedia Nusantara for their assistance with the research and publication of this journal.

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