
Lucretia Prang  Grad.Dip. Indonesian Studies

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Law, Business and Arts of the Northern Territory University, Darwin, Australia in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

Dated this 7th. day of March, 2003
Thesis Declaration

I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Masters by research of the Northern Territory University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

Signed by

Lucretia Prang

at Darwin, this 7th. day of March, 2003
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Abstract

This dissertation is about Sasak women and their contemporary social position. It is argued that traditional law (adat) in Lombok oppresses women and Sasak patriarchy is an obstacle to women's education, freedom and equality. The research demonstrates that the increasing process of Islamisation in Lombok has a definite positive effect on the aforementioned aspects and enhances Sasak women's chances of obtaining education regarding their rights, health and economic matters.

On the anthropological map, Lombok is rarely mentioned. It has not received sufficient recognition especially in the field of women's studies. This thesis discusses the main contemporary issues Sasak women are confronted with, that is rural traditional life, health, marriage and their development in a patriarchal society, and how they go about it. The majority of Lombok's women show an enthusiasm in advancing their social position which is demonstrated in Lombok's own local organisations, respected by the community and with a bright promising future.

The dissertation is based on six months of ethnographic fieldwork in Lombok conducted among Sasaks in rural hamlets, Islamic women's organisations, NGO's, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and Sasak women of various social levels. It is divided into five chapters and a conclusion.
Introduction

This study of contemporary aspects of the social position of women is based on fieldwork among the Sasak of Lombok. The island of Lombok, as with most of the islands of eastern Indonesia, has been largely overlooked in the field of women’s studies. Lombok’s pluralism and diverse ethos, especially the dichotomy present amongst the Sasak population, gives the researcher in this area interesting material with which to work. My thesis title "Breaking New Grounds: Observations on the Social Position of Women Amongst the Sasak" indicates the ongoing social change amongst Lombok’s female population.

Lombok is the second island east of Java in the chain of islands stretching from Java to New Guinea and together with the island of Sumbawa forms the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB). The Sasaks are the main ethnic group on the island and to be Sasak is to be Muslim.

Research was focussed on the influence of Islam, an important discussion point amongst Sasak women, and on where Islamisation will lead their fate. However, in order to understand exactly how the social positions of women change and what they are, it is necessary to gather considerable socio-cultural material as a background especially when dealing with an area almost unknown in the anthropological world. Chapter one is therefore dedicated to Lombok’s ethnography and history.

Relatively little research attention has been focused on the contemporary social position of Sasak women. The focus of this dissertation is to ascertain the facts and formulate a hypothesis of the liberation brought to the social position of Sasak women by Islamic ideology. Islam is indeed very interesting on the island, because it has many divergent forms. Depending on the still existing and influential Lombok customary law (adat), Islam as practiced and believed in one village or area can be
strikingly different from that practiced and believed in a village less than a kilometre away. The distinction between *wetu telu* (nominal Muslim, adhering strongly to traditional customs, the *adat*) and *waktu lima* (orthodox Muslim) is one used by orthodox Muslims to deride Muslims with different practices. According to the *waktu lima* the *wetu telu* syncretism represents a kind of Islamic 'Hindu' tradition, is heretical and should be abolished. \(^1\) Even though an area can be called a "*wetu telu" stronghold" people in that area never talk about themselves or are designated by others as *wetu telu* or recognise it as an appropriate designation for themselves. The very complex diversity of traditional custom (*adat*) in a relatively small area led me to decide on a selected group of villages and townships. The bulk of my fieldwork was conducted in East Lombok since the area is still strong in *adat* as well as in Islamisation. Nevertheless, I tried to include other areas as much as possible to reflect a broader picture. Mataram, the capital of Lombok, is important to this research since all women’s organisations and NGOs are located there. Consequently, any action by these organisations is initiated from there although, unfortunately, in most cases their efforts stay in Mataram.

In chapter two the differences in the ranking system and marriage customs in Sasak *adat* and orthodox Islam are explained as well as conflicts between those groups’ ideologies concerning female-male relationships and class-status relationships. Those conflicts are analysed further in chapter three where the issue of polygyny in Lombok is discussed. The increasing impact of Islam in Lombok’s traditional areas provides a new idiom of interpretation for female behaviour and values. At times this seems confusing, not only for the researcher but also for the local community which in some parts of the island finds itself in a state of transition from *adat* to orthodox

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Islam. However, polygyny is not condemned by all women in Lombok, especially if
the situation is a price to be paid for a privileged position. In most cases polygyny is
a situation found in well-to-do or aristocratic circles whereas the phenomenon of
cross border polygyny, that is if the husband moves overseas (in Lombok’s case to
Malaysia) to seek employment and marries a second wife, is frequently found
amongst more traditional rural Sasaks. Surprisingly most of the educated
chairwomen of Islamic women’s organisations in Mataram agreed with polygyny or
at least did not strongly oppose it as will be discussed in chapters three and four.
Chapter four will deal with women’s workloads and health issues, focusing on the
example of a traditional pottery village. Unfortunately overlooked by most
organisations present in Mataram, the health and living conditions of female pottery
workers have not yet improved. The chapter concludes with an analysis of coping in
a tradition orientated rural society as a state-trained midwife, her influences on adat
and her efforts to win the trust of village women. Last but not least is the very serious
issue of violence against women, the reasons for its rise in Lombok and the fight for
women’s justice by the locally run and supported dynamic Legal Aid For Women
Association, LBH APIK NTB, discussed in chapter five. The research attention here
has been focused on the issues of prostitution in Lombok and the Islamic approach
towards violence against women.
This research is based on a total of six months on the island of Lombok in 2001 and
2002 and preliminary work in 2000 whilst studying Indonesian and Sasak Language
at the University of Mataram. The vast majority of my fieldwork time in 2001 and
2002 was spent in East Lombok and Mataram. I have chosen to use pseudonyms for
personal names and places except for the cities Mataram, Tanjung, Kuta, the tourist
enclave of Senggigi and the village Bayan. The decision of whether to use actual
names or pseudonyms is not an easy one. When I asked people about this matter, they always wished their names to be used. However, there is a potential risk involved in doing so. One of those risks is that my writings could be used to single out certain people and places as targets for aggressive intervention and secondly tourist promoters would turn places in East Lombok and elsewhere into tourist attractions, as has been done in traditional places on Lombok particularly in Sade and Kuta in the south of the island. I am using pseudonyms to protect the privacy of those who became my friends and supported my project. I have otherwise not altered their personalities, histories or circumstances in any way.

At the time this research was undertaken, the exchange rate was approximately Rupiah (Rp.) 5000 to A$1.

**Literature Review**

Lombok has not drawn many anthropologists and compared with the quantity of literature covering women’s issues in Java and Bali there is a notable paucity of literature covering the position of Sasak women in Lombok. Of the hundreds of anthropologists who have worked in Indonesia, only eight have written ethnographies on the Sasaks of Lombok. These are Krulfeld (1974), Ecklund (1977), Polak (1978), Cederroth (1981), Budiwanti (2000), Judd (1980), Leemann (1989) and van der Kraan (1980). Polak, Judd and van der Kraan do not mention women on Lombok at all and concentrate on religion, politics, poverty and Lombok’s colonial era.

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2 Sade is advertised as "typical Sasak village". One must feel sorry for the people of Sade being watched in their houses by tourists with video cameras. The place is kept immaculately clean which is not typical for a Sasak village at all. Instead of selling Sasak handicraft, Sade sells cheap Balinese souvenirs. Kuta in South Lombok is famous for its *bau nyale*, a traditional Sasak event where the local people catch the annually appearing sea worms for medical and spiritual reasons. The Lombok Tourism Board has created a big event for tourists at that time and foreigners are seated in a tent on comfortable chairs to watch a theatre performance, which shows the historical story of *bau nyale*.
In addition there are a handful of anthropological papers on different aspects of Sasak people: Grace (1996) and Hunter (1996) on maternal health and Hay (1998) on Sasak ethnomedicine. Works on the Balinese people of Lombok (Cooper 2001), travel journals and accounts during the colonial period round out the literature on the island (Wallace 1922, Vogelsang 1922, Cool 1896). Although these texts did not ignite the anthropological imagination as the works on Bali and Java did, they succeeded in putting Lombok on the anthropological map.

The few gender-related articles written are now in excess of thirty years old and have little contemporary value. It is also interesting to note that not a single study has been devoted to the orthodox Muslim majority group and its female members whereas comparative study between the aforementioned group and the syncretist Muslim women can be found. Ruth Krulfeld devoted parts of her PhD thesis to the description of an orthodox Muslim village, but she emphasised issues related to the nominal Muslim group.\(^3\) A rather informative article by her, “Sasak Attitudes Towards Polygyny and the Changing Position of Women in Sasak Peasant Villages”\(^4\) discussed the effects of increasing Islamisation on Sasak women. However, since her article was published in 1986, Krulfeld’s view regarding the situation of women in orthodox Muslim villages is rather outdated. Apart from the occurrence of polygyny, education amongst women has changed some of the old image. The article might serve as a historical comparison between the status of women then and now, but Krulfeld’s main argument that waktu lima influence in adat-orientated areas disadvantaged women is no longer the case in 2002. She argued that women in waktu lima villages had to obtain the approval of their husbands or fathers to trade or work

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outside their home, thus limiting the field when seeking marriage partners. The situation for waktu lima women has improved immensely since Krulfeld’s research in the 1960s. Not only do these women now have the opportunity to involve themselves in the market economy, a situation very much appreciated by their husbands, but they also have more freedom in their choice of partner. The increasing prevalence of rather progressive pesantren in Lombok has given women the opportunity of an expanded education whereas forty years ago girls were not permitted to attend school due to the previous policy of seclusion and protection from outside contact. However, polygyny was the major area of concern for Sasak women in the 1960s and still is today and the examples she gives of suicidal actions and mental disturbances amongst women in a polygynous marriage are still prevailing issues in Lombok’s society.

In her article “Fatalism in Indonesia: A Comparison of Socio–Religious Types On Lombok” Krulfeld pointed out that the difference between adat orientated and the more strongly Islamised villages was seen in the fatalistic acceptance of polygyny by women. Those women in waktu lima villages had become resigned to polygynous situations and in some cases had completely accepted it. This was a consequence of the Islamic system permitting polygyny, and Sasak women believed that it was their duty to suffer the injustice they felt regarding polygyny. This might still be existent but a strong tendency towards the fight against injustice caused by polygyny is visible amongst younger members of some Islamic women’s organisations and NGOs present in Lombok.

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Judith Ecklund wrote her PhD thesis on ideal marriage customs in the Selong area but glorifies customs such as elopement and kinship marriage as a romantic old tradition without looking carefully at the consequences for women having to follow these rituals. Some of these consequences are no free partner choice and an unjust inheritance system.

Sven Cederroth has written a variety of interesting articles about Lombok’s syncretist Islamic population. The wetu telu. Detailed descriptions regarding the life and customs of the adat orientated Sasak villagers are very much in evidence in his book The Spell Of The Ancestors And The Power Of Mekkah, A Sasak Community On Lombok, but not very much is mentioned regarding the status of women, apart from a two-page text with the heading “The position of women”. Here he discusses the issues of endogamous and exogamous as well as hypergamous marriages and the consequences of breaking the adat. A more informative analysis by Cederroth discussing women’s positions is given in his article “Islam And Adat: Some Recent Changes In The Social Position Of Women Amongst Sasak In Lombok” where he juxtaposes wetu telu and waktu lima marriage and inheritance rules and argues that freedom for women brought about by Islamisation is paid for with other far from positive issues such as polygyny. The article shows a similarity to Krulfeld’s analysis but no information is given concerning social change in women’s positions.

The most current publication dealing with the Sasak community is Erni Budiwanti’s book Islam Sasak, Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima. Like Cederroth he concentrates on the position of the Sasak in northern Lombok, a stronghold of the wetu telu.

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He is rather explicit in explaining the Islamic marriage rules and details the customs of the *waktu lima* marriage. He argues that women belonging to this group enjoy more freedom in choosing a partner as well as participating in the market economy. Budiwanti criticises Cederroth’s statement that frequent divorces are caused by Islamisation and argues that different issues should be considered such as a couple’s social status. Budiwanti’s acknowledgment that Islamisation has introduced egalitarianism and consequently freed the *wetu telu* community from exorbitant bride prices and women from endogamous marriage, is rather revolutionary. However, the issue of polygyny is missing and his tendency to a fundamentalist adherence to orthodox Islam is evident. From an anthropological and historical point of view, Budiwanti’s book is a true treasure and gives the reader a comprehensive insight into Lombok’s history of Islam and ethnological diversity.

Two very interesting and informative articles on women’s health issues in Lombok are “Healers and Modern Health Services: Antenatal, Birthing and Postpartum Care in Rural East Lombok” by Jocelyn Grace and “Women as ‘Good Citizens’: Maternal and Child Health in a Sasak Village” by Cynthia L. Hunter. Both articles are contemporary and discuss the different choices rural women have in the way of birthing, health care and family planning, but also criticise the poorly equipped facilities undertaking these procedures. Unfortunately the issue of polygyny is not mentioned despite its obvious relevance to major health concerns such as venereal diseases. A further contemporary piece of work is Cameron Hay’s published PhD thesis *Remembering to Live: Coping with Health Concerns on Lombok*. The

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dissertation's main concern is with Sasak ethnomedicine in a pluralistic medical setting and argues that the organisation of medical knowledge has profound consequences for people's health. Hay strongly emphasises the important role of women as traditional healers amongst the *wetu telu* but concentrates on only one particular village in East Lombok and consequently does not give information about situations in transitional or orthodox Islamic villages.

A good source of background information concerning Muslim women in Indonesia analysing liberating discourses, rather than the usual and plentiful conventional writings, is the Working Paper by Istiadah “Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Investigating Paths to Resist the Patriarchal System”. Istiadah's optimistic view that Indonesian women can find new ways of overcoming the patriarchal system stems from the support of a more liberal interpretation of Islamic teachings by many influential and prominent Islamic leaders. Similarly Masdar F. Masudi as well as Nurcholish Majid, the most prominent leader of neo modernist thinkers, support the urgent reinterpretation of the Koran and *hadiths* referring to women's issues. In his article “Reinterpretasi Ajaran Islam tentang Perempuan” Masudi discusses some of the authoritative quotations from the Koran which need to be revised and that the conventional interpretation of the Koran is based on a textual interpretation. He argues that the most important requirement of polygyny is justice, that is justice not only for the husband but also for the wife. It is argued that the Koran's condoning of polygyny for example must be understood in the context in

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15 Greg Barton stated that the usage of the term “Neo Modernist movement” is fraught with difficulty. He states that many writers use the term but it certainly does not meet with universal approval. However, he feels that it is both the only adequate term currently available to describe the phenomenon of the reinterpretation of the Koran and is an essentially accurate appellation: Greg Barton. “The International Context of the Emergence of Islamic Thought in Indonesia”, *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*, M.C.Ricklefs ed. Melbourne. Centre of Southeast Asian Studies. Monash University. 1991.

which it is given. The Koran permits the taking of up to four wives provided that all
are treated equally and justly. It is important to mention that the historical context is
the period immediately after the battle of Uhud in 625 a.d. when many women were
left destitute having been widowed or orphaned (Koran verse 4:3). The principle,
Nurcholish would argue, is concern for the weak and the downcast and this together
with the strict conditions imposed, and the fact that modern day Indonesian society is
very much different from 7th century Arab society would immediately suggest that
polygynous marriages are by no means to be a norm in modern Muslim society.
Both Masdar Mas’udi as well as Nurcholish Majid acknowledge that the
conventional interpretation of the Koran is based on textual interpretation. They
claim that textual interpretation often misses the real intention of the verse. 17

Gavin Jones’ book Marriage And Divorce In Islamic South East Asia offers a
complex analysis of polygyny in general. His most recent research was conducted in
1990 and 1991. Jones is missing the vital part of contemporary Islamisation of ethnic
minority groups, which consequently face increasing change in their cultural
structure. It would have made an interesting contribution to issues such as polygyny
and divorce rates as well as inheritance, especially in the case of Indonesia. A brief
account of Islamisation is given on page 4 and 42 but only in a historical context.

Jutta Berninghausen and Birgit Kerstan give a comprehensive insight into Indonesian
women’s self-help organisations in the example of rural Java by a sociological case
study in a village. 18 They discuss briefly the issue of polygyny and state that
Indonesia has no feminist-oriented women’s movement. 19 This shows clearly that

17 Ibid.
19 Ibid. p.251.
some researchers of Indonesian society look no further than Java and tend to forget that other islands of the archipelago have to deal with different social issues. As shown in Chapter 5, members of the Indonesian Women's Association of Justice West Nusa Tenggara, focus on local issues, especially problems caused by customary law and motivating women to fight for equality. Chapter 5 also reveals that the people of Lombok have created their own feminist oriented women's movement.

Despite its early date, Cora Vreede-De Stuers' book *The Indonesian Woman, Struggles And Achievements* gives an informative background on the Indonesian women's movement. Although emphasising the Javanese situation, Vreede-De Stuers explains the complexity of the co-existence of *adat* and Islamic law in a way relevant to the entire Indonesian archipelago. However, her conception about polygyny in *adat* is not very precise. She states that *adat* allows polygyny. In the Sasak example this does not apply since the *wetu telu* regard polygyny as a taboo and consequently as a part of Islamisation polygyny can cause difficulties for women's positions in Lombok but polygyny can also improve women's social situation.

The question of the influence of Islam on gender constructions in Indonesia has not been asked often enough and in the case of Lombok and West Nusa Tenggara it has been almost completely ignored, but it is of great relevance to contemporary debates as Indonesia struggles towards democracy. After all Lombok is a part of Indonesia with a thriving history where Islam has been accommodated to local conditions in an ethnically diverse community. Consequently this process has and still does change Sasak women's positions and therefore Lombok deserves more attention on the gender related anthropological map.

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Chapter 1

Land and People of Lombok. A General Background
Introduction

To understand the socio-cultural situation of a certain area or group of people living in that particular area a basic background knowledge of its historical development, culture, demographic and ethnographic structures is essential. Lombok and the Sasaks are quite unique in Indonesian history due to the fact that various occupying ethnic groups not only invaded Lombok but also introduced their own culture, for example the Balinese and Makassarese, both of whom invaded the island and influenced Lombok’s society in both social and traditional aspects. The following chapter begins with a wide-angle sketch of Lombok then covers the differences between Sasak orthodox Islam and Sasak adat, so vital to comprehend the process of change for the social position of Sasak women. The role of the Tuan Guru and the importance of the pesantren for women, so often misinterpreted, will close the chapter.

1.1

Lombok’s geography and demography

The island of Lombok is located east of Bali and west of Sumbawa. Surrounded by the Lombok Strait to the west and the Alas Strait to the east, the island also borders on the Java Sea as well as the Indonesian Sea to the south. Lombok lies between two very contrasting weather zones. To the west, towards Bali and Java, rainfall is quite heavy whereas to the east, towards Sumbawa and East Nusa Tenggara (NTT, Nusa Tenggara Timur), it is relatively dry and infertile. Lombok is one of the many islands, which connect the Asian mainland with Australia. The 19th century naturalist and geographer, Sir Alfred Wallace (1822-1913) drew a line between Bali and Lombok, which became famous as the “Wallace Line”. Wallace believed that this line marked a biological division between Asia and Australia, observing great
differences in fauna between Bali and Lombok.\textsuperscript{1} Geertz initially splits Lombok in half, with the western half grouped with Java and Bali (Inner Indonesia) because of its intensive agricultural land use, and the eastern half grouped with all the other islands (Outer Indonesia) because of its less intensive land use.\textsuperscript{2} After examining the cultural characteristics that emerge from these different patterns of land use, he lumps all of Lombok with Bali and parts of Java as “Inner Indonesia”, where “traditional wet-rice peasant villages predominate, where density, though high, is not yet overwhelming, and the established kinship, political and religious institutions remain powerful”\textsuperscript{3}. According to the Indonesian Government’s geographic organisation, Lombok is cut off from Bali and Java, and designated as part of Eastern Indonesia. Lombok and Sumbawa make up the province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB, Nusa Tenggara Barat), with Mataram in West Lombok as its capital city.

NTB consists of six regencies (kabupaten) and one municipality, the city of Mataram. The six regencies of NTB are made up of Dompu and Bima on the island of Sumbawa and West Lombok, East Lombok, Central Lombok and Mataram on the island of Lombok. A government official, a bupati, administers each regency. These regencies are divided into several subdistricts, which are administered by a camat or sub district head. Each sub district consists of several villages. Each village is divided into several village hamlets, the dasan or dusun. NTB has approximately four million inhabitants who are unevenly dispersed across the six regencies. For example, the area of the regency of West Lombok with a population of approximately 900,000 is the most densely populated regency, whilst Dompu in Sumbawa only has a population of approximately 150,000.

\textsuperscript{1} Alfred R. Wallace. \textit{The Malay Archipelago}. London, Macmillan. 1922.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. p.129.
More than 83% of NTB’s population live in rural areas and are primarily involved in rice farming. More than 36% of West Lombok’s population lives in cities compared with the provinces of Bima and Dompu where only 14.5% of the entire population live in urban areas.4

1.2

Lombok’s culture and ethnography

Lombok is a small island with an area of only 4,738.7 square kilometers, densely populated with 540 people per square kilometre.5 It is economically poorer than neighbouring Bali and Java, and other Indonesians as well as visitors frequently consider Lombok as totally lacking in culture. Perhaps for this reason Lombok has not drawn many anthropologists. Lombok is the home of the Sasak people, an Islamic community divided into two groups, the more adat oriented wetu telu and the orthodox waktu lima. There remains a bitter and political tension between the two groups. Waktu lima (Indonesian) meaning ‘five times’ refers to the orthodox Muslim group who obey the five pillars of Islam6 whereas wetu telu (Sasak) meaning ‘three times’, indicates that its followers adhere to only three of the five pillars of Islam. They do not follow the fast and the pilgrimage to Mecca is not essential. Instead they make a pilgrimage to the sacred volcano Rinjani, saying that “Rinjani sola’an dit Mekkali” (Rinjani is better than Mecca). In wetu telu areas such as Olingsik in East Lombok, many of the actions typically associated with being Muslim are noticeably absent. The wetu telu belief is a mixture of Hindu-Buddhist elements combined with

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4 Reported by the provincial health department (Dinas Kesehatan), 1994.
5 Calculated using the population estimates of 1994 reported by the provincial health department (Dinas Kesehatan 1994).
6 Five pillars of Islam: 1) The confession of faith in Allah and Mohamed as his prophet. 2) The five daily prayers. 3) The fast during the month of Ramadan. 4) The pilgrimage to Mecca. 5) The payment of the zakat, the religious tax.
Islam. Albert Leemann gives a good explanation of the *wetu telu* value concepts, such as stone cults and the permission to consume pork and alcoholic beverages. In everyday life they are inclined to disregard Islamic routine, which is regarded as an obligation by the *waktu lima* whose commitment towards Islamic law (*syari‘ah*) is considerably higher than that of the *wetu telu*. Therefore the absence of observing the five pillars is the source of much criticism by the majority of Sasaks on the island, who tend to call people in areas such as Olingsik ‘pagans’. On the contrary, the ‘pagans’ retaliate by saying that the majority are not real Muslims because they have forgotten many of the religious laws passed down by the ancestors. The *waktu lima*’s devotion towards *syari‘ah* seems to diminish the loyalty towards traditional local rules. For some considerable period of time, the *waktu lima* have been attempting to eliminate the original Sasak *adat*, especially the parts of *adat* that contradict Islamic law. Although the *wetu telu* realise that certain traditional regulations such as ancestor worship on graveyards are clearly in breach of Islamic law, *wetu telu* circles are trying to hold on to their *adat*. Consequently, tradition has become intermingled with religion.

The Sasaks make up more than 90% of Lombok’s total population and to be Sasak is to be Muslim; consequently all Sasaks believe in Allah. Other ethnic groups such as the Balinese, Sumbawanese, Javanese, Arabs and Chinese are immigrants to Lombok. Amongst those, the Balinese make up the largest ethnic group, constituting approximately 3% of Lombok’s entire population. Most of the Balinese live in West and Central Lombok and possess their own land. The Balinese achieved landownership when they took possession of Lombok in the 17th century. The

9 *Syari‘ah*. Islamic law
majority of Balinese living in Lombok are descendants of the original conquerors of the Karangasem kingdom. The majority of Sumbawanese reside in East Lombok and the Arab population is concentrated around Mataram’s old port town Ampenan. Most of the Chinese are engaged in trading activities and consequently live near the market centres, such as Ampenan and Cakranegara. Apart from being split into different ethnic groups, Lombok is also divided into various languages, cultural and religious groups. The Sasaks and Arabs are Islamic whereas almost all Balinese are Hindu and the Chinese are, by and large, Christian. A small percentage of Buddhists are to be found in the area around Tanjung, north of Mataram.

The official language of Lombok is the national language, Indonesian. However, most everyday interactions outside of government offices and businesses are conducted in Sasak. The Sasak language is an Austronesian language with strong grammatical and lexical similarities to the languages of Bali and Java. One of these similarities is the speech level used. The highest level of Sasak used, when speaking with princes and highest religious officials, is almost identical to formal Balinese in its spoken inflections. This is strong evidence of the impact almost two centuries of exclusive Balinese rule had on the people of Lombok.10

Historical records, discussed in the following paragraph, portray several factors, which describe a basic social division from the Sasak community inside wetu telu and waktu lima circles, and several motives, which contribute to the increasing decline of wetu telu adherents.

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A historical sketch

Little is known of Lombok’s early history. Before the arrival of foreign influence in Lombok, the Boda formed the original faith of the Sasak people. This population group was known as Sasak-Boda. Unfortunately research data regarding this group is almost non-existent. The response to the question in Lombok if the Boda still exist is that Boda is unheard of or one does not want to talk about it in general. According to Leemann, Boda religion has nothing in common with Buddhism, as is sometimes presumed. Animism and pantheism particularly marked the Boda religion. Ancestor as well as local god spirit worship formed the main focus of the Sasak-Boda religion. The conversion of the Sasak to Islam is most closely related to the existence of subjection from foreign powers, which conquered Lombok for centuries. The Javanese, Makassarese, Bugis, Balinese, Dutch and Japanese all dominated Lombok for more or less one millennium. The Hindu Majapahit kingdom from East Java entered Lombok in the 15th century and Islam was introduced by Arabian seafarers in the 13th century. The Makassarese arrived in East Lombok in the 16th century and successfully proselytised Sunni Islam. They successfully converted almost all Sasaks to Islam even though most of the Sasak still mixed Islam with the non-Islamic faith.

The Balinese kingdom of Karangasem occupied West Lombok in the 17th century and consolidated control over the entire island of Lombok after defeating the Makassarese in 1740. The Balinese administration showed a high tolerance towards Sasak traditional beliefs with the exception of violating the Sasak rule of hypergamy.

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11 Albert Leemann, "Internal And External Factors Of Socio-Cultural And Socio-Economic Dynamics in Lombok". ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHIE. vol.8, Zurich, 1989.
12 Sunni, members of the branch of Islam that accepts the first four caliphs as rightful successors of Mohamed.
(aristocratic male marrying a woman from lower status) by marriages of Balinese men belonging to lower castes than the Sasak noble women chosen as partners. This violation of Sasak adat controlling Sasak women's status was one of the major reasons given by Sasak princes for dissatisfaction with Balinese rule. Balinese kings were also renowned for practising polygyny and kept Sasak concubines at court. Although tolerance for Sasak adat was evident, already Islamised Sasak groups together with their religious leaders called Tuan Guru felt oppressed and started several small rebellions against the Balinese, but without success. This defeat pushed several aristocratic Sasak to seek help from the Dutch to eventually drive the Balinese out of Lombok. This gave the Dutch an easy access into Lombok to fight against the Balinese dynasty. After successfully defeating the Balinese, the Dutch became Lombok's next colonisers to the disappointment of the Sasak aristocracy. Most of the land owned by the Balinese was taken over by the Dutch and a high land tax was put into effect and the Sasak experienced a more despicable kind of oppression and control than ever before. The Islamic leaders used Islam as the main ideology to fight against Dutch occupation as the Dutch were considered unbelievers. This movement of rebellion started a rise in followers and gradually the aristocratic Sasak influence, which was based on authority from traditional local inheritance, decreased. During the Dutch occupation the Tuan Guru's missionary movement increased the polarisation between wetu telu and waktu lima. Two separate groups emerged. One maintained their loyalty to the Sasak aristocracy and traditional

14 Tuan Guru (Indonesian), Master teacher, great teacher.
15 For a fuller account of Lombok's history, see Van der Kraan (1980); Alfons Van der Kraan, Lombok: Conquest, Colonization and Under-Development, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Hong Kong, Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1980.
customs; the other made the Tuan Guru their spiritual leader.

1.4

The Tuan Guru

As mentioned above, the Tuan Guru became an important figure in the past for political reasons and nowadays enjoys increasing popularity. To an outsider visiting Lombok, it is very obvious that the island’s population is enormously influenced by their orthodox Muslim leaders, the Tuan Guru. A Tuan Guru is never from an aristocratic background; he is always a commoner. In most cases he has studied for up to ten years or longer at a religious school in Mecca. On his return to Lombok he would normally become actively involved in religious education. His influence and popularity is of such importance that local government officials have to seek the authority of the Tuan Guru for permission to carry out important projects. The Tuan Guru is to be found all over Lombok and loved by his adherents from kacamatan to dusun; he enjoys an almost saint like treatment. Consequently the nobility of the wetu telu lost most of its power but became followers of the waktu lima. The most successful area of a Tuan Guru is that of missionary work in the form of educational centres. After independence in 1950, the Tuan Guru Zainuddin Abdul Majid established the first pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Lombok, incorporated into the Javanese educational and social organisation Nadhlatul Wathan (NW) that nowadays forms the oldest and most popular educational institution as well as the local Islamic movement in Lombok.10 Outstanding students from these pesantren are assigned to teach religion and spread Islam in other villages. It is important to

10 Nadhlatul Wathan (Revival of the homeland), originally an Islamic college established by Wahab Chasbullah and Mas Mansur in Surabaya in 1916. Later developed into a network of colleges across Java and 1950 across Lombok. Fealy, Greg and Barton, Greg (eds.), Nadhlatul Ulama: Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia, Clayton, Monash Asia Institute, 1996, pp.7-13.
mention that NW has always been local and solidly Sasak. Therefore it has been reported that some Tuan Guru tend to associate with the syncretists although the task of a Tuan Guru is to spread the knowledge of “proper” Islam.

For outsiders the pesantren seem to be strict institutions with rigorous religious instruction mainly for male children. This is not the case in Lombok. Certain Tuan Guru in charge of these schools have a rather progressive outlook regarding education. One pesantren near Narmada, on the outskirts of Mataram, developed a curriculum which includes the teaching of all world religions, the English language and Information Technology as a priority subject. This pesantren’s Tuan Guru puts an emphasis on female education. 350 female students compared to 250 male students attend his school. The girls are strongly encouraged to enter university and start teaching younger students. Apart from the usual female Indonesian Muslim dress code, no significant difference between female and male santri is apparent. In fact it seems as if the girls are the more self-confident and the brighter of the students. Upon graduation, most girls start teaching English and Information Technology at Mataram’s university whereas most male santri start teaching Islam in other areas in Lombok. Furthermore, girls are encouraged to speak publicly on issues that concern Lombok women such as polygyny and to join Islamic women’s organisations.

Pesantren are relatively affordable for anybody in Lombok. This gives girls from poorer rural areas the opportunity to gain a relatively high education, which eventually might lead to university entrance. NW pesantren are renowned for their support of students who wish to pursue higher education at well-known universities.
in Java, under the condition that they return to Lombok and bring their acquired knowledge and expertise back into the home community. In a broader view this can be interpreted as an aspect of keeping Sasak Islam unique, that is staying closely connected to one’s community and therefore foreign influence is not needed. Although a substantial number of Sasaks are now able to make the Haj, the pilgrimage to the holy town of Mecca, where they meet with fellow Muslims from all over the world, it seems that on their return to Lombok they are happy to mix their new knowledge with the old adat oriented syncretism.\textsuperscript{20} The trend towards a Sasak administered community is growing stronger every year.

Summing up

It should be pointed out that the complexity of Lombok’s history and social structure has created its very own system. The idiom of Islam is proving to be acceptable and effective in organising the local consciousness. Quite often Lombok is labelled by the outsider as “fanatically Moslem”, maybe because of the increase in new mosques\textsuperscript{21}, pesantren and an increasing number of Sasaks being eager to go on the Haj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Deep down however, the notion of Islam is a label for relationships grounded ultimately in a notion of “Sasak”, or as it should be called “Sasak Islam”.

\textsuperscript{20} A good example for this is the tradition of potong rambut, the hair cutting ceremony of male children at the age of 4 months. Part of this ceremony is to call the ancestors to take part in the event. The Tuan Guru plays an important part during the ceremony but so does the keut, who is responsible for adat matters as well as for issues relating to the local mosque. Potong Rambut is practiced all over Lombok, in small villages as well as in Mataram.

\textsuperscript{21} An increase in new mosques has also recently occurred in Bali, but is kept rather quiet.
Chapter 2

The Ranking System, Marriage Customs and the Social Position of Sasak Women
Introduction

This chapter offers a comparison of Lombok’s Sasak communities, the *wetu telu* and the *waktu lima*, with an emphasis on women’s status. It is important to have an understanding of Lombok’s complex society to comprehend Sasak women’s social status in current times. Sasak women find themselves at a crossroad between *adat* and “modernity”, a term freely used for Islamisation among orthodox Muslim groups. The ranking system of the *wetu telu* will be explained, as well as their marriage customs, factors that have a strong impact on women’s status. The relevant *waktu lima* customs will then be discussed to give the reader an understanding of this community’s power and why women are tending to change from nominal to orthodox Islam. Furthermore, the *waktu lima* community in conjunction with the local government represents an auxiliary influential power, which constructs gender difference by use of Islamic ideology, whereas the *wetu telu* community has always built a connection between genders and its social class system despite endogamous marriage customs and a strict ranking system. This difference in Lombok society creates certain issues to be looked at:

1. How do these two religiously diverse Sasak groups see the female character?
2. How does *wetu telu* society view the position of women in a ranking system as well as in their system of perpetuation of the aristocratic concept?
3. How does Islamic ideology bring liberation to the social position of women whilst at the same time threatening the status of *wetu telu’s* aristocrats who obtain authority from their traditional system?
2.1

The ranking system

In traditional areas on Lombok, such as North and East Lombok, the wetu telu communities consist of two status groups: the nobility, called perwangsa and the commoners called jajarkarang.

The nobility, although in the minority, dominate almost all important activity in their community. The generations of aristocracy can be traced back in time. Following generations had strictly passed on the royal system, which once dominated wetu telu communities. Although the old aristocracy has been replaced by a modern government administration, the aforementioned classifications perwangsa and jajarkarang are still valid inside the wetu telu community. From colonial days until now, aristocratic community members have occupied most important administrative positions. The social status of being an aristocrat or a commoner can be identified by the title, which is set in front of a person’s name, that is Den for a male aristocratic member (short for Raden) and Denda for a female aristocrat. In the case of marriage status the wetu telu make a clear distinction between two types: hypergamy and hypogamy, as mentioned by Budiwanti.1 A hypergamous marriage is when an aristocratic male marries a woman from a lower status. Children born out of that marriage maintain the titles Den and Denda. In the case of an hypogamous marriage, an aristocratic woman marries a man from lower status. In this instance the children are automatically classified as commoners.

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2.2

Wetu telu marriage customs and regulations

Marriage custom is, amongst others, one example of the difference between aristocratic and commoner wetu telu members. The aristocratic community restrains their female relatives and female children in that they are only allowed to marry males from the aristocratic circle. The purpose of this is to control the purity of descendants, future generations, as well as their privileges and inheritance; keeping the blood pure, so to speak. Women have to marry endogamously which basically means they have to marry preferably inside the wider family group. Mostly these types of marriages are between cousins, both parallel, with the child of a male relative patrilineal or of a female relative matrilineal. These preferential marriage arrangements pose extreme restrictions in the selection of a partner. It happens frequently that women entering a hypogamous marriage obtain official acknowledgment from Islamic institutions and consequently leave the traditional wetu telu community.

Endogamous as well as exogamous marriages require a bride price. Traditionally an elopement process precedes wetu telu weddings and therefore the bride price is called an elopement gift, the sajikrama. The size and value of the bride price depends on the bride’s rank and on locality. Not every wetu telu area has the same rules regarding the value of bride price. Just in a small area such as Olingsik in East Lombok, rules are different from south (which borders with Terune) to north Olingsik, a radius of 15 kilometres. Budiwanti mentions a similar occurrence in the case of Bayan in north Lombok. Here, aristocracy in west Bayan has a requirement of a much lower bride price than that required in east Bayan. Consequently if an

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aristocratic woman from east Bayan elopes with a west Bayan aristocrat, a much higher bride price has to be paid than if he elopes with a woman from his own area. For example, a bride price might include something as valuable as 11 cows. Apart from high bride prices, in the case of a hypogamous marriage, fines have to be paid as well, expressing a kind of punishment for the act of that kind of marriage and consequently the loss of the aristocratic status for the children resulting out of this marriage. The above mentioned *sajikrama* can in some cases result in a burden of life long repayments.

In some cases weddings are cancelled if the groom cannot procure the required bride price. Not only have the bride price and fines to be paid to the bride’s relatives, payments also have to be made to several village administration officials and the mosque, depending on the religious status of the village.

2.3

Function and implication of endogamous marriage

The group profiting from an endogamous marriage is of course the *wetu telu* aristocracy. Thanks to homogamous marriage not only is their prestige protected but also their line of inheritance is assured. The aristocracy, because of their own protection purposes and also to keep the communal, spiritual and genealogical bond in the aristocratic group, defends homogamous marriage. Consequently high fines were established to keep hypogamous and exogamous marriages to a minimum. Polak comments that:

> The religious exclusivity of these *wetu telu*, however, did not preclude contacts with other groups in the religious sphere. Furthermore, the tendency towards isolation found expression in the preferential

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marriage regulations, which promoted the selection of a close relative as marriage partner.⁴

Nowadays orthodox Muslim influence is pushing for the elimination of wetu telu adat and some waktu lima community members argue that wetu telu adat is non-existent these days. This results in a strong desire among wetu telu to fight even harder for the ranks and prestige. Today where development in rural areas is on the rise the isolation factor is not debatable anymore. Factors such as migration, tourism and consequently better access to more isolated areas by modern transport systems and better infrastructure speak against Polak’s statement.

The tradition of wetu telu marriage causes enormous stress for the aristocratic women and sometimes results in frustrating situations such as women not being able to marry at all.

2.4

Marriage stages in the wetu telu community

Wetu telu marriage customs are quite different from waktu lima practices. However, the government was reasonably successful with the implementation of Islamic marriage laws in the wetu telu circles.

Similar to Balinese Hindu society⁵, Lombok’s wetu telu members practise elopement before marriage takes place instead of asking the bride’s parents for permission to marry their daughter. Elopement involves a secret meeting between the relevant couple. In some cases the male stays at his parent’s house and the kidnapping of the bride-to-be is carried out by one of his friends or male relatives. Realising that their

daughter has not returned in the morning, the girl’s parents send a courier (pejati) to the village head (klian dusun) who announces the elopement in detail to other important village members and demands a notification of the hiding place from the groom’s parents and other villagers. The following day several males who represent the groom send a message regarding the elopement to their relevant village head who sends the information to the girl’s parents’ village head. Both village heads then visit the girl’s parents, accompanied by a male relative of the groom to assure the parents that their kidnapped child is in a safe place. Furthermore, the groom’s representatives organise a fixed date for the negotiation of the elopement fine with the bride’s parents. On the agreed date, an inheritance specialist, a relative from the patrilateral side of the bride as well as of the groom, witnessed by the village heads, one traditional noble official (pemangku) and the council of village elders (tuaq lokaq) from the bride’s side, decide on the sajikrama. Witnessed by the above-mentioned traditional leaders the bride’s representative prepares a list of the sajikrama requirements. The group of the groom’s representatives now tries to barter for a lower price. The bartering on both sides might take several hours or in some instances, several days. Although an agreement can be reached, this is no guarantee that the groom will be able to pay the required bride price quickly. In some cases it takes the groom a number of years to save enough money and goods to pay the sajikrama. In the past this resulted in stealing goods and cattle from other dusun but this is now more controlled by security activist groups such as Amphibi who are also involved in Islamic proselytising. Young men nowadays often leave their local village to work in urban areas but the economic crisis and the riots in January 2000 caused a rise in unemployment and created disappointment and frustration amongst young people in strongly traditional areas.
Three days after the elopement a *kiai* (religious official) is invited to the couple’s hiding place to bless the wedding ceremony. The *kiai* performs a symbolic ritual of washing the couple’s heads with splashes of coconut milk. This is to signify the vanishing of all sins from past times the couple might be connected with. However, the groom is still not allowed to mix freely with the bride’s relatives until *sajikrama* is paid which creates a social burden in a confined village environment.

A marriage receives full social acknowledgment only if the *sajikrama* is paid. Therefore the *sorong serah*, the official payment process of the *sajikrama* to the bride’s relatives is the most important stage because it signifies the full acceptance of the marriage’s legal status. Should the groom’s patrilateral relatives be successful in gathering the required goods, which makes up the *sajikrama*, a feast, the *selametan arta*, is organised by the group, before it is handed over to the bride’s relatives. After the *sorong serah*, the bride price will be stored at the bride’s parents’ house and one of the buffaloes will be slaughtered. After several prayers and ritual ablutions arranged by the *kiai*, the ceremony is officially finished and the bride now has the right to ask for the first level of divorce, for example if the husband cannot fulfil obligations such as provide money. In Olingsik several women would express their wish for a divorce by not providing their husbands with regular meals or washing their clothes. Divorces can be processed without returning the bride price and are a frequent occurrence amongst Lombok’s rural population. However, the original idea behind the *adat* marriage with high fines is to keep divorces to a minimum. There are no accounts of court cases or any other legally administered processes in Olingsik or various other *wetu telu dusun* to reach a divorce settlement. After a couple decides to divorce, the woman simply packs her belongings and moves back to her parents or relatives. It can be assumed that people in *adat* oriented areas might use the fact that
their marriage is not seen as legal if only processed on adat level, especially in so-called transitional areas, that is regions which are going through the process of Islamisation, but still value the adat. Quite frequently one can observe mattresses and other belongings being carried on the heads of people through the rice paddies to another dusun, most likely the woman’s place of birth.

2.5

Marriage customs of the waktu lima community

The arrival of waktu lima members in traditional wetu telu communities introduced a different value to the meaning of wedding ceremonies. Waktu lima society implemented a marriage system, which is seen as ideal according to Islamic custom. The orthodox Islamic waktu lima community follows one of three Muslim laws that give guidance in Islamic marriage to be conducted in a legal and ideal way, that is the Maliki law. According to Maliki there are five rules to be fulfilled for Islamic marriage:

1. The witness, normally the bride’s father, has to give consent to the wedding.
2. The groom has to be financially capable of looking after the bride.
3. The bride has to be in a state of capability and not in the phase of iddah, that is the waiting period of 110 days to know if she is pregnant or not by any ex husband if applicable and also not being in the state of ihram, that is carrying out the act of becoming haji by travelling to Mecca.
4. The consent to marry given by the bride’s family has to be declared by the witness and accepted by the groom.
5. A bride price has to be agreed on.
Rules regarding the value and form of a bride price have to be registered with the KUA *(Kantor Urusan Agama)*, the office of Religious Affairs.

In 1974 the Ministry of Religion put into effect a law, which institutionalised the marriage between Islamic people as appropriate with the procedure of Islamic religion. According to this law, a marriage between two people adhering to Islam had to be registered at the local KUA and official forms have to be filled out separately by the male and female. These forms will be processed and checked by the BP4 *(Badan Penasihat Penyuluw Perkawinan dan Perceraiaan)*, the Committee of Advisors for the Elucidation of Marriages and Divorces. If the BP4 recognises the information given as legal, the official wedding registrar *(Petugas Pencatat Nikah – PPN)* will file the form. After a process of 10 days for official approval, the couple is permitted to decide on a wedding date. The ceremony can be held at the KUA, the local mosque or either of the couple’s parent’s houses. It is the couple’s free choice who will act as the bride’s representative *(wali)* and their witness, who will express the process of request. Normally, the father of the bride will fulfil this task but the couple also has the choice of inviting a wedding registrar or a religious leader from their circles to take over the position of *wali*. The married couple is issued with a marriage book by the PPN. If at a certain time the couple experiences difficulties in their relationship such as facing divorce, the couple can receive consultation by the BP4. If a peaceful solution cannot be reached, BP4 will hand over the process to the Religious Court.

The institutionalisation of Islamic marriage by the government has been welcomed amongst the Islamic community of the *waktu lima*. The *waktu lima* as well as the KUA – as delegation of the Religious Department on subdistrict level – do not agree with the process of *wetu telu* marriage because it is solely based on traditional law.
From the waktu lima's point of view, such a marriage is not legal. The KUA and the waktu lima community try to prevent traditions such as paying high fines in case of exogamous or hypogamous marriages which is in contradiction with the Islamic doctrine. In their point of view the sajikrama is not to be compared with the bride price as understood in Islamic law. A further contradiction of the Islamic doctrine is the decree of the elopement fine, which is based on the rank of each individual. The Islamic doctrine claims to have egalitarian status and considers everybody in an equal position in front of God. In waktu lima circles the establishment of the bride price has to be agreed on by the groom. The Islamic bride price is not so much a material gift and it is never required of one to pay more than one is capable. Very often the bride price comes in form of the Koran complete with prayer accessories. Therefore it is hoped that the bride will honour the five times of prayer and will read the Koran as often as possible. According to the waktu lima the elopement fines and fines for hypogamous marriages create an economic and socio-cultural obstacle even though they keep the number of divorces to a minimum. Cederroth gives a comprehensive explanation for the economic burden caused by high elopement fines and clarifies that those cannot be used as funds for any future marriages since a major part of these fines is consumed as part of the wedding feast.6

It will be discussed in further chapters that the Islamic marriage tradition of the waktu lima might cause more divorces since the bride price is easy to obtain and a trend to polygyny is visible, which causes women to file for divorce. Budiwanti

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states that waktu lima women enjoy more freedom in choosing a partner because cultural obstacles such as a ranking system do not affect them. Also he mentions that the only rule which has to be obeyed by waktu lima women is that the man they wish to marry has to be an obedient Muslim. Consequently younger generations face the problem of intermarriage between different religions, a typical scenario especially in West Lombok, where Muslims interact socially with Balinese Hindus. In no way is it tolerated that waktu lima women marry Balinese men unless the man is prepared to convert to Islam. The tragic fate of Made and Tini will explain this situation more clearly.

Made, a male Balinese in his mid 20's and Tini, a waktu lima female and of the same age, have known each other for five years. They both worked for the same hotel near Mataram and saved as much money as possible for the future. They wanted to get married and start their own business. For three years they shared a small room not far from their work place and Tini's family seemed to tolerate their relationship, as did Made's family. In fact, Made praised Tini's father for his understanding and tolerance. Made frequently visited Tini's relatives in her village. When Tini found out she was pregnant, they decided to get married and Tini consented to convert to Hinduism. Made's parents agreed to the marriage and they started to organise preparations with the family priest. Unfortunately Tini's father reacted rather angrily and thirty family members turned up at the place Tini and Made had shared for such a long time. They forced Tini to return to her village. Made had no other choice than to let her go. However, two weeks later Made decided to drive to Tini's village late at night. They were successful getting away without anybody noticing and stayed at Made's parents' house. A few days later, around 80 men from Tini's village arrived at

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8 Ibid. p.271.
Made's place, armed with knives, threatening to kill his family if Tini would not return on the spot. Tini had to return to her village. Made fell very sick and almost died. He later was certain that black magic was the cause of his sudden illness. Tini had to abort the child and is now not allowed to leave the village compound. Made decided to look for work in Bali and to get distance from the past traumatising events. A simple matter such as Made converting to Islam would have solved the entire problem, but Made did not want to hurt his family by doing so. The person who in fact got really hurt and will be for a long time to come is Tini.

However, social and cultural pressure concerning *wetu telu* women is not only visible in affairs of partner choice but also in economic areas such as inheritance and the limited access to market activities.9 *Waktu lima* women do enjoy more freedom in the economic field whereas *wetu telu* women, especially of the aristocratic group, rarely participate in trading activities. They are rather housebound or active in agricultural work on their family’s land. *Waktu lima* women work as traders in markets or as travelling sales persons supplying necessary household goods to traditional areas. Women among the *wetu telu* commoner community, even though they do not experience social and cultural obstacles, also do not participate strongly in trading activities, but a trend towards trading from their home areas is more frequently observed. With increasing tourism, women from traditional areas, aristocratic as well as commoners, have started trading in pottery and basket items and have made the famous Lombok weavings popular. These activities are allowed as long as the manufacture of items is conducted in the home area. Male villagers carry out the actual selling of items whereas the women carry out the hard work of production as will be shown in a later chapter in the case study of a pottery village.

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Summing up

The social hierarchy amongst *wetu telu* isolates the aristocracy, especially their women, from commoners; a system inherited from times of the *Selaparang* kingdoms. The group of aristocrats maintains an upper class with a certain prestige and special rights. They strictly follow set marriage regulations, which prohibit exogamous marriages, for the purpose of maintaining the purity of their genealogy. Consequently women of the *wetu telu* aristocracy have not much input regarding their choice of marriage partner. The struggle against this *adat* is supported by the KUA and indicates a certain liberation process for women; that is, Islamic law gives the impression of opening emancipation to women. Together with the Islamic egalitarian teachings and simple marriage procedures without immense fines and bride prices, the *waktu lima* adherents are on the rise despite their intolerance of marriage between religions by Muslim women. Nowadays it is becoming increasingly difficult for the *wetu telu* to isolate themselves. Development on Lombok has accelerated in recent years by way of tourism, a better transportation system and migration. It is a question of time as to how long *wetu telu adat* and their marriage system can survive. Although it does not accept polygyny, an institution that has come to be valued in *waktu lima* circles, *wetu telu adat* is not an option for many women.

10 *Selaparang*, old name for Lombok.
Chapter 3

From Endogamy to Polygyny

You may marry women who seem good to you: two, three or four of them. But if you fear that you cannot maintain equality among them, marry one only. This will make it easier for you to avoid injustice.

4:1 Al-Nisa¹

Introduction

A recent advertisement on a website called Zamrud News announced a national seminar in Surabaya dealing with polygyny and carrying the title: Poligami Solusi Bagi Suami Tapi Dibenci Para Isteri. Although this title clearly shows that not all females in Islamic Indonesia agree with polygamy, the presenters seemed to speak in favour of polygamy or at least try to convince the audience that living in a polygamous marriage situation is quite acceptable and workable. For example one of the seminar’s presenters, a female lecturer in Islamic Studies, discussed the “Ability Of The Husband’s Just Behavior Towards His Wives” and one male presenter, introduced as a successful polygamist with four wives, gave a presentation about the “Secrets Of Polygamous Success In Islamic Manner”. Furthermore, polygamy has become more fashionable in recent times, with new conservative Islamic literature chanting its merits. For example, H. Mansur Bin Mashadi advocates polygamy as manis (sweet) and states "If you do not believe it, ask those who carry out this divine order". An interesting controversial statement was made in 2000 by Khofifah Indar Parawasana, the female minister for women’s empowerment and well known for the implementation of the national program of zero tolerance of violence against women under the Abdurrahman Wahid government, expressing her view regarding polygamy. She agreed with the annulment of the seventeen-year old ban on polygamy for civil servants, not because she believed they had the right to practice the Islamic custom, but because "there doesn't need to be a formal ban on polygamy."

1 Zamrud News, Surabaya: http://www.mcga.net.id, 10-12-2001
2 Translation: Polygamy. a solution for husbands but hated by wives.
Men should be ashamed of themselves and self-aware enough not to want to practice it."  

With increasing Islamisation and the *dakwah* movement, polygamy seems to have become more acceptable even amongst women. Surprisingly quite a number of women in Lombok tolerate polygamy. Women who are fighting against this type of marriage and who, in some cases, desert their polygamous husbands, are mostly outcasts from their own society despite the fact that Lombok *wetu telu adat* does not accept polygamy. It is normal to divorce and remarry but polygamous marriage situations are seen as a taboo amongst the *wetu telu* and account for numerous divorce cases. Consequently most women in rural as well as in urban areas on Lombok blame divorces on forced and increasing Islamisation. This chapter will discuss the transformation of women's status from endogamy to polygamy in Lombok and two case studies conducted in East Lombok are analysed.

3.1

**The meaning of polygamy**

The word polygamy refers to marriages in which a spouse of either sex has more than one partner at the same time. There are two categories of polygamy, which are polyandry and polygyny. Polyandry refers to a marriage where a woman has more than one husband and polygyny where a man has more than one wife. Polyandry is not permitted in Islam and consequently this thesis will only deal with the issues relating to polygyny.

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*Dakwah*, Islamic revivalist movement  
Musdha Mulia states that in reality monogamy is the most frequent form of marriage amongst Muslims since it is the most appropriate to human nature.\(^7\) As shown in various research works concerning polygyny, this is not quite the case. Gavin Jones mentions that in Islamic Southeast Asia in general, there seems to be a correlation between economic status and polygyny.\(^8\) If a man is financially capable of supporting more than one wife, he is free to do so. According to Islamic law, he is legally permitted to have up to four wives. However, not only wealth, but also power and prestige are other reasons for men to enter polygamous marriages. As Jones states, religious leaders in that instance always had a higher rate of polygyny. Interestingly, Lombok’s Tuan Guru do not always agree with polygyny whereas women active in Islamic organisations, as well as some individuals, do. It will be shown later in this chapter that some women submit to polygyny to reach a higher social status.

3.2 Reasons for polygyny

For most men in Lombok, the financial situation is a major factor governing the entry into polygyny or not and economic success is frequently an incentive to marry more than one woman. A survey conducted in July 2001 showed that eight out of ten men in the Mataram area, from the lower income class, would enter polygyny if financially capable.\(^9\) This indicates that Mulia’s previously mentioned statement

\(^1\) Musdha Mulia, Pandangan Islam tentang Polygami. The Asia Foundation, Jakarta. 1999, p.3
\(^3\) Survey conducted in Mataram by Lucretia Prang.
regarding human nature is not realistic. From a woman’s point of view this might be
the case whereas men in general might tend to polygyny.\(^{10}\) History shows that
polygyny thrived long before the coming of Islam and was not invented by Muslims.
In fact in the case of Lombok, the Hindu rulers practiced polygyny amongst the
Sasak first. Mulia mentions that pre Islamic Arabia had a strong polygynous system
without any limitation regarding numbers of wives.\(^{11}\) According to the Koran, the
Prophet Mohamed later changed the rules to a limit of four wives and so the current
practice of polygyny is explained by the events of the 7\(^{th}\) century when after the
battle for Uhud, thousands of female orphans were left on their own.\(^{12}\)
Financial security is one of the main prerequisites for entering a polygynous
marriage situation, as mentioned in the 1974 promulgated Indonesian Marriage
Law.\(^{13}\) This law applies exclusively to civil servants, submitting it to specific
conditions and making it dependent on the first wife’s consent. The most typical
reason for polygyny is that the first wife had not borne any children, but the husband
did not want to file for divorce. The second most typical is the possibility of an
increase in prestige amongst the man’s peers.\(^{14}\) Cederroth mentions the case of a
Tuan Guru who had 26 wives, not always simultaneously, but over a period of
time.\(^{15}\) However, interviewing two Tuan Guru in a Mataram area revealed that not all
Tuan Guru agree with this institution nowadays. The older of the two interviewed

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\(^{10}\) A survey conducted by Lucretia Prang in Australia shows that 6 out of 10 questioned males from different social backgrounds
would enter polygyny if this situation would be socially accepted in Australia.

\(^{11}\) Musdah Mulia, Pandangan Islam tentang Polygini, Jakarta, The Asia Foundation, 1999, p.3.

\(^{12}\) “If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls, marry women of your choice, two or three or four.”

\(^{13}\) Hering B.B., Indonesian Women, Some Past and Current Perspectives, Centre D’etude Du Sud-est Asianique Et De L’Extreme Oriente.
Bruxelles, 1976, p.92.

\(^{14}\) Jones G.W., Marriage And Divorce In Islamic South-East Asia, Oxford, Singapore, New York, Oxford University Press.
p.279.

\(^{15}\) S. Cederroth, “Islam and Adat: Some Recent Changes In The Social Position Of Women Among Sasak in Lombok”, Women
In Islamic Societies, Social Attitudes and Historical Perspectives. Bo Uus (ed.), Copenhagen, Scandinavian Institute of Asian
religious leaders showed a straightforward openness regarding his disapproval of polygyny as a result of his own experience. Being in a polygynous marriage himself, he could not see any advantages. He apparently felt divided between his two wives, which, according to him, resulted in bad work performance at his pesantren. He was convinced that it is under no circumstances possible to show equal feelings and justice for two women simultaneously. He also did not agree with the current occurrence of males from different religious backgrounds in Lombok converting to Islam for the sake of having the opportunity to enter into a polygynous marriage situation. In his opinion this is a wrong Islamic perception. He did however give one reason why the Tuan Guru might tend to polygyny. He complained about the strictness a Tuan Guru has to observe and that it is this strictness that drives this group occasionally to polygyny to apparently bring more excitement to their lives. On the question what he would classify as strictness he answered that Tuan Guru are not likely to be seen dressed in western clothing, enjoying entertainment such as going to the movies or for a stroll through the shopping mall. Further he stated that he felt pressured by society to engage in polygynous marriage since that would be required for the raising of his image. The impression arose that he was looking rather for an apologetic way out for once having been polygynous since many of Lombok’s Tuan Guru wear western style clothing such as T shirts and occasionally visit Mataram’s shopping centres. However, he made it clear that for the sake of a peaceful family life polygyny should be avoided. The second Tuan Guru interviewed stated the same reason but also emphasised the fact that Islam has to wake up to the 21st century and women have to be treated in a more ‘modernised’ way, consequently, he hopes, the picture of the polygynous Tuan Guru will slowly vanish.

16 He gave the example of a male Australian and New Zealander residing in Lombok.
There are of course different opinions regarding polygyny amongst Tuan Guru. In various rural areas Tuan Guru seem to tend more to polygyny than in urban areas. One of those villages is the dusun of Pengambuk near the harbour town of Tanjung in northwest Lombok. This village is a classical case of a transitional village, meaning having a strong tendency to orthodox Islam but at the same time retaining much of the adat.17 Here, the pemangku18, in this case polygynous, takes over the role of the Tuan Guru at the same time. Krulfeld’s assumption that pemangku no longer function in transitional villages is thus disproved.19 Before Pengambuk became transitional, the duty of the pemangku was carried out by a woman, who was over 100 years of age at the time of my field research in 2002. Amongst the wetu telu it is quite common for women to carry out those duties. However, with the local pemangku cum Tuan Guru being in a polygynous marriage situation, women in these villages learn to accept polygyny but are at times quite agitated by this and a confusion regarding adat and religious values constantly arises. For example, women in Pengambuk are still in charge of preparing the necessary holy offerings before a gedeng, a traditional ancestor’s house, can be opened, but they cannot perform the actual opening ceremony anymore. On the contrary, Pengambuk has kept the wetu telu inheritance laws and consequently land goes straight to male family members. Some women in Pengambuk felt that the transitional system in their village was exclusively directed towards men disregarding and not acknowledging the favourable aspects in Islamic law towards women.

The chairwoman of the Islamic women’s organisation Wanita Islam for the area of NTB (Lombok and Sumbawa) expressed her opinion regarding polygyny in a

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18 Pemangku, caretakers of traditional holy places.
positive way. Also acting as the Dean for the School of Islamic Religion in Mataram, she could be considered as a strict adherent of Islam. She mentioned several reasons for the practice of polygyny. Firstly, polygyny should be respected as part of the Islamic religion and it is a logical procedure in cases of the wife falling seriously ill and not being able to look after the husband and children any longer. Further she stated that the biological needs of men, meaning men with exceptionally high libido, (using here the euphemism of *kebutuhan biologis* which expresses biological needs essential to exist) should be respected and that it is in no circumstances accepted in Islam that the husband commits adultery. Unfaithfulness, which includes the use of prostitutes, is not tolerated. Another situation is that if a marriage is no longer harmonious, it is also reasonable to look towards polygyny. In her opinion it is vital to follow rules and regulations if practicing polygyny and it should not be forgotten that Islam accepts polygyny under these rules only, to mention one, financial capability. She openly admitted that she would agree to polygyny in her own marriage if any of the afore mentioned reasons would apply. She was firmly convinced that men, because of their strong sexual desires exhibit signs of serious moral failings such as widespread adultery and extramarital affairs as it is occurring frequently in western society. According to her this “mess” in western countries could be avoided if polygyny was legalised. 20

3.3

Terune, a transitional village in transformation

The township (*kecamatan*) of Terune in East Lombok, where I conducted some of my field work, is worthy of attention, firstly because the local *raden* decidedly strives to retain customary law amongst the *wetu telu*, whereas his daughter was and

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20 Interview conducted in June 2001.
his brother is in a polygynous marriage. Although never mentioned by former anthropologists, Terune and the dusun of Olingsik, a one hour walk up Mount Rinjani north from Terune, are still strongholds of wetu telu and so are various other dusun in this vicinity. Rituals such as the bubur abang and bubur putiq as well as the importance of the belian in this area are strongly kept and followed and are proof of the adat's lively existence. The local mayor, a waktu lima adherent, fully defends polygyny in the village and sees this as the only solution to have women married since the area shows a surplus of women caused by the migration of a high percentage of males to Malaysia in order to find better employment. In the case of Terune, despite its isolation, the town became quite affluent because of its export quality tobacco production. Located on the foothills of Mount Rinjani, Terune is blessed with constant rainfall and can afford a highly efficient irrigation system. Consequently people had the money to leave for Malaysia. Not only has this exodus caused a surplus of women in the area but also the practice of polygyny has emerged as the town goes through a transitional process from wetu telu to waktu lima. A further phenomenon in the area is the occurrence of cross-border polygyny, a term used for the situation where a man is married overseas, in this case Malaysia, as well as in his home country. Although the men occasionally send money to their wives, most women appear to be in a depressed state and confused about their situation and a high percentage of women are infected with venereal diseases brought back by their husbands on occasional visits home.

Terune is a typical example for observing the problems arising in a transitional area.

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1 See Cederoth (1981) and Budiwanti (2000) who state that Bayan in north Lombok is the only wetu telu stronghold left on the island.
3 Belian, an always female midwife-healer.
Still clinging to *adat* and trying to preserve the *wetu telu* heritage, the women experience the transformation from endogamy to polygyny as confusing and in some cases it has a detrimental effect on them. The majority of women in Olingsik, which is far more *adat* oriented than Terune, was overtly negative towards polygyny and felt somewhat debased. Some women seemed to become rather traumatised by the idea of their husbands taking a second wife and they experienced nightmares. Since cross-border polygyny is typical for rural areas such as Olingsik, women suffer from the "unknown", and ask themselves every day if their husbands might be already married to another woman in Malaysia, if he might return or not and if he might have enough money to support their families in Lombok. *Adat* oriented elders in Olingsik blame Islamisation and fear a break down of their close kin related system. Incidents of suicide and insanity by women facing polygyny have been recorded in Terune as well as in Olingsik. The most often expressed opinion amongst women in Olingsik was that it is by far better to stay unmarried and childless if a suitable partner cannot be found in the wider family circle, a condition frequently occurring in *adat* oriented areas, than becoming suicidal in a polygynous marriage. However, it is understandable that more and more women prefer to be *waktu lima* and pay the price, polygyny, for some liberation. Some young women interviewed in Terune and even in Olingsik who only experienced endogamous marriage situations in their families, seem to be tempted by the orthodox Islamic way of marriage. Not only do they have the opportunity to choose from a wider range of partners which reaches beyond the family group, but also the chances of inheritance for their female children rise. *Wetu telu adat*, after all, restricts the inheritance of land to males whereas the Islamic inheritance rules are far more favourable to women such as allowing daughters to
inherit one of every three shares of property while two shares go to sons.\textsuperscript{25} Although men have the advantage over women, some land is better than no land.\textsuperscript{26} The establishment of various \textit{pesantren} in and around Terune has given rural women the opportunity for an education and it is here where they learn that endogamy is paganism bringing hardship to the local society caused by enormous bride prices but polygyny has to be accepted since it is part of the Islamic doctrine. It still has to be ascertained as to whether the change from endogamy to polygyny is in fact a price to be paid for liberation. Two case studies conducted in Terune and Senuren will discuss the situation of polygynous marriage and the consequences for the women involved.

3.4

Dewi, Terune

Dewi is in her mid 30's, a university graduate and twice divorced with two children, one aged 10, the other aged 13. Dewi lives on the property of her parents' tobacco plantation in Terune in a bamboo style house which she converted into a bar/restaurant selling drinks and snacks to the few tourists reaching the area. Her parents' house is approximately 200 meters away. The children from her first marriage live in the parents' house.

After Dewi's first divorce she moved back to Terune with her two sons, leaving a well off husband in Mataram who decided to have an affair with another woman without entering a polygynous marriage situation. Dewi lived in the parents' house and eventually met Rono, a musician from Mataram who was already married but


\textsuperscript{26} Inheritance rules easily vary from area to area. Whilst Terune follows the Islamic inheritance rules more favorable to women, the transitional \textit{dusun} of Pengambuk follows the \textit{wetu telu adat} to the disappointment of many women.
prepared to enter a polygynous marriage. Dewi consented to this marriage for two reasons. Firstly she assumed the situation would give her more freedom and quality time with her children when Rono would be in Mataram with his first wife. Secondly she was under the impression that, if the polygynous situation already exists, no adulterous problems would arise. After her marriage to Rono she built the bamboo house on her parents' property for herself and her new husband. She preferred to stay out of Mataram to avoid wife number one, who, after a few months showed severe jealousy. After one year Dewi had to endure threatening phone calls and abuse from wife number one and Rono avoided Dewi. Additionally Rono also had several extramarital affairs. Rono did not give financial support to Dewi and she decided to convert her house into a bar for tourists so she could be financially independent. That plan was not realised since Lombok suffered a four - day religious riot in 2000 and tourists stayed away; not that Terune ever was a hot spot for tourists, apart from a few mountain climbers. The fact was, Dewi did not want to return to Mataram. She was looking for a hideaway that would give her protection from any further disappointments. However, having experienced polygny herself, Dewi now saw the difficulties women in her vicinity had to endure especially in terms of cross border polygyny. At night- time after the work on the tobacco and rice fields was done, Dewi encouraged the female peasants to drop in for coffee and to talk about their problems. The rate of venereal diseases was astonishing and five out of ten women had some kind of sickness but were too shy to see the local health clinic. With the help of a Dutch doctor Dewi organised modern medicines such as antibiotics and combined these with local biomedicines for distribution. She gave those women support to get on with their lives by involving them in discussion groups and regular meetings.
This was in June 2001 and the signs indicating the development of a small local NGO were visible. Unfortunately the local mayor was against her activities and Dewi had to stop all meetings. Because of the fact that she was already divorced once and Rono no longer made contact with her she was seen as a 'loose' woman, having a bad influence on the female population. Her reaction was to file for divorce from Rono. This took almost one year. In May 2002 Dewi received her divorce certificate after attending eight court sessions over twelve months. Rono did not attend any of these sessions. She has no desire ever to marry again and now wants to leave the island since her relationship with her mother and the community broke down completely after the second divorce. Her mother blames her for being irresponsible by choosing her partners because of love instead of using her brain, that is listening to her parents’ choice of partner. Dewi’s mother is a strong supporter of endogamy.

In Indonesia, until a few years ago, love was a phenomenon which, although a part of human existence, was not considered a vital part of life. Specifically it was not seen as a reason to justify entering into marriage. The Regent of Serang advised parents in 1900 to marry girls off as early as possible to avoid possible disasters caused by a love marriage.27 Dewi’s mother blames herself for giving her daughter too much freedom, education and tolerance in regards to choosing a partner. However, not all polygynous experiences end in disaster as the second case study shows.

Sri, Senuren

I had met Sri and Tuti the first time at a 3rd year mortuary ritual for one of Dewi’s relatives. Sri and Tuti have been living harmoniously as wives in a polygynous marriage situation since 1978 with 11 children between them.

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They are married to a successful merchant and raden in the Senuren area. Tuti is the first wife and her dominance over Sri was clear. Despite that fact, there seems to be no rivalry between them rather it appears like a sister relationship. Sri, 42 years old, was born in West Lombok and is the youngest of seven children. Her father could not afford higher education for her. She wanted to become a teacher but never reached that stage because of financial reasons and an early marriage. She married the raden at the age of 18. Her parents who were in need of money and wished a better life for their daughter arranged the marriage. Despite the parental marriage arrangement, Sri does not regret her life thus far.

The raden’s property, called Gunung Kembar, could be compared with the isolation of an Australian outback farm. Although not too far from the city of Senuren (approximately 30 kilometers), the property is located in a very isolated and difficult to reach area. Most of the road is rocky, steep and not easily accessible. It takes over an hour drive by Landrover from Senuren to Gunung Kembar. There is no local transport. Sri and Tuti live with their respective children in different houses. Tuti’s house is built on a hill, overlooking the entire property whereas Sri’s house is located in a valley. Both houses are Dutch colonial style but Tuti’s house appears to be more like a mansion. Being on this property one might be reminded of a Kartini like house setting - luxurious and isolated, reminiscent of past times.

Tuti was not prepared to give an interview but Sri agreed. At the time of the interview Sri’s husband was in Mataram and Tuti’s oldest son took over control. On the way to Sri’s house he wanted to know exactly what Sri would be asked and how long the interview would take. He wished to be present during the interview but left after it was explained to him in the friendliest possible way that preferably the
interview should only include Sri. To get the real feeling for Sri’s situation, the following is a transcript of the interview.

L (Lucretia): You have a beautiful house here.

S (Sri): Yes, I am very happy here.

L: When you got married to the raden, Tuti obviously agreed to the marriage. What if the first wife would not agree?

S: That is impossible. If the husband asks for permission we have to agree, otherwise me might run the risk of adultery.

L: When you moved here after your marriage, were you worried about possible hostility from Tuti’s side?

S: No, not at all. My husband explained that everything is sorted out. I met Tuti here for the first time, but all was fine from the beginning.

L: If the raden would want to marry a third wife, how would you personally feel?

S: Of course we all have to sit together and talk about it, but yes, we, that is Tuti and I, would have to agree. After all this is how Allah would want it. We have to accept our fate.

L: How is the inheritance issue solved in a polygynous marriage situation?

S: Of course the wife with the most children will receive the bigger part of the inheritance. In our case it is Tuti. She has eight children whereas I have only three.

L: So, is there some kind of ill feeling between the wives regarding inheritance?
Oh no, not in this family. I like Tuti’s children as much as my own, and I accept whatever I will receive from my husband.

Would you state this marriage situation as *adil* (fair)?

Absolutely, my husband treats us all very fair. One day he eats and sleeps in this house, the next day in Tuti’s house.

On days he spends in Tuti’s house, do you sometimes feel jealous or sad?

No, I never had that experience. I am used to this life and he never treated me unfairly.

You live rather isolated here. Don’t you feel like going to the markets or to Mataram more often?

I can go whenever I want anywhere.

That’s great! Do you drive the Land Rover?

No, I don’t drive. But if I wanted to go to Senuren or Mataram it will be arranged by my husband that family members there will pick me up or my husband will drive me.

Is that not very restricting?

I wouldn’t feel comfortable to go out by myself.

If you wanted to work would your husband allow that?

I am sure he would, I’ve never asked him, but I am now looking after my children. That is my responsibility now.

Of course. However, they are aged 8, 12 and 17, so really they could look after themselves.

That might be the fact in your culture, but you see, they are all daughters and they need the right guidance until they get
married.

L: How about your education?
S: I finished high school and wanted to attend Teacher's College but my father did not have the money, so I was married off by the time I was 18.

L: If you would have the chance, would you pursue any further education now?
S: Oh, I am getting too old now and for what? I have everything I need.

L: Do you feel bored at times?
S: To be quite honest, yes. I try to keep myself busy with cooking and cleaning although we have a maid.

L: Do you have any access to a bank account?
S: No, I don't. But I can really buy what I wish as long as I ask my husband for the money. In most cases he will get for us what we want.

L: Is there any preference as in who can spend more money?
S: Well, of course. Tuti has the right to spend more money because she has more children. She also has sons who visit school in Mataram and they constantly require money.

L: What about your daughters?
S: The girls get private tuition here on the property. We pay the teachers to come out here.

L: Do your daughters agree with polygyny or can you see a change?
S: My daughters do not know a different situation. It is normal for
them and they have a good life. Hopefully they will find a husband just like their father.

L: You mentioned before that at times you feel bored. Don't you spend a lot of time with Tuti?

S: Really, we spend separate lives in separate houses. We meet for urgent matters or go out to family gatherings together. The children mix more than us. Tuti wants it that way. She is the first wife and older. I have to respect that.

L: Was there ever the occasion that you did not get on with Tuti?

S: Not really, but if a feeling like that arises, I consult straight away with my husband. He always finds a peaceful solution. He does very well in that regard. This is his responsibility and it is important to keep a polygynous marriage functional and happy.

L: Have you heard about NGOs such as Annisa in Mataram?

S: I have heard they are rather radical and want to change sections in the Koran, right?

L: Well, they think that polygyny is not adil and women should have more freedom therefore they try to reinterpret verses in the Koran.

S: For peasants that might be right. I mean, some poor farmers enter polygyny and can't even provide for one woman, let alone her children. Poor women! It is really not allowed, but some areas in Lombok have not understood the real meaning of Islam yet.

L: I have heard your husband, although waktu lima, is quite supportive in preserving Sasak adat and therefore rather
respected by the surrounded villages. What is your personal opinion regarding elopemnt and endogamy?

S: Elopement, I think is rather backward and really should not be allowed. I can understand the endogamous system works for isolated areas but people these days have contact to transport and it does not apply anymore. It is all rather old fashioned. I personally do not really approve of adat.

L: So, basically your situation is "modernised"?

S: Of course. We live according to Islam and it is orderly. Our family system works. Have some cakes now - I made them this morning.

The fact that Islamisation is seen as "modernising" amongst the waktu lima is difficult to understand from a western point of view whilst observing a situation such as Sri’s. Although supporting education for women and a more flexible marriage system, Sri has not really experienced the advantages of Islamisation but does not seem to regret it. What is really important for her is her social status, entering aristocracy by marriage and being well off. Most likely this will be arranged for her daughters one day. However, the daughters seemed happy and unrestricted in their behaviour.

Sri plays the perfect second wife, respecting Tuti’s position and highly praising her husband’s fair treatment, paying the price of boredom for a high social status. However, considering her family background, she is financially and socially better off now and her position is one she probably never could have achieved if she had not married the raden.
Summing up

Endogamy is not anymore a preferred choice for Sasak women and also does not promise security for wetu telu adherents as it might have in former times. Isolation is not a key factor anymore as shown by the example of Olingsik where men enter cross-border polygyny whilst working in Malaysia. Wealth clearly facilitates polygyny but the absence of it does not necessarily inhibit a man from becoming a polygynist as mentioned by Tuti. Poorer men who engage in polygyny are generally considered rash to do so. However, although Lombok shows tendencies to polygyny, the practice is not particularly widespread. In Lombok, like in Islamic Southeast Asia in general, there seems to be a correlation between economic status and polygyny. Although polygyny is more accepted by way of increasing Islamisation in Lombok, it is more common among the well to do and the aristocracy than among poorer people. This also might be the fact because poorer farmers live in adat oriented areas where endogamy is still valued.

Sasak women however do not all condemn the institution and some argue that western vices such as adultery can be avoided by polygyny to enable men's sexual desires to be met within marriage. By entering a polygynous marriage some women achieve a higher social status and some look for liberation from the endogamous system. In some cases it works and in some cases it breaks down. The break down normally happens when the situation is not adil or in cross-border polygyny. The very high number of divorces in Olingsik and various other adat orientated dusun prove this. The adat elders therefore try to reinforce endogamy. Amongst the waktu lima polygyny is only "unjustified" if this marriage cannot satisfy the conditions required by the Koranic law. One of these conditions is that the man must have an income sufficient to support more than one family. Sasak women nowadays have
reached a cross road and the decision mostly leads to entering orthodox Islam to get away from strict kinship rules and it is Islam that has helped to develop their feeling of independence and has made them stand up to the grip of customs. From a western point of view polygyny is a high price to pay to reach some liberation and adat has in many ways been glorified by western researchers (for example Krulfeld) but it is after all a step ahead from being married to a cousin and having no hope of any inheritance.
Chapter 4

Improvement or Stagnation of Sasak Women’s Positions?
Introduction

Little is known about the relationship between Islam and the women of Eastern Indonesia’s provinces. In the case of Lombok, issues regarding women from adat orientated areas can be found, but very few articles deal with the position of orthodox Muslim women and their efforts regarding the improvement of the social status of Sasak women. There appears to be a sense of negativity influencing Western scholars when discussing the issue of Indonesian orthodox Muslim women in detail. In most cases these women are portrayed as passive victims of the patriarchal system which is, in the case of Lombok, an attribute of local adat rather than of the orthodox Islamic presence. The Western critics argue that women’s rights are suppressed in Islamic societies. Many of the indicators often used to denote low female status such as purdah\(^1\), polygyny, patrilocal residence, arranged marriage and male divorce rights\(^2\) have traditionally been associated with Muslim societies. Sasak rural women do not wear purdah and very seldom use a headscarf. Automatically this is visualised as being more liberated from a Western point of view. The reality however reveals quite the opposite. This chapter will show how disadvantaged traditional rural Sasak women really are.

Proponents of Islam, on the other hand, argue that early Islam enhanced the status of women in Arabian society and they argue that Islam respects women, provides for their protection and security, and guarantees them many legal and property rights. All the chairwomen of the Islamic women’s organisations discussed in this chapter argue in favour of Islamisation on Lombok whereas the NGO Anmisa does not particularly agree with Islamisation and tries to educate Sasak women without using

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1. purdah - the custom in some Muslim communities of keeping women in seclusion, with clothing that conceals them completely when they go out.
proselytism. Annisa's chairwoman is a strong opponent of polygyny and therefore opposes the idea of Islamisation.

With the introduction of the 1974 Marriage Law, conditions were placed on polygamy but it was not made illegal and a new Government regulation, PP10, was added in 1983. PP10 regulates civil servants and state officials (including ministers as well as village heads) intending to divorce or re-marry by requiring that they first gain permission from their superiors. Furthermore, civil servants are forbidden from "living in de-facto relationships". If the regulations are violated, the offending party may be dismissed. Women's rights activist Julia Suryakusuma, who researched the implementation of the regulation in 1990, stated that many state officials do not re-marry, but have affairs instead and that the regulation upholds cultural hypocrisy. According to Suryakusuma, PP No.10 of 1983 has been used as a tool of repression by the government, since it may be used discriminately, for example to sack unpopular state officials but to allow popular officials to take as many wives as they desire in practice. This assumes that the history of PP No.10 of 1983 is strongly linked to political motivations. The regulation was enacted on 21 April 1983 (Kartini Day) due to concerns from Dharma Wanita that their husbands could have second wives. Dharma Wanita expressed its concern to the government, which granted their request, possibly because Dharma Wanita constituted a large voting faction loyal to Soeharto's Golkar party. Suryakusuma claims that PP No.10 of 1983 is not the problem, but the Marriage Law of 1974, which should be amended to deal with contemporary gender issues.5

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4 Dharma Wanita was the women's organisation for wives of civil servants. Membership was obligatory and offices were stratified according to the husband's positions.
5 "POLYGAMY REDUCES HYPOCRICY?" TEMPO, October 2, 2000.
Furthermore, the ideology of the former New Order was patriarchal and relegated women to the position of home-makers by the implementation of women’s organisations such as the state organisation *Dharma Wanita*. In November 1999, Wahid’s new government formally disbanded *Dharma Wanita*. According to Nilan this act caused a variety of reactions. She states that the wives of some civil servants enjoyed the freedom of no longer being obligated to attend meetings, but some feminists bemoaned the loss of such a large government funded women’s organisation addressing issues such as health, legal rights and child care.\(^6\)

Despite the disbandment of *Dharma Wanita*, the PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, Family Welfare Guidance) is still functional and as mentioned later in the text, works together with one of the Islamic women’s organisations present in Lombok. The PKK was described as a movement to promote "community well-being" under the New Order and started by concentrating on women in rural areas. The 1974 legislation specified the links between PKK and the state, and institutionalised PKK units in villages. The PKK was supposed to help women meet the obligations of being responsible for the spiritual, moral, mental and physical welfare of their families. A woman was considered to be the central crucial agent of a family who has to fulfill certain roles such as supporting the husband, taking care of the household, producing future generations and functioning as the family’s prime socialiser as well as an Indonesian citizen. Furthermore, members of the PKK adopted an attitude of authority over rural women and treated them as uneducated (*bodoh*) subjects. Women nowadays understand that these government defined roles emphasise women as subordinates in a patriarchal state system and not as

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\(^7\) Ibid.
equals alongside men. The PKK was never and still is not interested in educating women, the way various pesantren in Lombok are, but tends to reflect middle class values and attitudes which are far removed from rural village life. Basically rural Sasak women show no interest in attending PKK meetings and younger educated female Sasaks show no more respect for institutions such as PKK.

In the case of Lombok, women generally welcomed the abolishment of Dharma Wanita. Islamic women’s organisations appear to have a stronghold over Lombok’s development plans in working closely with the pesantren as well as the Tuan Guru and the proliferation of Islamic neo-modernist thought is evident especially amongst younger organisation members.

Although Islamic some members of these organisations show tendencies towards the notions of the former women’s organisation Gerwani despite the fact that it is still being harshly criticised for its actions in 1965 when six generals and one adjutant of the Indonesian armed forces were killed by other army men. The army defined Gerwani, a women’s organisation associated with the Communist Party, who were training in Jakarta at the time, as chaotic and marginal, implicating them in the brutal murders of national heroes. In fact, the army labelled Gerwani as evil.

It is important to mention the social and political position of Islam in contemporary Indonesia, especially the relationship between Islam and the former New Order, which marginalised Islam. Under Soeharto’s New Order regime, Islamic culture was associated with underdevelopment and backwardness. However, the 1990s revealed a growing Islamic influence and Islamic culture became more acceptable. Today, Islam is relatively powerful in the bureaucracy and also in many other aspects of

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9 Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women’s Organisation).
daily life. When considering Lombok, the situation has turned and it is the orthodox Muslim community that regards the **wetu telu** community as backward and disadvantaged because of strict traditional rules not particularly emphasising women's education.

This chapter will first discuss the efforts of two Islamic women's organisations and one NGO run by Muslim women present in Mataram involved in the improvement of women's participation in education, the work force and health issues as well as challenging patriarchy.

Following that, a case study conducted in conjunction with P3W (Research Centre for Women's Studies) at the Mataram University, will analyse women's living, health and working conditions in a typical Sasak pottery village. Lombok pottery is one of the best known handicrafts on the island and produced for the local as well as the export market. The chosen village has received aid from Oxfam, New Zealand for a period of five years but in areas of health issues not much help has been obtained. Oxfam delivered turntables to various potter families and New Zealand imports some of the village's products to be sold in exclusive shops in the cities. P3W tries to establish a locally managed education program to eliminate women's oppression in the village. To get the real picture of living conditions in a pottery village and the women's burden of coping with work, family and poverty it is found necessary to go into some detail. Tables of estimated income and working time have been formulated to graphically demonstrate the poor social conditions. Detailed descriptions of the working processes also give the reader an insight into the hardship endured by female pottery workers.

The chapter will close with a survey of a Sasak state - trained midwife's daily work load, her influence on **adat** in traditional villages and the struggle to be accepted by a
traditional rural community. The issue of Sasak secret knowledge, so vital to the health situation in Lombok, and the difference in the reputation between state trained midwives and traditional midwife healers will be discussed to analyse the hindrance adat creates in birthing, pregnancy and family planning matters.

4.1

Islamic Women’s Organisations in Lombok

Wanita Islam

Despite its currently increased popularity, the history of the Islamic women’s organisation Wanita Islam has not been widely discussed. Therefore information has been drawn from the organisation’s own publication *Ikhtisar Sejarah Wanita Islam 1962-1990* (a synopsis of Wanita Islam’s history 1962-1990), which was obtained from members of Wanita Islam in Mataram in July 2001.

Historical background

For a considerable period of time before Indonesia’s independence, Indonesian women were active in social and political development and Islamic women were no exception, especially in the fields of social issues and religious affairs. In Jakarta as well as Yogyakarta and Solo, a women’s organisation called Badan Kesejahteraan Wanita Islam Indonesia (Organisation for Prosperity of Indonesian Muslim Women) was formed in 1962. This organisation was active in developing pengajian\(^\text{11}\) groups, the *dakwah* movement, developing the greatness of Islam mainly by urging people to follow the *solat*\(^\text{12}\), skills development programs and organising cooperatives for the general society.

\(^{11}\) *pengajian* - recitation of the Koran

\(^{12}\) *solat* - ritual Muslim prayers and actions performed five times daily.
By and large, the members of this organisation were Islamic women from the former Masyumi party, an Islamic organisation sponsored by the Japanese occupying forces and established in 1943 and from the Islamic women’s organisation Aisyiyah. Soon after this, in several areas in Java, similar organisations were set up and were controlled and organised by Islamic women. These organisations grew amidst the Muslim community, which had already begun to diverge from the true Islamic teachings. According to the Jakarta Centre of Wanita Islam, superstitious thinking and polytheism covered the Islamic community. Furthermore, Nasakom was born and from it the Indonesian women’s mass organisation Gerwani emerged. Gerwani drew up a five point program in 1954, expressing the urgency for the implementation of a marriage act valid for the entire Indonesian archipelago and guaranteeing legal equality between men and women, for government schools in order to diminish illiteracy amongst women, and to improve social welfare for women and children especially in the health sector. However, according to Wanita Islam’s information, Gerwani’s activities resulted in the contamination of education and the teaching of anti religious beliefs to young people. Gerwani, claiming 1.5 million members at that time, was banned in 1966 because it had been associated with sexual perversion during the October 1, 1965 putsch in which senior figures within the Indonesian army were murdered. Gerwani members apparently brutally mutilated the kidnapped generals by cutting off their genitals followed by a sex orgy, however, there is no clear evidence to support these allegations. These alleged events, in conjunction with the role of Gerwani in the killings, brought anti - PKI army officers
to the decision to annihilate the organisation. As a consequence Islamic and other nationalist youth groups were encouraged in 1965 and 1966 to wreak vengeance on these chaotic women and also on men said to be associated with the Communist Party, ending the deadly army-Communist rivalry of the Soekarno years in a bloodbath of over half a million people. Gerwani had a rather strict moral outlook and aimed towards supporting a monogamous family unit, yet the organisation insisted that women become militant mothers as well as political players. In more recent times, Gerwani has been accused of supporting and promoting lesbianism but in fact it had never discussed this issue. It should be pointed out that since the mass killings of the generals, Gerwani’s political activism was seen as a breach of traditional gender ideologies and consequently it produced a fear of social disorder in which women would be free from male heterosexual control. Gerwani’s most appreciated values were independence and education, which would lead to women’s hard work, over the leisure and wealth of being kept.

A major demand of some Indonesian pre-war women’s organisations was the abolishment of the right of Muslim men to enter into polygynous marriages. This is still an important factor today since not much has changed for women in this regard. In Lombok, polygyny is a broadly discussed issue, since it is seen as an Islamic institution, and one which is not accepted by wetu telu adat.

Although Gerwani promoted all the values strived for by Wanita Islam and other

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Islamic women's organisations such as education, monogamy and helping women out of prostitution, the organisation received harsh criticism in *Wanita Islam*’s historical synopsis. This might be a result of the organisation’s communist affiliation (officially there was never a connection between *Gerwani* and the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI, but some PKI members held leading positions in *Gerwani*). and *Wanita Islam*’s affiliation with *KOWANI*, the New Order umbrella organisation for all women’s organisations, which strongly promotes the *kodrat wanita* to this day. The *kodrat wanita*, and thus women’s ‘proper’ and fitting roles in society, are embodied in the *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the five ‘duties’ of womanhood which define a woman’s role as:

1. A wife and supporter of her husband.
2. Caretaker of the household.
4. The provider of additional income for the home.
5. A member of the community.

In April 1962 the *Badan Kesejahteraan Wanita Islam Indonesia* in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Solo met with several organisations and a conference was held to formulate an umbrella organisation and it agreed on the name *Wanita Islam*. In 1963 a short term and long term work plan for members of *Wanita Islam* was prepared by the organisations. The short term work plan consisted of the training of *Wanita Islam* cadres who would work in the field of *dakwah* in the center (in this case Jakarta), districts and branches whereas the long term work plan applied to the *Panca Dharma Wanita*, a Muslim version of the former aforementioned *Panca Dharma*.

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22 Christine Doran (ed.) *"The Indonesian Women’s Movement"*, *Indonesian Politics: A Reader*, Townsville, Center for South East Asian Politics, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1987, pp.97-111.
23 *Kodrat wanita* - women’s essentiaлизed nature.
These duties have to be applied in society and consist of:

1. Life guided by devotion to God who is praised and most high.
2. Endeavour to achieve balance in fulfilling worldly duties as well as in the beyond.
3. Fulfill women’s duties as a wife who is responsible for the welfare and prosperity of the home.
4. Put into practice women’s duties as mother and educator of the nation’s children.
5. Be aware of the implementation of rights and obligations as builder and cultivator of society and country by:
   5.1. gain knowledge
   5.2. act with kindness
   5.3. create consciousness

_Wanita Islam_ was never controlled or administered by a male dominated organisation as was the case in many other Islamic women’s organisations.

4.2

_Wanita Islam’s work in Lombok_

The organisation _Wanita Islam_ does not run an office as such, but the chairwoman of _Wanita Islam_ for West Nusa Tenggara resides in Mataram and is also the acting Dean of the local State School of Islamic Religion.

Meetings are usually held at the private residences of organisation members and in July 2001 they were busy preparing a trip to Jakarta for the 2001 _Wanita Islam_ annual congress, collecting funds from various government offices to cover the cost of the journey for selected organisation members.
As mentioned in chapter three, Wanita Islam's NTB chairwoman did not condemn polygyny if applied correctly in accordance with Islamic law, however, some younger members did not always agree with the viewpoints of the older chairwoman. Expressions such as "I will kill my husband if he ever thinks of marrying another woman" or "I will divorce him immediately if he only mentions it (polygyny)" were regularly used in conversations and discussions.

Furthermore it appears as if some of the organisation's ideas did not materialise to a satisfying level although by now Wanita Islam has been "active" on Lombok for 12 years. In Java, Wanita Islam made a great contribution towards abolishing child marriage, which was formerly permitted by the Islamic marriage legislation according to Islamic jurisprudence. To the question as to whether this showed signs of success in Lombok as well as improvement in the educational health sector, Wanita Islam's NTB chairwoman replied that the population in Lombok has a certain awareness about these issues, but it is still the fact that male children receive education before females, simply because the financial situation in most families is insufficient to educate both sexes and males are seen as the main income earners.

Most members of Wanita Islam, NTB, developed a dislike for the former Dharma Wanita and showed their pride in helping women from lower social levels and low-income groups in areas such as economy, health and education. Whereas Dharma Wanita exclusively helped middle class wives and, in most cases not very successfully, as pointed out by some Wanita Islam members.

Younger members of Wanita Islam told about their inner struggle of juggling family responsibilities expected by parents, in-laws, the wider community and their wish to break out. Since most of these women were university educated, they wished to study

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overseas or in other provinces for a postgraduate degree and have children at a later stage. Masri, a part time staff member of the Department of Women's Studies at the University of Mataram with a Masters Degree and an active member in Wanita Islam, NTB as well as in the NGO Annisa, which will be discussed later in this chapter, regretted the still rather conservative attitude of the community:

I would love to do my PhD overseas, Australia or the US, but I have two children and although my husband would probably agree to look after them whilst I am overseas, the community would see me as an irresponsible wife and mother. Most likely my husband would be told to marry another woman and my children would suffer at school. The only solution to this matter is that my husband and children accompany me overseas but my scholarship might not cover that whereas a male's scholarship in most cases covers his family expenses. Even if I could afford to pay for my family overseas, my husband would lose his position here since he is a civil servant and not allowed to stay out of the country for such a long time. I could do a PhD in Jakarta but I don't think that is a good environment for my children and if I am going there on my own for several years I am most likely facing the same problems with the community here and coming back with a PhD in my pocket I most likely would not get a position in Mataram because of how people would judge me. So, all I can do for now is to fight for women's rights in the organisation and try to really move issues in the NGO (she talks about the NGO Annisa where she acts as the chairperson in the Supervisory Board). What worries me a bit is that some women my age in Jakarta had talked positively about polygyny on the last congress (the Wanita Islam annual congress in Jakarta, July 2001) and lots of us try so hard to fight against it here, well me and some other members, especially
those of us at Annisa. Well, you know what X (Chairwoman of Wanita Islam NTB) thinks about that issue.²⁵

Studying Wanita Islam's historical synopsis as well as the report of the Wanita Islam centre management which includes a summary of the July 2001 annual meeting in Jakarta, it seems not much funding or visits have been arranged for certain provincial areas. Table I on page 95 shows that NTB received visits by members of Wanita Islam, Jakarta in 1997 and 1999. In 1997 a financial capital fund of Rp.1,000,000 (approximately A$ 200), one Karaoke set and one set of Tambourine equipment, most likely for entertainment purposes of visiting Wanita Islam members from Java, was delivered to the members of Wanita Islam in Mataram. In 1999 a consolidation visit to organisation members in Mataram was conducted.

Table II on page 98 shows the report of distributed funding in Indonesian provinces from 1997 to 2001. In this period NTB in its entirety received the sum of Rp.2,000,000 (A$400) in funding and yet Bali received the same amount. The question has to be asked why a rather affluent island like Bali received the same amount of funding as the entire province of NTB, which consists of Sumbawa and Lombok, two islands with far less positive social conditions. Since Wanita Islam is strongly involved in Islamic proselytising, could it be suggested that the funding for Bali, which is predominantly Hindu, has a hidden agenda, whereas the NTB area is already predominantly Muslim?

Masri and other Wanita Islam members in Mataram were rather outspoken about the fact that the organisation puts more value on Islamisation than on hands-on social development. They praised the fact that higher education for women in the NTB urban areas received support from the organisation but mentioned that improvement

in rural areas was lacking. If funding was received from the Jakarta Center the money always stayed in Mataram. Women in rural areas such as Terune and Olingsik had never been in contact with any Wanita Islam member nor had they ever heard about the organisation. However, various pesantren in the wider Mataram area had received funding from Wanita Islam in the form of schoolbooks, mattresses and medical items.

4.3

Aisyiyah

Historical background and activities

The organisation Aisyiyah was founded in 1917 in Yogyakarta. The name is drawn from the Prophet’s wife Aisyah. Aisyiyah became the women’s department of the Islamic reform organisation Muhammadiyah26. In Aisyiyah’s initial stages, it was the instrument the Muhammadiyah used to develop an understanding amongst Muslim women in regard to the Islamic religion, especially valuing the Koran and Hadith, as well as respecting the prohibition of adultery, cheating and lying. Aisyiyah was initially managed by the Muhammadiyah but later became independent with its own administration and statutes. Aisyiyah founded the first women’s mosque in Indonesia at the beginning of this century in Java and was the first Islamic women’s organisation which incorporated the birth control issue into its agenda.27 Aisyiyah is well known for its establishment of kindergartens throughout Indonesia as well as vocational schools for girls, teachers’ colleges, nursing schools and schools for

26 Kyai Haji Akhmad Dahlan founded Muhammadiyah in 1912 in Yogyakarta.
midwives. The organisation runs maternity clinics and hospitals and offers consultation for pregnant women to improve the health of mothers and babies. At the same time *Aisyiyah* is active in carrying out the *dakwah*. Further to this, women are encouraged to utilise their skills to supplement the family income and are taught how to market their products. According to Baried, *Aisyiyah* bases its activities on the Koran and the *Hadith* to successfully raise the religious consciousness of women. This does not apply to the situation in Lombok where a surprising number of women who do not agree with the *Hadith* argue that the Koran and various *Hadith* in regards to women’s rights urgently have to be reviewed.

A further important goal of *Aisyiyah* is the education of rural women to improve the standard of living in these areas under a scheme called the Rural Women’s Development Program. With this process of modernisation, seen in the context of Indonesian Muslim women, rural women will be freed from traditional beliefs and superstitions with the aim that the dynamic power of Islam may be better understood and therefore social change can be implemented in a controlled way. *Aisyiyah* urges women to be aware that they have the same duties as men in running a household, in building up the community and in service towards God. *Aisyiyah* bases its activities on the verses of the Koran and one of the verses, verse 71, section 4, deals with the aforementioned duties:

The believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another: they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil: they observer regular prayers, practice regular charity, and obey Allah and His apostle. On them will Allah pour His mercy: for Allah is exalted in power.

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
Both orthodox Muslims in general and Aisyiyah take the position that women’s sexual *aurat* is greater than that of men. Therefore, all parts of the body except the face and hands are taboo zones, which are not to be shown in public. In most cases, women active in Aisyiyah wear ankle-length, high-cut robes with long sleeves and their hair is completely hidden under a headscarf that comes down to their shoulders. This is particularly the case in Lombok’s *pesantren* where Aisyiyah seems to have considerable influence. This type of dress code is called *hijab* and is by some members of the western world increasingly perceived as a radical statement about violent political ideas or as a symbol of absolute subjugation and therefore the woman wearing it is apparently in dire need of rescue. In Lombok it is left to the individual woman to wear *hijab* or not, however most women visiting educational institutions such as the Mataram University and the *pesantren* are following this dress code and argue that it helps to be treated as equal and taken seriously rather than being chased around by men for physical attractiveness.

Most *Tuan Gurus’* wives are members of Aisyiyah and are actively involved in the organisation’s fundraising activities to help their relevant *pesantren*.

4.4

**Aisyiyah’s work in Lombok**

The organisation has its own office in the city center of Mataram. During my field research in January 2002 an interview with Aisyiyah’s chairwoman was finally organised after several refusals in July 2001 when Masri tried to arrange an interview for me at the Aisyiyah office. It was later revealed that Aisyiyah does not fully approve of the NGO Annisa, where Masri is active.

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11 *aurat*: sexual attraction.
The interview with Aisyiyah's chairwoman for NTB took place at her private residence. Being Javanese herself she saw great importance in explaining Aisyiyah's history and the strong connection to Muhammadiyah and therefore Aisyiyah's vision which deals mainly with the expansion of pure Islam whilst carrying out health services and various other social developments. Aisyiyah's mission is the modernisation process where Sasak women must learn to be responsible for the welfare of their families as well as the welfare of their community. Achieving this requires women to work together in women's organisations and therefore they have to leave their families at times to devote their time to community services. In the case of Lombok the teachings of pure Islam (Islam murni) are taken very seriously by Aisyiyah since some areas do not fully adhere to the Koranic laws. However, according to Aisyiyah's chairwoman, the real wetu telu are non-existent these days, an opinion shared by several orthodox Muslim groups in Lombok. Aisyiyah in Lombok is mainly active in and around Mataram and has close connections to the Office of Religious Affairs, the Department of Health and the PKK. Every village in West Lombok has a branch, which represents Aisyiyah. The organisation has the plan to develop its own pesantren for girls in the Mataram area.

Other areas on Lombok receive visits from Aisyiyah members who arrange Koran reading lessons in various villages and also educate women in regards to their rights in Islamic law. Once village women have understood the advantages to them, they join Koran reading groups more often. According to the chairwoman, Aisyiyah hopes to modernise the Sasak women's life, especially in more traditional areas where women are under the control of men, either fathers, brothers or husbands. Although not very active in other areas on Lombok, Aisyiyah had planned a 400 person visit to

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north Lombok for mid February 2002, where Sasaks are still leading a rather traditional lifestyle. These 400 people, members from Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah planned to arrange a mass Koran reading session in the northern Lombok area to spread Islamic teachings in more isolated areas. Koran reading groups give instruction on religious teachings to Aisyiyah's members as well as to the larger community. Aisyiyah's kindergartens, the Bustanul Atfal Aisyiyah, can be found all over Mataram. Here, religious teachings are communicated through games, stories and song. The newest establishment is a mental health program, conducted in the Aisyiyah office, to give information to both parents and young people on how to solve adolescent problems and to take the pressure off mothers.

Aisyiyah's chairwoman did not agree with polygyny and argued that this institution can never be a fair one. It was her view that the issue of polygyny in the Koran is a social one since historically after the battle of Uhud it was necessary that female orphans had to get married. Again, in East Lombok's rural areas none of the women interviewed had heard about Aisyiyah's involvement and some women argued that they would never have any time to follow any activities if they did exist. The importance here centres on the harvest, tobacco as well as rice, to keep the family alive. Activities such as those previously mentioned as being organised by Aisyiyah are seen as a luxury that only middle class city women have time to follow.

4.5

NGO Annisa

Annisa is a multi-purpose women's cooperative (KSUA, Koperasi Serba Usaha Annisa). The members are solely females stemming mainly from middle and lower

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1) Bustanul Atfal Aisyiyah - Children's Garden of Aisyiyah.
2) All information about KSUA was acquired by interviewing some of its members and the chairwoman in July 2001.
class backgrounds, having already established productive businesses and those who are willing to establish productive businesses. The KSUA is based on egalitarianism and gender equalisation. Its aim is to empower community economy to fight poverty in NTB. Annisa is an organisation founded in Lombok. Annisa has no branches in rural areas as yet, nor in Sumbawa, but according to Annisa members the ideology of this NGO is transferred and programs are delivered by traveling Annisa members from the Mataram office. Annisa embraces women from all religious sections and members are from all religious backgrounds although Muslim members are dominant.

Historical background

In 1984 there were three groups comprising 53 women in one of Mataram’s suburbs which decided to establish one business group called Kelompok Swadaya Masyarakat (KSM) or Community Self-Reliant Group. In 1988 the number of members increased to 325 persons who made up 18 groups spread over several districts in the municipality of Mataram and three of those groups were located in the suburbs of Ampenan, Cakranegara and Central Mataram. Some early members of KSM established the cooperative KSUA on 4 March 1989 as a legal body. An increase in members joining KSUA led to an expansion throughout the district of West Lombok as well as through the wider area of NTB including Sumbawa. Currently the number of KSUA members in Lombok stands at 2500 including 48 groups belonging to a so-called Functional Literacy Program. The capital managed up to this time including self-owned capital and Annisa’s assets is Rp. 1022,492,960 (approximately AUD 204,998.00)
Visions and Missions of KSUA

The main goal of KSUA is to achieve equality and welfare for women of lower economic status in NTB. KSUA work on establishing a strong, independent women's cooperative based on gender equality throughout the entire area of NTB with the aim to facilitate business opportunities especially for women in remote areas where a strong patriarchal system dictates women's positions. Further to this the organisation develops awareness amongst the community in regards to the cooperative's importance to act as a medium of economic development, concerning the value of openness, democracy and the sense of helping each other.

The main specific principles of KSUA are:

1. The development and growth of the cooperative by hands on participation.

2. Women are the majority in areas of administration, supervision, management as well as membership.

3. The integration of gender issues into all its activities such as education and training, business consultation/empowering, capital mobilisation, comparative study and on the job training.

4. The service system is done collectively and cooperatively.

5. The operational system is proactive.

In July 2001 KSUA Mataram consisted of one chairwoman, one secretary and one treasurer on the administrative board and one chairwoman and two assistants on the supervisory board. The number of permanent staff working at KSUA Mataram was 14 women including four staff for community development in the areas of trainer and
field co-worker and business consultants in rural areas. The number of casual staff was ten. Amongst KSUA’s members some acted as

1. Cadres for the Saving & Loan section (3)
2. Group administrators (82)
3. Cadres for community development (22)

In pursuit of its aims, KSUA imposes certain terms and conditions on its members. A member of the KSUA has to be an Indonesian citizen complying with the following requirements:

1. Priority for women
2. 18 years of age
3. Having productive business or willing to enter productive business
4. Agree to join group activities
5. Agree to pay the amount of Rp. 7500 (under A$ 2) and an obligatory payment of as much as 3% of a loan
6. Agree to obey the terms and conditions of the group or cooperative.

The issues which are handled by KSUA are related to the problems faced by a marginal society in general but especially women and children and consist of:

1. Micro finance
2. Gender unfairness
3. Reproductive health
4. Education and training
5. Sanitation and environment
6. Human rights/women’s rights
7. Children’s rights
8. Farming

In view of the fact that, although Annisa is a Lombok born organisation, without any support from the more affluent Javanese organisations, as in the case of the Islamic women's organisations, it seems to have a lot to offer regarding the improvement of women's positions. At the time of my research in 2001 and 2002, Annisa did not receive any foreign funding. The chairwoman of Annisa's administration board was open to talk about a variety of issues. She explained that Annisa was born out of the emergence of women's problems, mostly economically related but not only in regards to income matters but also due to justice issues. She pointed out that there is no evident justice in economic access for women in Lombok and mentioned the example of inheritance rights. In the case of the religious/national inheritance rights, which are more favourable to women than the adat inheritance rights, it allows daughters to inherit one of every three shares of property, including land, while two shares go to sons. Although there is an obvious advantage towards males over females, some land is better than none. The traditional regulations restrict the inheritance to males. Annisa's chairwoman did not agree with the fact that, although more favourable than adat rights, the religious inheritance rights are unjust and stated that they are still favouring the male. One of the famous Lombok traditional female inheritances is the weaving of cloth. Annisa watches closely that this skill stays amongst the women and educates women in successfully marketing the product since there is a trend that men sell the product and the women have almost no access to the profits.

Coming from a wetu telu heritage, the chairwoman does not deeply embrace Islam and does not wear traditional Islamic dress. She considered polygyny to be

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exploitative and said that in her opinion, not a single woman honestly agrees with this type of marriage, unless she is driven by economic reasons. She regretted that, with the increase of orthodox Islam, old traditions are being ignored, although modernisation has yet to be fully implemented. Further, she criticised the language of the Koran, which in her opinion does not apply to real life situations, therefore its verses and hadith dealing with women’s issues should be urgently reinterpreted so that they can be applied to practical life.

She strongly supported the concept that husbands as well as Tuan Guru should be involved in meetings where Annisa’s structure is introduced, so husbands may learn about the advantages of women being involved in learning and developing. Consequently, Tuan Guru might understand the need for verse reinterpretation in such a way that Annisa can work freely in a successful way. Annisa regularly invites religious leaders from Java who function as certain tafsir and hadith experts.

The purpose of this is the acceptance of reinterpretation of certain verses from the Koran. According to the chairwoman, in most cases Annisa members and religious leaders come to an agreement.

4.7

The efficiency of female pottery workers

In this section changing the ways of pottery production is examined in order to upgrade women’s health in the village of Bololek, West Lombok. The role of the women in their work in the market place has grown in importance over time. Although pottery production has become a major income source for these families, it has not freed women from the burden of reproduction. Having to tackle strenuous work as well as bringing up children, women face a certain gender imbalance, which
is especially pronounced in the domestic domain, an area not exactly profitable for women.

In the village of Bololek, 4,730 women are active in pottery production, that is 35.7% of the village’s 13,247 inhabitants. As seen later in the chapter, women provide a major contribution to household economics. A contributing factor for general ill health amongst the women, especially reproductive health, is the lack of sufficient rest. Other factors contributing are insufficient hygiene in their living surroundings as well as operating in primitive and polluting conditions. Furthermore, because of traditional Sasak social-culture, which is strongly patriarchal, female pottery workers still have to battle gender inequality in their access to resources and assets. At present such conditions still do not indicate a presence of change, in fact the tendency to a stagnation of the situation prevails.

The process of pottery production is carried out in a traditional way, which is done in different stages. Women mostly carry out the entire process of pottery production. Chronologically there are three stages:

1. The supply of basic clay which will be
   1.1. dried
   1.2. refined
   1.3. sifted
   1.4. soaked
   1.5. drained
   1.6. stirred and pulverised

2. shaping and working the prepared clay to refine the product, adding motifs, drying and then firing.

3. marketing

*Tafsir, explanation of passages of the Koran by supplying additional information*
Stages 1 and 2 are in most cases carried out by women whereas stage 3 is not always done alone because the relative merit of marketing can be enhanced by the collecting trader or other parties.

The activities of female pottery producers normally take all day, except in the wet season. Apart from the firing process, the other main processes of production take place in the producer's living areas. The pottery kilns are located in the house yards—not far from the actual living space. The work areas in and around the house tend to be humid because of the constant contact with the rough clay, the main ingredient for pottery, which always has to be kept in humid and wet conditions for as long as production takes place.

Based on the research results of ACTION RESEARCH P3W at the University of Mataram, myself and the self-support group WORK DEVELOPMENT (kelompok kerja pembangunan) in Bololek, several facts and complaints arose:

1. The length of working time, too many hours without enough rest, wet surroundings, which consequently lead to complaints such as reoccurring abdominal muscle pain, dizziness, and itchiness of the skin.

2. Limited opportunity during the day to wash one's body with enough clean water since the common bathing place is located far from the houses and used by the majority of villagers, thus creating a social and public health problem.

3. Whilst carrying out the sifting process as well as the firing of pottery, the women do not wear masks, consequently dust and thick smoke is inhaled which is a major health risk to the respiratory system.

4. The process of mixing and stirring the wet clay and sand to produce an even dough is manual and drains body strength and stamina with the result of extreme weakness and lowest resistance to combat sickness and diseases.
Paying close attention to the work behaviour patterns of female pottery producers, it can be understood that these women have not been able to comprehend the importance of reproductive health which can be related to their working conditions. In fact, they are not able to make a decision for themselves regarding these issues. The influence of change will have to come from third parties such as NGO’s, women’s organisations or international aid organisations to improve the situation for female pottery workers to protect their health, especially reproductive health.

Efforts can be made to teach female pottery workers new approaches in order that the process of pottery production is protected from the risk to health. The objective is to identify the temporary condition of female pottery workers and to plan strategies to overcome the difficulties these workers have to face. Working in humid, wet, dirty, smoky and dusty conditions is one of the primary health concerns. P3W’s vision therefore is:

1. To find a solution by using better equipment, teaching materials and visual aids promoting a cooperative as an aid to protect women’s health.
2. To find a solution in the form of different choices of pottery production process, which will protect the body against health risks.
3. To find a solution to overcome difficulties in developing business strategies.

4.8

Research method

Firstly the condition of female pottery workers was identified in a contemporary setting by way of descriptive research. Random data were collected from 150 workers consisting of 125 women and 25 men. The method of data collection was carried out by way of interviews and questionnaires. Collected data was established
in the form of tabulation and was analysed in a descriptive way to show a clear comprehensive picture of the contemporary Sasak pottery worker's situation and their surroundings.

4.9

An illustration of a typical pottery worker

Age of workers

The research conducted amongst the 150 workers included 125 female workers from the ages of 15 to 65. 116 workers were aged 15-40 and 34 workers were aged 41-65 at the time of the research.

Education

60% of pottery workers have received school education:

18% have not completed primary school
25% have completed primary school
11% have reached high school standard
6% have completed high school
40% have never received schooling and are considered illiterate.

Family members of a pottery household

Normally a family consists of husband, wife, children, grandparents as well as various relatives who easily become a burden. Mostly everybody lives in one house. The average number of children per family is between two and four and the family is obliged to look after grand parents. From a total of 125 female pottery workers, 12 women are widowed. 150 pottery households make up a total of 506 people of whom 62 are illiterate and never have received schooling. However, these family members
belong to the older age groups. All school aged family members are no longer illiterates and 13 people have received ongoing education.

Young children and family members under 10 years of age impose an economic burden on pottery families whilst members in the age group above 10 interact actively in the family’s pottery production or work outside the pottery industry.

4.10

Performance

Work experience

Of the 150 interviewed respondents, 123 had been fully active in pottery production for five years or longer, whilst seven respondents were still at the beginner's stage and only had experience for one or two years. A remainder of 20 respondents had a work experience of three to four years. Most male pottery workers were employed in side jobs as traders, farmers, contract workers or sellers of farm produce. 27% are full time pottery workers with the majority being women. Significantly, pottery production is a rather small trade considering it is the only income source and has to cover the cost of living for a family.

Considering the experience, knowledge and the choice to work as a pottery producer, information obtained showed that 70-90% of workers chose the profession based on knowledge and experience gained from their parents and grand parents. 63% chose pottery work because they feel content in their profession but also are under the impression that they do not have another choice of earning money.
Production process

Except for the last stage of perfecting the product, one person usually carries out all stages of pottery production. The production of pottery starts with the supply of raw materials, the wet soil and the river sand, followed by the drying process, crushing, sifting, mixing, soaking and pulverising. Stage 2 of production is forming the prepared clay, drying and firing the products. Three crafts persons are needed to complete the product by adding colour, motifs or adding cane work to the pottery product before it gets sold by the head of the family, most often the husband.

4.11

Production expenses

Clay and sand

The clay and sand are the basic products for pottery production and are normally paid for in cash. The quantity of soil needed by each producer varies between 0.5 and 1 cart for a price of approximately Rp. 17,000 per cart and sand per bucket for a price of Rp. 2,000. Normally one cart of soil will be mixed with 4-8 buckets of sand.

Colouring

Pottery products do not always receive colour additions but a few producers have started to add natural colourings. The use of chemical colouring has started to make an impact. Traditional colouring is mostly carried out with the use of tamarind, roots, certain woods, coconut oil or kerosene. Producers using chemical colouring can buy them from traders visiting the village for a price of Rp. 1,000 per packet.
Firing materials

Fuel for the firing process usually comes in the form of wood or dried ricestalks. Wood per cart comes at a price of approximately Rp. 50,000 whereas ricestalks are about Rp. 20,000 per cart. Alternative choices are coconut leaves and dried bamboo leaves. 86% of pottery producers use collective kilns whereas 14% use private kilns.

Production tools

The main tool for pottery production is the turntable made of wood, usually a family inheritance. Operating this turntable requires enormous strength in arms and legs. This process is always carried out in a standing position. Further necessary items are buckets, soaking basins, sifters, small knives as well as pieces of plastic and old rubber. These items are normally useable for a long period of time and do not have to be replaced frequently. Therefore it does not impose a financial burden on pottery producing households. 89% of respondents own their own equipment whereas the rest share or borrow tools from family members or neighbouring producers.

4.12

Production

Pottery produce can be grouped into three categories. The types of products are flower pots, household items and house decorations. Type of product and its classification such as big, average or small, according to design is determined by the market/trading section and also depends on special customer orders. As a consequence the price per item varies enormously and can range from Rp.500 to Rp. 50,000. However, productivity is strongly influenced by external factors such as market demand and weather conditions and does not only depend on the producer's individual skill.
4.13

Length of working time

Work time allocation in the field of pottery production is divided in ten production activities. Estimating the use of one cart of burning material, workers are usually able to finish a product in ten to twelve working days. The distribution of work time is explained in the following table:

Table III

Distribution of work time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time required (in hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>drying clay</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>crushing and sifting</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>soaking and mixing</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pulverising</td>
<td>5.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>shaping of product</td>
<td>57.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>drying shaped product</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1st stage of adding finishing touches</td>
<td>11.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>firing</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2nd stage of adding finishing touches</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>sorting and storing</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total work time</strong></td>
<td><strong>102.07</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was estimated that a female pottery producer who works on her own has a total work time of 8.50 to 10.20 hours per day.

4.14

Income

The income of a pottery producer, estimated for a period of 30 days or one month, varies according to the type of product produced. The estimated income in one month for the production of the four production types is:

1. Flower pots   Rp. 320,870
2. Household items Rp. 160,901
3. House decorations Rp. 330,164
4. Specific orders Rp. 491,909

Crafts people producing household items only obtain the lowest income since the selling price is rather low on the local market whereas flower pots and house decorations sell for double the price. Special order producers gain the highest income. Some workers manufacture several types of products each month and can gain an estimated income of Rp. 406,407.

The diversification in item production chosen by the individual pottery producer is dependent on external factors such as traders, middlemen and incoming orders as well as internal factors such as skills and knowledge in the field of product designs and family participation.

4.15
Family support in the pottery work sphere

Pottery producers usually receive support in the production process from their families in the form of direct involvement. Male pottery workers display a larger involvement of their families than female pottery workers as shown in the following table.

Table IV.
Percentage of producers who involve family members in pottery production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Kind of activity</th>
<th>Males (%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>drying clay</td>
<td>24.14</td>
<td>23.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>crushing and sifting</td>
<td>17.81</td>
<td>15.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>soaking and mixing</td>
<td>13.01</td>
<td>17.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pulverising</td>
<td>68.18</td>
<td>20.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>shaping of product</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>8.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>drying shaped product</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st stage of adding finishing touches</td>
<td>2nd stage of adding finishing touches</td>
<td>sorting and storing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>firing</td>
<td>23.44</td>
<td>31.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen above male pottery producers include their family members (wives, children) at a higher rate than female producers. In the case of drying products for example the male respondents were not involved at all. However, family members (husbands, children) of female pottery producers are involved, albeit on a smaller scale, in all of the stages of pottery production.

4.16

Houses and surroundings

Except for the firing process, pottery production is carried out in and around the workers’ private houses. Activities such as storing products take place in areas that are also used as children’s play and home work areas, the bedrooms and kitchen. The soaking of the clay normally takes place outside the house in children’s play areas, clothes drying areas and the kitchen. The drying of clay is usually carried out on the village’s main street as well as in the children’s play areas or house yards. The firing of pottery products takes place in the collective areas as well as in living areas. As a consequence workers and their families feel physically uncomfortable and complain about being constantly unclean and suffering skin irritations, dirty hair, body odour, stiffness, frequent headaches, dizziness, moist clothes, cold numb feet, stomach aches, flu like symptoms and weakness. During the process of pulverisation and shaping of the products, ailments such as cold hands, stiffness in the abdominal area, painful muscles and backpain were experienced. The drying and sifting processes cause cloudy vision as well as teary eyes.
Workers' health conditions

Behaviour and protection of female worker's health

The image of a Sasak pottery worker is a healthy looking person with a fresh, smiling face as so often seen on tourist brochures and other Lombok promotions. The reality however looks slightly different. Most workers appear skinny with pale lips and cloudy eyes. More than 80% of respondents show dirty toe and finger nails which is caused by a constant contact with wet soil. According to the workers, despite the fact that they bath once or twice daily using soap, not enough attention is given to feet and hands. Clothes have to be changed two-three times a day.

The most frequent health complaint is pain in the abdominal region caused by carrying heavy loads. Some workers experience difficulties breathing, rapid heartbeat, sore thighs and calf muscles, stiff legs and pain in the womb area. Medicine is normally obtained from small kiosks but also from the puskesmas as well as from traditional healers.

Birth control and pregnancy

Of the female workers 80% were familiar with birth control programs and 78% of the total were using some forms of birth control. 57 respondents obtained birth control services from the posyandu (health post), 15 respondents from the puskesmas, six from the local midwife and only two from the local medical practitioner. The most popular kind of contraception amongst female pottery workers in Bololek is by way of injection (54 respondents) followed by the pill (10 respondents) and 12 respondents chose the IUD. The preference for birth control by

puskesmas - Pusat kesehatan masyarakat (public health center)
way of injection is explained by its reasonable price as well as its duration up to three months. Workers unfamiliar with contraception such as the pill usually use methods such as the rhythm method or obtained information from the traditional healers on how to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

Marriage age, pregnancy, birth and young children

The usual age for marriage for female pottery workers is the early twenties and their first pregnancy normally occurs shortly after marriage. However, a significant percentage of women marry when in their teens (12-15 years of age) and consequently have their first child whilst in this age group. Pregnancies can occur two-three times whilst married, but there are cases of women in Bololek who gave birth up to 14 times and 21% of these respondents experienced miscarriages between one-six times. During their pregnancies as many as 89% of female workers look after their health by visiting the puskesmas, the state trained midwife, the posyandu and the traditional midwife. The motivation for health check ups is initiated by the advice of their husbands (82%), state trained midwife (7.8%) and other family members (2%). Only 7.45% of women decided for themselves.

Most female respondents have a break of two-five years between pregnancies, which explains that women start to become more conscious of their reproductive health and most likely use birth control. However, there are several cases of women falling pregnant again whilst the last born child is between three and six months old.

83.17% of mothers breastfeed for 18 months whilst 12.14% breastfeed to two years. Apart from breastfeeding, 45% of the respondents supplemented their baby’s food intake at the age of 4 months. However, some mothers feed their babies rice porridge and mashed bananas as early as one and two months. According to Bololek’s local
midwife, the lack of vitamins caused by feeding babies rice-porridge from an early age instead of milk as well as harsh living conditions are important causes of the high infant mortality in NTB.

4.18

Health and fresh water issues in the village surrounding

Almost all pottery workers live in houses that have tiled or concrete floors. However, the houses appear dirty. Well water is used by 70% of villagers for the purpose of washing clothes and after boiling for drinking. 20% of villagers use water supplied by the PDAM (Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum - Municipal Water Works) for the above mentioned purposes. The washing of clothes is mostly carried out at the well or in the common bathroom facilities. The tradition of using the river for public bathing, washing and toilet use is still strongly followed and is seen as a social meeting activity. Villagers also prefer the river to the common bathing facility since these are not kept very clean. According to the P3W team the use of the river is due to ignorance regarding hygiene issues amongst the villagers and is consequently a problem of strictly following traditional rules.

4.19

Social-cultural activities

When paying close attention to the activities of pottery workers and their families in Bololek, it becomes apparent that within a period of one month most of the respondents are no longer interested in participating in activities arranged by the village. Activities such as educational talks regarding health and hygiene are mostly visited by women. Respondents expressed the view that illiterate family members do
not benefit from study groups arranged by the village head. On the contrary, activities connected with religion are participated in by 96% of villagers on a constant basis, but mostly by male family members. Religious activities allocated for women are not well participated in unless scheduled at night-time.

Social activities such as community self-help groups, called gotong royong are participated in by 76% of pottery workers, the majority being male. Activities such as PKK are of no great interest to the women. However, almost all villagers, female as well as male, take part in ceremonials such as Indonesia’s Independence Day or religious holidays.

Public information by way of television is obtained by 87% of males whilst printed media in the form of newspapers and magazines is only read by males and young girls. Books are never read. The decision for further education after finishing primary school is made by the parents (63%) and in some cases by the children involved (14%) whereas decisions related to marriage are taken more seriously and are always carried out by the parents.

4.20

Workload in the domestic field

Apart from pottery producing activities, female villagers also carry the burden and responsibilities of housework such as cleaning, washing, cooking, fetching water from the well, collecting wood and caring for small children.

Household duties for female pottery workers include activities such as cleaning the house, washing the family’s clothing, cooking meals, fetching water, and shopping at the local market. It was estimated that domestic chores take up to 5-6 hours per day. Less than 30% of men are involved in household duties. The women’s heavy
workload has the consequence of less time for rest and therefore health problems appear. Reducing the workload and allowing for more free time is urgently needed to increase their quality of life and health.

4.21

Analysis

As the survey shows, female pottery producers spend 8.5 to 10.20 hours per day in the production process as well as domestic activities, which take an average of 5-6 hours per day. Consequently women in Bololek work 13.5 to 16 hours per day. This condition consumes up to 2/3rds of their time each day with strenuous physical activity which leads to health hazards and extreme weakness. According to female respondents in Bololek, they do not have the choice of any alternative work.

The low level of education and knowledge as well as inexperience in other fields, traps female workers into a situation of non-efficiency in economic and social sectors. On average their income lies at Rp.13,500 per day. This amount has to be shared with 3-7 family members. This low income is reflected in the worker's living conditions with parts of the house utilised in pottery production space, such as bedrooms, kitchens and children's play areas. This can cause irritation of the respiratory channels, sore eyes and skin complaints. Other aforementioned production processes expose the worker to constant moisture and damp clay. The processes are mostly carried out in a sitting or squatting position, leaving hands and feet permanently dirty.

Most of the production time is spent on shaping and forming the product. However, during the process of pulverising clay and sand to produce the dough, constant
physical strength is required. As shown in table 3 almost 70% of all female workers
are active in the entire pottery production process.

The participation of 31% from the women’s family side and 43% from the male side
indicates that men as the heads of households have the right to demand participation
of their entire families for the support of production. Consequently women act with
their entire strength in the production field and additionally have to spend time on
required housework. Exhausting physical performance shows in thin bodies, at times
cloudy eyes, sore waists, breathing difficulties and miscarriages are a frequent
occurrence. The daily domestic and public workload can be up to 16 hours per day
whereas resting time is relatively short or non-existent. Low income and the burden
of large families add to the domestic workload and form hardships reflected in the
female workers’ living standards.

Owing to the lack of working capital, the pottery producers of Bololek resort to
middlemen and collecting traders for ready cash/capital. The middlemen use this
situation for leverage to set their own prices. This has the consequence that products
sometimes have to be sold half finished. To overcome this shortfall of income,
quantity replaces quality, which results in not achieving optimal profit in the market
section. This is especially significant for producers of simple household items.

The strength of the position of middlemen, collecting traders and finally shop owners
in the pottery market section causes pottery workers to be trapped in a powerless
situation in regards to changing quality and product design. There are indications that
to maintain a minimum household income, there has been an increase in quantity of
product as opposed to an increase in the quality of the product. Consequently it is
found that poverty and a lack of health occur.
People are viewed as an economic resource in the circles of pottery producing households and this is an important issue relating to the entrance age of children. This is especially significant for girls who normally start at the age of ten to contribute to the production. Young girls only commence work in the production of pottery after reaching puberty, however working in wet, smoky and dirty conditions has a long term negative impact on their health. Additionally this situation is worsened by poverty and long working hours where in fact economic strength should be supported with strong health, especially reproductive health since a healthy generation is needed to continue the family business.

To increase the quality of life and the health standards for female pottery workers in Bololek, the P3W team suggests the following recommendations:

1. To form target groups amongst pottery workers, which will act as initiators and trainers for programs emphasising efficiency.
2. Scheduling time for training, assistance and guidance, regarding changing production methods to increase reproductive and general health standards.
3. Organising teaching material for the purpose of information and practice.
4. Implementing evaluation and annual reviews.

This survey outcome was represented to the aforementioned Islamic women’s organisations as well as to the NGO Annisa for the purpose of funding and support. By the end of my field-work in March 2002, no decision had been made and P3W considered approaching organisations such as Oxfam and Ausaid. However, it was promised by the chairwoman of Wanita Islam to raise these issues at the next seminar in Jakarta in 2003. Annisa stated that their organisation had no available funds for Bololek since the NGO already worked with different villages.
4.22

Modernity versus adat:

A state-trained midwife’s work experience in a traditional Sasak village

NTB shows the highest rate of infant and maternal mortality in Indonesia. Lombok is on the priority list with an official infant mortality rate of 125 per 1000 and maternal mortality rate of 700 per 100,000 live births. Maternal deaths are those that occur either while a woman is pregnant or within forty-two days of giving birth.

The province of East Lombok shows a higher rate of infant mortality than the other five regencies in NTB. The main reason for this is their strong ties to customary law which views modern medicine as interfering and trust towards midwives is rare.

Health interventions designed by the Indonesian Government have the aim of reducing maternal and infant mortality and are offered through the puskesmas (district health clinic), the polindes (village sub-and birth clinics) and the posyandu (health posts). The polindes is run by a state-trained biomedical midwife, the bidan, who is usually waktu lima. However, the vast majority of pregnant women choose to visit the belian, the traditional midwife-healer, who is always female and strongly connected to adat. For the bidan, adat sometimes creates a frustrating situation. The main reason for this is the Sasaks’ strong tendency to trust in ilmu, which frequently causes maternal and infant deaths but is rather treated as fate than medical ignorance by Sasak villagers.

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12 Ibid.
14 polindes - Pos Salinan di Desa (ind.), childbirth clinic
Defining ilmu

Sasaks, especially in poorer traditionally orientated rural parts of Lombok, strongly believe in ilmu if referring to healing and health issues, in this case pregnancy and birth. Ilmu, in the Sasak traditional context, means "secret knowledge" and is a potency that a certain person has. Ilmu is vital to Sasak ethnomedicine and Sasaks have pride and confidence in ilmu, therefore it is scattered throughout the community.

Ilmu can take the form of curses, spells, black magic and treatments. For the Sasak, ilmu is limited. Ancestral kings and religious leaders apparently had complete ilmu, knowing everything, never became sick themselves and could heal any illness even with words. However, ilmu was never and can never completely be given on to the next generation and some Sasaks believe that their great-grand parents possessed more ilmu than they themselves. James Siegel states that ilmu usually is conceptually owned rather than known. Therefore ilmu is something one gives and is given. It is also considered to be rather expensive. Ilmu is not usually something which can be bought but if a person is selected to receive ilmu, that person is obligated to reciprocate with money, labor, social attachment or gifts. From the Sasaks' own perspective, Sasak ilmu is stronger than any power from teachers, officials or doctors. In fact according to rural Sasaks, townspeople do not possess ilmu at all because they have forgotten their ancestors, and consequently have forgotten the real meaning of Islam.

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43 I recall the visit of a dukun to a sick friend in July 2002 whilst carrying out field research. A dukun is a male traditional healer, who, according to his village, possesses complete ilmu. This friend suffered from a painful stiff back muscle and could not move, stand up or walk. The dukun used traditional herbal massage paste and spoke spells whilst massaging.
45 James Siegel, *Caring Rites, Dreams and Domestic Politics in a Sumatran Society*, Glyph, pp. 18-31
46 Information acquired through conversation about ilmu with Mamuq Wisni, the dukun of Olingosik, and his wife.
In the case of birthing and pregnancies, the belian is the top priority for rural Sasaks who believe that her ilmu is stronger than that of any biomedically state-trained midwife. Pregnant women prefer the belian not only for reasons of ilmu but also because she speaks the same language, literally and metaphorically. A rather fatal issue is the belief of rural Sasaks in ilmu hitam (black magic) which explains another factor for preferring the belian. Obstructed labour is, according to adat orientated Sasaks, due to black magic and therefore only a belian who of course possesses ilmu, can solve this problem and work on an easier delivery. Certain mantras (magic spells) have to be recited in order for the baby to be born. Unfortunately in a lot of cases the mother, the baby or both will die.

Coping with adat

During the 1970's and 1980's the government health staff trained belians to avoid maternal and neonatal mortality. In the 1990's the provision of trained midwives to every village with the purpose to gradually replace the belian, had changed the earlier rather important intervention. 47

During field research in East Lombok I spent a great deal of time with Liang's state-trained midwife Dina who is a mid-30's energetic mother of two children and the wife of an artist who works from home. Dina and her family belong to the waktu lima. Dina is employed by the Indonesian Department of Health.

According to Dina it is still very difficult to convince women to utilise the facility of her birthing clinic as well as the puskesmas. Dina's clinic is regarded as modern, however, from a western point of view the facility is rather primitive and poorly

equipped, but serves its purpose. The clinic is located in a side street between the mosque and the market - a rather busy and noisy area. The narrow, dark, corridor-shaped clinic room contains two old steel beds, one cupboard with medication, syringes, cottonwool, scissors and mercurochrome for disinfection. The clinic has its own entrance but is connected to Dina’s family home, a one bedroom flat. The bathroom has to serve for patients, her family and as a storing place for her husband’s work tools.

Dina is only paid to work in the mornings but is expected to be available to treat patients at other times, for example conducting deliveries after hours and on weekends. She is allowed to set her own fee for after hour treatments but stated that she prefers to keep low fees or suggests payment in the form of produce (food, baskets etc.) to attract more women to the polines rather than seeking the belian.

Apart from running the clinic, Dina has to visit Liang’s five surrounding, relatively poor hamlets on a constant basis in the mornings. Usually one hamlet consists of 10-15 houses with up to 11 persons in each house depending on the number of children. The houses are built from bamboo, wood and dried coconut palm leaf. Inside the house, floors are made from dried mud and the main room, which also serves as the family bedroom, is separated from the kitchen by a thin dried palm leaf wall. The kitchen contains a very simple fire-place for cooking and consequently the house is constantly smoky. Similarly to Bololek, people here suffer from respiratory problems and newborn babies as well as pregnant women are mostly at risk. Some villagers keep their precious two or three cows in the kitchen area as well. Each hamlet shares a latrine facility, which consists of a pottery water container only. Any human waste flows into the adjunct corn-fields if enough water is used to wash it away from the latrine area. People in the hamlets around Liang are unfortunate because they do not
live near a river and water is not as plentiful. Dina explained that home births normally happen in the latrine area or in the kitchen in a squatting position as advised by the belian.

Every hamlet has a posyandu, a health post, which is a simple bamboo hut containing one table, one bed, several benches and a cloth scale hung from the ceiling in which babies are weighed. Two posyandus had scales to weigh adults as well. Posyandu days are a busy affair. The posyandu is a meeting place where pregnant women receive maternal health care, family planning advice and supplies, advice on nutrition and immunisation for children under five such as tetanus and hepatitis B. Each hamlet receives a visit twice a month from Dina together with other staff from the Liang puskesmas such as posyandu kader (health volunteers), nurses and trainee nurses. Dina examines patients whilst other staff keep busy filling out cards and records. Women and children appear together at once and the posyandu sessions seem rather noisy and unorganised. There is no queuing system and at times two or more women get served together. Since the majority of women in the hamlets are illiterate, Dina hands out health booklets with pictures concerning pregnancy, child care and family planning, the Buku Kesehatan Ibu Dan Anak (The book of health for mother and child) but had the feeling that it was not recognised by the mothers as a useful tool to keep track of their health.

Dina complained that in most cases it is impossible to make understandable to the hamlet women to turn to the posyandu for treatment whilst pregnant as well as for deliveries although she does not charge them the same high fees as the belians do. According to Dina a belian can charge whatever she wishes and there had been cases where women’s families had to pay up to Rp. 500,000 (approximately A$ 100) for a delivery, which includes ceremonies, massages and certain mantras. Some belian
also ask for rice and other food items on top of the fee. Dina charges A$ 10 for a
difficult delivery and A$ 5 for a normal birth but money is not the factor here.
Although poor, hamlet families rather raise the money for a belian amongst relatives
than seek help from the bidan. The respect for ilmu is stronger than the possibility of
saving a woman’s or child’s life. Dina stated that sometimes women reach the clinic
after having been treated by the belian and family members had given in because of the
pregnant woman’s immense pain and complications. Sadly these women reach
the clinic too late in most cases. The wrong massages applied by the belian can harm
the unborn baby and even treatment in the nearest hospital is often unsuccessful and
the baby eventually dies. Dina is the one the villagers like to blame for not possessing ilmu, not the belian.

Furthermore Dina experiences hardship in explaining to hamlet women the available
contraceptive methods. Children are still seen as a social security for hamlet residents
but in Dina’s opinion it is the children who suffer poor living conditions, no hope for
an education and malnutrition. It is not a rare occurrence that some women have
given birth 14 times and that some families have up to 12 children. A further
important factor is the high divorce rate in East Lombok. According to Dina’s
statistics, some women had divorced and remarried up to seven times before reaching
the age of forty three and had fallen pregnant at least two times in each marriage.
Divorcing and remarrying is almost a Sasak institution as can be seen in the Sasak
slogan: "Marry after the rice harvest - when the rice is eaten, get divorced!"
Although some women complained about the strain of bringing up many children
and having to give birth frequently, they do not have the power to decide for
themselves to adopt family planning methods or to visit the polindes. Their husbands
and immediate family have a major influence on the decision being made and often
the decision is not to listen to modern medicine. Therefore Dina’s husband decided to arrange information days for male hamlet residents and a small success is now visible in their district. More couples now have the courage to seek advice regarding contraception or have babies delivered at the polindes. Two of the five hamlets have received their own new mosque where regular education nights concerning health issues are conducted by female santri from nearby pesantren and the funding for one new well was organised through the NGO Annisa. For Dina it is of importance that hamlet women trust her and do not see her as the city official who has no experience but authority as is often the case amongst villagers, if having to deal with government personnel. According to Dina it was a bad decision by the government to replace belians instead of maintaining the aforementioned system to train them.

Summing up

Although a small island, Lombok has a presence of two main Indonesian Islamic women’s organisations and one rather powerful NGO. A difference between the organisations is visible. Aisyiyah appears to be the more conservative and still clinging to New Order values such as PKK doctrines whereas Wanita Islam shows a more moderate way of thought. The NGO Annisa is by far the most outspoken organisation and the strongest in trying to eradicate the patriarchal system. However, a renovation of Islamic thought is desired by all organisations, since their goal is to emphasise the equality of all humankind before God. As in the example of Annisa, religious leaders are invited to meetings and the new interpretation of Islam is expressed. The chairwomen of the two aforementioned Islamic women’s organisations still follow the conventional discourse on Islamic women. On the contrary younger organisation members seem to be more progressive and struggle
The emergence of Islamic neo-modernism in Indonesia in the past twenty years is a very significant addition to the Islamic intellectual presence in Indonesia. It developed in the late 1960's and early 1970's out of the environment of Modernism of HMI. This movement was referred to initially as the *Pembaruan* (Renewal) movement but is nowadays referred to as the Neo-Modernist movement. A group of young Muslim intellectuals tired of the narrow-mindedness of Modernist Islamic thought in Indonesia at the time, led the movement. Neo-modernism is nowadays high on the agenda amongst educated Sasak women and organisations such as *Amzisa* try to discuss the issue with Lombok’s religious leaders for the purpose of implementing new and liberating ideas into educational programs designed to raise the living standards of Sasak village women.

But it is not only a matter of applying neo-modernist or conventional Islam amongst Lombok's rural areas, but also a question of ethics. *Wetu Telu* women do not always agree with Islamic reform. The main cause for this is the implementation of polygyny, which is not accepted in their traditional circles but is now increasingly considered amongst some traditional males. Having talked to women from different organisations and backgrounds there is a common goal and that is eradicating polygyny, patriarchy and pushing for education. *Adat* is a major obstacle to reach some of these aims. It creates frustration amongst government workers such as state trained midwives who are seen as interfering authorities without permanence, implying that government authorities are viewed as a non-permanent institution not to be taken seriously since *ilmu* is not evident. As a consequence *adat* is a major obstacle.

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48 HMI - Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, The Association of Islamic Students (Indonesia's strongest Islamic student group).
hindrance for development in the health sector, especially in the field of midwifery. However, midwives such as Dina are a glimmer of hope for the improvement of Sasak women’s health education.

The health situation of female pottery workers in Bololek (and in other pottery villages) is a crucial reminder of adat patriarchy and will weaken producers as well as production if women’s positions in those areas are not improved by way of education and awareness programs. With the efforts of the Islamic women’s organisations’ proselytising work in conjunction with governmental programs and NGO’s, development in the women’s educational and health sectors might be achieved in years to come. Younger members of Islamic women’s organisations are starting to implement modern notions and break out of their square, trying to give a helping hand in different organisations such as NGO’s.

Although glorified by past researchers (e.g. Cederroth 1981, Hay 1998, Krulfeld 1974), adat is a definite hindrance to Sasak women’s progress. A minimal improvement is visible in some areas but most hamlets and villages show a stagnation in women’s social conditions.
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<tr>
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<td>Workshop in the field of consolidation of the organisation and delivery of one Karaoke set in Padang</td>
<td>Hj. Zaraha D Noer, MA</td>
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2. Dra. Hj Diam Riva Suuyudi  
3. Hj. M.J. Alimin Ibrahim |
| 7  | 18-19/09/1997 | Riau     | Friendship visit in Pekanbaru                                             | Hj. Zahara D. Noer, MA     |
| 8  | 20-21/09/1997 | Maluku    | Attendance of district conference as well as the inauguration of PW Wanita Islam in Ambon | Dra. Hj. Djuairiah Latuconsina |
| 9  | 24/05/98  | South Sulawesi               | Attendance of conference in the district South Sulawesi in Ujung Padang     | Dra. Hj. Barirach Us. Ch. MM |
| 10 | 22/08/98  | North Sulawesi              | Consolidation of organisation with PW Wanita Islam North Sulawesi in Manado | Dra. Hj. Ch. Coesyana Soffat M. Psi |
### Table I

Table I: Activities of visits to districts by the Management of the Wanita Islam Center 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
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Table I

Table I: Activities of visits to districts by the Management of the Wanita Islam Center 1996-2001

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Table II

Chapter 5

Violence against Women in Lombok

A Discourse on the LBH APIK NTB
Introduction

Domestic violence, as well as public harassment against women is a frequent occurrence in NTB with Lombok showing the most cases for the province. The Sasak patriarchal culture is the main cause of violence against women in the household domain as well as in the labour sector. The reason behind violence towards women is the dominance of every aspect of daily life by men (husband, father, brother), an important component of Sasak culture and difficult to change. Violence towards women therefore is deemed to be legal and normal. In Sasak adat, women and children are regarded as the property of men.

The LBH APIK NTB\(^1\), the Indonesian Women's Association for Justice, West Nusa Tenggara argues that the Sasaks have insufficient knowledge of the pure Islamic religion, are strongly influenced by customary law and consequently it might seem to outsiders that violence against women is legitimised by Islam\(^2\). Furthermore the LBH APIK NTB, strongly promoted by waktu lima women, states that Allah provides religion in order to promote women's protection regarding gender equality.

Violence against women emerges in different forms such as rape inside the family, sexual harassment at home and at work, wife beating and an increase in prostitution. The high number of violence cases indicates a marginalisation of Sasak women and the LBH APIK NTB complains about the absence of women in influential government and legislative positions. Sasak women are still moving in the shadows of men and according to Islamic educational institutions, organisations and the LBH APIK NTB, rural women have not yet learned about their rights.

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\(^1\) LBH APIK NTB, Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan, NTB.

\(^2\) Similar to this factor is the issue of 'Honour Killings' in various rural areas in Pakistan. There, the killing of women for reasons of male honour, is a customary rule introduced to Pakistan from Central Asia before the arrival of Islam. However, outsiders mostly connect this tradition to Islam.

The LBH APIK NTB and several influential Tuan Guru claim that before the Prophet Mohammed was born, women on the Arabian Peninsula were treated as less than human. Baby girls were often killed at birth, but the Prophet restored the dignity and the status of women and taught that women were born to become men’s associates and that Islam respects women.

However, differences in traditions and culture significant to a society have an important influence on that society’s view regarding women’s positions. In Lombok’s rural areas most behaviour towards women is of a discriminatory nature. For example, the opinion that women do not require higher education (in some cases any education) since they will eventually return to the kitchen, is still widely held. According to LBH APIK NTB this has an impact on women’s future and their bargaining power. By this, the Association means the control over economic resources and includes in these land control, cash income, house and garden and movable goods.

Under aged marriage as well as husbands moving to other countries to obtain employment and remarry overseas are factors discussed as causes for frequent divorces in Lombok. In most cases divorced women have to tackle the burden of raising their children without any financial help from their ex-husbands and poor education forces some women into prostitution.

Organisations implementing advocacy for women are still few whereas cases of violence and harassment against women are plentiful. Sadly, most violence cases are not being brought to the public’s notice. Women in rural areas do not have the courage to speak up nor are they in fact sometimes aware that they were treated unfairly. As a consequence, especially in the case of divorce, society burdens women with having to look for life’s necessities elsewhere, such as prostitution. To increase

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women's bargaining power is not only a responsibility of men but women also must become more active in women's empowerment movements. Men on the other hand have to be educated not to view women as objects or commodities and there have been cases of husbands selling their wives as prostitutes in Lombok.

This chapter will begin by discussing the structure and aims of LBH APIK NTB. Following that, prostitution (which is viewed by the LBH APIK NTB as a kind of violence against women) will be examined as a social ailment and cases of such kind of violence having occurred in Lombok will be looked at. The efforts of the rehabilitation center Budi Rini will be discussed as well as discrimination at the workplace. Finally it will be explained why Lombok shows such a high divorce rate and adat will once again be questioned as a source of gender inequality. Information and data for this chapter was drawn from sources such as the Association's 2001 Annual Report, newspaper clippings, articles from the Bulletin Bini Parigan, and discussions with Association members, Tuan Guru as well as victims of violence in Lombok.

5.1

LBH APIK NTB in brief

The LBH APIK NTB⁴ was established in Mataram in November 1998. Its establishment coincided with the World Day of Anti Violence on 25 November 1998. The Association is a non-government organisation whose aim it is to abolish any form of discrimination against and exploitation of women and to promote legal equality on gender related issues. It also seeks to teach women to regard domestic violence (physical attacks, curses, obscenities), forced polygyny and child abuse,

⁴ LBH APIK NTB : an off-shoot of the LBH APIK national organisation based in Jakarta.
factors which have affected women psychologically and physically, as a crime.

LBH APIK NTB carries out its mission and vision based on the following criteria:

1. Litigation and provision of legal aid to women who are economically, politically and socially oppressed.
2. Supporting the implementation of policies and legislation, which support women’s rights.
3. To improve the awareness of human rights especially the rights of women.
4. Supporting the NGO’s network in order to uphold women’s rights.
5. Spread information dealing with educational law awareness in women’s and children’s rights.

The LBH APIK NTB is divided into four sections responsible for different activities:

1. The Legal Aid Division of LBH APIK NTB

The LBH APIK NTB Legal Aid Division conducts activity programs to provide consultation for women who are requesting legal aid as well as pleading for and accompanying clients either out of or in court. Women seeking help and support in court and being unfairly treated socially, politically and economically are the main beneficiaries. Legal aid service is provided free of charge. However, clients have to pay personal expenses such as transportation fees.

In 2001 the Legal Aid Division provided assistance with 271 cases. Those were cases dealt with in court. Advocacy and support services were provided for women during preliminary meetings either via telephone, letters or face to face.

Litigation

39 cases of the above mentioned 271 were litigation cases. Those 39 were processed as follows:
1. 15 cases, which are still in progress and are being handled by the local Police Department, the public prosecutor or in court.

2. 8 cases, which had been finalised without a court sentence. In each case, a letter of agreement was signed by both parties (husband and wife) instead.

3. 16 cases, which were finalised by court decisions. 15 of these cases were handled by the judge’s committee by way of granting legal suit with appropriate indictment according to women’s rights. One case dealt with child custody after marriage. In this particular case the woman’s right to look after the children was denied since the accused husband held a high social position and therefore had the power to influence the judge’s decision.

Since January 2001 the Legal Aid Division dealt with 20 divorce cases and 17 cases of domestic violence. The divorce cases involved marital confirmation, custody of children, maintenance, shared matrimonial property, mistreatment, marital abrogation as well as bequest and financial matters.

Advocacy

Active support is carried out on all cases that were processed by way of court sessions but also cases that had never appeared in front of a court such as rape cases, migrant labour issues and others. In 2000 LBH APIK NTB’s Legal Aid Division gave assistance in dealing with 8 cases of rape and obscenity. Also, 18 migrant labour cases had been finalised in 2001. These cases dealt mainly with the issue of non-payment.

Questionnaire Analysis

To enhance the quality of the service for women needing legal aid and in order to meet the client’s expectations, LBH APIK NTB distributes a questionnaire to all
clients. Most respondents so far stated that the Association gives excellent service especially regarding education in women's rights. Most women stated that after receiving assistance from LBH APIK NTB their husbands no longer underestimated them. However, LBH APIK NTB received some suggestions for further improvement, for example that more female lawyers should be employed and that more community outreach meetings dealing with law education should be held in isolated areas.

Partner Meetings

From February 2001 to January 2002 LBH APIK NTB's Legal Aid Division held six meetings with partners (mitra). Mitra or partners are other organisations, which give support by way of funding, psychological counselling and education. Mitra can also be individuals joining LBH APIK NTB on a voluntary basis. Mostly these are women having experienced harassment in some way. One of the main partners is the NGO Annisa. Meetings are arranged once a month with the purpose of strengthening the relationship between LBH APIK NTB and its partners, brainstorming and sharing knowledge to understand the importance of women's legal rights to successfully teach women in these areas so that they become more independent and do not need the LBH APIK NTB in the future.

II. Mass Education Division

Training

The first training session arranged by LBH APIK's Mass Education Division was held in June 2001 in Mataram. The aim was to raise the awareness of the legal issues

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5 See chapter 4 for information on the NGO Annisa.
on gender perspective of students at the Faculty of Law, Universitas Mataram. The training was attended by 22 participants (11 male/11 female).

The result of this training was to motivate the students to become partners of LBH APIK NTB. These law students are now involved in LBH APIK NTB activities, such as campaign programs and lobbying.

A second training session was held in Sumbawa in January 2002 with the emphasis on approaching religious leaders to implement education regarding gender equality into pesantren curricula. A third meeting was held in June 2002 again in Mataram with the same mission as in Sumbawa in January 2002. Several Tuan Guru and the chairwomen of Wanita Islam as well as Aisiyah took part. Tuan Guru as religious keyfigures were invited as trainers. Since the role of a Tuan Guru is of great importance in Lombok, he is most likely to be the first authority sought if the community is confronted with a criminal case, some of them being cases of violence against women.

Seminars and Community Outreach Meetings

Besides training activities the Mass Education Division also conducts workshops, seminars and campaigns. The first workshop on abolishing violence against women in NTB took place in May 2001 in Mataram. It was held in conjunction with the Ministry of Women Empowerment. In November 2001 LBH APIK NTB held a meeting with Lombok's local newspaper (Lombok Pos), executives, legislators, several Tuan Guru and community key figures including chairwomen of Wanita Islam and Aisiyah. Items for discussion included testimonies from victims of violence. The victims clearly expressed their feelings and raised the awareness of the harassment faced and hindrances encountered in society when seeking support.
Furthermore, LBH APIK NTB conducts community outreach meetings dealing primarily with education on legal issues regarding women’s rights, protection and civil/criminal law. Community outreach meetings so far have been conducted in villages in North East Lombok, in Bayan and in four villages in East Lombok. Meetings were generally well attended by the wider community.

Community outreach meetings are also conducted with various government offices, such as the Mataram Police Department. To support further community awareness on gender perspectives and the law, the mass education division spreads law awareness by way of printed media such as the Association’s own bulletin (Bulletin Bini Parigan), brochures, stickers and posters. Brochures delivered by LBH APIK NTB volunteers deal with issues such as

1. Domestic Violence
2. Heritage rights
3. Forced polygyny
4. Marital abrogation
5. Children and women as rape victims
6. Sexual harassment

III. Publication and Documentation Division

The Publication and Documentation Division is a subdivision of the Mass Education Division. Every year since the establishment of LBH APIK NTB, the Association together with its partners conducts a campaign on violence against women. This involves distributing posters and banners throughout Mataram, meetings with the local council addressing bias in gender policies and rallies through Mataram displaying and carrying banners against violence on women.
LBH APIK NTB's Publication and Documentation Division also manages a small library containing books on law and legislation, education, women's empowerment, science, dictionaries, politics and general knowledge. The library keeps copies of the West Nusa Tenggara legislation and its policies and any form of working papers needed to support the duties of the aforementioned divisions. Other responsibilities are collecting and arranging newspaper clippings, which are classified into topics such as rape, prostitution, domestic violence, migrant labour and general news about LBH APIK NTB. The division is also active in the field of investigation with the purpose of supporting the Legal Aid and Mass Education Division. Investigations entail the gathering of information from the main sources such as interviewing various Tuan Guru, women's organisations, government departments and the general community. Information is also collected for the bulletin. Such information might include the plight of women employed in Mataram's massage parlours, rape cases on children (according to LBH APIK NTB these cases are on the rise), the situation of female workers of big companies such as tobacco companies in East Lombok and the situation of prostitutes. The activities of Budi Rini, a Mataram institution dealing with the rehabilitation of prostitutes, are utilised as a further source of information. Apart from this the division analysed government policies, especially local legislation throughout NTB. LBH APIK NTB recommended to the local government to revise certain policies regarding gender equality (one of those recommendations was equal pay for male and female labourers).

An analysis on the educational system in NTB was carried out in January 2002. This included meetings and discussions with the NGO Annisa, teachers and students from senior high schools and various pesantren. The results of this examination showed that there was no evidence of gender discrimination in the educational environment.
IV. Division of Public Service, Human Resources and Funding

This division trains the staff of LBH APIK NTB on a continuing basis to develop the institution’s human resources in order to serve the community in a professional way. Certain training activities to date include:

1. Capacity building conducted by Oxfam, New Zealand, March 2001
2. Training of Publication and Documentation Staff in finance matters, April 2002
3. Training on human rights issues attended by legal aid staff, June 2001
4. Training on counselling, attended by staff from the legal aid and publication and documentation division, July 2001
5. Training on NGO management, every month

The main responsibility of the division is to supervise the finances of each division in LBH APIK NTB. Actions and work efforts carried out by LBH APIK NTB are highly regarded by the judges of the Mataram courts, the courts’ civil clerks and lawyers. Meetings with the courts resulted in the mutual decision to concentrate on more community outreach meetings on a continuing basis.

5.2

Prostitution on the "Island of a Thousand Mosques"

According to the LBH APIK NTB and several religious key figures prostitution is a social ailment, which has to be eliminated. With the help of the Mataram based rehabilitation center Budi Rini, LBH APIK NTB, Tuan Guru and other committed members of the community try to fight against the trap of prostitution. Although there is no evidence of confinement to one area (such as a red light district), the NTB’s Department of Welfare established that over 300 women are currently active
as sex workers. The problem of viewing prostitution as blasphemy amongst the wider society creates an enormous hardship for women to be accepted into society again if they decide to finally stop work in the sex industry.

Lombok, also proudly called Pulau Seribu Mesjid, indicating a loyal religiousness and ongoing Islamisation, does not like to be seen as a place of sin and therefore the fight to eliminate prostitution is an important task. In Sumbawa for example, the local NTB government has implemented the Tim Penyakit Sosial (team responsible to fight social disease) with the emphasis on eliminating prostitution. The province of East Lombok is currently planning special regional laws to eliminate prostitution. According to an article in Bini Parigan’s special issue about sex workers in NTB, it is an impossible task to rid the province of prostitution primarily because the government does not come forward with financial commitments to establish more rehabilitation outlets and secondly because prostitution is only fought against in poorer market areas. Higher-class prostitution such as conducted in hotels by way of procurers is almost uncontrollable. A further problem is the non-existence of a confined location and the influence of tourist development as well as the mining industry in Sumbawa, which has caused a rise in sex workers. In the case of the developing mining industry, prostitutes work as so-called "contracted wives". Single male mining employees sign a contract with a prostitute for a certain period of time. The woman then lives with the male until her contract ends.

Problem solving by human approach

The way of handling the problem of prostitution in NTB emphasises the moral aspect since it is treated as nothing other than a source of problems. Consequently efforts of

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7 *Pulau Seribu Mesjid* - Island of a Thousand Mosques
elimination take the form of repressive actions such as arresting, tyrannising and punishing prostitutes instead of looking deeper into the woman's exploited position, her feelings and the benefits to those in power. The moral approach, which is of a repressive and manipulative character, does not solve the problem of prostitution because its targets are the sex workers. LBH APIK NTB argues that the moral approach has proven unsuccessful and strives for alternatives. It was suggested by female observers and social monitors to take a human approach where prostitutes should be viewed as victims of these problems emerging in society. The aim should be to approach the source of problems and not the person being faced by the problem. By way of the human approach, it is expected that feelings of attention, sympathy, solidarity and empathy might emerge and that prostitutes are not seen as enemies of society but rather as sisters who have experienced an unfortunate plight and urgently need a helping hand.

Viewing the problem of prostitution only from a moral aspect is according to LBH APIK NTB too one-sided. Arresting prostitutes by way of organised operations which work closely together with the local Police Department and sending them to special institutions for the purpose of rehabilitation does not guarantee their resignation from prostitution in the future. According to the chairman of Budi Rini, women return to work as prostitutes mainly because of non-acceptability by family and the non-supportive behaviour of the mainstream society in their efforts to stop work as a prostitute and become integrated into normal life again. Consequently it is in society's hands to stop prostitution by accepting those women and their desires to stop that kind of work.

A survey in Mataram conducted together with members of the LBH APIK NTB showed that the most frequent reasons to become a prostitute were economic
difficulties caused by divorce, not having obtained sufficient education or in fact being forced into sex work by their own husbands.

One of the many women having experienced the latter form of being forced into this situation, Yuli, was prepared to give information. Her story was later published in *Bini Parigan*:

At the age of thirteen my parents arranged my marriage to a man in our *dusun*, a relative from my father's side. Shortly after the marriage my husband took on a job as a waiter on Gili Trawangan and I went with him. The following year our son was born. Up to the third year our marriage was fine. When my son turned four my husband seldom came home at night. A friend told me he had an affair with another woman. I did not believe it at first until I caught them red-handed. I was so angry – I divorced him. After the divorce he brought me back to my parent’s place but after a while I felt I was a burden since my parents are quite poor. I left again for Gili Trawangan and my parents kept my child. I was offered work as a waitress in one of the hotels. At that time I had no eyes whatsoever for men. My ex-husband repeatedly tried to reconcile but I refused. Later I met a guide, fell in love once again and we married.

After the marriage we lived at his house in Mataram. The first year of our marriage was happy. I was quite content to stay at home, cook, clean and look after my husband. Finally he started to stay away at nights – sometimes for days. I was forced to sell our household items to feed myself and pay bills. He did not give or send me any money for life’s necessities. On the few occasions he came home he was mostly in a drunken state.

One day I told him that I would like to go back to work. Firstly he was mad at me

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8 Gili Trawangan is one of three tourist islands off the Lombok west coast.
but several days later I was surprised when he asked me if I wanted to work again. He said a friend was looking for a waitress in a restaurant in Senggigi. I was very happy – especially because he agreed. He told me that my boss would pick me up later and then he left the house. Shortly after my husband had left the house a man in a car arrived and announced that he was there to pick me up. When I was already in the car he told me he had to go to Bali first to pick up another waitress and I was to accompany him. In Denpasar I had to share a room with this man because apparently the hotel was booked out. I was relieved that the room had two beds. But in the middle of the night he woke me and forced me to have sex with him. I revolted and refused. The man became very angry and said he had already paid for my services. I cried and realised that my own husband had sold me. I saw I had no other choice and kept quiet. Every day – I have forgotten how many times – I had to serve him. After some days in Denpasar we returned to Mataram. I felt very hurt and decided not to return to my husband’s house. I moved in with a friend near Senggigi. Initially I assumed she worked in a restaurant, but as it turned out she worked as a prostitute. She seemed to have a lot of money and therefore I finally decided to join the sex industry myself. Since then I normally hang out in Senggigi. Firstly I waited for customers organised through procurers or other middlemen but I understood quickly that this way was too complicated and not very lucrative. After I had saved some money I rented a room near Mataram and bought a mobile phone. I now leave my phone number with security guards in hotels or with taxi drivers, so whenever there is a customer I can be reached and I can make money during the day as well. The evenings I spend in Senggigi. Two days before puasa⁹ I was picked up by some operation and brought to Budi Rini where I am staying now. I worked as

⁹ puasa – Islamic fasting month
a prostitute mainly for the reason of helping my family in the village. I used to make Rp.100,000 per customer and approximately Rp.20,000 was going to the hotel or the taxi driver. I had a minimum of seven customers a day. I am now learning a trade with the support of Budi Rini.

Yuli’s case is not the only one of its kind. Women brought up in traditional villages with no education are being forced into endogamous marriage\(^\text{10}\), which often results in divorce and leaves them desperate. From childhood on men controlled them and they accept it as normal and their fate (nasib).

Sahan, the chairman of the Budi Rini rehabilitation center for six years and having served twenty years in East Lombok’s Department of Social Welfare, does not agree with the term ‘prostitute’. He rather prefers to use the expression Wanita Rawan Sosial Ekonomi (Women of a troubled social economy). In an interview with Bini Parigan he stated that village women are seduced into prostitution since rural areas do not promise much with regards to income, especially if a woman has been left by her husband. He stated that most prostitutes at Budi Rini are from NTB (Lombok and Sumbawa). Not only are they brought in by operations but also by their families who cannot provide for them or are too ashamed to have their daughter living in the village. According to Sahan’s experience the girls wish to leave the world of prostitution but in some cases they are under the threat of procurers. On average, each year two or three girls are delivered to Budi Rini by their families. In 2001 Budi Rini recorded eleven girls brought in by families. Since Budi Rini is the only rehabilitation facility in NTB and the number of women often exceeds the center’s capacity, Sahan wants to see another center established in Sumbawa.

Since most sex workers come from poor families, Sahan implemented a new idea

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\(^{10}\) See chapter 2 for endogamous marriage.
into Budi Rini’s rehabilitation process. He introduced the provision of capital and skills training. The process normally takes one year and includes physical (health) and mental counselling as well as skills training. Emphasis is on mental counselling because he saw an obvious moral crisis inside the mainstream society, including the factor of being pushed into embracing prostitution. The mental rehabilitation is combined with other elements to reach women’s empowerment.

Ideally Sahan would like to see skills training in line with a person’s talent, but Budi Rini does not have sufficient funding to do so. Therefore Sahan limited the training to sewing/embroidery, beautician/hairdressing and various household activities such as cooking, baking, and making brooms. Three months before the women leave the center they have to join the Practical Work Experience Program. Budi Rini organises various apprenticeships with different industries. This is a vital stage to be able to face the work environment. After the women have left rehabilitation, Budi Rini still monitors their progress to see if they could adapt to society and if society has accepted their presence. Budi Rini also observes to assess whether the women’s acquired skills and the capital given have been used to their advantage. According to Sahan the monitoring is an important process because a woman’s excellent development during rehabilitation does not guarantee success in society since these women are seen as being on the margin of society. They are very dependent on society’s response after leaving rehabilitation. If they receive a positive stimulus they will develop well and integrate. If not, they will most likely return to prostitution. In the latter case Budi Rini tries to communicate with the families because they most likely were not supported by their family circle and by society in general. Sahan mentions that the traditional belief of bad luck if consorting with prostitutes puts an enormous strain on efforts to educate society. Approaches are being made with key
figures of society and religious circles to educate the masses. Sahan also considers that a certain confined location for prostitution would make it easier to control the well being of the women but assumes that the mainstream society is not ready for this for quite some time to come.  

5.3

The problem of kawin-cerai

When in Lombok, the popular expression kawin-cerai can often be overheard. The circle of getting married and divorced numerous times is almost a cultural institution in Lombok. In a forum called ‘Paying Attention to the Issue of kawin-cerai and children’s rights’ organised by LBH APIK NTB in 2001 it was revealed that in one year (2000-2001) the figures for kawin-cerai cases in NTB were more than 68,000. The report showed that the causes for a high divorce rate were economic factors including social factors such as the husband leaving to work in Malaysia as well as a low understanding of developing a well functioning household.

It is significant to note that kawin-cerai cases do not decrease, in fact a trend for it is visible and at the same time NTB’s population is growing rapidly. Stories about frequent kawin-cerai cases are to be heard all over Lombok and one gets the impression that a male Sasak is proud about his frequent acts of kawin-cerai.

One East Lombok villager had married and divorced forty times. However this problem is to be taken seriously and is no less significant than problems such as unemployment or lack of petrol. Not only is this matter a thorn in the side for religious organisations it also has implications for children’s fates. Often it occurs

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12 kawin – cerai, marriage – divorce
that people marry and divorce thirty times. It is estimated that out of each marriage only one child is born, but these thirty children are scattered throughout the area.

Changing the behaviour pattern of kawin-cerai is truly a hard task in Lombok because according to LBH APIK NTB it is culturally interrelated. Although adat marriage with its high bride price regulations promises low divorce rates, the reality looks different. Interviews with local Sasak women revealed that there is a liking amongst Sasak men to have multiple affairs which women simply have to endure unless they divorce their husbands. The male rural population often regards kawin-cerai as something to be proud of. Adultery being scorned by Islam, Lombok’s religious society calls for a closer commitment between religious key figures, the local government and key figures from the mainstream society to eliminate this social disease. Lombok’s Islamic society fears an increasing economic struggle in the lower social classes which might become uncompetitive and a burden on the rest of the society. The solution to the demographic problem is not only solved by transmigration or sending people to work overseas – solutions which do not even barely touch the roots of this problem. It was therefore suggested to the government by members of LBH APIK NTB to combine the efforts of economic development and work place establishment for women as well as men with the aim to increase families’ social and economic status and consequently achieve happier family lives. Kawin-cerai is seen by Islamic scholars as another social disease which infects society and according to them it fractures family structures. Again, the name Pulau Seribu Mesjid (Island of one Thousand Mosques) gives a wrong indication and Tuan Guru claim that kawin-cerai cannot be justified by Islamic law as well as National law. They argue that marriage should be seen as a sacred institution and not as a ticket to sexual freedom. Therefore more activities are discussed to better the way of
thinking, character, quality of life for women and children as well as reducing the number of *kawin-cerai* cases.

Currently, *dakwah*\(^{13}\) is still regarded as the most effective method to minimise the cases, but proselytising still seems to move slowly in rural Lombok. Other methods discussed with LBH APIK NTB are education by way of folk theatre (such as *Wayang Kulit*), publications and banners. Another cause of the problem being expressed by *Tuan Guru* and members of LBH APIK NTB is the Sasak males’ selfishness, which is against Islamic law. A survey conducted by the East Lombok *Tuan Guru* Maa’rif showed that an increase of one hundred and eighty villagers in a certain East Lombok area were "infected with the disease" of *kawin-cerai* and unlawful polygyny.\(^{14}\) It is to be ascertained if this is possibly a consequence of family intervention (in-laws dominating a couple’s life), marriage age manipulation by the traditional village system, a minimum of mental readiness for marriage and economic factors. The difficulty does not lie in the restriction of information services but is interwoven in the comprehension and responsibilities of a couple’s parents.

The influence of *Tuan Guru* in rural areas is still very limited and Koran reading groups organised for villages have not yet made an impact on the problem of *kawin-cerai*. Maa’rif states that *kawin-cerai* and unlawful polygyny will create disadvantages for the newly married and their children’s future. Public education does not support the child’s mental quality and unfortunately *pesantren* are still limited in rural areas. According to Maa’rif every village should establish a religiously orientated organisation to implement moral discipline amongst villagers and education especially for women.

\(^{13}\) See Chapter 3, p.39 for *dakwah*

\(^{14}\) "Kawin-Cerai Banyak Mudaratnya" (Marriage-Divorce, a big disadvantages). *Lombok Pos.* 24 July 2001, p.17
Various articles in the *Lombok Pos* as well as in *Bini Parigan* discuss the disappointment amongst *Tuan Guru* that despite their efforts in educating the rural population, especially in East Lombok, harassment against women shows a rising trend. An article from an East Lombok area stated that the local Department of Statistics claimed that 60% of husbands in East Lombok behave in a violent manner towards their wives. Several *Tuan Guru* opposed this statement and expressed their opinion that this number was plainly invented.\(^{15}\) However, it was realised that East Lombok is a troubled area in regards to violence against women and that husbands normally show a low level of responsibility for their wives and children, whereas the *Tuan Guru* try to emphasise by way of *dakwah*, that problems within a family have to be solved in a reasonable and non-violent manner. It was stated again that most problems arise from poor economic circumstances including a large number of children in one family, high infant mortality and hastily arranged marriages. The article states that due to the parents’ adherence to customary law, more importance was placed on arranging their children’s weddings than was placed on the grooms financial situation which, in turn, would dictate the couple’s living standards.\(^{16}\)

5.4

**Discrimination and violation of female labourers**

In November 2001, LBH APIK NTB decided to take a closer look at the employment situation of female labourers in NTB, especially Lombok. According to members of LBH APIK NTB the position of female workers in Indonesia in general is still rather weak. The country still does not give its women adequate protection or assistance in

\(^{15}\)“Dibantah. Tingginya Angka Kekerasan Suami kepada Isteri di Lotim” (High number of violent husbands in East Lombok opposed), *Lombok Pos*, 14 Sept 2001, p.3.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
matters of the law or welfare while at the same time, overlooking the substantial contribution made by its female workers. Female workers form an important part of Indonesia's society and make a substantial contribution to the nation's economy. Furthermore, the female employee also contributes to the nation's economy through having income tax reduced from her wages.

Although the Indonesian media frequently reports on incidents of female labourer discrimination, violation of the basic laws and insulting behaviour at the workplace, only a minimal amount of research regarding this situation in NTB has been carried out. In actual fact, with the exception of Sumbawa, the number of NTB women working in the formal as well as informal sector has previously been unknown. In an interview with Bini Parigan, the head of the Department of Manpower, NTB, stated that there never had been a single report on the violation of the basic law for female labourers, or of wage discrimination. Therefore it was believed that such incidents simply did not occur in Lombok. LBH APIK NTB decided to carry out their own independent research into these issues and shocking evidence to the contrary was uncovered. Several case studies were undertaken and investigations were conducted at various Lombok businesses. Their findings showed that female labourers were generally paid wages far below the relevant Indonesian award as well as being denied pregnancy and menstruation leave. Incidents of unjust behaviour and general discrimination towards female labourers were also discovered.

At a roof tile factory, located in East Lombok, the female labourers were paid well below the award rate of Rp. 240,000 per month. On an average, female labourers employed at this factory work seven days a week without any holidays. Their actual

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17 Decree No.328, 2001 established by the Governor of NTB. Badan Pusat Statistik Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat (Center of Statistics, NTB).
wage is determined by the quantity of tiles they produce. They receive approximately Rp.100 per tile, plus a flat rate of Rp. 1,000 per day for mixing the cement. It was established that the most a worker takes home is about Rp. 70,000 per month. However, female tile workers in Bayan, North Lombok, are only paid Rp. 50 per tile. At the same time it was discovered that at a handicraft factory in West Lombok wages for female workers were far lower than those of their male counterparts. Although the factory paid above award wages, female workers received Rp. 2,000 less than male workers. A similar case was discovered at a tobacco factory in East Lombok. Wages for female temporary employees here were Rp. 8,500 per day whereas men earned Rp. 10,000. According to the factory manager the reason for the wage difference was related to harder tasks carried out by men although these tasks could not be explained to LBH APIK NTB. Although various national laws state that a business should not conduct wage discrimination between male and female workers, certain businesses in Lombok have chosen not to comply with such regulations.

Referring to the law regarding female workers’ rights to pregnancy and menstruation leave, its implementation is not in accordance with the rule. As it is stated, female workers on a temporary employment basis have the right to the aforementioned leaves but all visited businesses will not pay for the allotted time off nor will they compensate the workers in any other way. According to several female workers in an East Lombok tobacco factory, they can take pregnancy leave but will not be paid. In most cases, when two or three months pregnant, most women resign of their own volition, primarily because conditions in the factory are damaging to their health but also because pregnancy leave is not paid. Discrimination between temporary workers

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as well as permanent workers regarding the law of menstruation leave was evident in
the West Lombok handicraft factory. Here permanent workers received paid
menstruation leave whereas temporary workers did not receive the same entitlement.

Until recently none of the female labourers in the aforementioned businesses as well
as those on several farms in Bayan were familiar with the technical terms of the laws
covering pregnancy and menstruation leave. Usually these workers take three weeks
pregnancy leave, for which they are not paid.

It is heard quite frequently that certain businesses consider all of their employees to
be casuals. A case exemplifying this was found by LBH APIK NTB at the East
Lombok tobacco factory. Firstly, the business employed hundreds of women to sort
tobacco bought from farmers. However, after the business decided to only buy
presorted tobacco, these women were suddenly put off. There was no offer of
redundancy pay or any other form of compensation, even though the temporary
labourers had worked there every day for several years.

A further problem is the poor treatment of women in the workplace. The same
tobacco factory had several cases of arbitrary treatment towards women mainly by
male workers. In most cases women do not have the courage to approach the person
who recruited them because of the fear that they will most likely lose their position.

A very typical way of discriminating against female labourers is to make them wash
the male workers’ clothes, an imposition not relevant to their normal duties. In the
case of refusal, it is almost certain that the rebellious woman would be replaced the
following week. Because of the fear of risking their position and not having any
support, most women workers endure the discrimination.

The main reason for these problems is women’s ignorance of the relevant laws.
Women in such situations are often illiterate or possess only a very low level of
school education and employers do not educate their employees in those laws that are pertinent to their employment. Together with some members of the Faculty of Law, Mataram University, LBH APIK NTB is now trying to motivate female labourers in Lombok to unite and to educate themselves regarding their rights. The emphasis is on freeing female workers from their fear of losing their positions. To realise this goal, it is necessary to establish relevant legislation that gives female workers legal protection within the workplace but does not solely protect the interests of the businesses as is often the case.

LBH APIK NTB decided to make business owners more aware of the contribution of female workers: that they play an important part in the success of the business, by way of producing items for sale as well as offering a service to customers. Owners will be warned that discriminatory behaviour can have a detrimental effect on the business.

Summing up

The LBH APIK NTB is a vital organisation for the protection of women’s rights. Its continuous involvement with their mitra as well as religious key figures and the courts as well as progressive academics forms a strong network of support for women being confronted with acts of violence.

The Sasak’s continuing adherence to adat creates a male dominance that treats women in a condescending way. Most women, especially in rural areas, have not received sufficient education to understand their rights in Islamic law and civil law and as a consequence view their treatment as normal. Further, most outsiders not being well-informed about Sasak culture see violence against women as being legalised by Islam. The LBH APIK NTB is attempting to change this situation and
encourages women to speak up about their experiences and to obtain help instead of putting up with an unpromising future of oppression. LBH APIK NTB’s involvement in the training of law students from the Mataram University in its activities will educate future law graduates in handling difficult issues such as prostitution and exposure to the rural population. Training sessions involving religious key figures will take the message of LBH APIK NTB into more isolated areas and Tuan Guru and Islamic women’s organisations can provide Islamic teachings with an emphasis on women’s rights as well as moral behaviour in the family circle.

The consequences of violence against women can be divorce and prostitution. Women being left alone without any financial support and no skill or education often have no other choice than to work as prostitutes to feed their children and themselves because in most cases their families are too poor to support them. Once being trapped in the circle of prostitution it is difficult to escape. Threats by procurers and the fear of not being accepted again by family and society keep women where they are. Budi Rini, NTB’s only rehabilitation center for prostitutes, tries to help women who are delivered by organised operations, families or arriving by themselves. Budi Rini’s comprehensive rehabilitation package tries to integrate these women into society but the organisation is still fighting against society’s moral views and traditional beliefs.

Islamic scholars and key figures regret strongly that Lombok’s rural society does not take to their teachings as much as they would like to see and fear economic hardship for future generations. However, most pesantren in Lombok have implemented gender-related education into their curriculum.

It is now of importance that rural Sasaks receive the message that education is vital for women to obtain equality in their society and consequently achieve a better
economic standing. LBH APIK NTB and its partners are aware of this matter and it has yet to be ascertained what changes these efforts will show in the future.
Conclusion

In this thesis it has been demonstrated that the social position of women amongst the Sasak is undergoing a positive change. It has been argued that Islamisation in Lombok, often criticised mainly because of the practice of polygyny, rather than customary law, has achieved potential development in the field of women’s social positions, such as education, women’s rights and the fight against traditional patriarchy.

Muslim women in Lombok are working enthusiastically on the improvement of Sasak women’s social positions and fight for their rights and education. Unfortunately Lombok has been drastically overlooked with regards to research on women’s issues whilst Java and Bali have received the most attention in matters of gender research. This thesis has been divided into three sections: Lombok’s complex *adat* system, now increasingly influenced by Islamisation; Islamic values; and women’s struggle against patriarchy and oppression.

Despite its small size, Lombok has been active in forming its own NGO’s dealing with women’s issues, which have received considerable acknowledgment amongst the wider Lombok community. This is especially true of *Annisa* and the LBH APIK NTB, exclusively administered by local women. It is obvious that Lombok’s Islamisation process strives to eliminate elements of Sasak *adat*. However it has been ascertained that this is the only way for Sasak women to obtain any rights and education since Sasak *adat* is based on a patriarchal system where women are seen as objects to be owned and controlled by men.

The existing dichotomy amongst Lombok’s population still creates tension between the *adat* oriented *wetu telu* and the orthodox Islamic *waktu lima*. Most Sasak women nowadays prefer to live the *waktu lima* way, firstly because it
liberates them from traditional components such as the ranking system, endogamous marriage and their husbands' burden of high bride prices; and secondly because they and their female children have a greater chance to receive an education as well as a right to inheritance. Islamisation is basically viewed as a modernisation process amongst waktu lima members and some, especially younger people, express both a lack of interest in and an uncertainty about the customs of their Sasak ethnicity. On the other hand it is argued by members of the wetu telu that Islamic marriage leads to an even higher percentage of divorce than adat marriages. The main reasons for this are a lower bride price and the occurrence of polygyny, which is generally accepted by Sasak women in a fatalistic way. But it seems this is not always the case. As shown in chapter 3, polygyny is quite accepted by some women who wish to raise their economic status. In fact the research shows that male religious leaders, the Tuan Guru, nowadays do not support polygyny as an acceptable institution whereas some women active in Islamic women's organisations seem to relate to it more agreeably if treated in a just way as mentioned in the Koran. Women from traditional or transitional areas such as Olingsik and Pengambuk show the strongest agitation if confronted with polygyny, especially if their husbands decide to marry again whilst working overseas. It has to be emphasised that polygyny is indeed a traditional custom¹, although not amongst the wetu telu, and existed long before the arrival of Islam in Arabia as well as amongst the Hindu Balinese who practiced polygyny as well as not respecting the Sasak custom of

hypergamy in Lombok whilst occupying the island. Controlled polygyny (four wives only) was then introduced by Islamisation processes.

In spite of the fact that the religious community of Lombok argues that polygyny is not a frequent occurrence, a trend is visible. This is shown by the LBH APIK NTB surveys when dealing with divorce cases. Waktu lima members however assert that reasons such as a low standard of women’s education, economic factors and elements of Sasak adat are causes for frequent divorces on Lombok.

To change this situation, Lombok’s pesantren nowadays emphasise quality education for female students and spread the message that women need ongoing education to be independent and also to understand their rights in Islamic society.

Consequently a high number of female santri successfully complete university degrees in Mataram or at other Indonesian tertiary institutions.

The effort to educate rural women, a group most affected by the patriarchal traditional system, is still in its humble beginnings although organisations such as the NGO Amnisa show promising prospects in the fields of economic training and establishing businesses for the purpose of women’s financial independence.

Unfortunately a wide area of rural districts has not yet been reached as the analysis regarding living and health conditions of female pottery workers in chapter 4 clearly shows. Here the factor of women not having a choice in the field of employment and its consequences has been clearly assessed and shows that adat patriarchy in fact can adversely affect production if women’s positions are not improved by education in areas of health and economy.

Islamic women’s organisations present in Lombok unfortunately still cling to conservative methods as seen in Aisyiyah which shows tendencies of a PKK

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structure and although possessing the potential to expand women’s sphere of activities in Mataram this is still not being developed and used to a sufficient extent in rural areas. Dakwah as a modernisation process is not a bad notion to reach rural women’s attention but needs to be implemented more forcefully. As seen in the example of Wanita Islam, an Islamic women’s organisation of a more tolerant form, funding from the Indonesian capital’s main offices does not yet reach rural areas. Wanita Islam after all does not isolate itself from other organisations and permits members to join NGO’s such as Annisa. However, younger members of the Islamic women’s organisations present in Lombok show a tendency to change and do not always agree with the opinions of older chairwomen. Discussions regarding an Islamic reform system and support for Islamic neo-modernism are currently on the agenda and have reached Lombok’s pesantren where female santri slowly acquire rather feminist opinions. The overall message, that women as the powerless gender no longer want to be a passive part of somebody else’s project, as could be seen in New Order organisations such as Dharma Wanita and the PKK, slowly but surely spreads.

Sasak women’s health situation is a difficult issue and changing traditional villagers’ approach to rely on and trust modern medicine is a tough and frustrating task for state-trained health personnel in rural adat orientated areas. It can be asserted that the base problems stem from authoritative behaviour of the PKK towards villagers, especially towards women, in New Order times. Nowadays midwives try to understand traditional ways in order to approach the rural community more effectively and to gain their trust. Despite these efforts, rural Sasak areas still show the highest rate of infant mortality in Indonesia. Influenced
by village elders and family, these women continue to hold on to the strongly
implemented *ilmu* when having to deal with women’s health and childbirth.

Lombok still shows a high incidence of violence against women, in fact the
highest in NTB. The LBH APIK NTB blames the Sasak patriarchal culture for
this and Sasak women are under the impression that violence is part of life or
rather, their fate. In the last four years the LBH APIK NTB has created an
effective NGO system, in the form of a legal aid service for women, with
administrative bodies such as a Publication Division creating the NGO’s own
bulletin as well as influential partners such as the local courts, religious key
figures, law students and professors as well as the locally established
rehabilitation center *Budi Rini*, which concentrates on integrating prostitutes into
society. Prostitution is a thorn in the side for the religious community and the
*Tuan Guru* mostly blame *adat*, the insufficient knowledge of pure Islam, rural
women’s poor education, poor economic standards and Lombok society’s
traditional beliefs and the moral viewing of prostitutes, the latter being the
biggest obstacle for *Budi Rini* to reintegrate these women into society. The LBH
APIK NTB and *Budi Rini* are currently working on solving the matter of
prostitution by taking a human approach rather than a moral one, that is viewing
prostitutes as victims and searching for the source of the problem instead of
branding the prostitute as the problem.

LBH APIK NTB is also making an effort to improve the situation for female
labourers by fighting for new protective workers’ laws which will diminish the
discrimination against females at their workplace in regards to fair pay and equal
treatment.
Religious key figures complain about rural populations not being attentive enough to their teachings and fear a harsh future for these people. To raise the standard of Sasak women’s social positions the helping hand definitely has to be extended more into rural areas. However, more pesantren are planned to be established in remote areas and an increasing number of young female santri are prepared to teach in rural areas to help their female counterparts.

The Indonesian island of Lombok has had to swallow a multitude of accusations by the western world in recent years, very often because of the apparent presence of fanatical Muslim groups, especially after the January 2000 riots, allegedly carried out by Javanese fundamentalists. In conjunction with those allegations outsiders see the female Islamised population in Lombok as being oppressed. Often this assumption stems from how orthodox Muslim women and female pesantren students are dressed. However, it is asserted that Muslim headdress or even hijab does not mean oppression in Lombok, in fact it expresses education, liberation and a fight for gender equality. Female university staff, female doctors, nurses and lawyers all wear the headdress if in public and argue that it gives them equal status to men. Those are very outspoken women trying to make a change.

Sasak adat, in itself shamelessly eclectic, might look appealing and colourful to the outsider with its elaborate harvest festivals, wedding processions and ancestor worship ceremonies. However it places a burden on Sasak women and their social position will not change if education, so much aimed for by the waktu lima, continues to be denied them. Lombok’s women have formed a promising network of organisations and NGO’s, a great effort for a small island, at times quite neglected by the Javanese administration. If Islamic women’s organisations and NGO’s work harmoniously together in the future, Sasak women will see a definite
change for themselves and hopefully adat elements will be only taken out of the
closet to impress the tourist world. Western anthropologists tend to glorify adat
but forget that it will hinder certain societies’ endeavours to develop and to attain
a better social standard, especially with regards to the status of women.

With the Tuan Guru’s contemporary approach to polygyny and women’s rise in
self-confidence through education this last obstacle might vanish in the near
future. If polygyny receives the connotation of a shameful tasteless act amongst
the wider population, and will not be accepted by religious key figures in the
future, Islamisation in Lombok will be thriving even more for the advantage of its
women.
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