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Cultural Dynamics and Islamic Legal Realities of *Bundo Kandung* in the Patriarchal System of West Sumatra

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Abstract

In the Minangkabau tradition, women hold a distinct society and cultural standing referred to as *Bundo Kandung*, signifying their unique and esteemed position. This paper aims to examine the position upheld by ethnic Minangkabau women within patriarchy framework of the customary law of West Sumatra and the general Islamic law. This study is qualitative and was conducted using a comparative law approach. To achieve the study aim, data were obtained from interviews with academics, cultural and religious leaders, as well as tradition leaders. The obtained results showed a decline in the status of *Bundo Kandung* within the Minangkabau customs. In this custom, the glory of women holding heirloom property was only being used as a symbol. Meanwhile, Islamic law acknowledges that granting rights to women is not contradictory or incompatible. Typically, Islam creates room for equality in the roles and functions of women and men within the Minangkabau community, allowing women (*Bundo Kandung*), to have equal opportunities in the public sphere, particularly in the field of work. Based on this understanding, it is crucial to deeply instill in the younger generation an understanding of their position within the customs, religious values, family dynamics, and cultural heritage. This comprehensive education is particularly important as it ensures their awareness of functions and positions, aiming to prevent cultural disparities within the Minangkabau society.

Keywords:

Culture Patriarchy; Ethnic Minangkabau; *Bundo Kandung* ; Customary Law; Islamic Law.

Abstrak

Dalam tradisi Minangkabau, perempuan memiliki kedudukan yang berbeda dalam masyarakat dan budaya yang disebut sebagai *Bundo Kandung*, yang menandakan posisi mereka yang unik dan terhormat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji posisi yang

dijunjung tinggi oleh perempuan etnis Minangkabau dalam kerangka patriarki dalam hukum adat Sumatera Barat dan hukum Islam secara umum. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dan dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan perbandingan hukum. Untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian, data diperoleh dari wawancara dengan akademisi, budayawan, tokoh agama, dan tokoh adat. Hasil yang diperoleh menunjukkan adanya penurunan status *Bundo Kanduang* dalam adat Minangkabau. Dalam adat ini, kemuliaan perempuan yang memegang harta pusaka hanya digunakan sebagai simbol. Sementara itu, hukum Islam mengakui bahwa pemberian hak kepada perempuan tidak bertentangan atau tidak sesuai. Secara khusus, Islam menciptakan ruang untuk kesetaraan peran dan fungsi perempuan dan laki-laki dalam masyarakat Minangkabau, yang memungkinkan perempuan (*Bundo Kanduang*), untuk memiliki kesempatan yang sama di ruang publik, khususnya di bidang pekerjaan. Berdasarkan pemahaman ini, sangat penting untuk menanamkan pemahaman yang mendalam kepada generasi muda tentang posisi mereka dalam adat, nilai-nilai agama, dinamika keluarga, dan warisan budaya. Pendidikan yang komprehensif ini sangat penting untuk memastikan kesadaran mereka akan fungsi dan posisi mereka, yang bertujuan untuk mencegah kesenjangan budaya dalam masyarakat Minangkabau.

Kata Kunci:

Budaya Patriarki; Etnik Minangkabau; *Bundo Kanduang*; Hukum Adat; Hukum Islam.

Introduction

The cultural change from matriarchy to patriarchy occurs when men become familiar with marriage (Merlini, 2016). Marriages that create assets require delegation as inheritance because need in this delegation, men begin to look for their offspring to be given inheritance rights (Hilmi & Kiram, 2023). Since then, children have been identified as descending from their father's lineage (Itao & Kaneko, 2020). Changes that were initially natural because marriage is also a food buffer. However, in the next process, human views regarding property rights were expanded. Not only ownership rights to goods but also ownership rights to decision making in life. The journey of patriarchal culture became stronger when social changes occurred in society, then this society developed into a capitalist society, and was then locked into a system of militarism (Genç, 2022). In other words, the gender role of women in managing and looking after has resulted in the growth of traditions and community beliefs that they must be responsible for carrying out all domestic work (Tabassum & Nayak, 2021). The socialization of gender roles creates feelings women feel guilty if they do not carry out these domestic duties (Harrington et al., 2022). Meanwhile, men not only feel that they are not their responsibility, even in many traditions men are traditionally prohibited from being involved in domestic work (Narasati, 2019). The workload is doubled for women who work in outside the house.

Socially and culturally, Minangkabau women, also known as *Bundo Kanduang* (Fitri et al., 2021), have a unique position in Minangkabau customary law, especially in the descent system which is taken from the mother's lineage (matrilineal) (Sulastri et al., 2021). Economic resources and their use are also for women. Meanwhile, in the context of

political dynamics in traditional communities, especially in deliberations for families, voices *Bundo Kanduang* determines the outcome want to achieve (Munir et al., 2022). The social phenomena that apply in society are very dynamic. Therefore, it cannot be denied that life public it is full of changes. As a result, there has been quite a shift in the socio-cultural value system of the Minangkabau ethnic group (W.S., 2020). The actualization of socio-cultural values by society does not exist in space which vacuum. It means, these socio-cultural values will continue to develop and change according to the conditions of the individual or society that applies it. Thus, actualization is very dependent on the surrounding environment.

Relations between women and men in Indonesia are still dominated by gender ideology which produces culture patriarchy (Ernanda, 2023). Gender as analytical tools are generally used by adherents of the conflict social science school which focuses on structural and systemic injustices caused by gender (N. P. A. Larasati, 2021). Gender, as stated by Oakley, means differences No biological and No God's nature (Susilawati et al., 2023). This culture does not accommodate equality, balance, so that women become unimportant for considered. The gender perspective finds various manifestations injustice like the occurrence of marginalization or economic impoverishment of women, for example many village women who were marginalized and made poor because of the revolutionary agricultural program green which only focuses on male farmers (Husein et al., 2021). Another impact, the occurrence of subordination to one gender generally occurs in women in households, where many policies are made without consideration important race Woman (A. M. Larasati & Ayu, 2020). Another thing, negative labeling (stereotypes) towards certain genders resulting in discrimination against women, for example There is the belief in society that men are breadwinners and outside work done by women is valued only as extra and therefore may be paid less. It is even more ironic that women bear a greater and longer domestic workload (burden).

The study of the position of women in Islamic legal teachings has dominant potential in the application of gender ideology which is biased (Hanifuddin, 2011). In this context, Islamic law can provide inspiration and encouragement for the emergence of gender inequality (Herman, 2022). At the practical level of religious life, reality often shows In fact, all forms of oppression and injustice can occur through religious teachings and speech. When religion is brought up, culture is used as the driving force, how gender ideology enters the community, both men and women, educated and non-educated (Elfira, 2023). If they believe that social life begins with the individual, then the family as the smallest community in society becomes a very strategic nursery area for the preservation and development of gender ideology (Suryani et al., 2023). Inductive family and deductively, gender ideology values are developed. This development process is not

based on sufficient and critical understanding and appreciation, and in essence is only a process of impoverishment of civilization, because human culture does not develop towards goodness but runs full of exploitation (Amaliatulwalidain, 2018).

This problem needs to be explained regarding the position of Minangkabau ethnic women who have begun to be degraded due to patriarchy in general as a One system which characterizes a man (father) who is already in power. In this system, men have the power to determine all work. This system is considered normal because it is aligned with the division of labor based on sex. Patriarchal culture is believed to be a multilevel system formed by a power that controls and dominates other parties. The other party, according to those who believe in this definition, is a woman.

Methods

This research is a qualitative research located in West Sumatra with a legal sociology and comparative law approach. The data collection techniques used in this research are depth interview techniques and intensive observation. The types of data used in this research are primary data and secondary data. Primary data is interview data from several informants selected based on purposive sampling technique while secondary data is data in the form of information, writings and documentation relevant to this research. This research uses descriptive analysis. The analysis is carried out based on the views of informants (emic) who have been validated using triangulation. The conclusion of the analysis is related to the combination of data obtained from informants (emic) and the researcher's interpretation (ethic) of field data that has been reduced and simplified. The combined (conversion) data presented describes the empirical reality, organized by making a structured summary in text form and drawing conclusions from the structured data.

Result and Discussion

Minangkabau Ethnic Women; between Culture, Islamic Law and Gender

The formation of Indonesian society is intricately linked to the presence of individuals residing in various regions of Indonesia (Marjani, 2023). The presence of ethnic groups is evident in the group, as they possess distinct historical backgrounds, cultural origins, and environmental contexts. The presence of society as a social organism, particularly when coupled with a political framework, gives rise to distinct attributes that essentially establish novel regulations, which can then evolve into a culture (Yuniarti et al., 2021).

Within the context of social interactions in a diverse society, there are three

classifications that embody cultural norms: The national atmosphere refers to the social setting where explicit or implicit laws based on national culture are applied. Furthermore, the prevailing local ambiance, specifically the cultural norms that are applicable, is established by the individuals engaged in the current social interactions, which conform to established standards throughout a specific timeframe. Furthermore, there is an ethnic ambiance characterized by the prevalence of a certain ethnic culture that dictates the established norms to be adhered to by people who are part of it (Rudito, 1991).

The family serves as the fundamental unit for preserving ethnic culture, facilitating socialization, and establishing a cohesive cultural system. Society and culture are inherently interconnected, as all activities performed by individuals as members of society are guided by and rely on cultural norms and knowledge.

Culture, in its capacity as information and a lens through which we perceive and experience the world, serves as a compass and mentor for human conduct. Culture is the lens through which humans understand and navigate their life experiences. Humans acquire and possess culture through the process of learning, which includes acquiring knowledge from the inheritance system and assimilating information from the natural environment.

Patriarchal culture is a culture that enhances the overall quality of life. Respect for human values and dignity should not be limited to one perspective, specifically the male perspective, but should also consider other perspectives. It is crucial to establish egalitarian relationships among humans in social, economic, political, and religious spheres, rather than ones that are submissive and hierarchical. Acquiring patriarchal understanding necessitates a shift towards adopting a gender perspective that involves honoring and valuing women's viewpoints.

The Minangkabau people possess a keen awareness of the dynamic nature of society and culture. The Minangkabau adage "*sakali aia gadang sakali tapian baraliah*" (Cahyono, 2021) conveys the idea that the size of water and the stability of the bank can vary, serving as a reminder of the need to be aware of and adapt to change. In the Minangkabau matrilineal system, the connection between the *mamak* and nephew is reciprocally obligatory inside a *rumah gadang* (Rahmi & Gunawan, 2020). *Mamak* is responsible for the care and wellbeing of the population of *Rumah Gadang*. The *mamak* often has overall authority over all aspects of the *rumah gadang*. The role of the husband in Minangkabau tradition is solely that of a *sumando*. Subsequently, it was discovered that cultural customary teachings had experienced multiple evolutionary transformations. The bond between the mother and nephew is becoming less tight. Subsequently, the extended family's influence in Minangkabau households diminished. There is a growing inclination towards living in nuclear family units.

The alteration in terms of reference and words of address serves as a clear indication of the weakening of social bonds between a mother and her nephew, while simultaneously suggesting a strengthening of their relationship. There is a growing absence of the traditional role of "Bundo Kanduang" in the relationship between children and parents. This implies that the Minangkabau society is undergoing a transition and evolving into a different society, raising the question of whether it will persist in following matrilineal or patrilineal principles.

Gender refers to the non-biological distinctions in the attributes of women and men, which are shaped by socio-cultural norms that dictate their responsibilities in both personal and societal contexts. The term gender is distinct from sex, as sex pertains to biological events. Meanwhile, gender pertains to societal characteristics.

The term "gender" originates from English and refers to the comprehension of societal norms on the behavior and characteristics associated with males and females. Oakley defines gender as non-biological distinctions in sex that are not inherent to God's nature. The biological distinctions between the sexes are inherent in nature and hence remain consistently and universally distinct. Gender, in essence, is a socially manufactured behavioral distinction between men and women. It is neither inherent or divinely ordained, but rather emerges via an extensive social and cultural development carried out by individuals of both genders.

The existence of gender differences and the subsequent development of gender roles do not inherently lead to issues. This statement is not accurate if we consider the biological capacity of women to conceive, give birth, breastfeed, and assume roles such as nurses, caretakers, and educators of children. An issue has arisen. The issue is in the perception that women's conventional gender roles are deemed inferior to men's gender roles. Furthermore, it appears to be a gender role. And differing genders This leads to issues of inequity. Both men and women were eventually trained to accept the gender roles that perpetuated this form of injustice.

Just like nature, from a biological standpoint, there are inherent differences between women and men. Nevertheless, with regards to individual and societal rights, it is imperative that women and men are afforded equal opportunities and rights. The women's convention prioritizes gender equality and justice for both women and men, specifically advocating for equal rights and opportunities. This women's convention acknowledges the presence of biological or innate distinctions between women and men, as well as the differential treatment of women. Gender-based discrimination leads to harm inflicted upon women, creating disparities in their circumstances and societal standing compared to men. Women often face weaker conditions and positions due to experiencing discrimination or the repercussions of discriminatory treatment.

Additionally, the lack of support for women's independence from their environment, family, and society further exacerbates these inequalities (Ihromi, 2000).

The Minang society consists of both an objective world and a subjective reality. Objectivity is a state that relies on comprehension of social and cultural processes. Cultural reasoning is the most effective in elucidating social behaviors that take place inside a civilization (Berger, 1967). To comprehend the dynamics within the Minangkabau ethnic group, one must integrate the frameworks of historical structural and cultural approaches. By examining historical conditions and various perceptions of historical experiences, a comprehensive understanding can be achieved (Valentina & Safitri, 2022). This integration of approaches can be referred to as multidimensional synchronized. At its most basic level, the Minangkabau ethnic way of life is comparable to that of other ethnic communities. The Minangkabau ethnic group possesses distinct collective identity traits that may be analyzed in terms of their nature, form, and origin. This identity offers a structured sense of purpose for its members as a whole and aims to uphold that purpose by collective consensus.

In 2000, the total population of the Minangkabau ethnic group in West Sumatra Province, including locally and outside, was 5,475,145 individuals, with 2,708,751 being male. Additionally, there are 2,766,394 women. The Minangkabau ethnic group makes approximately 88.35% of the total population of West Sumatra Province. Therefore, it can be classified as a form of simple majority. The annual growth rate of the Minangkabau ethnic population is 1.45% or lower compared to the growth rates of the Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, and Malay ethnic communities (Magriasti, 2019). Despite significant societal changes, most ethnic Minangkabau individuals still adhere to the belief that their social structure is founded upon a matrilineal kinship system. Particularly when it pertains to the doctrines of the Islamic faith (Rosyad, 2022).

The most conspicuous emblem in this matrilineal kinship structure is *the rumah gadang* (Gadang House), which is a community dwelling comprising of compartments for each female inhabitant, including both unmarried girls and married women. Males are prohibited from residing in this community residence, but they are supposed to reside in the surau where they can acquire information and skills, particularly in preparation for potential international travel. The spouses of ladies residing in House *Gadang* are not permitted to be present during the daytime and must leave before sunrise. During the daytime, one's activities are typically centered on either the maternal residence or the residence of the maternal sibling.

Tambo recounted that the Minangkabau customs were established by two datuak, namely *Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang* and *Datuak Katamangguangan*, who descended from the summit of Mount Merapi. Nevertheless, it is plausible that this practice is a

matrilineal tradition that embraces the exchange of blessings with foreign cultures that also uphold such rituals, as observed in regions like the European Continent and certain parts of Southeast Asia. To fully comprehend the reality of people's everyday lives, it is insufficient to merely grasp the symbols or patterns of mutual interactions among individuals or certain groups. However, it is important to comprehend the comprehensive framework of the symbol.

Analysis of Customary Law and Islamic Law on the Position of Minangkabau Ethnic Women in a Patriarchal World

The Minangkabau culture is essentially a fusion of *syarak* customs and traditions, which are then further amalgamated with contemporary cultural values derived from the Western world (Siregar, Yulika, et al., 2022). The Minangkabau people hold the distinction of being the most populous matrilineal ethnic group globally. The socio-political organization exhibits a predominantly matrilineal structure when seen through an anthropological lens. The Minangkabau people have experienced numerous transformations throughout their history. In the Minangkabau matrilineal community, the relationship between a *mamak* and his nephew is a reciprocal bond, wherein the *mamak* is obligated to educate his nephew to shape his character and fulfill his potential, so that the nephew may dutifully follow all guidance and instructions provided by his mother. However, it has been shown that over time, the principles of evolution have undergone several modifications. Linking mother and the nephews are becoming more relaxed, and *Bundo Kanduang's* status in the *Rumah Gadang* is now uncertain. In addition, the extended family's function in Minangkabau families has been diminished, leading to a growing preference for nuclear family living arrangements.

From a macro-sociological standpoint, there exist three distinct categories of Minangkabau individuals who exhibit significant differences among them. These categories include Initially the crew members who are currently residing their hail from the West Sumatra region, their own homeland. Furthermore, the Urang crew members who have relocated from their place of origin to urban areas inside the province of West Sumatra. Furthermore, you extensively expanded your reach to abroad regions throughout many provinces in Indonesia and various other countries.

Regarding their means of subsistence, 71% of the Minangkabau population resides in the western region of Sumatra and engages in agricultural activities. Thus, from a sociological and psychological standpoint, it can be asserted that the Minangkabau traditional order, which was specifically developed for an agricultural setting, is inherently vibrant and dynamic. To summarize, the Minangkabau tribe in West Sumatra can be described as a rural community with a communal and traditional social structure. Most of

the overseas Minangkabau tribe consists of urban settlements that are characterized by individualism and dynamism. From a socio-cultural standpoint, it can be stated that Minangkabau migrants constitute a distinct category apart from the Minangkabau ethnic group residing in their own area.

Despite significant societal changes, most Minangkabau citizens continue to hold the belief and take pride in their society's foundation on a matrilineal kinship system. This system traces genealogy and inheritance through the mother's side. Particularly when it pertains to the teachings of the Islamic faith that heaven is represented as being beneath the mother's palm. The most conspicuous emblem of this matrilineal kinship system is the *rumah gadang*, a community dwelling comprising individual compartments for each woman, regardless of her marital status or age. Males are prohibited from residing in this community residence; instead, they are required to reside in the *surau*, where they are anticipated to acquire diverse information and abilities, particularly in preparation for any future travels. The presence of husbands in the homes of women who are housewives during the afternoon is not advisable. He was only able to arrive during the night and had to depart before daybreak. During the day, they reside either at their mother's residence or at their sister's residence. The matrilineal kinship system is exclusively practiced by the Minangkabau ethnic group on the island of Sumatra.

Within the Minangkabau culture, there exists a phrase known as *marumakkathayam*. Complete the form In Minangkabau, the tribal structure is akin to that of a *jurai payung* or tribe. These tribes are subsequently subdivided into families, with the division process being determined by maternal or matrilineal lineage (Ismail et al., 2023). In this research, the focus is on the changes occurring in the role of women, specifically the "Bundo Kanduang," within the patriarchal culture deeply rooted in Minangkabau society.

The future projection of the dynamics of social phenomena involves the changing patterns of shifting functions of Minangkabau ethnic women. These changes take place within different sectors that exist in society. Many new functions are undertaken by ethnic women from the Minang community. However, they may not fully acknowledge these roles as a direct result of broader societal changes in structure and function. Mohctar Naim has proposed many metrics to assess the change in the role of Minang women. One of the parameters is a conceptual paradigm that examines the position and characteristics of Minang women. This is done using a simple calibration method that involves using + and - symbols to determine the high and low functioning of Minang women. The method looks at the overall pattern of changes that occur as Minang women transition from rural to urban environments as shown in the subsequent table:

Table 1.
Calibration Simple Parameter Position Woman in Minangkabau

Parameter Position Woman	Minang woman	
	Village	City
Position social	+	+
Position political	+	+
Position economy	+	+
Ownership treasure	+	-
Mastery to child and descendants	+	+
Arrangement House ladder	+	+
Ownership right basic	+	+
Ownership price self	+	+
Freedom determine choice Alone	+	+
Freedom moves	+	+

The Minangkabau family underwent gradual transformations as they transitioned into a spiritually unified family. This shift was not only driven by the necessity to impart teachings on Islamic faith and fundamental marriage regulations, but also by societal changes that bestowed upon them a distinct function. Parents play a significant role in a child's life. Conversely, it weakens the bond between moms and their nephews, as mothers must also prioritize their own immediate family.

The indigenous inhabitants of the Minangkabau nation have always exhibited a noticeable attitude. This refers to a conflicting or contradictory attitude towards two aspects of their cultural background, specifically the customs of the Minangkabau people and the Islamic religion. They have a deep affection for and are concerned about the state and implementation of Minangkabau customs and the Islamic religion, which they consider to be the core of their Minangkabau nation. This belief has been encapsulated in the *Bukik* charter, which is regarded as the fundamental principle. The principle of *Marapalam* is based on the adherence to religious law, which in turn is based on the teachings of the holy book.

The Minangkabau people appear to exhibit symptoms of masochism syndrome, wherein they derive pleasure from self-inflicted pain. It appears that there are few individuals from ethnic backgrounds that exhibit ambivalence and masochism towards their own ethnic group or hamlet on the Alone page. The primary determinants behind this enduring ambiguous stance encompass:

- a. Following up on the integration of Minangkabau customs and Islamic religion culturally and sociologically in a comprehensive, integral, systematic and institutional form.
- b. Looking for a place for the traditional and diverse Minangkabau ethnic group in the context of nationality and statehood

The disparity in normative roles between Minangkabau customs (Nofiardi & Samiran, 2023) and Islamic religion inside the family unit originates and manifests itself at the societal level. However, the expression of this disparity lies in the lack of integration between traditional norms and religious norms within the religious culture (Yenti, 2011). The two norms and the organization of the idee drags coexist simultaneously, and while they exhibit tolerance, they lack unity. To the roles and responsibilities of men and women in Minangkabau society exhibit significant disparities. However, traditional leaders persist in adopting a moderate approach to managing divergences. Role This implies that the comprehensive norms, institutions, and practices of the Minangkabau ethnic matrilineal kinship system produce two primary outcomes that are advantageous for the welfare of women in Minangkabau. These outcomes are:

- a. formal protection of women's interests in marriage, because lineage and inheritance are entrusted to women, who are generally in a vulnerable position in marriage.
- b. theoretically, this order has the potential to violate legal norms, both international human rights law, as well as criminal law, international human rights law is violated, because the matrilineal kinship system carries out systemic discrimination against humans, not individuals but also against gender.

The order was established and executed around 10 centuries ago without any complications for the purpose of safeguarding women. Currently, there is the possibility for this to be perceived as a form of gender discrimination that is systematically institutionalized but operates in the other direction. It is fortunate that there are no Minangkabau men present who have instigated protests this form of reverse discrimination. Nevertheless, this does not inherently imply that there is a correlation between the kinship system and either the concept of justice or the national legal system.

As mentioned before, the Minangkabau people are the largest group in the world that follows a matrilineal system, where descent and inheritance are traced through the female line (Dirkareshza et al., 2022). Additionally, they strongly adhere to the Islamic faith. In Islam, gender equality is upheld, and women and men are assigned equal positions. Islam regards women as individuals possessing inherent capacities and abilities. God assigns them various roles.

When discussing Minang women, it is important to clarify the identity of Minangkabau women. Minangkabau women, known as *Bundo Kanduang*, are individuals of Minangkabau ethnicity. Regardless of their place of birth, they possess Minang traditional values that intentionally influence their personality and behavior.

In the past, the cultural and societal values of Minangkabau were mostly confined to religious and traditional principles. The traditional role of women in Minangkabau society is characterized by strength, resilience, and elegance. The Woman Minangkabau is represented by the term "*Bundo Kanduang*," which holds a central role within the family structure. *Bundo Kanduang* serves as the central hub of the complete familial network. He is consistently assigned all current issues and holds the authority to make decisions inside the family. In its functional sense, *Bundo Kanduang* is personified by the elder members of the family. *Bundo Kanduang* embodies a mature and resilient female demeanor, characterized by wisdom and reaching the pinnacle of her existence.

Property ownership within the tribal family is transferred to women, with their arrangements being governed by the *Bundo Kanduang*. Currently, the act of looking for riches is not considered significant. During that era, life was predominantly agricultural, with land, houses, and other possessions being collectively owned by families and passed down through generations. Originating from a religious standpoint, only movable assets are eligible for sharing, while the woman retains control over their management. However, as times have changed, the significance of *Bundo Kanduang* in wealth management has gradually diminished, and they are now facing increased marginalization due to the evolving culture. Their job is merely symbolic, as its function has been transferred to the nuclear family, specifically the father or husband (Siregar, Tarigan, et al., 2022).

According to various assessments, the position of the *Bundo* cage in Minang traditions is currently undergoing a decline. Currently, their ability to retain inheritance serves merely as a symbolic representation of their accomplishment. The property management by *Bundo Kanduang* involves ownership without control. Therefore, in Minangkabau culture, the term "women" signifies authority but with certain limitations. The term "woman" carries both the socio-cultural meaning of being of the feminine gender and the biological connotation of being of the female sex. Interactions between customs and religion were promoting the placement of women in influential, esteemed, and well-supported positions. Indeed, Islamic teachings are indeed patriarchal and designate the husband as the family's leader. However, in this context, Islam mandates that men must fulfill the role of provider. Consequently, Minangkabau women benefit from protection from both cultural customs, which grant them significant inheritance rights, and the Islamic religion.

Through the amalgamation of custom and religion, the status of women not only gains more fortitude but also assumes a novel significance. If we consider the historical context, customs have primarily consisted of social norms that carry ethical significance. However, when religion is introduced, customs take on a sacred and transcendent nature. Consequently, the enforcement of customs and social control becomes more complex, involving both customary and religious sanctions.

Women and men from the Minangkabau heritage cannot be considered equivalent. If the nature of women and men were equal, it would contravene the teachings of "*adat basandi syarak and syarak basandi kitabullah*" (Kosasih, 2016). Within Minang tradition, women hold a significant position and play a crucial role, with their presence being greatly valued and anticipated. Women in Minangkabau hold a significant and influential role within the tribe, clan, and Nagari. Women in this scenario serve as recipients of substantial inheritance from their mothers, which they then pass on to their nephews within their clan or tribe. The Minangkabau custom confers women with a highly esteemed status. The role of women is evident in the matrilineal kinship system (SKM), which is characterized by the following features (Elfiani et al., 2022):

- a. line descendants originate from Mother
- b. The child's tribe according to the mother's tribe " *mother's basuku kabakeh, babangso kabakeh Dad, stay away search tribe, dakek looking for parent, tabang basitumpu, hinggak mancakam* "
- c. high *pusako* descends from the nephew's mother, low *pusako* descends from father to son. In this case, it happened "*grim Bauntuak* "The right to power is in the hands of women. The right to maintain is in the hands of the man and the right to enjoy it is shared by mutual agreement.
- d. the title of *high pusako* passed from *mamak* to nephew
- e. *Matrilocal* (husband wife's house)
- f. *Exogamy* (marry outside the tribe)
- g. *sehina, semalu seraso and separeso* .

Based on understanding the research interview results, it can be understood that position and the role of women, there are 7 points that must be actualized by Minang women in their environment:

- a. look after himself
- b. look after dignity of his people
- c. guard child and his family
- d. look after treasure his heirloom
- e. advance And continue the economic life of his family
- f. brighten up nagari And Minangkabau nature

g. operate teachings ABS- SBK

Considering the important role that women play inside and outside the household, according to Minangkabau custom women can be classified into three types:

- a. *simarewan* (place for deliberation and exchange of ideas)
- b. *mambang tali cloud* (a woman who is called arrogant)
- c. *parampuan* (a good woman, a mother who has a commendable character, good manners and character, has a shy nature in her body)

Based on the analysis of several interview excerpts, researchers have discovered a multitude of divergent perspectives regarding the role of women (*Bundo Kandung*) within the context of family and culture. In addition, the erosion of customs and culture has also affected West Sumatra, primarily owing to the forces of globalization and capitalism. Consequently, women's roles within the family and culture sometimes exceed their capacities. The traditional tambos, which once governed the rhythms of women's lives, now exist solely as historical artifacts, accessible to today's younger generation but lacking in their actual essence and value.

Conclusion

The status of *Bundo Kandung* in Minangkabau tradition has undergone a decline. Their success in preserving priceless heirlooms is solely limited to their use as symbolic objects. The property management conducted by *Bundo Kandung* involves ownership without direct authority. In the Minangkabau culture, this is reflected in the saying "women reign but do not rule." The term "women" encompasses both the socio-cultural implications of the feminine gender and the biological implications of the female sex. The impact of globalization and capitalist influences has also led to the erosion of traditional practices and culture in West Sumatra, resulting in women's roles within the family and society occasionally exceeding their prescribed boundaries. The traditional tambos, which once governed the rhythms of women's lives, now exist solely as historical artifacts, accessible to today's younger generation but lacking in their actual essence and value. The Minangkabau tribe in West Sumatra is a rural society characterized by a collective and traditional social structure. Meanwhile, most of the Minangkabau tribe resides in foreign countries, namely in urban settings that prioritize individualism and are characterized by constant change.

Ensuring parity in the roles and duties of women and men in Minangkabau with regards to employment, thereby granting women in Minangkabau (*Bundo Kandung*) equal opportunity in the public domain. An extensive elucidation of socialization aimed at educating the younger generation about their role and status within customs, religion, family, and culture, enabling them to comprehend their purpose and position. To mitigate

cultural disparities among communities in Minangkabau, it is imperative to underscore the significance of the nuclear and extended family units, as well as underline the pivotal position of the *niniak mamak*, within the family structure.

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