

Culture of *Mata Musan* in Matrilineal Marriage System at Indigenous Community in Malaca- East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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This paper highlights one of the elements of matrilineal culture in the Southern Indigenous Community, Malacca Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The emergency element is the tradition of the *Mata Musan*. Tradition in the form of a child's submission, especially the female called OA Mata Musan, from the spouse of the wife who embraced the mother's lines (the mother's family) to the family of the father to be a link between the two families. If compared to a matrilineal marriage system in some ethnicities, the tradition of the *Mata Musan* is the matrilineal culture of the Southern Bellu Community. The tradition is a symbolic act that contains the values of life, which is the collective consciousness of its society. The values referred to, i.e., the value of obedience- namely obedience to ancestral messages and heritage, the value of kinship, and the value of togetherness, the values empowering concerns about the fate and the existence of the *Mata Musan*. The fact shows that the *Mata Musan* can only feel the psychological violence due to cultural violence. The *mata musan* is indispensable efforts to bridge the idealistic traditions with realistic action. It is now a dynamic view as a primary way so that the tradition of the *Mata Musan* cannot vanished, while the values are not relevant to modern life slowly- Land modified.

1. Introduction

"In women's language, there is no corner" (Hansen, 1994) is an intrigued verbal expression. The verbal expression "intervenes" our feelings and logic about the reality full of debates about sex, gender, feminism, and matrilineal terminology. Our greatness of the terminology is undoubtedly not only in women's issues but also in men.

In a community that men dominate social roles, women often feel marginalized. This situation often makes women take a dichotomy of attitudes: surrender to circumstances or do "people's

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rebellion" to position themselves as non-inferior. The dominance of men has become a social problem from the times to the times, so that talks about women are more dominant in various discussions (Kartini et al., 2020).

The fact above is not necessarily contrasted with a community that places women as the only group that do not cause social problems. In the community where women have a higher social role than men, the problem is no longer focused on superior-inferior, so there is no need for struggle Men. The complexity of the problem is different from the community dominated by men. It is seen in the matrilineal marital system in indigenous peoples in South Belu (Tetunfehan), Malaka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province (Cf. Latupeirissa, 2014).

Mata Musan tradition in a culture Tetun is one of the elements of the Matrilineal Marriage System (Seran, 2010: 127). This marriage system does not know the dowry provided by the family/relatives of the prospective husband to the relatives of the prospective wife, the opposite of the relatives of the prospective wife did not give a relative to the relatives of the prospective husband's family. There is only a reciprocal provision in this marriage system that symbolizes a social exchange system (ibid. P.138).

This paper discusses the nature of the *Mata Musan*² Tradition, and the implication of the *Mata Musan* Tradition of the supportive community. The thing that is a tradition of an ethnic that has become a collective awareness and inherited by intergeneration is believed to have the values of life being upheld. In a change of change, the value can shift along with the community's perspective so that the meaning and understanding and understanding are dynamic and comprehensive so that the fundamental values remain a reference to the times.

2. Materials and Method

This is a descriptive research which describe the phenomena being discussed. Some concepts need to be explored are as follows.

2.1 Gender dan Feminisme

According to the perspective of semantic coverage/meaning, the concept of matrilineal is closely related to women and feminism. Gender issues continue to be a conversation, even debates in various aspects of human life. In Indonesia, this issue was no less exciting when "Senayan" also compared the number of candidates between men and women to escape the party as a participant in the election with a 30% quota. It shows the existence of confidence that in the political world of women can. The fact shows that there is a reluctance on the part of men to provide space for women to appoint their competence and capability in politics. This condition is viewed as psychological violence.

Various mass media also report Miris reality about gender problems. Many cases of violence afflict women Enemies of people who never end. It is a small part of the reason why gender issues continue to strengthen, even the theory of feminism with various streams, all of which are the expression of awareness of the diversity of women. Feminism is even pulled into the view of more contemporary postmodernism (Waugh, 2009: 303-328).

Whatever the packaging, both gender and feminism, the substance leads to women. These concepts and coverage should be a collective awareness to discuss the tradition of *Mata Musan* in the Matrilineal Marriage System in the South Belu Indigenous Peoples. Thus, it can be a proportional

² It is the local language which means 'eyelid'

claim and prediction about the tradition of *Mata Musan* according to the size of local values and universal values.

2.2 Matrilineal marriage

Etymologically, the word matrilineal comes from Latin *mater*, *matris*, meaning 'mother' and *linialis* (ancient Latin) means 'line'. Therefore, it is stated that the word matrilineal means 'mother's line'. Matrilineal marital systems are semantically designated with patrilineal marriage systems, although the fact shows that a handful of cultural shakeup shows a purely matrilineal marital system and pure patrilineal.

The marriage system is closely related to the inheritance system, meaning talking about marriage. It is not easy to make a boundary of its insulation by talking about the edge of the matrilineal marriage system to the inheritance in a daughter. Girls who have the right to inherit parents are also entitled to inherit the name of the clan (Fuller & Narasimhan, 2008, Langkameng & Latupeirissa, 2020).

This marriage system is not identical to the role of women as the head of the household. In the Matrilineal Marriage System, one still plays a role as a family head. If one takes the role of the family head, the marriage system is called matriarchate. The matriarchate system has indeed imposed an inheritance system according to the mother's line, and do not follow the father's line ([+ matrilineal] [-Patrilineal]). On the contrary, the inheritance system, according to the maternal line, can be matriarchate ([± matriarchate], [± Patriarchate]).

3. Research Results and Discussion

3.1 Matrilineal marriage of Southern Society

South Belu Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia are now a regional autonomy unit with the name Malaka Regency adhering to a matrilineal marriage system (Fox, 2008). Before the birth of Malaka's new autonomy (DOB), Beuyang Regency is culturally known as the culture of Tetun and mapped into Belu North (*Foho*) and Belu Selatan (*Fehan*). Foho is associated with Patrilineal Sub-summit, while Fehan is associated with the matrilineal culture.

The record of the European ethnographers has described the matriarchate culture (which was meant by matrilineal) in the people of Belu. The record depicted the effect of Dutch colonizers in the XX century, which included a patriarchate marriage system. This influence is very Strong to the kings in Northern Belu (*Foho / Marae*) so that these indigenous peoples do not yet recognize the matrilineal marriage system. It is noted that the reasons for the kings and nobility in Northern Belu received a patriarchal marriage system, namely: (1) the system is new and exciting; (2) The kings can bring his wife to his house, so they do not need to rule the kingdom of the wife's house; and (3) so that they (the kings) are seen as the kings who have practised the patriarch system. (Brandewie & Asten, 1976).

This shows the Social Award of Feto (Tetun) Fehan in the form of (1) Husband's Might to switch his status into the *Uma* (House) of the Wife's Tribe; (2) Husband's willingness to serve the wife's family; (3) Husbands are not entitled to the wealth of the wife of the wife's house, also not entitled to daily affairs on the day-to-day affairs of their children.

The entry of the husband's house to the wife's house caused a vacant position in the husband's family. Instead, a child, especially women handed over (back) to his father's family as a substitute for eyelid (*Mata Musan oa*) to maintain the balance and alignment of cosmic (ibid. P. 140), continue the descendants in the father's house, and establish a family rope between home of mother tribal and home tribe.

3.2 *Mata Musan tradition as a saturation*

Mata Musan tradition is one of the peculiarities of the matrilineal culture. Therefore, it is not excessive if in this paper it is referred to as the identity, the *Mata Musan* refer to the person who was handed over (back) to his father's family to become a liaison between his mother's tribal house with her father's house.

The *Mata Musan* is not identical to the behaviour as contained in the Matrilineal Marriage System (Wife) Ditralized, but men still enter into a part of (and lives with) Wife's family. Mean music is also different from pickup money in Bujinkan marriage on a marriage system Matrilineal Minangkabau people in Padang Pariaman. The *Mata Musan* is not a substitute for dowry as in the patrilineal marriage system, which if the relatives of male/husband cannot afford to pay, then a daughter to a relative of the wife (the mother of the daughter is intended). Likewise, the *Mata Musan* makes Money award for the father's family (EMA logo) and the mother's family (Logo Ine) from his wife as in the Matrilineal marriage system in Ngadha ethnic communities in Flores.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that *Mata Musan* tradition is a distinctive cultural action. From an ethnic-ethnic ethnic-ethnic matrilineal system, the tradition of the *Mata Musan* is unique. This tradition is typical of the Matrilineal Matrilineal Matrilineal System of South Belu People who cover the entire Malacca region, which consists of East Malacca, Central Malacca and West Malacca; Not including the Kobalima and the base area bordering Timor Leste democratic Republic.

3.3 *Values of the Tradition of the Mata Musan*

All symbolic acts in various communities, both traditional and modern, are a means to build and maintain values. Ola (2005: 92, 2014) argues: "The value is seen as a mental and cognitive load that leads individuals or communities in the act. According to this definition, value refers to the quality or at least considered excellent so worthy of reference. The tradition of *Mata Musan* as a symbolic gesture is also an embodiment of the indigenous peoples' collective belief of South Belu about (and against) the values of life, both local and universal variety.

Mata Musan tradition the indigenous peoples' collective consciousness of South Belu containing values, as follows. (a) Value obedience, as seen from the *Mata Musan oa* willingness to leave father, mother, and brother/sister to be a part of his father's family. Application of *Mata Musan* tradition is also evidence of adherence to the stakeholders in the realm of the messages indigenous ancestors. (b) Value kinship; children who become surrogates of the eye (the *Mata Musan oa*) is an "instrument" that brings together his mother's family with his father's family. *Mata Musan oa* as the adhesive kinship between mother families with father's family.

(c) Common values; Eyes in the context of the tradition of *Mata Musan*, family mother and father's family together in different dimensions (social basis of the mother's family, and psychologically from the family of the father), is responsible for the future of *Mata Musan oa*. Both large families, on the basis of *Mata Musan oa* role as liaison, knowingly and voluntarily establish and foster attitudes and values in addressing various issues and finalize the affairs of each extended family.

3.4 *The Socio-psychological Implications of Mata Musan*

In the previous section, the values contained in the *Mata Musan* tradition have been described. The values contained in this tradition are certainly not easy to argue with because they have become

a kind of ideology of the people who own them; at least according to the emic point of view, which refers to the point of view of a society in studying and giving meaning to one action, or distinguishing two actions. Emik is what is in the minds of members of the cultural community (Duranti, 2011:172; Endaswara, 2006:54-57). Behind the values that deserve to be referred to by members of the cultural community in their behaviour, another side is worthy of discussion. In this regard, it is necessary to put forward critical ethical views (according to outsiders, in this case, researchers/reviewers) to produce dynamic views so that the rigidity and rigidity of tradition does not shackle members of the cultural community as the owners of the tradition.

Psychological Violence

Children are idealism and a "treasure" of the highest and incomparable value in family life (Zahra, 2011). The value of children is so high that divorce often occurs for married couples who do not have children due to disappointment in one party. Live in a polygamous situation because they can have children or otherwise get involved in a divorce because the wife cannot produce offspring.

In the matrilineal culture of the South Maluku indigenous people, one of the children (*Mata Musan oa*) from a family that adheres to the mother's lineage must be handed over (= returned) to the father's family. The *Mata Musan oa* is chosen and determined by the paternal family. The choice of a child to carry out the function as a liaison, on the one hand, is a pride for the child, but on the other hand, is an object of distinction between children. If it is predicted that the *oa mata musana* will get attention and affection from the paternal family, then the one who feels the selection and determination as pride is the *oa mata musana* itself. On the other hand, if it is predicted that the *oa mata musan* gets less attention and affection from the paternal side of the family, the *oa mata musan* can be categorized as an object of discrimination/discrimination. The paternal family is considered to have acted discriminatory; This is a difficult choice but must be carried out as a form of obedience to tradition.

In connection with the existence of the *oa mata musan*, which because of the demands of tradition (*adat*) must not be with his parents, we need to reflect on the part of a popular song verse: "eat doesn't eat from gathering". The lyric fragment of this song is a verbal expression full of meaning that the relationship between children and parents (father-mother) is embedded in a strong and solid inner bond that cannot be replaced by any enjoyment (except the character of the story *Malin Kundan*, and various other true stories that categorized as psychological, sociological and cultural deviations). If so, then the *oa mata musan* tradition can be categorized as psychological violence.

Psychological violence arises as a strengthening of coercive power (Baryadi, 2012:34). Haryatmoko (2007:119—120) quoting Jahel's opinion that violence contains domination of other parties in various forms, including verbal, physical, moral, or through pictures. Furthermore, it is said that the logic of violence is the logic of death because it can injure the body and injure it psychologically. In the context of the existence of the *oa mata musan*, it is believed that there has been psychological violence. *Oa Mata Musan* has not only experienced psychological violence but has also become an object of cultural violence.

On the other hand, the facts also show that perfect attention and affection as a child are not fully enjoyed by *oa mata musan*. The attention and affection obtained from the father's side of the family is often just a figment. The complexity of affairs and needs, in addition to the focus of attention focused on the nuclear family of the recipient of the *Mata Musan*, is believed to reduce the attention and affection for the *Musan Mata Musan Oa*.

The Hope

Marriage as part of the life cycle is based on the preservation of relatives, which is marked by naming/naming and inheritance. Naming in the South Belu indigenous community shows a loose system, meaning that the child's name is given by taking the name of the mother's ancestors, and it is possible to take the name of the father's ancestors.

Meanwhile, in terms of inheritance (property), it is absolutely not permissible to pass it on to sons. Men only care for and use or process the intended property for their survival but are not entitled to own the property in question. *Oa mata musan* in culture matrilineal marriages in the South Belu indigenous community, which are generally women, have the potential to become floating individuals. Questioning hope (*asa*) means setting a framework for the future in various aspects of life. *Mata Musan* *Oa* in treading life not all have a vague hope; bleak future. There is a *Mata Musan* *oa* that has a bright future. The family receiving the *OA Mata Musan*, who is economically well-off and has a high level of caring and compassion, can fulfill the expectations of the *OA Mata Musan*. On the other hand, the family receiving the *OA Mata Musan* whose economic level is low, may not be able to fulfill the expectations of the *OA Mata Musan*, especially the recipient's family. lacks care and affection.

The paternal family of the *musan mata oa* has unspecified references. The paternal family includes the father's parents (grandparents), the father's brother, or the father's sister. This non-specific reference can also create a floating condition for the *Mata Musan* *oa*. The coverage of the father's family as recipients of the *Mata Musan* immediately raises a question which at the same time implies the development of the *Mata Musan* *oa*, namely: "What is the future of the 'child substitute for the apple of the eye' in terms of needs? life, welfare, education, and inheritance?" The necessities of life, welfare, and education for the *oa mata musan* may be the responsibility of three parties: biological parents, father's family, and mother's family. However, in the case of inheritance, it may never be obtained from each of the parties concerned; he didn't get it from his grandparents, nor from his father's brothers.

The Solution

The floating hope as described above is still the fate of the *Mata Musan* for a few Fehan people who adhere to the process/procedure of the *Mata Musan* tradition. Customary rigidity is still shackled so that it is not the substance that is prioritized, but the 'packaging' must also be maintained in the name of preserving ancestral traditions.

The dynamics of culture, which has become a new awareness for modern society, is momentum for flexibility/flexibility of perspective. This situation is also experienced by the South Belu Indigenous people. The tradition of the *Mata Musan* in its original form, which turned out to have implications for psychological violence and the development of hope for the *Mata Musan*, has now found room for flexibility in perspective. This space for flexibility in perspective is known as the "middle way". For some South Belu indigenous people, the *Mata Musan* tradition is just a symbol. This tradition is still an important part of the matrilineal marriage system and is an inherent feature of marriage according to the mother's line, the husband becomes part of the wife's family and marriage without a dowry. In practice, the *Mata Musan* *oa* stays with its parents.

Another thing that is also a feature of the middle ground is that the selection/appointment of the *oa mata musan* can be negotiated with the mother's family. In addition, boys can also be appointed as *oa mata musan*. The middle way as an implication of the dynamics of society does not eliminate

several provisions which are substantive elements in the Mata Musan tradition. The elements in question are as follows.

- a. the ritual of surrendering the *Mata Musan* oa is carried out before the burial of the deceased father or mother;
- b. Rituals related to the surrender of the *Mata Musan* oa can be carried out if the father or mother of the *Mata Musan* oa dies.

4. Conclusion

There are not many ethnic groups in Indonesia that adhere to the matrilineal marriage system. The social ecology and cultural ecology of the ethnic (ethnic) who adhere to the matrilineal marriage system is surrounded by people who adhere to the patrilineal marriage system. Responding to this influence, of course, every tradition whose values are still timeless will be maintained. On the other hand, there must also be the courage to modify cultural elements whose values are no longer relevant. The matrilineal cultural elements discussed are classified as very small from a whole. However, the frequency and continuity in discussing it will be far more meaningful than a temporary discussion.

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