RESEARCH ARTICLE

Women’s Resistance to Marginalization in Oka Rusmini’s Novel Tempurung: A Study of Feminist Literature

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe women’s struggle against marginalization in the novel Tempurung by Oka Rusmini with a feminist literary criticism approach. The research method used is qualitative descriptive with data sources for the novel Tempurung by Oka Rusmini published in 2018 by PT. Grasindo. The data collection technique used is a human instrument in the form of reading and recording techniques. The results of this study show that in fighting marginalization (1) women make efforts to work hard to improve economic conditions; (2) women make efforts to become intellectuals; (3) women’s efforts to show their existence; and (4) women’s efforts to fight Balinese customary law. The resistance carried out by Saring, Sipleg, Jinah, Putu, and Pidagda as Balinese women who experience patriarchal shackles is a representation of the struggle against the marginalization of women.

KEYWORDS

Marginalization of women, resistance, feminism, Bali

ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Literary works are a socio-cultural phenomenon that cannot be separated from people’s lives. The life of society and all systems that surround it, such as power, economy, interests, values, politics, and so on, are represented in literary works. This is the nature of literary works, i.e., mimesis or imitation of reality. In agreement with Abrams and Harpham (2015: 72), mimesis views literary works as imitations, reflections, or representations of the world and human life.

Social phenomena related to gender injustice can be found in literary works, one of which is the marginalization of women. Marginalization of women occurs a lot in society, resulting in poverty caused by various events, such as evictions, natural disasters, or exploitation processes, and it comes from government policies, beliefs, religious interpretations, traditional beliefs, habits, or even scientific assumptions (Fakih, 2016: 14). The process of marginalization of women also causes the division of labour based on gender, which is a concept and practice that occurs in society by dividing roles and work based on sex.

Quoted from Maulida and Farisandy’s research (2022), women workers still receive wage discrimination and are most vulnerable to layoffs, especially for pregnant women and childbirth because women are considered not family support so they are often used as the main parties affected by layoffs. During the COVID-19 pandemic, women are the group most at risk of losing their jobs. As many as 36% of women experience a reduction in paid work time, and as many as 57% of women experience stress and anxiety due to the double burden and loss of work and income.

Burton and Kagan (2005) argue that marginalization is a complex and multifaceted concept. Society will be marginalized based on class level and social order. Marginalization can occur in local contexts, such as in the marginalization experienced by ethnic groups,
families, and individuals. In certain situations, marginalization can also mean a change in social status. For example, when an individual or group with high social status engages in behavior that society deems inappropriate. They will experience changes in social status determined by society and lose that status, so they will become marginalized.

In agreement with Burton and Kagan, Moosa-Mitha (in Singh, 2022: 131) also states that the marginalization of women results in women being excluded from the work community in the public sphere and their work at home not being valued. Feminists argue that men and women should equally participate in the work community, in the public and private sectors, and at home. They also focused on labour laws to improve access to employment and recognize childcare as a valuable form of labour. Today, women are still marginalized from important positions in the public sector and earn less than men in higher positions.

The novel *Tempurung* tells about the life of a woman who tries to survive, take care of her body, and raise a family. There are several stories written by Oka Rusmini, with different issues in each story. Some parts continue until the end of the story. The novel *Tempurung* by Oka Rusmini is closely related to the Balinese customary system. This novel tells the story of Bali, which is famous for its culture and customs, which are very guarded by its people. Balinese customary law has a caste system. The Balinese caste is a system closely related to Hinduism, with all its means and followers linked to the gift of God, inherited, rigid, binding, and difficult to change. Cultural traditions and religious ideologies seem to have a key role in the marginalization of women, due to patriarchal mindsets that introduce the practice of subordinating women to men and limit women’s participation in work and wider society (Bako & Syed, 2018).

Research relevant to this study entitled “Women’s Struggle to Break Gender Injustice in Pan Brengkak, Diah Ratna Takeshi, and Tempurung Stories”, which was researched by I Made Budiasa in 2016. This study used a qualitative descriptive method. The purpose of this study is to reveal the form of women’s struggle in breaking down the gender injustice they experience and the positive implications of that struggle. The research results of the article are: (1) the form of resistance carried out by women in fighting for gender justice in the three stories is resistance to male domination; (2) opposition to the feudal system; and (3) rejection of the arranged marriage system.

Another relevant research is “Women’s Resistance to Patriarchal Hegemony in Balinese Culture in Oka Rusmini Novels”, researched by I Kadec Adhi Dwipayana (2017). The researcher stated in the results of his research that the female characters in the three novels by Oka Rusmini were never appreciated at all by male characters. While female characters are required to respect men and obey all the wishes of male characters. Women are always positioned as subordinate, it happens when the life of the female character is dominated by the male character. The domination of male figures over Balinese women gave rise to resistance movements. The resistance carried out by Balinese women is in the form of choosing a life partner. In the novel, Kenanga manifests resistance or resistance carried out by Balinese women, namely by establishing a premarital relationship. In the novel Tempurung, the form of women’s resistance to patriarchal hegemony is to try to live the role of superordinate.

Furthermore, another relevant research is a study entitled “Women’s Marginalization in Nigeria and The Way Forward” written by Bako and Syed (2018). This research discusses the marginalization experienced by women in Nigeria, especially in the economic field. Women in Nigeria constantly experience inequality in the labor market. Women experience high unemployment, few career opportunities, and low wages. Women are trying to be highly educated to deal with marginalization in Nigeria. About 15% of women in academic faculties reported experiencing discrimination, harassment, and violence. Moreover, it was reported that in Nigerian higher education institutions, women were not only marginalized but also sexually harassed by male lecturers and staff, despite complaints, authorities took no action. Nigerian rural women once took the lead in agricultural development in a country that produces about 60–80% of the workforce. However, their contributions go almost unnoticed, resulting in women rarely being involved in decision-making on agricultural or rural development issues.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Marginalization of Women

One analysis of feminist studies is about the marginalization of women. Marginalization is the process of separating a group from major social institutions, such as economics, education, and other socioeconomic institutions. Differences between population groups, such as ethnicity, race, religion, culture, customs, and language. Marginalization always involves the ability of the dominant population as the ruling class to exercise power over marginalized groups (Alamona et al., 2017: 3).

The Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenpppa, 2022) stated that marginalization means the process of marginalization due to gender differences that lead to poverty. There are many ways to marginalize a person or group in society. One of them is using gender issues. For example, assuming that women play the role of additional breadwinners in the family, when working outside the home (in the public sector), they are often judged by that assumption.
Marginalized people tend to have relatively little control over their lives and have little access to available resources, such as education, healthcare, housing, play, or recreational activities, as well as less access to employment, making it harder for them to earn an income. In addition, marginalized people often get negative attitudes from society. As a result, their confidence and self-esteem will be at their lowest. The opportunities and intensity of their communication with others will also decrease. Those who are marginalized in society become isolated (Burton and Kagan, 2005).

From these various statements, it can be concluded that the marginalization of women is an action taken to limit women’s space. The marginalization of women is a process of exclusion, shifting, and feminization of work experienced by women. The marginalization of women results in the weak involvement of women in the economic, social, educational, and cultural fields, thus disrupting, reducing, and even eliminating the rights that should be obtained by women. Although the position of women has a significant contribution to work, the existence of a patriarchal culture that develops in society makes women’s work not comparable to men’s work and is considered unproductive.

2.2 Resistance Efforts in the Face of Women’s Marginalization

Various efforts by women and men continue to be made to eliminate gender injustice. Feminist groups carrying out various missions continue to flourish around the world. Although they differ in the positions championed by feminists, the main purpose of this group is to raise the status of women to be equal or equal to the position of men (Djajanegara, 2000: 4).

Jenson (2000) says that the fight against marginalization can be done individually by fighting capitalist life through education, training, and trying to get a job with high wages or salaries. Furthermore, Engels (in Handayani and Novianto, 2011: 9 and 13) also argues that another effort can be made to free women from patriarchal rule, namely by contributing to the salaried labour force. Therefore, women must also participate in finding jobs or means of livelihood so that they can play an economic role. Its role in the economy can give women a good bargaining position and even the same power, authority, and freedom as men. In families that own property, women are often under the control of men, both economically and socially. Then, if the family has no property, there are no factors that strengthen the power of men over women in the household. Under these conditions, it means that women can enter the paid work sector so that they can contribute economically and gain power in their lives.

Furthermore, Fakih (2016: 152-153) argues that there are two resistance agendas to end the gender injustice system. First, fight against hegemony that degrades women by deconstructing ideologies. Deconstruction is questioning all that concerns the fate of women everywhere, at all levels, and in all its forms. These questions can be raised from macro cases, such as women in development (WID), to small cases, namely the distribution of gender roles in the household. Conduct critical education or any activity that will help women understand their experiences and reject the ideologies and norms imposed on them (Weiler in Fakih, 2016: 152). Second, against the paradigm of developmentalism, which assumes that women’s backwardness is caused because they do not participate in development. Women are seen as incapable of solving their problems, so programmes must be designed by professional planners, who are then sent to them. Thus, women’s struggles have always included questioning elite dominance, using knowledge discourse, and evolving from capitalist hegemony and modernization.

2.3 Women in Balinese Culture

Swarsti et al. (1986: 29) suggest that there are differences between boys and girls in Balinese society. The distinction is based on the purusa system, or the position of men, which is very important in the kinship system as heirs to property, successors of descendants and castes, and others. As for girls, this status is not possessed unless a woman does not marry or become an old woman. However, such status can be possessed by girls through the adoption of girls into male status through Sentana ceremonies. The sentana ceremony is carried out if there is no son in the family.

Marriages between two different castes, especially marriages between women of a higher caste than the caste of their future husbands, are believed to bring tension because they cause shame to the woman’s family and bring down the prestige of the entire caste of the girl. Such marriages are known as nyerod (intermarriage with lower castes). The result of the nyerod marriage was that the woman was customarily banished, especially in her position as a higher caste. The woman’s attitude towards her parents or relatives must also be changed, such as by a change in her name, which no longer bears the name Ida Ayu. Later, Aji’s call to his father changed to Ida Bagus Aji. Finally, naming children should not use the names of their mother’s relatives, their children should use the names of their father’s relatives because they are influenced by the lineage in the Balinese kinship system, namely patrilineal.

3. Methodology

This research is descriptive qualitative research, namely that the data collected is mainly in the form of words, sentences, or images that have meaning and can spur a more real understanding than just numbers and frequencies (Nugrahani, 2014: 96). The source of the data used is the novel Tempurung by Oka Rusmini, published by PT. Grasindo in 2018. The data collection techniques used
in this study were reading and recording techniques. The reading technique in this study means that researchers read the novel *Tempurung* by Oka Rusmini carefully and repeatedly to get research data. Furthermore, researchers use recording techniques, namely writing data in the form of character dialogue, responses of other characters, and author descriptions related to the focus of the research. The research instrument used is a human instrument. Researchers, as human instruments, always try to spend as much time as possible reading research data sources to obtain diverse information about various observed phenomena (Nugrahani, 2014: 63).

4. Results and Discussion
The results of this study are (1) women’s efforts to work hard to improve the economy, (2) women’s efforts to become intellectuals, (3) women’s efforts to show their existence, and (4) women’s efforts to fight Balinese customary law. Below are the results of this study.

4.1 Women’s Efforts to Work Hard to Improve the Economy
Efforts against women show a desire to change themselves from the conditions of marginalization they experience. One of them is working hard to improve living conditions during the economic downturn. Women with good economic conditions, their existence will be more calculated in society and can distance themselves from male domination. The following is an excerpt of data on women’s efforts to fight marginalization.

1) “Tujuan tiang bekerja sekeras ini untuk memperbaiki hidup.” (Rusmini, 2018: 17)
“My goal is to work this hard to improve my life.”

Data citation (1) shows efforts to fight the marginalization of women carried out by Saring. Saring no longer received a living from Barla, so she worked hard to support herself and her two sons. The business made by Saring is to open a stall by selling vegetables and side dishes in the morning, then selling cooked vegetables in the afternoon. Income from her stall business is the main source of income in her household. She managed to repair her house and buy a Kijang car although in the end the car was sold by Barla and the proceeds were given to the woman, he was having an affair with. As a woman who is no longer supported by her husband, Saring managed to change her life through the actions and real efforts she made. Saring managed to overcome the economic difficulties she experienced and she also managed to send her children to higher education.

“I decided to open a stall. The Capital was borrowed from Glatik. At three o’clock, I was awake. Shop for a variety of vegetables and side dishes. At that time this housing complex was still not as crowded and good as it is today.”


My stall is selling well. I keep working hard. The house I repaired. I also made a refutation, a place of worship on top of the house. My mortgage paid off the whole amount. At ten o’clock I was like a pig, snoring. Wakefulness is always three o’clock. I forgot to have a husband. I don’t know what’s in my brain. I kept working and working.

Data quotations (2) and (3) tell the process of Saring in doing his business to open a vegetable stall. Saring opened a stall with capital borrowed from Glatik. Glatik is Saring’s best friend whom she met since school-age. Saring runs her business earnestly even though she does not get help from Barla. She wakes up at three o’clock in the morning to go to the market, then shops for vegetables and side dishes to be resold at her stall. From the results of her labor, she managed to repair the house and make a place of worship located above the house, *sanggah*. Saring also managed to pay off the mortgage that was previously stagnant. The fight against marginalization has been demonstrated by Saring through the hard work she does. Every day she went to bed at ten o’clock in the evening and woke up at three o’clock in the morning to continue working. Her stall was increasingly crowded with buyers so that she could pay for the college of her two children, Wayan and Made. This was done by Saring as a form of her effort to rise from the poverty that befell her.

“Starting tomorrow, I will go to the fields. I participated in hoeing, planting rice, and feeding fish!” “You are pregnant!” “I can’t be like this constantly. Sit still. Waiting for you to come home by listening to Memes, your mother, always complains in my ears. Say that I’m an unprofitable poor woman! A woman full of curses that can infect her husband’s entire family life!”

Data citations (4) show Sipleg’s efforts to counter her marginalization. Sipleg is insulted by her mother-in-law as a woman full of curses and brings poverty to Payuk and his family. Sipleg could not stand the insults directed at her and she decided to go with Payuk to the rice fields even though Payuk forbade her because of her pregnancy condition. However, Sipleg insisted on going to the fields, helping Payuk hoe and plant rice, and feeding the fish. Sipleg wanted to prove to her mother-in-law that she was not a curse bearer for the poverty experienced by Payuk’s family so she wanted to go to the rice fields to help Payuk work even though she was pregnant.


Jinah had to drag the pigs to the market early in the morning. Then to the rice fields to plant crabs, chili, or anything for daily needs. During the day cut the body of a banana tree, thinly sliced for pig food. Sometimes she goes to the neighbor next door to help slice sticky rice cakes to sell to the market. Her sweat may have made the land where Payuk lived so fertile.

Data quote (5) tells the figure of Jinah who tried to rise from her slump after being left behind by her husband, I Made Korda. During the dozen years left by Korda, Jinah worked hard to support herself and Payuk. She got up in the morning to drag pigs to the market. After that, she went to the rice fields to grow cassava, chili, or anything that could be harvested to meet her daily needs. In the afternoon she looked for banana trees and cut them into thin strips to be used as food for her pet pigs. To supplement her income, Jinah also helps her neighbors to slice sticky rice cakes that will be sold in the market. Jinah’s hard work made Payuk grow into a dashing and handsome child. Even for Payuk, Jinah is a great woman who never complains and cries despite working hard to support her life without the help of her husband.

4.2 Women’s Efforts to Become Intellectuals

Women’s efforts against marginalization subsequently became intellectuals. Patriarchal culture represents women as figures who do not have to be highly educated because they will return to their nature to take care of the house and children. If a family in Bali can only afford higher education for one person, then these parents will prioritize education for their sons (Wiranata & Putri, 2021). This is because Balinese society still applies patriarchal culture so the position of women is not taken into account. However, Putu as a Balinese woman will fight this by becoming an educated woman so that she can lead the company that has been founded by her father.


“This family condition makes me like this, Mom. I want to prove to the people here that women can change everything. Women also have clever ideas, which are not inferior to men. Your company must come forward, Mom. Many loyal people are devoted to our company. I want to be able to support them because they are loyal to us. All we can give is to manage this company properly. Since the Bali bombings of October 12, 2002, all businesses in Bali have been destroyed.”

Data citations (6) show women’s efforts to fight marginalization by daring to take action and think forward. The figure of Putu depicts a woman who is independent and dares to appear and be involved in public affairs. It can be seen from his efforts to manage the company founded by her father to provide welfare for employees who have long worked in her company. She wants to prove that women can also work in the public sphere and have bright ideas that are just like men. Putu wants to develop his father’s company by utilizing the potential she already has such as mastering English, French, German, and Dutch. Many tourism businesses in Bali have stagnated since the Bali bombings. However, the hotel business developed by Putu is still running. This shows that Putu is a woman who has control over herself so that her existence in the public sphere is calculated and valued.
Data quote (7) tells about Arsiki who has two children named Putu and Made. Putu and Made have very different personalities. Putu is a woman who has a strong determination and a high awareness of education. While Made is a male figure who has a relaxed spirit and only relies on the wealth owned by his parents. Since childhood, Putu realized that education is very important for women. She proved this by taking a junior high school education to study abroad. Her great desire for the educational facilities that had been provided by her parents made Putu want to build her family business under her professional management. Although born into a family with good economic conditions, Putu did not use her parents’ wealth for personal pleasure, instead, she used the wealth to develop herself to avoid the marginalization of women.

4.3 Women’s Efforts to Show Their Existence

Showing self-existence needs to be done by women who experience female marginalization. Through this, the existence of women in society becomes taken into account so that women can freely do work as they wish and without control from any party. The lack of freedom in using productive forces is due to the existence of parties that are more dominant and powerful than them (Rakhmayanti, 2019: 67).


I left the people of the village. Cut ties with the whole thing that smells of my village. I disappeared, and I’m sure they are grateful for my departure because no more bad luck will tear the village apart.

Data citation (8) shows the resistance made by women against the marginalization they are experiencing. Saring decided to leave her hometown after being considered to bring bad luck to the villagers because of her father’s actions that stole Daksina. In a new place, she gets to know Glatik who later becomes her best friend and she feels like she has family back. Saring is described as an independent and smart woman, so she was able to attend pharmacy school. Saring’s decision to leave the village shows that she is free from the power of others who insult her to bring bad luck to the village. For her, it was a good choice because the life she lived was entirely her responsibility, not someone else’s.

4.4 Women’s Efforts Against Balinese Customary Law

Women can also experience marginalization by society because of the cultural beliefs prevailing in it. The position of women becomes marginalized because their position is not considered important in society. A culture that goes against social norms should also marginalize women. Being a Balinese woman is not an easy thing because it is bound by customary rules. However, not with Sipleg and Pidagda who tried to break the customary regulations. Below will be described the resistance of Sipleg and Pidagda against marginalizing customary law.

Sipleg was silent. Now he really can’t defy custom. In the future, he is sure to subvert it. Shouldn’t custom be redeemed with his two children’s lives. They snatched violently. Heartless. No heart. In the future, he will also backfire heartlessly. Also heartless!

Data citations (9) show a strong desire to break the shackles of patriarchy experienced by women. It is said that Sipleg gave birth to twin baby boys and girls in the field while helping Payuk. Giving birth to male and female twins is called the event of giving birth to pointed twins by the Hindu-Balinese community. Giving birth to twins is believed to cause havoc so a mecaru manca ceremony must be carried out, cleaning the village to avoid disaster. The ceremony was carried out by Payuk and Sipleg had to walk and beg for three days in three villages. Initially, Sipleg did not want to perform the ceremony because she did not believe in any superstitious beliefs, but Payuk insisted on doing it because he was afraid that his village would be cursed by the birth of his twins. Finally, Sipleg was forced to carry out the ceremony. Not counting three days, both Sipleg babies were declared dead due to the weak condition of their babies due to premature birth. Sipleg did not cry about this, she had prepared herself for the bad situation that would befall him. Sipleg lost her twins and her anger grew. He has a strong belief that one day he will subvert the customs that have taken the lives of her two children without the slightest feeling.

10) Perempuan brahmana itu juga berani menentang orang tuanya untuk menikah dengan lelaki asing. Padahal, menurut bisik-bisik orang-orang desa, Pidagda dikutuk, dimaki, didoakan, agar nasibnya lebih buruk dari binatang! Mendengar cerita itu Sipleg bergidik. (Rusmini, 2018: 401)

The Brahmin woman also dared to defy her parents to marry a foreign man. In fact, according to the whispers of the village people, Pidagda was cursed, cursed, prayed for, so that his fate would be worse than that of animals! Hearing the story, Sipleg shuddered.

Data citation (10) shows a woman’s efforts to counter the marginalization she experienced as a Brahmin caste woman. Ida Ayu Made Pidagda is a female figure of Ida Ayu who refuses to implement the applicable customary law. Pidagda is described as a strong woman who does not depend on others despite her suffering. Pidagda had an advanced education, a lot of wealth, and a good social class so she was respected by the village people. She dares to make decisions that she considers important for her life, including in terms of choosing a partner. She dared to defy her parents by marrying a foreign man outside her caste. As a result, she was cursed, humiliated, cursed, and prayed that her fate would be worse than that of animals. Pidagda’s efforts to dare to marry foreign men show that it is against marginalization and that life can be changed under the power of women.

5. Conclusion

Based on the results of research that has been conducted on women’s struggle against marginalization in the novel Tempurung by Oka Rusmini, it can be concluded that the efforts made by women to fight marginalization are shown by Saring’s efforts to work hard to improve their family economy. Saring’s position as Barla’s wife made her have to sweat to support her two children because she did not earn a penny from Barla. Saring showed that she could rise from poverty even without the help of her husband. She managed to open a stall and restore her former life. The same thing was done by Sipleg. Sipleg did not want herself to be labelled an unlucky and poor woman by her mother-in-law. Finally, she decided to work in the rice fields, helping Payuk, even though she was pregnant. Furthermore, Jinah also tried to fight poverty by working without the help of her husband. Jinah managed to support her son with her hard work.

Efforts to fight the marginalization of women were also shown by Putu. She decided to become an intellectual. Putu is a woman who has the determination to pursue higher education to lead the company founded by her father. For her hard work to become an intellectual woman, Putu tried to avoid marginalizing women. Then, efforts to fight the marginalization of women were also shown by Saring, who decided to leave her hometown because she had been insulted by residents and accused of bringing disaster if she stayed in her village. Saring ventured to leave her residence with the aim of showing her existence. She proved to people that she was capable of being a woman free from the control of others. Finally, efforts to fight marginalization by going against Balinese customary law are considered inappropriate. Sipleg became angry because she had to lose his two children, who had just been born, due to a traditional ceremony that was unacceptable to her logic. She also vowed to eliminate the customary regulation. Similarly, Pidagda decided to marry a man outside the Brahmin caste or marry nyerd, even at the risk of being ostracized by her family. Thus, what Sipleg and Pidagda did is a form of women’s struggle against marginalization and proves that women can break free from the shackles of patriarchy.

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