

## THE DOMESTICATION OF WOMEN'S ROLES AS A REFLECTION OF ANCIENT PATRIARCHAL TRADITIONS: A REFLECTION ON THE THOUGHTS OF FRIEDRICH ENGELS AND FATIMAH MERNISSI

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### ABSTRACT

Patriarchal culture and the domestication of women's roles are still significant issues in the Indonesian context. This article reflects the thoughts of Friedrich Engels and Fatimah Mernissi regarding this issue. Friedrich Engels stated that in a patriarchal society, women are often suppressed and marginalized in all aspects of life, including in terms of work and politics, and this, according to Engels, cannot be separated from the values and norms of the past. Meanwhile, Fatimah Mernissi pointed out that patriarchal culture and the domestication of women's roles occur not only in Western society but also in Muslim societies, including Indonesia. Unlike what Engels said, Mernissi underlined that the true spirit of Islam is the spirit of elevating women. In this article, the authors reflect on Engels and Mernissi's approach in highlighting the origins of the domestication of women's roles and how the historicity of patriarchal culture and the domestication of women's roles have affected the lives of Indonesian women, both in terms of work, politics and family life. Through the reflections of Friedrich Engels and Fatimah Mernissi, this article provides a deeper understanding of issues of patriarchal culture and the domestication of the role of women through the first origins of human civilization and also in the Indonesian context. The author hopes that this article can contribute to efforts to overcome the marginalization of women and create a more just and equitable society for all Indonesian citizens, especially women.

**Keywords:** *domestication, role of women, friedrich engels, fatimah mernissi.*

### ABSTRAK

Budaya patriarki dan domestifikasi peran perempuan masih menjadi isu yang signifikan dalam konteks ke-Indonesiaan. Artikel ini merefleksikan pemikiran Friedrich Engels dan Fatimah Mernissi mengenai isu tersebut. Friedrich Engels menyatakan bahwa dalam masyarakat patriarkal, perempuan seringkali ditekan dan dimarginalkan dalam segala aspek kehidupan, termasuk dalam hal pekerjaan dan politik, dan hal tersebut menurut Engels tidak terlepas dari tata nilai dan norma di masa silam. Sementara itu, Fatimah Mernissi menunjukkan bahwa budaya patriarkal dan

domestifikasi peran perempuan tidak hanya terjadi dalam masyarakat Barat, tetapi juga dalam masyarakat Muslim, termasuk Indonesia namun Mernissi menggaris bawahi sesungguhnya spirit Islam adalah semangat mengangkat derajat perempuan, tidak seperti yang dikatakan Engels. Dalam artikel ini, penulis merefleksikan pendekatan Engels dan Mernissi dalam menyoroti awal mula domestifikasi peran perempuan serta bagaimana historisitas budaya patriarkal dan domestifikasi peran perempuan mempengaruhi kehidupan perempuan Indonesia, baik dalam hal pekerjaan, politik, maupun kehidupan keluarga. Melalui refleksi pemikiran Friedrich Engels dan Fatimah Mernissi, artikel ini memberikan pemahaman yang lebih dalam tentang isu budaya patriarki dan domestifikasi peran perempuan melalui asal-usul pertama kali peradaban manusia dan juga dalam konteks ke-Indonesiaan. Penulis berharap bahwa artikel ini dapat memberikan kontribusi pada upaya-upaya untuk mengatasi marginalisasi kaum perempuan dan menciptakan masyarakat yang lebih adil dan merata bagi semua warga Indonesia, terutama perempuan.

**Kata Kunci:** *domestifikasi, peran perempuan, friedrich engels, fatimah mernissi.*

## INTRODUCTION

Patriarchy and the domestication of women's roles are issues that continue to be debated today, especially in the context of Indonesia, which has a culture steeped in patriarchal values. According to Walby, this culture is a reflection of the early remnants of the patriarchal capitalist period (Widodo 2020). However, in reality, women's roles have no biological connection to men, but rather, women's roles are related to gender, which is a social construct (Beddu 2019). In other words, the domestication of women's roles today is the result of social constructions in the past.

In response to this issue, the author will analyze two gender figures who have different analytical frameworks but complement each other, namely Friedrich Engels and Fatimah Mernissi. Engels states that the domestication of women's roles that is happening today is due to the value system and norms of various institutions, including religion. However, at the same time, Mernissi rejects this notion. According to Mernissi, the spirit of Islamic values does not aim to degrade women, but rather, it seeks to elevate their status. However, the interpretation of misogynistic verses is often attributed to Islam as "The Religion of Man," which is ultimately influenced by the cultural constructions in which Islam has developed.

Furthermore, looking at the portrayal of women's domestication in Indonesia, one example is Balinese culture, known for its purusa status, which emphasizes a man's full responsibility for the family. As a result, women do not have access to take over these responsibilities, leading to their weakened position and influence within a family (Putri Ariyanti and Ardana 2020).

In the context of Indonesia as a predominantly Muslim country, several patriarchal

cultures are influenced not only by Islamic teachings but also by traditional customs of the past. This can be identified through the persistence of patriarchal cultures to this day. These cultures essentially reflect the past position of women, although some existing cultures have detached themselves from their historical substance and remain ceremonial. However, patriarchal traditions such as "merarik" or the abduction of prospective brides in Lombok and the "londo iha" tradition (Hasan et al. 2022) in Bima cannot be denied as manifestations of traditions from the past.

To further clarify the purpose of writing this article, the author needs to review relevant previous literature, one of which is written by Jamhari titled "Fatimah Mernissi Perempuan Berpeluang Sebagai Kepala Negara" (Jamhari 2018), This study focuses on the critique of hadiths regarding women's leadership, while the present study aims to discuss the domestication of women that arises due to constructions in the past. Hence, it becomes evident that this research has its own novelty.

Furthermore, a related study titled "Engels Theorizes Gender Hierarchy in The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" (Carver 2022)" written by Teller Carvell and Smail Ropic, compares Engels' theory of gender hierarchy in the origin of the family, which tends to emphasize women's gender contrary to his own theory of production and reproduction regarding men's social roles. This study differs significantly from the author's research, which aims to examine the culture of domestication through the lens of Friedrich Engels as the formal object and Indonesia as the research context.

Although there are many existing literatures discussing the role of patriarchal culture as a factor in the domestication of women's roles from the perspectives of Friedrich Engels and Fatimah Mernissi, none of these literatures attempt to bring these two figures together and engage them in dialogue, comparing their views on the origins and patterns of the domestication of women's roles. The purpose of this article is to analyze the reflections of Engels and Mernissi's thoughts on the enduring patriarchal culture and domestication that still exist in Indonesia today.

Therefore, based on the aforementioned social facts, it indicates a hypothesis that explains the occurrence of patriarchal culture and the domestication of women with the existence of past social constructions within society that have crystallized and continue to be applied until the present time.

## **METHODS**

This research takes the case of the crystallized domestication of women in Indonesian society as the unit of analysis or the research object to explore various past cultures in Indonesia that domesticate women's roles. Ultimately, it aims to shed light on the gender role disparities of women in the present, referring to the perspectives of the two aforementioned figures.

The research design used in this article is qualitative in nature, employing the library research method (Chiu and Ho 2022) because the data sources for this research are derived from various literature that supports the issue of women's domestication. The data will be described in the form of sentences to answer the research questions formulated in this study.

The data sources for this research consist of a collection of literature on the thoughts of Fatimah and Engels in responding to the issue of women's domestication. The data collection technique used is desk review, which involves analyzing literature data to produce information relevant to the author's research topic.

Furthermore, the data analysis technique in this research is a descriptive qualitative method (Rijali 2019) with the following steps: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. This analysis technique is chosen because it aligns with the nature of the literature-based data and is suitable for the research method employed in this study. It will provide a comprehensive overview of the conclusions at the end of this research.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Exploring Friedrich Engels' Biography**

Friedrich Engels was born in the Rhineland district, an area that encompasses the cities of Elberfeld and Barmen. He was born on November 28, 1820. Engels was born into a relatively affluent family, as his family owned a spinning mill at the time. His father was a successful cotton manufacturer, and his family belonged to the middle class. Even at a young age, Engels showed great skill, as evidenced by his ability to produce literary works and have them published at the age of only seventeen (Carver 2021).

Engels then pursued his education at a secondary school and later continued his studies at the University of Berlin. After completing his studies, Engels began working at his father's company, Friedr. Engels & Ermen Company, in Manchester, England, in the summer of 1838 (Konig 2021). There, he directly witnessed the poor conditions of factory workers and the

exploitation carried out by English capitalists. This sparked his interest in socialist theory, and he subsequently joined the Chartist movement (Crawford 2022).

Engels became a close colleague of Karl Marx, and the two often worked together in writing works on the theory and practice of social revolution. Their first meeting took place in 1844 in Paris (Suseno 1999), and they immediately became close friends, co-authoring numerous theoretical works on socialism and capitalism, including the famous Communist Manifesto published just before the outbreak of the industrial revolution on February 24, 1848 (Arif et al. 2020).

Engels was also active in the German socialist movement, and he became a leader of this movement after Marx's death in 1883. He wrote many books and essays on socialist theory, political economy, and history.

Some of Engels' famous works include "The Condition of the Working Class in England," "Anti-Dühring," and "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State." He passed away on August 5, 1895, in London, England (Misbahul Ali 2021). His works continue to have a profound influence on socialist and communist thought to this day.

### **Unraveling the Biography of Fatimah Mernissi and Its Social Setting**

Fatimah Mernissi is a Muslim feminist figure born in the city of Fez, Morocco, in 1940. She comes from a middle-class family and is part of the first generation of Moroccan women to have the opportunity to pursue higher education. In her novel titled "Women of the Harem" (Marlina et al. 2022), Fatima's life is portrayed within a Harem, a confined space that limits women's interaction with the outside world. Fatima describes the harem as (Marlina et al. 2022) "gigantic walls" in her novel.

It is from there that her intellectual restlessness begins. Alongside her cousin Chama (Atas and Fatima 2018), Fatimah criticizes the strict harem system deeply entrenched in patriarchal culture. While some members of Fatima's family view the harem as a positive cultural practice, her mother, on the other hand, opposes it. This further fuels Fatimah's drive to critique the harem culture, which she believes undermines women's rights, especially considering the fact that 97% of Moroccan women were illiterate at the time (Wijayanti 2018).

Fatimah had the opportunity to receive an education during that time because Morocco was under nationalist rule that sought to promote gender equality (Afif, Ubaidillah, and Sulhan

2020) for both men and women. The inspiration for this concept came from renowned Egyptian reformist Muhammad Abduh. As a result, there was an increasing movement to provide education for women in Fez, Rabat, Sale, and other cities. Many schools were established to teach Arabic grammar, ethics, logic, Islamic history, and arithmetic, but they did not offer modern scientific knowledge (Nuroniyah 2019).

Fatimah received her initial non-formal education from her grandmother, Lalla Yasmina. From her grandmother, she learned many lessons, particularly regarding the harem, going beyond the physical walls that confined women. In her early years at the formal school established by the nationalists, Fatimah was taught the Quran with a strict and harsh system that starkly contrasted with her grandmother's teachings. Her introduction to Hadith occurred during her secondary education, where she studied the Sahih Bukhari taught by her teacher. In one of the narrations, it is mentioned, "*Dogs, donkeys, and women nullify a person's prayer if they pass in front of them, interrupting the person praying with the Qibla.*" Some of these Hadiths were understood to discredit women.

Upon hearing these literal and misogynistic Hadiths, which led to misinterpretations that discredited and limited women's social status, Fatimah became motivated to investigate these misogynistic Hadiths and search for texts to interpret them in a more integral and moderate manner.

Her intellectual journey further sharpened when she continued her studies at Muhammad V University in Rabat, specializing in political science, which she completed in 1965. She then completed her doctoral program in sociology at Brandeis University in France in 1973, with her dissertation titled "Beyond the Veil." She also worked as a journalist (Atas and Fatima 2018)

From 1974 to 1981, Fatimah returned to Morocco and taught at the Department of Muhammad V University while also being a lecturer at the Institute of Scientific Research at the same university. She also served as a visiting professor at the University of California Berkeley and Harvard, held positions as a consultant for United Nations agencies (UNESCO and ILO), the World Bank, the Aga Khan Commission, and actively engaged in the Pan Arab Woman Solidarity Association. (Wijayanti 2018)

Fatimah was also highly active in the field of writing, producing numerous scholarly works, including "Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society" (1975), "The Veil and the Male Elite" (1987), "Equal Before Allah" (co-authored with Riffat Hasan, 1987), "Doing Daily Battle" (1989), "Women in Islam: In Historical Theological Inquiry" (1991),

"Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World" (1992), "The Forgotten Queens of Islam" (1993), and "Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood" (1994).

### **Conceptual Framework of Friedrich Engels on Patriarchal Culture and Domestication of Roles in Western Perspective**

Friedrich Engels is primarily known as a philosopher and socialist theorist, although he often examined social and cultural aspects of humanity. He gained fame for his monumental work in tracing the institution of the family from the perspective of historical materialism. Engels was heavily influenced by the ideas of Lewis Henry Morgan, and he consistently praised Morgan's thesis that the institution of the family began with mother-right rather than father-right (Engels 1884). This praise is evident in several editions of Engels' book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State."

In various fundamental works, including "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Engels ignited the spirit of feminist activists. Many mass movements have been inspired by Engels' ideas, although it should be noted that Engels did not explicitly engage in feminist movements. However, his analysis of the origins of the family institution within his intellectual framework attracted feminist activists who sought to understand the roots of their oppression and legitimize their movements.

Engels built his theoretical foundation through the perspective of historical materialism to delve into the origins of the family institution (Salma Yetti, Azmi Fitriasia 2023). This approach is similar to Karl Marx's analysis of the origins of class oppression by capitalists. The similarity in their analytical frameworks is not surprising, as Engels and Marx were longtime collaborators. This perspective emphasizes that human relations with material reality are the most crucial components in shaping the essence of human beings. In reality, humans are inseparable from the actions they have experienced, and therefore, from the perspective of historical materialism, the socio-historical context of society influences an individual's worldview. This notion is also expressed by Martin Heidegger, who states that the essence of human beings is shaped linearly by various events they have undergone.

However, Engels' approach received criticism from anthropologists at the same time. This paradigm contradicts the characteristics of twentieth-century anthropology, where anthropologists typically avoid tracing prehistory through historical accounts and evolutionary

perspectives. Instead, they adopt diffusionist, functionalist, and structuralist approaches.

These approaches have posed challenges for anthropologists due to the limitations they agreed upon. For instance, in searching for the origins of the formation of the family, they tend to avoid engaging with classical theories of Darwin or utopian socialist theories. Instead, they quickly conclude that the family exists due to biological procreation, even though in reality, the family emerged at the later stages of the maternal clan. The process of biological procreation between men and women is then proposed as the cause of the family's formation, with mutual dependence and support, like friends working together to accomplish tasks that cannot be done individually. For example, children depend on their parents for both affection and socialization, (Pratiwi 2014) due to their limitations and vulnerability in the struggles between classes in civilization.

Despite the above debates, discussing Engels' analytical framework for tracing the origins of the family institution remains crucial. From a materialist perspective, Engels was aware of the social reality experienced by women before the feminist movements gained momentum in the 1960s in America and Canada. According to Engels, anthropologists at that time did not provide many solutions to the discrimination faced by women; they were influenced by various positivist approaches. They believed that women and men were inherently as they were, according to their respective functions and structures. This belief was rooted in their stigma against ancient theories lacking valid foundations.

However, Engels remained consistent in his argument. He believed that the current reality is inseparable from past actions that initiated the oppression of women. Therefore, in his view, the existence of patriarchal culture today indicates the presence of patriarchal traditions in the past. In other words, the current form of patriarchy, which positions men as leaders, did not emerge out of nowhere.

To understand the current form of patriarchal family institutions, it is necessary to examine the first form of the family. Engels initiated the identification of evidence presented by Morgan from the perspective of historical materialism. Historically, he believed that the form of pre-family relations was the "family tie" within the maternal horde, consisting of wanderers and nomadic groups. This was the early prototype of the maternal clan, composed of several affiliated hordes during the transition period between savagery and barbarism. Hordes, groups, and clans were kinship groups consisting of both couples and non-couples. Just as there were maternal and

paternal clans in the system of family ties during the period of savagery.

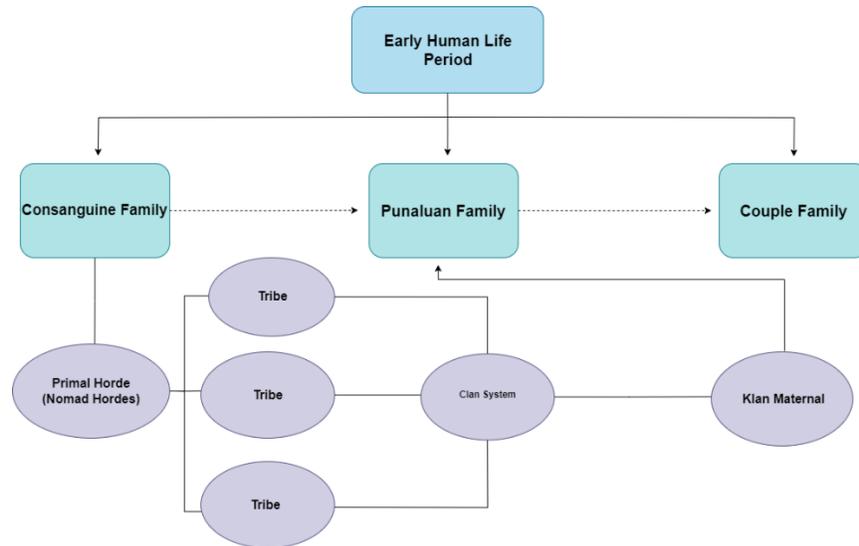


Figure 1. Classification of Early Human Life Periods

The difference between a horde and a clan is that a horde is not affiliated with other hordes, while a clan consists of several affiliated hordes. The network between clans is called a tribe, so it can be understood that the maternal horde later developed into a system of maternal clans that gave rise to matriarchal tribes. Therefore, to understand the current pattern of family institutions, it is important to understand the history and evolution of the family from its initial form to the present.

Thus, in his study, Engels concluded historically based on the research evidence conducted by Morgan that the system of family ties was the precursor to the family form.

Implicitly, Engels wanted to state that within the social institution, the family can be seen as a new form of social institution. Upon further investigation, the institution of the family emerged at the end of the maternal clan stage as private ownership developed, eventually becoming a necessity. Since the early formation of the term "family" in Roman times, the family has had a patriarchal structure within class societies.

"The term 'family' first emerged from the Roman language 'famulus' during the period of civilization. However, the system of family ties existed prior to the term 'family,' as Morgan argued.

Social institutions are the result of economic conditions and historical development within a periodization framework, aligning with Marxist principles that assert that social

institutions are not static and eternal. For example, the differences between maternal and paternal genes led to the development of matrilineal kinship systems during the period of savagery. This can be seen in the kinship system of Minangkabau and the customary inheritance system as examples of this phenomenon. Therefore, social institutions such as the state and family are products of history and specific economic conditions, and they will continue to evolve with social, cultural, and economic changes in the future.

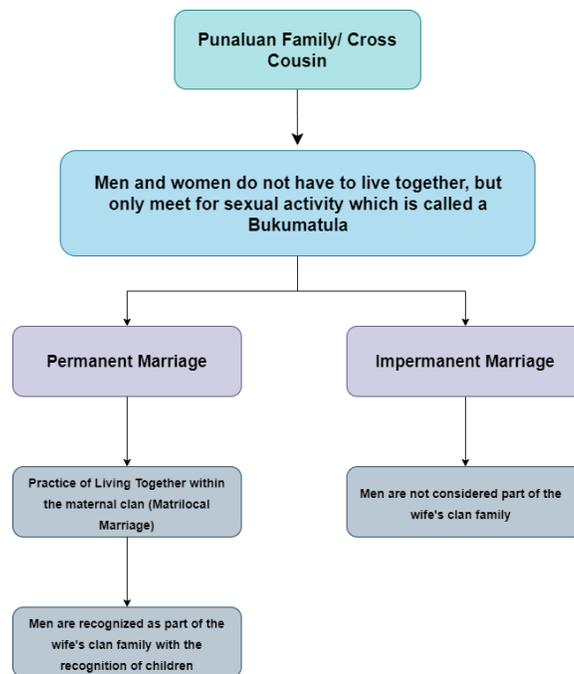


Figure 2. Punaluan Family System / Cross Cousin

The second form of pre-family kinship according to Engels is the "punaluan family" system, or what Tylor referred to as "cross cousin" relationships (cross-cousin marriage). This system involves the exchange of spouses between two communities that have agreed upon marriage arrangements. In this type of family, both male and female siblings choose marriage partners from the other sibling group, and vice versa. However, cross-cousin relationships should not be understood solely as women being reduced to sexual objects. In matriarchal societies, women are highly regarded as the superior sex and hold a dominant role in arranging marriages in an organized and peaceful manner. In the early stages of the cross-cousin relationship system, there were no rules for couples to live together, as each couple returned to their respective clan.

For example, the cross-cousin relationship system is still found in the Trobriand Islands, as described by Malinowski, where several young couples live together in houses called

"bukumatula," although this process is not considered a formal marriage. It implies that there is potential for regular sexual relationships without cohabitation, no mutual service, and no joint affairs developed for common purposes.(Torgovnick 1991).

Further development of the cross-cousin relationship system involved the practice of couples living together. Initially, the couples lived in bukumatula, but then they moved to their own residences, marking the beginning of the term "husband and wife." In this process, men became part of the maternal clan, although initially they were considered outsiders. This is known as matrilineal marriage, where men become husbands to their wives before becoming fathers to their children. This development marks the birth of the nuclear family.

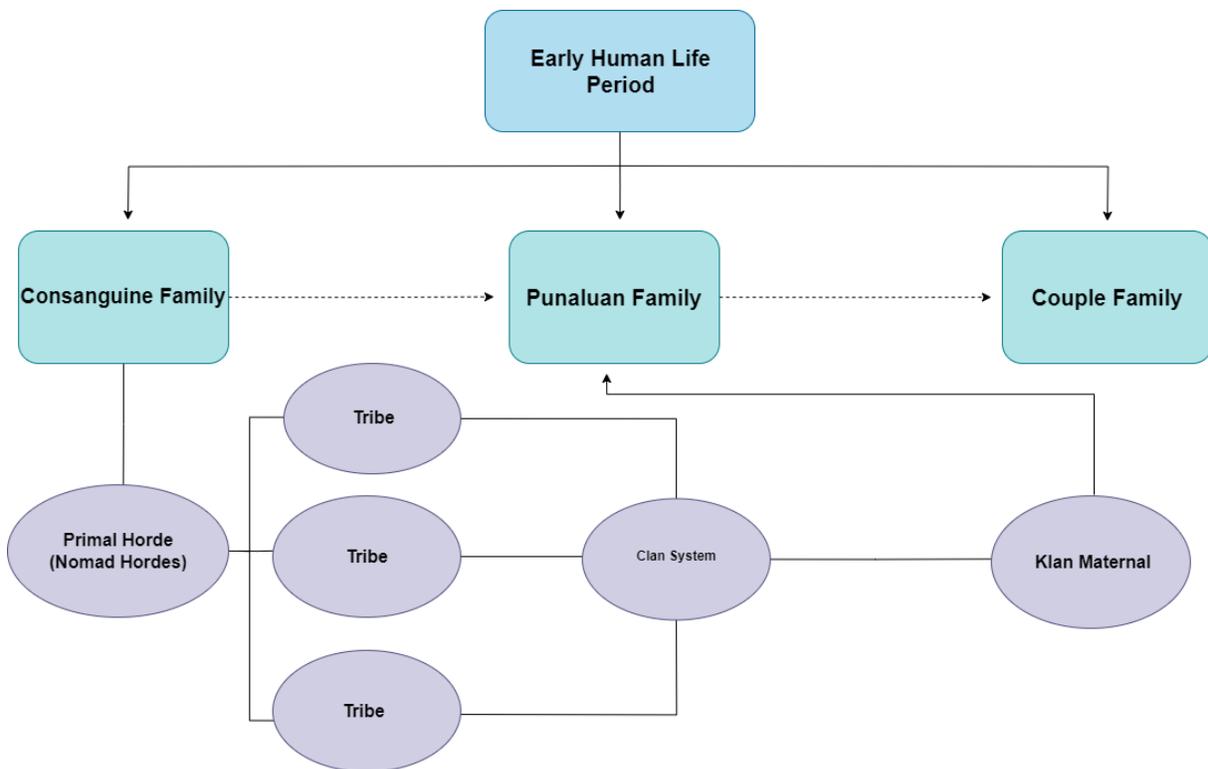


Figure 3. The flow of how Couple Family can lead to patriarchal families

However, the early form of the nuclear family eventually became the beginning of oppression against women. Families needed to seek sources of income to sustain their livelihoods, which eventually led to class conflicts and land disputes. Although the nuclear family was still part of a commune that operated based on collective consciousness and equality, this prototype eventually began to be replaced by a more patriarchal kinship system. Nevertheless, some pre-modern kinship systems, such as the anak suku in Jambi and the punaluan family on

Sakhalin Island, still maintain the practice of cousin marriage. In the punaluan family structure, a number of brothers marry all the female in-laws, including both the wives of their brothers and the sisters of their wives. In the Gilyack tribe, the term "father" is not only used for the biological father but also for all the brothers, and all the aunts are referred to as "aunt" (Zeit 1892).

The early prototype of the nuclear family significantly differs from the patriarchal family that exists today, where women in limited-class societies are confined to domestic roles and subjugation. However, in the nuclear family, women still play a crucial role in problem-solving, including sexual freedom with men. Therefore, although the nuclear family is the most vulnerable form of family, it does not disadvantage any party as the economy is supported by each commune, ensuring that separations do not lead to prolonged disputes. Furthermore, the fear of being marginalized by society for competence is minimized (Hasto Kristyanto, Purnomo Yuusgiantoro, Amrulla Octavian 2022).

To delve deeper into the institution of the family, further mapping is needed from a materialistic-historical perspective. A re-mapping, as described by Lewis Morgan, depicts that all societies go through three stages in human history: savagery, barbarism, and civilization (Gede Sedana Suci, Hadian Wijoyo 2019). This is not to diminish the value of each term, but rather to simplify terminology for anthropologists compared to terms that complicate matters, such as the old stone age, new stone age, and so on. From an ethnological perspective, kinship systems can be categorized as patrilineal, matrilineal, and bilateral (Nurdin 2019).

### **The conceptual framework of Fatima Mernissi on Patriarchal Culture and the Domestication of Women's Roles in the Perspective of Islam**

Among both academics and non-academics, the discourse on gender equality has always been a distortion from time to time. Often, gender differences become a matter of injustice for both men and women, especially women. Recognizing this, some Islamic feminists strive to reinterpret or provide new understanding of aspects that are perceived to still have gender inequalities, and one of them is Fatima Mernissi. She attempts to re-explain the understanding of religious concepts using a mindset and historical analysis. According to her, the subordination of Muslim women is a historical development carried out by past Islamic rulers after the passing of the Prophet Muhammad (Al-hidayati, Ibnu Rusydi 2022). Similarly, the stereotypes about women that exist in society are not teachings of Islam but rather social constructs of a patriarchal society

(Eko Setiawan 2019). For her, as a feminist, equality itself is a freedom that is not confined to a specific sphere of communal life.

Mernissi's efforts to advocate for gender equality are not solely based on Western feminism, but fundamentally, the concept of gender equality is indirectly written in religious texts (revelation and sunnah). Initially, before Fatima Mernissi realized the historical deviations carried out by Islamic rulers in elevating the status of women, she observed how men of that time dominated all aspects of society throughout history, even though they did not dominate in terms of numbers in matriarchal societies (Yumnah 2021). It was only because of the authority of religious scholars dominating the interpretation of religious texts that it appeared to prioritize male interests and justify their dominance, which led to the creation of a patriarchal society (Achmad Ghufon 2020).

Fatima Mernissi believes that Islam provides freedom for women to participate in all aspects of life, including full participation in politics and having skills and notable achievements, just as men do in politics. In her historical analysis, she gives examples of Muslim women who served as heads of state and were recognized by their people, such as Shajar al-Durr, who was the ruler of Cairo, Egypt (Yumnah 2021). Mernissi also states that in striving for equal status between men and women, reference should be made to the Islamic legacy itself, as seen during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. This is evident in the active involvement of Muslim women in politics, such as Ummu Aiman, who served as a caregiver and mother figure for the Prophet after Aminah, and also participated in the Battle of Uhud.

One of the feminist models exemplified by Mernissi is the approach taken by the wives of the Prophet Muhammad, particularly Ummu Salamah. When Ummu Salamah asked the Prophet, "Why are the journeys (hijrah) of men always mentioned in the Quran, but not those of women?" an ayah (verse) was revealed in response to her question, which is mentioned in Surah Al-Imran, verse 3/195. From this ayah, Fatima Mernissi explains that Ummu Salamah received an answer to her question, and she uses this answer as a basis to argue that Islam has indeed granted perfect gender equality (Nur Afif, Asep Ubaidillah 2020).

Mernissi believes that this verse indicates functional leadership rather than inherent leadership, although the explicit meaning of the term "qawwam" is not found in the books she has written. She argues that male leadership within the family is functional, as men take on leadership roles due to their advantage in providing for the family. However, if a husband is

unable to meet the needs of his wife and family, he cannot be the leader of the family, and this responsibility can be transferred to the woman (his wife) (Achmad Ghufron 2020).

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that Fatima Mernissi interprets the Quran using a critical hermeneutical method that aims to uncover or penetrate hidden assumptions in one's understanding. Thus, many of Mernissi's interpretations criticize the Mufassir and Muhadithin (interpreters of the Quran and hadith). Her interpretations of the Quran are a response to the ideological approach employed by Fatima Mernissi in examining the sacred texts of the Quran and hadith, known as "Islamic feminism." This ideology represents the Islamic struggle for gender equality, grounded in the teachings of Islam.

### **The Portrait of Patriarchal Culture as a Representation of Ancient Traditions**

The two streams of thought from Engels and Mernissi can be effectively employed to depict the origins of patriarchal culture in ancient times and how Islam serves as a response to the oppression of women. Engels' historical materialism approach provides a broad picture of how gender differences began at the end of the barbarism era, where the transition from communal primitive family typology to the early stages of property ownership occurred.

In the subsequent stage, the beginnings of slavery emerged due to class differences resulting from early land ownership, giving rise to feudalistic culture. According to Mernissi, the spirit of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula at that time was a solutive antithesis to various norms and values of previous teachings. The Islamic endeavor to emancipate slaves, elevate the status of women, limit polygamy, and prohibit the burial of female infants represents an effort to gradually instill values of equality between men and women.

At this juncture, Engels' and Mernissi's approaches can analyze the ever-existing patriarchal culture in Indonesia on one side, while also dispelling the stigma that Islam is solely "The Religion of Man" on the other. Hence, the analytical framework of Engels' historical materialism and Mernissi's perspectives become highly relevant. In the context of Indonesia, Engels' thought framework serves as a reminder that patriarchal traditions in Indonesia have a relationship with the patriarchal culture reflected in certain Indonesian customs that persist to this day. Thus, on one hand, there is no anthropological reason to overlook the early domestication of women through the formation of families, and on the other hand, there is no anthropological reason to refrain from analyzing the patriarchal traditions of ancient times since

the fact remains that these traditions are still preserved and exist in several Indonesian ethnic groups.

Tradition, from an epistemological perspective, represents inherited customs that are still practiced by society (Ebta Setiawan n.d.). From a terminological standpoint, according to Van Reusen, it can be understood as a legacy, rules, assets, norms, customs, and values (Mustam 2017). However, it is important to understand that tradition is not something fixed, but it changes with social developments at the time. Tracing the remnants of preserved traditions within a society can facilitate the identification of the origins of the institution of the family. On the other hand, culture is a structured series of traditions accepted by a specific group of society, which encompasses the culmination of values and material arrangements of that society, although according to Raymond Williams, culture is one of the most complex terms in the English language due to its usage across various disciplines and paradigms (Moh Anas Kholis 2021).

The kinship system of the “anak dalam” tribe, as discussed in the introduction, serves as a reminder that the system itself is a remnant of pre-family kinship rules, namely the matriarchal system, where women held privileged positions. Although there has been a slight shift in leadership within the anak dalam tribe being led by men, kinship systems like this can be found in various indigenous tribes on different continents, where descent is traced through the maternal line rather than the paternal line (Reed 1972).

In the merarik culture, elopement in the “anak dalam” tribe, londoniha, seems to affirm that the tradition bears a striking resemblance to the conditions during the primitive era. According to J.E McLennan, a legal expert, the origin of such capture was the scarcity of women within clans during the primitive period, leading to the division into maternal and patriarchal clans. Another reason was that some tribes prohibited marriage within their own group, resulting in men and women having to seek partners outside their own group (Rahim 2016). This is what McLennan referred to as exogamy, whereas seeking a spouse from one's own group is called endogamy. Furthermore, the scarcity of women in a group, caused by frequent warfare during the primitive era, led to exogamy as a solution, although it could not eliminate polyandry. McLennan explained that the focus on maternal lineage for familial ties was due to the scarcity of women and the dominance of men, resulting in familial ties being traced through the mother's side.

The factors presented by McLennan do not touch upon the reasons for elopement in the londoniha tradition, which is based on a lack of dowry, as stated by Yadi Darmawan, a member of

the Mbojo tribe. As mentioned above, personal ownership is a characteristic of the civilized period, meaning pre-family societies did not have dowries. It is evident that the tradition of providing a dowry is an attempt to grant personal rights from one group to another. Thus, it can be concluded that this tradition undergoes a shift in meaning over time, as culture itself is an inherited custom that includes changing norms based on social conditions. Additionally, it cannot be denied that cultural contamination and the pressures of new values exist (Roibin 2021).

## CONCLUSIONS

The belief that the domestication of women and patriarchal culture in society have existed since ancient times is not substantiated, and the patriarchal culture is a legacy of past traditions that lack an eligible basis, as indicated by Engels' research mentioned above. On the other hand, Mernissi, as a Muslim feminist figure, rejects the perception that Islam is the religion of man, with evidence from several Quranic laws that reject the domestication of women and patriarchal culture during the time when the Quran was revealed in the midst of the Mecca and Medina communities, as explained earlier.

Based on the above conclusion, the researcher rejects the patriarchal traditions existing within society, even crystallizing as societal traditions, by analyzing the perspectives of the two aforementioned figures. The author discovers a parallelism between Western and Islamic thoughts in addressing the issue of the domestication of women, as a contribution to future researchers in the field.

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