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# Opportunities for Towani Tolotang Women in the Public Sphere

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Abstract: The Towani Tolotang community is known to be highly egalitarian and emancipative. Towani Tolotang society is open to having leaders. Towani Tolotang women are allowed to be involved in public activities. This study aims to examine the possibilities of Towani Tolotang women in Sidrap Regency within the scope of customs that form the basis of their strength to participate in the public sphere. This study uses a qualitative research method with a descriptive type to explain the results obtained from interviews that are analyzed factually, objectively, and systematically. This research shows that the customary rules in the Towani Tolotang community in Sidrap Regency do not differentiate between male and female gender. All parties are entitled to hold the position of ordinary leader based on their lineage and character. Based on this, the patriarchal culture of Bugis society does not affect the status of women in Towani Tolotang society, giving women in Towani Tolotang society the opportunity to participate in the public sphere.

**Keywords:** Women, Towani Tolotang, Minority, Opportunities for Towani Tolotang Women

Abstrak: Masyarakat Towani Tolotang dikenal memiliki sifat egaliter dan emansipatif yang tinggi. Hal ini terlihat dari

keterbukaan masyarakat Towani Tolotang memiliki pemmimpin. Perempuan Towani Tolotang diberikan peluang dalam berkegiatan di ranah publi. Studi ini bertujuan mengkaji tentang peluang perempuan Towani Tolotang di Kab. Sidrap dalam lingkup adat yang menjadi dasar kekuatan untuk ikut serta dalam ranah Publik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan tipe deskriptif untuk menjelaskan hasil yang diperoleh dari hasil waawancara yang di analisisi secara faktual, objektif, dan sistematis. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa aturan adat dalam masyarakat Towani Tolotang di Kab. Sidrap tidak membedakan jenis kelamin lakilaki maupun perempuan. Semua pihak berhak untuk menduduki jabatan sebagai ketua adat berdasarkan garis keturunan dan karakter yang dimiliki. Hal tersebut memperlihatkan bahwa budaya patriarki masyarakat Bugis tidak berpengaruh terhadap posisi Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Towani Tolotang sehingga memberikan peluang bagi perempuan masyarakat Towani Tolotang sejak dahulu untuk dapat tetap berkiprah dalam ranah publik.

**Kata Kunci:** Perempuan, Towani Tolotang, Minoritas, Peluang Perempuan Towani Tolotang

#### INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the opportunities for Towani Tolotang women in the Towani Tolotang environment and the customary rules that underpin their power to participate in the public sphere. Towani Tolotang is composed of the words Towani and Tolotang. Towani comes from *tau*, "people," and *wani*, the village where the community began. So *Towani* means "people of Wani village". Tolotang also comes from two different words, *tau* "people" and *lotang*, which means south. In the Tolotang language, it means people from the south. However, in today's context, Towani Tolotang is a common nickname for the people who live south of the Amparita market in the Sidrap

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district. The term Tolotang is a nickname Addatuang (King of Sidenreng) used to refer to the Towani people. However, in later developments, Towani Tolotang was adopted as the sect's name given by others.<sup>1</sup>

Towani Tolotang people have a long history before the introduction of Islam in their region. They live in Wani Village, Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi. They refused to convert to Islam, so they were forced to leave their hometown by the King of Wajo. In 1666, they reunited with their families in Sidenreng Rappang Governorate. Addatuang Sidenreng (King of Sidenreng) accepted the Towani tolotang community after signing a contract called "Ade' Puronrona Sidenreng" with the caveat that they must follow Islamic rituals to remain there.<sup>2</sup> Although they participated in Islamic death and marriage rituals as a sign of their involvement in Addatuang, they did not follow Islam. Instead, they practiced their respective beliefs before performing the rituals. However, tensions arose when Islamic leaders demanded they fully convert to Islam. Eventually, the Towani Tolotang chose Hinduism as their primary religion.

The Towani Tolotang community led by an elder called *Uwata'*. *Uwata'* is the title of the highest leader in the Towani Tolotang community. *Uwata'* is elected by several *Uwa'*, which according to Bugis literature, is called uncle or aunt or uncle. *Uwa'* can be used for a man or a woman. In Towani Tolotang, *Uwa'* means a title or position only reserved for the elite. To this day, the Towani Tolotang community leads by a male and a female *Uwata'*.

The Towani Tolotang community, currently based in Amparita, is led by Ir. Hamka Muin. From the time of La Panaung to Ir Hamka Muin, 15 *Uwa*tta led the Benteng Tolotang Community, but only seven of their names

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Muh Rusli, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Towani Tolotang Di Kabupaten Sedenreng Rappang," *Jurnal Al-Ulum* 12, no. 2 (2012): 477–496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Andi Rusdi Maidin, *Model Kepemimpinan Uwatta Dalam Komunitas Tolotang Benteng* (Makassar: CV. Sah Media, 2017).

are still known. Among them: The first was La Panaungi or *Uwata'* Matanre Batunna. The second and ninth leaders are no longer known by name. The tenth is *IBerlian* (female). Eleventh Gangkan. Twelfth Sangkuru or *Uwa* Ponreng. Thirteenth *IKina* (female). The title La represents men, while the letter *I* represent women.<sup>3</sup>

Referring to the data above shows that the Towani Tolotang community is a society that does not adhere to patriarchal culture, as seen from the opportunity for women to become *Umata'*. To date, many studies still discuss women's representation and gender issues. However, this research is new because it focuses on women in gender issues and the Towani Tolotang community as a minority group in Sidrap Regency. Today, women's position cannot simply refer to their rights. Women have provided energy and positive assessments in society by carrying out their functions in the public sphere.<sup>4</sup> We cannot take a one-sided view of women. Many women today occupy strategic positions in public life by carrying out their roles well. This foundation can be a starting point for engaging women in improving quality in society.

In Indonesia, women's roles fall into domestic and public categories.<sup>5</sup> In this context, both at the local and national levels, women have performed both functions. The domestic part refers to the role of women as wives and homemakers. Women have been in this role since ancient times, as this role forces them to spend most of their lives at home. In addition, a woman's role

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Maidin, Model Kepemimpinan Uwatta Dalam Komunitas Tolotang Benteng.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Muhammad Darwis Dasopang and Azmil Hasan Lubis, "Perempuan-Perempuan Tangguh Penjaga Nilai-Nilai Keislaman Anak: Studi Daerah Minoritas Muslim," *Kafa`ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 11, no. 1 (2021): 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wahyu Utamidewi, "Konstruksi Makna Istri Tentang Peran Suami (Studi Fenomenologi Tentang Istri Sebagai Wanita Karir Dan Memiliki Pendapatan Yang Lebih Besar Dari Suami Di Kota Jakarta) Wahyu Utamidewi Universitas Singaperbangsa Karawang," *Politikom Indonesiana* 05, no. 02 (2013): 1085–1092.

in domestic life is that of a companion to her husband in improving the family's quality.<sup>6</sup> Very different from the public role. In these public roles, women present themselves in a positive light.<sup>7</sup> Some aspects of work previously done exclusively by men are now done by women. However, the transition process of women participating more in the public sphere is undoubtedly tricky. Women must face old stigmas and the harshness of patriarchal culture, especially in Indonesia. Women are considered mere objects by men. This view marks the beginning of gender equality, focusing on studying women as a minority group and vulnerable to violence, especially structural ones.

Structural violence against minority groups results from the intersection of their identities, such as gender identity, race, class, religion, etc., making them more vulnerable Kimberle Crenshaw said that identity violation could have multifaceted effects on a person. Structural violence against women commonly can be seen from sociocultural, economic, and political dimensions. Women and their limitations in the public sphere are a common challenge still being studied. The existence of cultural and religious values is an actor that causes women to be limited in their participation in the public sphere. Previous research by Veronica, Pavel, and Eduard in 2015 found that only some people (17%) support equality for the entire population. Most people support democracy but not gender equality. It is, of course, influenced and shaped by religion, social status, and education. Therefore, culture and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ninin Ramadhani, "Implikasi Peran Ganda Perempuan Dalam Kehidupan Keluarga Dan Lingkungan Masyarakat," *Sosietas* 6, no. 2 (2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dasopang and Lubis, "Perempuan-Perempuan Tangguh Penjaga Nilai-Nilai Keislaman Anak: Studi Daerah Minoritas Muslim."

<sup>8</sup> Chandra Linsa Hikmawati, "Opresi Berlapis Perempuan Etnis Tionghoa: Pemerkosaan Massal Terhadap Perempuan Etnis Tionghoa Dalam Tragedi Mei 1998 Di Jakarta," *Jurnal Politik* 2, no. 2 (2017): 337.

religion also play a role in realizing equality.<sup>9</sup> Research conducted by Henderi Kusmidi supports this research.<sup>10</sup> In his study, he explained that one of the reasons why the part of women is minimal in the public sphere is because of the basis of religious teachings, which to this day, is a debate between scholars regarding whether or not women can become leaders.

In addition, another study by Fitri Kusumayanti explains that the role of women in the public sphere remains constrained due to the solid patriarchal meaning in society. Some of the studies above describe the factors that hinder the active role of women in the public sphere. In contrast, this study explains how the opportunities of the Towani Tolotang community in the public sphere. Specifically, this study focuses on the possibilities of Towani Tolotang women as a minority group in Sidrap Regency in the public sphere. In addition, this study explores the position of Towani Tolotang women in the traditional view of the Towani Tolotang community. Towani tolotang women are discussed further in this study.

#### **METHOD**

The method used in this research is a qualitative method that presents descriptively. This research uses a case study approach that identifies one case as a concrete entity, such as an individual, small community, organization, or partnership. This study attempts to explain the position and opportunities of women in the public sphere in the Towani Tolotang indigenous community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Veronica V. Kostenko, Pavel A. Kuzmuchev, and Eduard D. Ponarin, "Attitudes towards Gender Equality and Perception of Democracy in the Arab World," *Democratization* 23, no. 5 (2016): 862–891.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kusmidi Henderi, "Kepemimpinan Perempuan Di Ranah Publik Dalam Kajian Perspektif Fiqih," Al-IMARAH: Jurnal Pemerintahan dan Politik Islam 5, no. 1 (2020): 104–112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Fitri Kusumayanti, "Dilema Ruang Perempuan Dalam Keluarga Dan Publik," *Jurnal Raheema* 6, no. 2 (2019): 125–142.

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Amidst the stigma of patriarchal culture, this research shows how Towani Tolotang society gives space to women. The techniques used in this research include field research in the form of observation, interviews with several informants from the Towani Tolotang community, traditional female leaders (Wa'), and representatives of the Towani Tolotang community who believed in understanding the focus of the research. The interview process was in the Sidrap district, where the Towani Tolotang community lives.

The data used were primary and secondary data. This study obtained basic information from the Towani Tolotang community, traditional leaders (Wa'), and representatives of Towani Tolotang, conventional leaders, with seven informants. While the secondary data in this study, secondary sources of information are books, journals, and articles with research topics related to the Towani Tolotang community, gender influence, women, and minority groups. To analyze the data, the author explores the data factually, objectively, and systematically.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

# Towani Tolotang Community Relations in Sidrap District

The Towani Tolotang community is the group that represents the "non-Islamic" view of *Ipabbere*. *Ipabbere* is the name of a woman who died hundreds of years ago and continues to carry the beliefs of the Towani Tolotang community to this day. From community statements, they claim to be Hindu, although their religious practices are not the same as mainstream Hinduism. This belief existed in the Kingdom of Wajo (now Wajo), South Sulawesi, since the 16th century. However, due to the rise of Islam, the Towani-Tolotang group experienced limited opportunities for growth and development. As a result, they decided to migrate to the Kingdom of

Sidenreng during the 17th century to showcase their distinct culture and preserve it. After a long journey, the Towani Tolotang community was eventually accepted and cared for by the Sidenreng kingdom. However, As per the agreement, as long as they study Islam, they will abide by Islamic law for the time being, except in matters of marriage and death.<sup>12</sup> Over time, the Towani-Tolotang community experienced dynamics in social interactions, starting to grow a sense of justice towards others, mutual respect and recognition of the majority group, or mutual acceptance of differences.<sup>13</sup>

The beginning of the dynamic relationship between Towani Tolotang and Islamic groups (before and after independence) began when the Japanese colonial government in 1944, through the Qodi of Sidenreng Kingdom and the Imam of Amparita, prohibited the Towani Tolotang community from performing marriage and death rituals by Islamic provisions.<sup>14</sup> Muslim and Towani Tolotang communities in Sidrap district have established good relations, unlike Sorong<sup>15</sup>, Poso<sup>16</sup>, and Maluku<sup>17</sup> communities. As in pluralistic societies in various countries, such as the Rohingya Muslim minority in Myanmar, this contrasts with what is happening today in the Sidrap district.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Herman Lawelai, "Dinamika Politik Lokal: Politik Multikulturalisme Kelompok Minoritas 'Towani Tolotang 'Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Wawasan: Jurnal. Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya* (n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Hasse J, "Dinamika Hubungan Islam Dan Agama Lokal Di Indonesia: Pengalaman Towani Tolotang Di Sulawesi Selatan," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2016): 179–186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Lawelai, "Dinamika Politik Lokal: Politik Multikulturalisme Kelompok Minoritas' Towani Tolotang' Di Sulawesi Selatan."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Haidlor Ali Ahmad, "Antara Harmoni Dan Konflik Etnis Di Kota Sorong," Harmoni: jurnal multikultural dan multireligius 10, no. 1 (2011): 34–49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> A. Juliansyah, E., & Rizal, "Konflik Poso (Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001)," *Criksetra: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah* 5, no. 10 (2016): 166–174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Yunus Rahawarin, "Kerjasama Antar Umat Beragama: Studi Rekonsiliasi Konflik Agama Di Maluku Dan Tual," *KALAM* 7, no. 1 (2017): 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lawelai, "Dinamika Politik Lokal: Politik Multikulturalisme Kelompok Minoritas' Towani Tolotang' Di Sulawesi Selatan."

In practice, the general public in Myanmar cannot accept the Rohingya Muslim minority in terms of social interactions. Unfortunately, the Rohingya Muslim minority has experienced unfair treatment by the majority community, including excessive violence such as killings and burning their homes and settlements. The conditions the Rohingya Muslim community feels differ from those touched by the Towani Tolotang community in the Sidrap district.<sup>19</sup>

In pluralistic societies, religion often emerges as a trigger for conflict, for example, in the clashes between Hindus and Muslims in India that claimed many victims.<sup>20</sup> Based on interviews with respondents who are members of the Towani Tolotang community, they explained the harmony of their parents' lives and the acceptance of their extended families by their maternal and paternal families. In addition, he also stated that the Towani Tolotang community obeys government regulations, and religious rules always emphasize charity and avoid actions that go against the rules so that the environment can accept them. The Towani Tolotang community integrates by showing an adaptive and inclusive attitude toward development and reality, with the Muslim community as the majority under the rule of Sidrap.<sup>21</sup>

Towani Tolotang accepts other cultural elements in their daily lives, such as *kopia* and *sarung*, while women wear kebaya during religious ceremonies. Along with the times, they also use modern tools in their daily lives (TV, cellphones, and others, as well as electronic devices used in rice fields and gardens). As for Towani Tolotang's inclusive attitude, they are open

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nehginpao Kipgen, "Addressing the Rohingya Problem," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49, no. 2 (2014): 234–247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Rahmatillah, "Perlindungan Hukum Kekerasan Etnis Rohingya Myanmar," no. January (2022): 0–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Radikalisme Agama Dan Upaya Deradikalisasi Pemahaman Keagamaan," *AKADEMIKA: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 22, no. 1 (June 23, 2017): 199, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/196255896.pdf.

to establishing relationships with people outside Towani Tolotang, especially Muslims and Hindus. In their social activities, Towani Tolotang Muslims and Hindus are almost inseparable. As a minority group, this must happen to maintain good public acceptance of the Towani Tolotang community. If something goes wrong, it raises concerns that this would lead to conflicts detrimental to the Towani Tolotang community. The Muslim majority side by side with the Towani Tolotang minority is proof of the openness of the Towani Tolotang community. This openness allows Towani Tolotang women to show their existence in the public sphere, especially in Sidrap Regency.

## The Position of Women in Towani Tolotang Society

The role of women in the public sphere is familiar today. Women are found active in various fields, including usually male-dominated ones. Open areas and job opportunities that are no longer strictly according to gender criteria, educational advancement, and poverty of most families play an essential role in increasing the number of women working in the public sector. These factors are indispensable in increasing the number of women in the public sector. In the historical context, women were initially considered worthless and were, therefore, often mistreated. Women were only seen in domestic affairs (kitchen, fountain, bed) and were assigned exclusively domestic tasks.

Moreover, this notion is also widely practiced in Indonesia. Indonesia's patriarchal culture is one of the reasons why women are considered inferior to men. Towani Tolotang society has always upheld equality. Several women have led the Towani Tolotang community under *Uwata'*.

Towani Tolotang is a society with unique leadership. The Towani Tolotang community's highest leader title is "*Uwa*ta". *Uwa* means leader or our

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respect and appreciation, ta means honor. The Towani Tolotang community recognizes a tiered leadership system where heredity measures a person becoming *Uwata'*. This dimension is inseparable from the story that their leader is a descendant of Sawerigading (the ancestor of the Bugis people) or La Panaung, who has the title *Uwata'*, and his lineage holds a high position in the Towani Tolotang community structure. Uwata' in Towani Tolotang society is a holy and authoritative person who influences power to make people obey his orders. The leadership structure and leadership model of Uwata' in Towani Tolotang society is straightforward and focused on Uwata'. If one of the traditional leaders is collectively or otherwise unable to attend the event, a partner will be appointed to host the event. Another way this is carefully applied is in selecting the *Uwata'* leader. The choice of the *Uwata'* is made by the Traditional Council, which deliberates on the selection of the leader (Chairman of the Traditional Council) called *Uwata'*. The position *Uwata'* is lying on his lap during his lifetime. The *Uwa*tta's primary mission is to be the leader of the Towani people of the Tolotang community. Another function of the Customary Council is deliberating on the Tolotang Benteng community life activities. Based on the results of these deliberations, Uwata' then decided as the leader of the Customary Council.

Towani Tolotang believes that women are equal to men. The placement of women in leadership positions in Towani Tolotang society proves that Towani Tolotang society is not associated with patriarchal culture. Towani Tolotang society highly values women and an understanding of the history of the Towani Tolotang community. In the story, the Tolotang Tolotang tribe believes that Sawerigading is a prophet for the Towani Tolotang people and La Panaungi (the first *Uwata'*) is Sawerigading's successor; both say they hear or receive whispers from "Sadda" or God Se*Uwa*e. Sawerigading, in the story, is the son of King Luwu, "Batara Lattu,"

of the ancient Luwu Kingdom. In the local language, Sawerigading consists of two words: saw, which means hatch (birth), and rig grading, which means bamboo. Sawerigading thus means the descendant of a person who was hatched (born) in Bamboo Betung (the place where the gods descend). Sawerigading had a twin brother named We Tenri Aben. His wife was named We Cudai, and had a son named La Galigo. Based on the story, Towani Tolotang people believe that women and men are equal and women should also be respected and valued. Because Sawerigading, a prophet of the Towani Tolotang faith, had a sister. So the equality of rank and degree between the two is the same. Perhaps this can be just in the context of social life. It is clear how Towani Tolotang women live their lives, both in social and daily life. In Towani Tolotang society, it is rare for men to discriminate against women by implementing formal events. Women have a unique position in their performance—for example, the traditional activity of tudang sipulung.

Tudang sipulung involves visiting sacred places while performing rituals (makkasiwiang). Three different locations are visited. This activity is carried out for three consecutive days at night at Pakkawerue, located in the middle of Amparita village cross-legged. It can last until late at night. In the morning, they continue their journey to Pabbaju Eja, well on the border between Amparita and Massepe in the south towards Soppeng. In the late afternoon or Friday night, they visit the grave of Uwata' Matanre Batunna (Si Panaungi), some kilometers away from Uwata''s house. It is north of Uwata' 's house and passes two houses, Bola Lampe and Soraja or Bola Camminge (the King's residence). When passing these two houses, the group would mappatabe (ask permission) to stop and speak in Lontara Bugis. Each time they leave, Uwata' takes a prepared parcel with him. The field is carried by a girl of about ten years old at the very front, followed by Uwata', then the women and girls walk hand in hand and solemnly chant in the Bugis language (Lontara) next after

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the line of mothers. Then behind it followed a string of fathers and young people. Before performing the ritual, the mothers dress like they are going to a party with their beautiful children. They wear their white-white hair in a bun paired with a silk sarong or tie. This position shows great respect for women. For women, dressing as an occasion also signifies the Towani Tolotang community's respect.

The treatment of women in Towani Tolotang society differs in some parts of Indonesia. Notably, this is especially true in areas with a patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture is a systematic and structured social practice that shows men's dominance over women. Women's families are seen only as a source of unpaid domestic work to care for male workers (husbands), give birth, and raise children who will later give birth to a new generation of workers.<sup>22</sup> Gender equality was born when women had to perform different roles inside and outside the family. An understanding of gender equality in the family can be used as a way to minimize practices of gender inequality. However, it must teach knowledge regarding gender equality between roles and opportunities between men and women in the family.

Indonesian politics continues to be characterized by gender discrimination.<sup>23</sup> The role and position of women in policy-making are still minimal.<sup>24</sup> This gender injustice is rooted in an unchecked patriarchal culture. It is essential to understand the power relations between structures in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dede Nurul Qomariah, "Persepsi Masyarakat Mengenai Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Keluarga," *Jendela PLS: Jurnal Cendekiawan Ilmiah Pendidikan Luar Sekolah* 4, no. 2 (2019): 52–58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> S N Khaerani, "Kesetaraan Dan Ketidakadilan Gender Dalam Bidang Ekonomi Pada Masyarakat Tradisional Sasak Di Desa Bayan Kecamatan Bayan Kabupaten Lombok Utara," *Qannam* 11, no. 1 (2017): 59–76, https://journal.uinmataram.ac.id/index.php/qawwam/article/view/723.

Very Wahyudi, "Peran Politik Perempuan Dalam Persfektif Gender," *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018): 63–83, http://journal.uinmataram.ac.id/index.php/politea.

social sphere and how they relate to masculinity and femininity.<sup>25</sup> When a man cannot compromise and is afraid of appearing soft or feminine, the compensation is excessive male aggression towards women. In men, a masculine personality with substantial authority gains by emphasizing vulnerability and dependability. Men perceive women as a threat who can reveal their weaknesses and undermine the myths and illusions on which men's claims to superiority are based, thus forming a cooperative union of masculinity with the attributes of male strength and prestige. This theory exposes the psychoanalytic elements of historically constructed propositions of masculinity. The practice of gender often illustrates the social structure of a society dominated by patriarchal culture. The dominance of men over women is evident in the existing social system. This domination exists in various fields of life. Research on women traditional leaders (Wa') and spokespersons of the Towani Tolotang community explains that the Towani Tolotang community instills gender equality in selecting traditional leaders. Women can become elected as conventional leaders in the Towani Tolotang community. Gender considerations are not an obstacle in the selection of traditional leaders.

The selection of traditional leaders in the Towani Tolotang community prioritizes lineage; high strata in the bloodline take precedence in occupying the position of conventional leader; apart from being based on line, it is also based on the character or personality of the candidate for traditional leaders so that the appointment as a customary leader is carried out first from the closest scope, namely the family. Traditional leaders can see and assess relatives or children who can serve as successors in the Towani Tolotang

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Yanuarious You, "Relasi Gender Patriarki Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Perempuan Hubula Suku Dani, Kabupaten Jayawijaya, Papua," *Sosiohumaniora* 21, no. 1 (2019): 65.

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Community. The appointment is based on their character and is considered capable of leading and prioritizing the interests of the Towani Tolotang community. The chosen customary leader must be focused (not having other activities/rituals other than Towani Tolotang Society). The regeneration process will depend on the intensity of practice (frequency) attending Towani Tolotang traditional activities or events. Dalam ajaran Towani Tolotang, pria dan wanita memiliki hak yang sama.

This community's culture and tradition differ from many indigenous women in Baliem Valley, Jayawijaya Regency, where women are not as well positioned as Towani Tolotang women. Towani Tolotang society is more egalitarian and emancipatory. Women are considered equal to men. Therefore, in the daily life of the Towani Tolotang community, many women still play a role in the public sphere.26

Although Towani Tolotang women have the same opportunities as men in the public sphere, women in the Towani Tolotang community still have to fulfill their roles in the domestic sphere (household). By nature, Towani Tolotang women must still be responsible for their families even though they work in the public sphere. The dual roles women must perform make it difficult for Towani Tolotang women to engage in the public sphere. It could be an obstacle for Towani Tolotang women in seeking experience in the public sphere, making Towani Tolotang women limited or less participate in the public sphere. In families, women usually have rights and obligations in the domestic sphere. The dichotomy of domestic and public roles shows that patriarchal culture in Towani Tolotang society is still rooted in gender differences, with men having masculine and women feminine traits, men having public functions, and women having domestic roles and status

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> You, "Relasi Gender Patriarki Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Perempuan Hubula Suku Dani, Kabupaten Jayawijaya, Papua."

domination. Boys and girls have different positions, while girls get the short end of the stick. Instead, it reflects the patriarchal system that creates a social system where women often occupy an inferior position.

### **CONCLUSION**

Towani Tolotang women have several opportunities to existing in the public sphere. Towani Tolotang's rules and teachings require their descendants to be accommodating to establish a good and harmonious relationship with the majority group. Good relations between minority and majority groups can determine the participation of minority groups in social life. The second opportunity is that there is no difference in customary rules in choosing a standard head, so women in Towani Tolotang society can have the chance to enter the public space as familiar heads (Wa') in Towani Tolotang society. However, the guidelines in Towani Tolotang society that place women with domestic responsibilities to take care of the household pose a challenge for women in Towani Tolotang society to have a career in the public sphere because of the dual roles that must be maximized, namely remaining responsible for their domestic sphere, in this case, household affairs.

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