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Gender and the Intergenerational Transmission of Property in Rural Bali

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List of Acronyms

MUDP	Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman
HSA	Hindu Succession Act
HSAA	Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act
PKD	Pekarangan Desa
BTN	Bank Tabungan Negara

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Abstract

Gender bias in the intergenerational transmission of the property leads to, and perpetuates gender inequality. This study aims to explore gender dimensions in the intergenerational transmission of property, focusing on rural, patriarchal communities in the Indonesian island of Bali. The findings presented here are from three Balinese villages in Kediri sub-district, Tabanan District. Through in-depth interviews with members of eight selected families, this study investigated a range of aspects in the transmission: the objects and the timing of the transmission, the negotiation between women and the other family members, and the reasons for the division of property among sons and daughters. Even though the property transmission is open to negotiation, the division of property between sons and daughters is unequal.

Relevance to Development Studies

Gender bias in inheritance rights and practices leads to, and perpetuates gender inequality. Women's access to property is critical to their social and economic empowerment, especially in rural areas.

Keywords

intergenerational transmission; property transfer; rural Bali; gender relations; family

Chapter 1: Gender, law and practice in inheritance: introduction to the study

The aim of this study is to explore gender dimensions in the intergenerational transmission of property, focusing on rural, patriarchal communities in the Indonesian island of Bali. The study has investigated a range of aspects in the transmission: the objects and the timing of the transmission, the negotiation between women and the other family members, and the reasons for the division of property among sons and daughters.

This paper has five chapters. The remaining sections of *Chapter 1* introduce the issue of gender inequalities in the intergenerational transmission of property, the justification and relevance of the study, the descent system in Balinese *adat* (customary) law, the summary of the legal basis of women's inheritance rights in international law (CEDAW), Indonesian domestic law, and Balinese *adat* law, also some comparative data on women's position in inheritance law in Hindu societies (India). The concluding sections of *Chapter 1* explain the guiding concepts and research questions. *Chapter 2* explicates and justifies the overall methodology and methods employed to address these questions. *Chapter 3* provides background on the study location and profiles of the sample families selected for the in-depth study. *Chapter 4*, the empirical core of the study, presents and discusses the gender dimensions of the intergenerational transmissions of property in the eight selected families. Finally, *Chapter 5* provides the summary and some concluding reflections.

1.1 Gender inequalities in the intergenerational transmission of property

Gender bias in the intergenerational transmission of property leads to, and perpetuates gender inequality. White (2020, p.100) stated that “gender is a key mechanism of structural exclusion in intergenerational transfers”. In rural areas, women's access to land is often critical to social and economic empowerment. According to Agarwal (1994), women's rights in land are significant because they provide direct access to an independent economic resource and access to credit and promote women's incorporation in decision-making processes.

The UN Food and Agricultural Organization data indicate that less than 13 per cent of farmland owners are women globally. In Indonesia, according to Indonesia National Land Agency, the proportion of female landowners is only 24.2 per cent (Astri *et al.*, 2020).

Indonesia ratified The UN 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1984. CEDAW established the principle of equality as stated particularly in Article 3. CEDAW also

protects rural women's rights to land as stated in Article 14 number 2 (g). The principle of equality before the law between men and women is also established in Article 15 number 1 and 2.

Although CEDAW promotes and protects rural women's rights to land, there is no article referring to inheritance rights. However, the General recommendation on article 16 of CEDAW mentions inheritance. There was also a landmark decision by UN CEDAW Committee on women's inheritance rights in Tanzania in 2013.

1.2 Justification and relevance of this research

Gender inequality is everywhere, but it takes specific forms in different places and cultures. One important aspect of gender inequality is inequality in inheritance rights and practices. Studies of gender in inheritance rights in Indonesia mainly focus on the majority ethnic group (Javanese) or religion (Islam), for example von Benda-Beckmann (1979), Carranza (2012), and Irianto (2016). Since there is legal pluralism in inheritance law in Indonesia, it is also significant to research this topic in minority groups; for example, in customary communities in majority-Hindu Bali, particularly after the decision of the *Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman* (MUDDP), the highest institution of Bali's *adat* village organization, stating that Balinese women have the right to receive shares of parent's assets (*harta gunakaya*) equalling half of the male heirs' inheritance rights. Have the parents' and sons' perspective and practice towards daughter rights in inheritance changed? If so, what do daughters receive compared to sons? Moreover, what is the underlying reason for the parents' decisions?

As a Balinese, I have observed the process of contestation and negotiation in inheritance distribution. The implementation of inheritance law is affected by several aspects, including family member's views on women's inheritance and the gendered power relations between men and women within family and society. In my observation, the intersectional relations of gender, caste, and class all contribute to parents' decisions whether to give inheritance to their daughters and to the daughter's bargaining power relating to inheritance.

Moreover, since inheritance is a private matter, in reality, the practice of inheritance distribution is fluid and full of compromise. If there are tensions and conflict, families rarely file inheritance disputes to the court to avoid a conflict in the family and resolve the matter in a family meeting.

1.3 Inheritance law and practice in Indonesia and Bali

There is no unification of inheritance law in Indonesia. Indonesians follow different inheritance laws based on their background and preference since there is legal pluralism in inheritance, with both civil law, customary (*adat*) law and (in most regions) Islamic law coexisting (Irianto and Bedner, 2016). Some of the

different stipulations regarding women’s position in inheritance in civil, customary and Islamic law are summarized in Table 1.1. Therefore, women’s access to inheritance in Indonesia depends both on the law that prevails in their community and on their ability to negotiate within or outside the framework of the law.

Table 1.1 Legal pluralism in Indonesia inheritance law

	Civil Law	Customary Law	Islamic Law
Regulation	Burgerlijk Wetboek (Article 830-1130)	Unwritten	Compilation of Islamic Law 1991 (Article 171-214)
Subject	Indonesians who do not abide by Islamic and customary law	Customary community	Muslims
Women’s position	Equal rights between men and women	Depends on the kinship system	Daughter has the right to receive shares equalling half of the son.

Source: summarized from Irianto and Bedner, 2016, p.11

Irianto and Bedner (2016, p.15-16) also explain how legal pluralism in the customary inheritance law relates to the kinship system. In the bilateral kinship system applied in Java, women and men have an equal position to inherit. Women cannot inherit from their father and husband in the patrilineal societies of Bali, Batak (North Sumatera), Lombok island, and some other regions. Lastly, the kinship system in the Minangkabau (West Sumatera) customary community is matrilineal (inheritance through the female line), although women inherit the property, it is the senior male (mother’s brother) called *ninik mamak*, who has control over inheritance. They will decide who will manage the family assets, including their allocation.

In Bali, the intergenerational transmission of property is influenced by the patrilineal descent system. The descent system in Balinese *adat* (customary) law embraces *purusa*, which means ‘from the male’. This system embodies the assumption that daughters will “marry out”. According to Puspa (2011), men will bear three types of responsibilities in Balinese society. First is *parahyangan*, the relationship between humans and God, such as taking care of the family praying place and conducting *ngaben* (funereal ritual). The second is *panwongan*, which is related to the relationship between humans and society, contributing to the social activity in the *desa pakraman* (customary village). The third is *palemahan*, the relationship between humans and nature, for instance, taking care of the family farmland and livestock.

It is significant to note that, in Bali, inheritance is imbedded with duties. Since men will conduct more family duties, this is held to justify their getting more share in inheritance both from ancestral assets (*harta pusaka*) and parents' assets (*harta gunakaya*). Parents' assets refer to non-ancestral assets obtained during their marriage, while the ancestral assets are inherited through generations.

In Balinese families, it is important to ensure that at least one child will stay in the ancestral house to conduct the family duties. For parents who do not have a son, the daughter will normally be expected to conduct *kawin nyentana* (uxorilocal marriage, where the man leaves his home and joins his wife's family) so that the daughter and son-in-law will conduct these duties.

When women are not yet married, they will conduct various duties in their natal family. When they are married, they are traditionally expected to accompany their husbands to fulfil those duties, especially in making and delivering *banten* (offerings). *Banten* is an offering to ask for prosperity. Puspa (2008, p.41) explains that in Hindu society, women should conduct the offerings both daily (*nitya yadnya*) and occasionally (*naimitika yajna*).

For example, every morning, Balinese Hindus deliver *banten saiban* after preparing food. While, occasionally, like in full moon and *Galungan* festival (every six months), women also prepare and deliver *banten*. The offerings, containing a small amount of cooked rice and other delicacies (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2) are usually placed in the family praying place, cooking stove, vehicle, rice storage, and in front of the house.

Figure 1.1
Banten saiban



Source: Author's photo

Figure 1.2
Banten for Galungan Festival



Source: Author's photo

Figure 1.3
Mrajan (praying place)



Source: Author's photo

Practically, when Balinese women conduct common (virilocal) marriages, they will leave their house and become part of their husband's family. They also conduct duties in their husband's family. However, in *adat* law prior to 2010, a woman has no right to inherit anything either from her own family, or from her husband's family. Balinese women are only entitled to *jawa dana* (gift/Pre-Inheritance Trust) from their parents' assets (*barta gunakaya*) before getting married.

This reflects the deep-rootedness of norms on gender inequality in Bali. Women's access to *jawa dana* depends not on any rights, but on the parents' will, which relates to how the family values their daughters in relation to their sons.

For comparison, in another majority Hindu society, India, successive legislations have regulated women's position in inheritance. The Hindu Succession Act (HSA) 1956 stated that "daughters of a Hindu male dying intestate (i.e., without leaving a will) were equal inheritors, along with sons, of only their father's separate property and his "notional" portion of joint family property but had no direct inheritance rights to the joint family property itself" (Roy, 2015, p.238).

In 2005 the HSA was amended by the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act (HSAA). HSAA addressed gender equality; for example, sons and daughters have the right to inherit agricultural land across all states except Jammu and Kashmir. Previously, HSA granted each State the authority to determine this matter (Landesa, 2013, p.9, 12).

In Bali, as already noted, recent years have also seen a more progressive amendment to customary law to improve Balinese women's position in inheritance rights. This change reflects the various changes in gender relations, post-marital residence and livelihoods in contemporary Balinese society, as discussed in *Chapters 3 and 4*.

Nowadays, a significant minority of women reside with their husbands in their own village, rather than "marrying out". The changing situation regarding women's inheritance reflects that Balinese women nowadays often take care of their parents when ill or help their natal family's financial issues even after getting married (Suyatra, 2017). These conditions show that after marriage, women do not end all the relationships with their original family.

In this changing context, in 2010, the MUDP released a decision stating that Balinese women have the right to inherit from their parents' assets (*harta gunakaya*). Women should receive shares equalling half of the male heirs' inheritance rights after deducting one-third for family assets (*harta bersama* or *dume tengah*), which will be managed by the heir who continues the parents' duties.

However, the MUDP decision only regulates inheritance from parents' self-acquired assets because culturally, the ancestral property should devolve to, and be managed by, the male heirs. Usually, ancestral properties are the ancestral house including the praying place, rice fields, and mixed garden. As we will see in some of the case studies, daughters were already often receiving a share of non-ancestral property before 2010, so the MUDP decision has more likely legitimated existing practices rather than changing them.

1.4 Guiding Concepts

White (2020, p.140) defines gender as “the culturally assigned behaviours and meanings attributed to the social categories of men and women and the relations between them, in all aspects of social activity, including access to resources, rewards or remuneration for work, and the exercise of authority and power” while generation is “the socially (politically, culturally) constructed relationship between individuals and groups in society based on their “social” age or life-course status”. Although gender studies has rightly moved beyond binary male-female categories and distinctions, in this study, “gender relations” is limited to relations between the culturally constituted categories male and female, since other (intermediate, indeterminate) gender categories were not found, and were not an issue, in the cases studied.

Besides the general concepts of gender and generation this study has been guided by more specific concepts relating to three aspects of gender and generational relations: (1) the intergenerational transmission of resources, (2) gendered power relations in the family, and (3) generational interdependency.

1.4.1 The intergenerational transmission of property

In this study the intergenerational transmission of resources means how property is transferred from one generation to the next. Besides physical property, the resources transmitted between generations can also include businesses, knowledge, networks etc. However, since this study focuses on rural property transfers, it is limited to residential land, farmland and houses or other buildings. It may also indirectly include parental financial resources, for example when parents purchase land or a house to give to a son or daughter. Furthermore, it covers various methods of property transmission: inheritance after the property holder’s death (either with or without a formal will or testament), and gifts or Pre-Inheritance Trust before the death of the property holder.

White (2020, p. 89) explains the different modes of intergenerational transmission of agrarian resources. In anthropological discourse, “inheritance” is often used in the restricted sense of the last stage of resource transmission (after death), while “devolution” denotes the broader process covering transmission both before and after death. However, since the term devolution is not commonly known or understood, in this study, “inheritance” is used to apply to transmission both before and after the parents’ death.

1.4.2 Gendered power relations in the family

Since this research focuses on gender dimensions of the intergenerational transmission of property, it is important to note how power relations between men and women are rooted in patriarchal societies.

According to Cockburn in Whatmore (1991, p.72), “patriarchal gender relations are theorized as one [...] form which empowers men and subordinates women, and is contested through a range of social institutions and practices”.

For Bourdieu in Silva (2005), gender relations are not steady, gender dynamics can change in limited areas of societies. Changes in gender relations reflect various changes in society, for example, the increasing access to education and wage employment.

As Agarwal (1997) argues, gender relations can be seen at the level of the family, the market, the community and the State. Gender relations within the family affect the decision-making processes about, for example, who can participate in decision-making, who can make decisions in the family, and the bargaining power between the genders.

Referring to South Asia, Agarwal (1994, p. xvi), argues that “there are a number of factors constraining women in exercising their legal claims to an inheritance in landed property, including patrilocal post-marital residence and village exogamy, strong opposition from male kin, the social construction of gender needs and roles, low levels of female education, and male bias and dominance in administrative, judicial, and other public decision-making bodies at all levels”.

Therefore, the notion of gendered power relationships within the family framework will be applied to analyze the exercise of power in family negotiations and decisions on property distribution and the form of ownership of the objects of the transmission.

1.4.3 Generational interdependency

According to Weng and Robinson (2014, p.159), “Traditionally, Eastern cultures have promoted close family ties in which the values reflect familial collectivism, where the individual views him/herself as part of the whole family, rather than a separate entity”. It is common for extended family members to live together in the same house or neighbourhood. Moreover, as the way to repay the care from their parents, the adult children are expected to care for their ageing parents. This burden often falls disproportionately on daughters.

In developing countries, government support through social policy regarding eldercare is lacking; for example, in rural areas of Asia, where families become the significant support system for old-age because of the absence of alternative systems (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004, p.498; Bhaumik and Nugent, 2000, p.256).

Schröder-Butterfill (2004) also describes the inter-generational support between both parents and children and grandparents and grandchildren. Her research in Indonesia shows that older people support their children by taking care of the grandchildren, for example, in meal preparation.

Specifically, White (2020) illustrates the mutual relation between parents and children in the past and the current peasant society. For example, in seventeenth-century Calenberg (Lower Saxony), there was a contract named *Leibzucht* consisting of the mutual agreement between parents and their heir. To repay the shares from the farm, the heirs should provide food, shelter and clothing for the retired parents (Berkner in White, 2020, p.92). In a contemporary example from rural Ireland, a university student helped her parents on the farm to return financial support for her education (Cassidy in White 2020, p.95).

More specifically, Dykstra and Hagestad (2016, p.59) have examined the influence of demographic conditions on generational interdependence. The chance for intergenerational interdependence increases because of the altered fertility patterns and increased co-longevity; more mothers and daughters experience ageing and growing old together than fathers and sons because of the gender differences in life expectancy and age at parenthood. This will be discussed further in *Chapters 3 and 4*.

These ideas regarding generational interdependence will be used to examine the parents-child relationship relating to inheritance, including the reasons why many women now receive land or house from their parents and what parents expect in return.

1.5 Research Questions

Based on the discussion in the previous sections of this chapter, this study has focused on a simple set of research questions, as follows.

The general question may be expressed as follows:

How do men and women experience the intergenerational transmission of property in Balinese rural society?

This general question is addressed by breaking it down into a set of researchable sub questions exploring the “what, when, who, how, and why?” of intergenerational transmission and its gender dimensions, as follows:

- What are the objects of transmission?
- When does the transmission start (at what stage in the life-course of parents and children)?
- Who gets what? Are the differences based on gender, birth order, post-marital residence or other factors?
- What kinds of negotiation are involved in the process of transmission?
- What are the reasons for parents to transmit (or not to transmit) property to their daughter?

Chapter 2: Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

2.1 Data Collection and Analysis

The findings presented here are from three Balinese villages in Kediri sub-district, Tabanan District. The villages were selected to reflect the changing Balinese rural society where agriculture, while still of some importance, is no longer dominant and combined with a variety of non-farm livelihood activities, both inside and outside the village.

Map 1.1

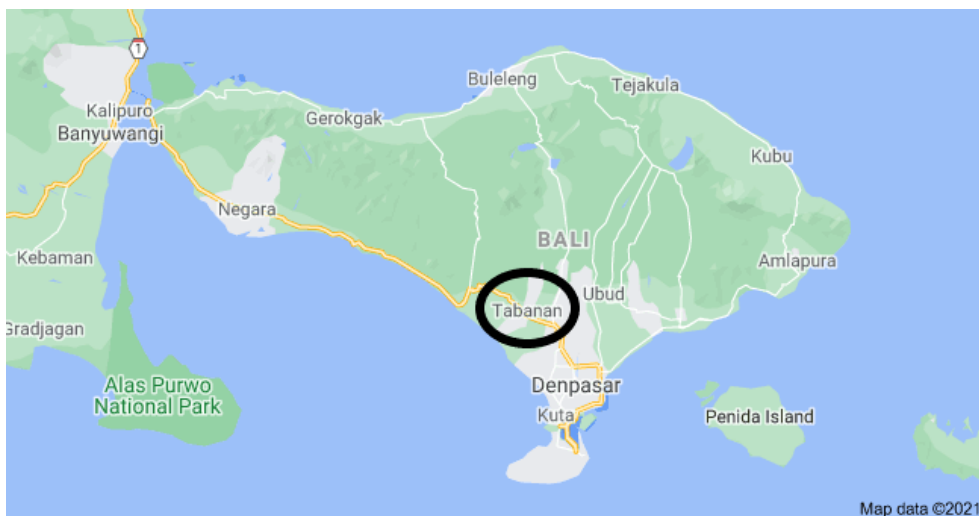
Map of Indonesia



Source: [Indonesia Map and Satellite Image \(geology.com\)](https://www.geology.com)

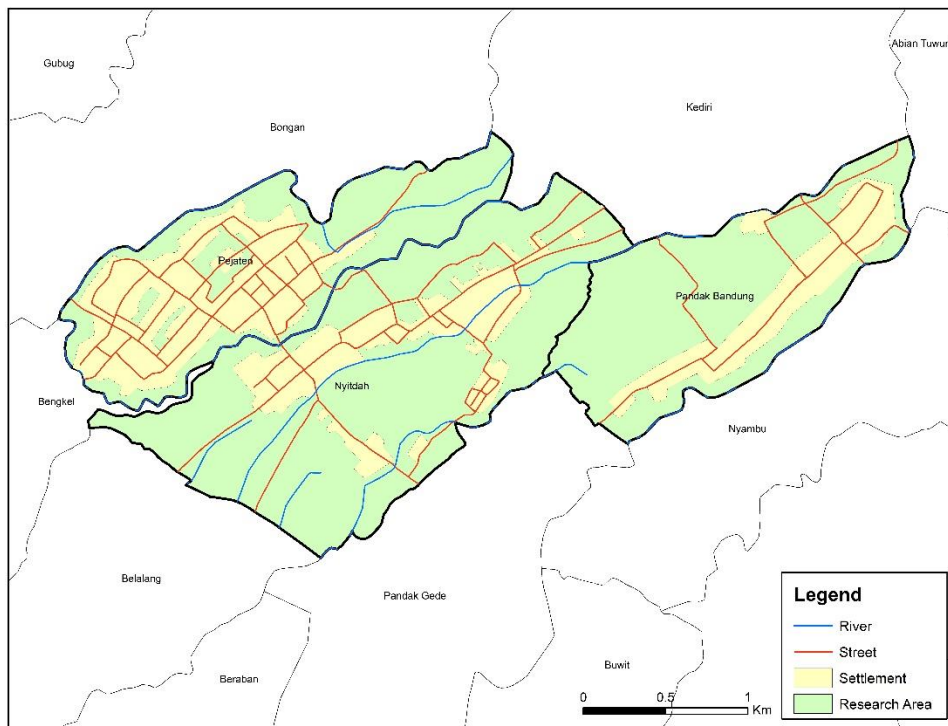
Map 1.2

Map of Bali



Source: [peta bali - Google Search](https://www.google.com/maps)

Map 1.3
Map of Research Area



Due to COVID-19 vaccination schedules, quarantine regulations and other time constraints, the fieldwork was limited to a period of just over three weeks in July 2021 and to the intergenerational transmission histories of a sample of only eight families. The primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with selected family members separately, the daughters and the senior male in the family and where possible, also the senior female. Interviewing the respondents separately was intended to encourage them to talk freely about their experience. Doing the interviews separately allowed me to probe various private and/or sensitive issues, for example, the family wealth and tensions in property distribution. In addition, informal conversations with key informants yielded some more general information and perceptions on changing inheritance practices.

The gatekeepers had a significant role in this research because they provided information and access to the relevant cases. The gatekeepers were my father and my neighbours who live in those villages. The requirements for the selection of the cases were: first, the family has experienced the intergenerational transmission of property; second, the property holder has minimally one daughter; third, the objects included residential land, farmland and/or buildings on landed property.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the Balinese language, sometimes mixed with the national language Bahasa Indonesia. The conversations were guided by the interview questions, which started from the moment the

transmission starts and what are the objects of transmissions? Moreover, to answer the question about the gender dimensions of the intergenerational property, I asked who gets what in the transmission? And why did daughters receive (or not receive) land or a house from their parents? Finally, I also explore the intra-family negotiations during the inheritance distribution.

2.2 Reflexivity

I position myself as an insider since one of the villages is my ancestral home. I know most of the selected families or cases since we live in the same neighbourhood. On the other hand, some of the family members also know that currently, I am a master's student in the Netherlands. I did not find any difficulties accessing the interviewees.

My positionality as an insider allowed me to communicate with the interviewees freely. Since the research topic explores sensitive and personal experiences, I believe this was an advantage in doing this research. However, I realize that my position as a Balinese woman coming from a middle-class family may have influenced the interview outcomes.

Chapter 3: Background to the Study Location

3.1 Rural economy and demographic change in Bali

Bali is a small island in Indonesia, a well-known tourist destination and famous for its artistically disposed peasant society (Strauß, 2011). Labour force statistics from 2020 indicate that more Balinese work in the agricultural sector than in any other sector (BPS, 2020a). Furthermore, the agricultural sector is the second largest contributor to Bali's economy after tourism (BPS, 2020b).

Traditional Balinese society still acknowledges four castes which are: *Brahmana* (the highest caste who has the role in religious activity), *Ksataria* (the second caste who were royal family), *Waiyya* (the third caste who usually as the entrepreneur), and *Sudra* (the lowest caste who were a farmer and manual labourer) (Raharjo *et al.*, 1998).

Regarding the demographic situation in Bali, it is important to note that Bali has experienced significant demographic changes during the past half-century (or roughly, two generations). Historically, Bali was the most successful of all Indonesian regions in implementing the Indonesian family planning programme. This programme was part of the economic development program under the Soeharto government (Parker, 2001, p.188).

Around the 1980s, Bali's annual population growth was lower than Indonesia as a whole; Bali also had the highest rate of contraceptive use (among married women) (Warren 1993, p.217). Bali's total fertility rate (TFR)¹ significantly declined from 5.96 in the period 1967-1970 to 2.28 in the period 1986-1994 (Hill in Parker, 2001, p. 178) and subsequently declined further to its present level of around 2.0. Parker (2001, p.178) stated that "By any measure, this is an extraordinarily rapid decline in fertility". In 2020, the life expectancy in Bali has reached just over 70 years; women's life expectancy is 74.2 and men is 70.4 years, and the total fertility rate has further declined to 2.01 in 2015-2020 (BPS, 2020c, Bapenas *et al.*, 2013, p. 12).²

During the same period there have also been significant shifts in the rural economy. Where previously Balinese rural livelihoods depended on agriculture they are now based on combinations of agricultural and non-farm employment,

¹ Total Fertility Rate: the average number of children born to a woman over her lifetime.

² The significant decline in fertility has recently become a cause for concern by the Bali local government. The Governor of Bali declared that this trend threatened the Balinese heritage. In Bali, four first names indicate the birth order both for men and women: Wayan, Made, Nyoman, Ketut. It indicates that the elderly suggest that Balinese have four children. However, since the family planning campaign is for having two kids, it is rare to find young Balinese with the first name Nyoman and Ketut (Dhae, 2019).

both inside and outside the village, and as both own-account workers and wage workers (Parker, 2001, p. 183).

As will be discussed further in *Chapter 4*, these demographic and economic shifts are of obvious potential relevance to issues and practices of intergenerational resource transfer. Rising life expectancies may mean that (potential) heirs may increasingly hope and negotiate for transfers while their parents are still living (for example, once they are themselves married); declining fertility may mean that in many cases, parents may not feel assured of sufficient sons to remain in the village and take care of the parents and the ancestral home (while some will have no sons at all), and may therefore increasingly hope that daughters will not move out of the village after marriage. Finally, economic diversification means that farmland may have lost its position as the key object of intergenerational transmission, with residential land, buildings and capital for shops or rural industries assuming equal importance.

3.2 Profile of the three villages

Tabanan District has the second-highest number of villages in Bali, where most of the labour force work in the agricultural sector (BPS, 2019). Despite rural diversification, agriculture is still important; Tabanan is well-known as “*lumbung padi*” or granary in Bali because of the high production of rice. But agriculture is not dominant in all villages in Tabanan; in one of the three selected villages, for example, the main economic activity is production of roof tiles and other ceramic products.

In the three villages, the caste system is irrelevant in the economic activity. For example, it can be found that someone from a *brahmana* caste owns a small grocery shop while someone from a *sudra* caste is a village head. However, the caste system is still relevant in how people interact with each other. For instance, the members of the *sudra* caste will talk more politely to the members of the *brahmana* caste regardless of their occupation. In comparison, they will speak casually among the *sudra* caste. Moreover, the caste system is relevant in partner picking, especially for women from a higher caste, because their status will change if they are married to men from a lower caste: this is called *kawin nyerod* (*nyerod* means “slip”). In contrast, men who marry women from a lower caste won’t change their caste because the caste line continues through the male line.³

The three villages (*desa*) selected for this research are: Pejaten, Nyitdah, and Pandak Bandung, all in Kediri sub-district.

a. *Desa* Pejaten

³ Before Indonesian independence, Balinese customary law decreed severe penalties for women marrying below their caste, including death or banishment from the village. In 1951 the new regional Legislative Body (DPRD) issued a resolution prohibiting all laws forbidding marriage between caste groups (Bagus, 1991, p.202).

Desa Pejaten is known for its production of roof tiles and other ceramic products. There are 1,300 households, and the total population is 4,232 people, of which all are Balinese and Hindu. Moreover, this village has virtually no farmland, but 87 people are registered as “farmers” in village statistics.⁴ The village leader said that the farmers from this village own or work in farmland in other villages, such as *desa* Nyitdah. In contrast, nearly a quarter of the population works as craftsmen in the home industry.

b. *Desa* Nyitdah

The population of Nyitdah village is around 4,399 people; and 1,267 households, most of them are Balinese and Hindu. Nearly half of the working population is working as an entrepreneur (432 people). Furthermore, 231 people work in the agricultural sector; 99 people are farmers, and 132 are rice farmworkers.

c. *Desa* Pandak Bandung

According to the village profile document, the population of *desa* Pandak Bandung in 2019 is 2,697 people, nearly all of them are Balinese and Hindu. Moreover, there are 785 households in this village. The largest occupation is daily labourers in the non-farm sector (345 people) while the second largest occupation is in the agricultural sector, around 335 people (255 as farmers and 80 people as farm workers).

3.3 Profiles of the eight sample families

The eight selected cases, as summarized in Table 1.2 below, show considerable variation in the parents’ occupations, the objects of intergenerational transmission, and the number (between two and five) and gender of the potential heirs.

Caste is still relevant in the eight families, especially how they speak to and treat the higher caste. All the families are from the *Sudra* caste. But there is one daughter (Case 7) who conducted cross-caste marriage. She is from *sudra* caste and married with a man from *waiyya* caste and from a different District.

In Table 1.2 the bold font in the family members’ names indicates the persons whom I interviewed, while the asterisk symbol means the person has died.

⁴ The village statistics on occupation should be viewed with caution. Normally they record only one occupation per household (most likely that of the household head), while different members may have different occupations and many have more than one occupation.

Table 1.2 Profile of the eight sample families

Case Number	Location	Family members	Parents' occupation	Objects of transmission
1	<i>Desa Pejaten</i>	Parents (NN and KG) with one son (WAT) and one daughter (KS)	Workshop owner and small grocery shop owner	A workshop, an ancestral house, a brick factory, a house, rented housing, a grocery shop, livestock
2	<i>Desa Pandak Bandung</i>	Parents (BK and MK) with one son (IMK) and one daughter (WK)	A minibus driver, construction labour, and small grocery shop owner	A house, rice fields, an ancestral house, and a small grocery shop
3	<i>Desa Pejaten</i>	Parents (NK* and MC) with two daughters (WS and KM) and one son (NS)	Roof-tile worker	Land, an ancestral house, rice fields, a roof-tile factory
4	<i>Desa Pejaten</i>	Parents* with two sons (GD and MS) and two daughters (KMG and WA)	Roof-tile worker and farmer	An ancestral house, rice fields, a roof-tile factory, land
5	<i>Desa Pejaten</i>	Parents (MS and MT) one daughter (WT) and one son (KSW)	Roof-tile worker and farmer	Land, rented housing, an ancestral house, rice fields, a roof-tile factory
6	<i>Desa Nyitdah</i>	Grandparents (WW and MM*) with two daughter (WM and MD), Parents (WM and NWM) with two sons (IPD and KD)	Farmer	An ancestral house and rice fields

7	<i>Desa Nyitdah</i>	Parents (IWP and NKR) with three daughters (NWT , NWJ , NKS) and two sons (INM , INS)	Roof-tile worker	Land, rice fields, a roof tile factory, an ancestral house
8	<i>Desa Pejaten</i>	Parents (WR and NM*) with two daughters (WMT and NS)	Farmer	An ancestral house and rice fields

Chapter 4: Gender Dimensions of the Intergenerational Transmission of Property

This chapter will present and discuss several aspects of the intergenerational transmission of property, with particular attention to the position and roles of daughters and sons when women become the receiver. As explained above, the analysis is based on in-depth interviews with the women and the senior males in the family separately (interviewed separately) in the eight sample families.

4.1 What are the objects of transmission?

Ancestral houses, rice fields, residential land, houses, and family businesses are transmission objects in the eight selected cases. The ancestral houses are the most common object of transmission, which all families transmit to their children. In comparison, seven families transmit rice fields. On the other hand, family businesses are also the common object of transmissions, such as roof-tile factories, groceries shop, and rented housing.

Ancestral assets which become the transmission objects are ancestral houses and family business (roof-tile factory). Six families transmit rice fields as ancestral assets. However, there is one case when the parents acquired rice fields during marriage and it becomes the parents' asset. In contrast, parents' assets transmitted to the children are residential land, houses and family businesses (groceries shop, rented housing, workshop, brick factory, livestock).

Since livelihoods often do not rely mainly on agriculture, small plots of land to build a house or open a small business are also considered reasonable objects of transmission, besides farm land.

4.2 Who gets what in the transmission of property?

Some parents give the small plots of land (Case 4 and 5) to their daughters, while others give land together with the house (Case 1,2,3,7).

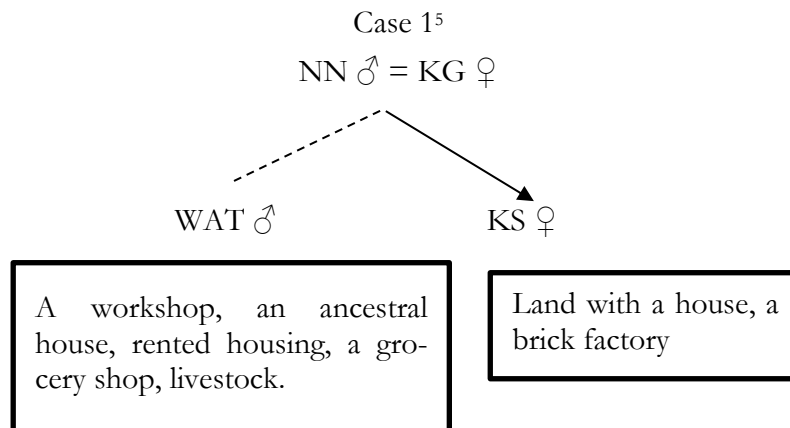
It is much less common for parents to transmit rice fields to their daughter. Parents gave rice fields to their daughter in only two cases (Case 6 and 8), and in both cases the reason is that they conducted *kavin nyentana*. There are no cases of women who conduct virilocal marriage receiving rice fields from their parents.

On the contrary, the most common objects of transmission for men are ancestral houses, rice fields, and family businesses. All parents in the eight selected cases will transmit the rice fields to their son. As mentioned above, the daughters in cases 6 and 8 inherit the rice fields because they conducted *kavin nyentana*. In case 6, the daughter had married and had two sons; therefore, it will transmit to their sons. While in case 8, the daughter had one son and one

daughter, and she declared that she would transmit to her son because her daughter would conduct a virilocal marriage.

Since the sons are expected to conduct duties in the family after marriage, they will inherit the ancestral house. Moreover, the parents who own family business normally transmit this, to their son (Case 1,2,3,4,5,7). The family businesses are a roof-tile factory (Case 3,4,5,7), rented housing (Case 1 and 5), and a workshop (Case 1). While grocery shops (Case 1 and 2) are usually managed by the daughter-in-law.

It is important to note that the cultural distinction between the inheritance of ancestral/heirloom property and other property persists in the mind of many. Some parents stated that the property transmission to their daughter is not “inheritance” (*warisan*) because it is not ancestral property but the parents’ property. In their opinion, the property that they acquire during marriage and transmit to their children is not an inheritance in this sense. This will be mentioned in cases 4, 5, and 7.



In case 1, the parents gave land with a house to a daughter (KS, 34-year-old woman who lives in *desa* Pejaten) to live on and to open a small business. In comparison, KS explained that her parents plan to transmit a workshop, rented housing, a grocery shop, and an ancestral house to her older brother. However, her older brother helps their father in the workshop, while her sister-in-law helps her mother manage a grocery shop. The diagram above shows the inequality of property transmission between son and daughter, although it is not fixed yet and might change in the future.

Today, KS owns a small shop that sells rice, snacks, and gasoline. Her parents specifically bought a small plot of land (9x3 m²) near their house, suitable for opening a small shop.

Furthermore, KS admitted that her parents still help her financially until today, although she has already joined her husband’s family. Her parents even

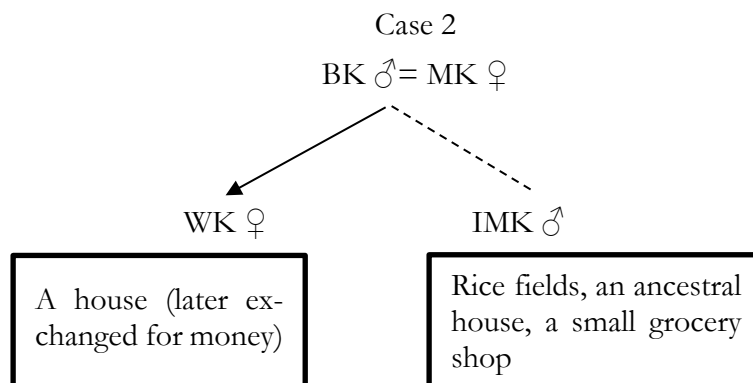
⁵ The symbol → indicates the transmission is completed, while ---- means the parents still control the property and plan to transmit it to the children.

helped her to renovate the kitchen and bedroom in her husband’s ancestral house. The parents from the woman’s side rarely contribute to the son-in-law’s ancestral house. In a separate interview, KS’ father mentioned that since the house he transmitted to KS is very small, the religious ceremony is still held in her husband’s ancestral house.

KS said that, at the beginning of her marriage, the house was not finished yet. Therefore, she lived with her husband’s family. The kitchen was in bad condition, and they did not have enough money to renovate it. She told her parents about her situation, and her parents helped her immediately.

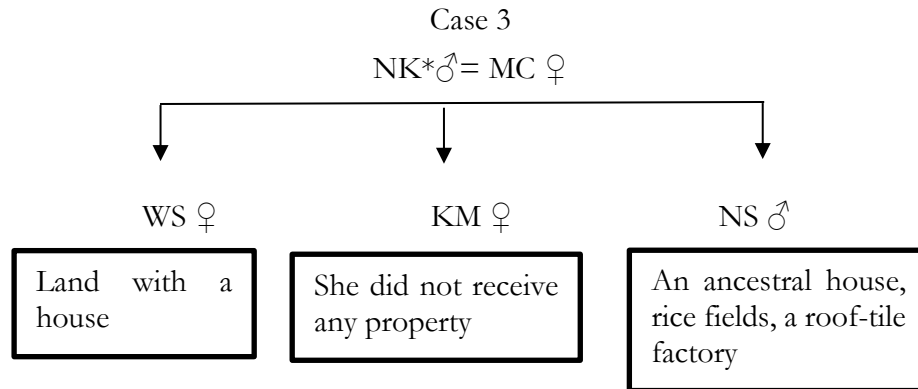
“I accept the wealth transfer from my parents. Sometimes, my mom gives me money after selling pigs or when I help her by making banten (offering in a religious ceremony). If I need money, I will ask them. If they give me money, I will not refuse it; I need money.”

When I interviewed KS’ parents separately, her father, NN (61), said he wanted KS to own a small shop because she used to help her mother in the shop. KS’ father also established a brick factory, and he lets her manage it. NN owns a workshop, and his wife, KG (61), runs a grocery shop.

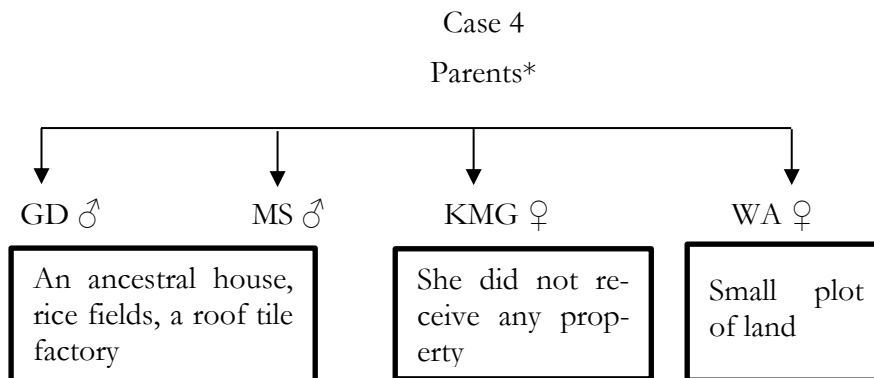


Case 2 shows that the parents providing their daughter with money is also an option. This is what happened with WK (37-years-old married with one son) who lives in *desa* Pandak Bandung. In 2012 she received land with a house, from her parents. Seven years later, she asked her parents to exchange the house for money.

On the other hand, the parents plan to transmit the ancestral house to their son. While the father still manages the rice fields, and the mother still manage a grocery shop with the help of their daughter-in-law.



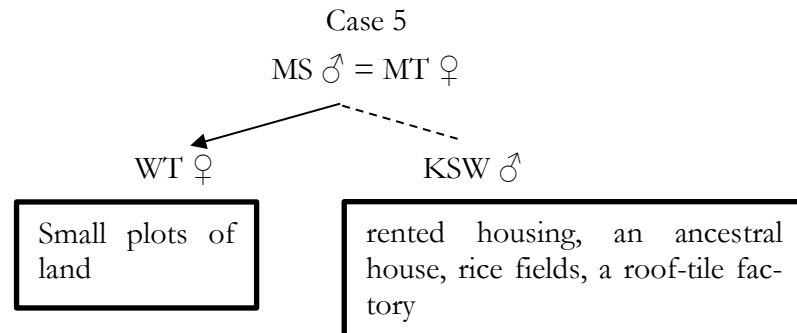
In case number 3, WS (a 52-year-old woman who lives in *desa* Pejaten) said that her late father gave her land with a house, at the beginning of the 2000s. Nevertheless, in the separate interview, her younger brother (NS) declared that her late father once said WS also contributed money to build the house. In comparison, the parents gave NS an ancestral house, rice fields, and a roof-tile factory. In contrast, another daughter did not receive any property from the parents. But NS mentioned that their parents helped KM in an accident and he did not want to bring that issue. Since the father has died and the mother is old, the property transmission to the children is complete.



Furthermore, there are cases where the parents give small plots of land, and the daughter builds a house on that land (Case 4 and 5). In case 4, WA, a 50-year-old woman from *desa* Pejaten married a man from the same village. WA received 2.5 arens (=250 m²) of land near their parents' rice fields around 1990s. While her older brothers (GD and MS) inherit an ancestral house, rice fields, and a roof-tile factory, the male heirs manage those properties together. In comparison, another daughter did not receive any property from the parents. Since the parents have died, therefore the property transmission is complete.

WA and her husband borrowed money from *Lembaga Perkreditan Desa* or LPD (village credit institution) to build a house on that land. Today, WA lives in that house together with her husband and two sons. She is a roof-tile worker in her family factory while her husband is not working because of the pandemic, and now he cultivates his brother-in-law's rice fields.

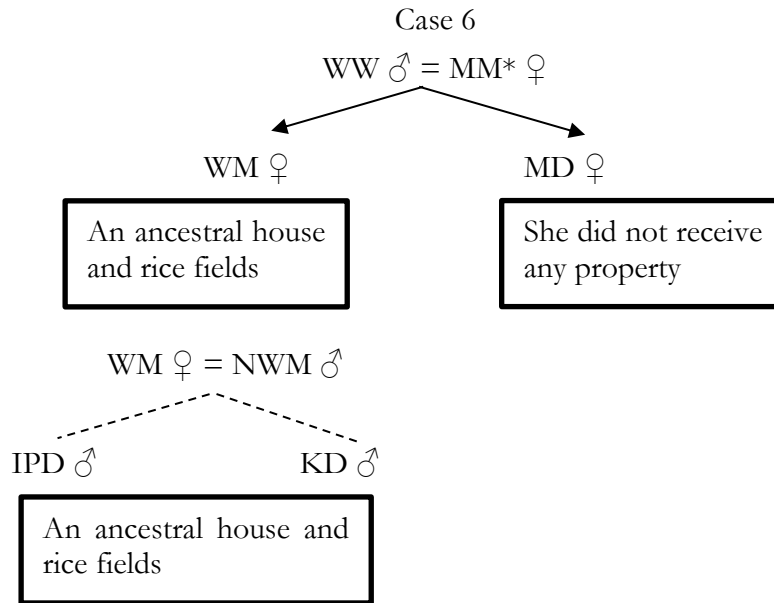
When I asked WA about her feelings towards property transmission, she said she feels happy to receive land from her parents. In her opinion, this form of transmission is not an inheritance because the land is not from her ancestor. She believes that the land is the outcome of her work because she has been helping her parents to make roof tiles since she was young.



This is not different from the situation in case 5: WT (a 33-years-old woman from *desa* Pejaten) received land from her parents in a neighbouring village. In comparison, her brother (KSW) will receive rented housing, an ancestral house, rice fields, and a roof-tile factory. However, the roof-tile factory and the rice fields are still managed by the father. While KSW previously worked as a cruise ship worker, he did not contribute any work to the rice fields or the roof-tile factory.

WT and her husband built their house on that land. Her father, MS (61-year-old who lives in *desa* Pejaten), mentioned that the land he gave to his daughter is not an inheritance object because it is acquired purely from his hard work and not from his ancestor. In contrast, he said that the inheritance object from the ancestor: a roof-tile factory, farmland, and ancestral house belonged to his son.

As mentioned above, there are two cases (cases 6 and 8) where the parents transmit farmland to their daughter. It is because their daughter conducted *kawin nyentana* and continued the family line.

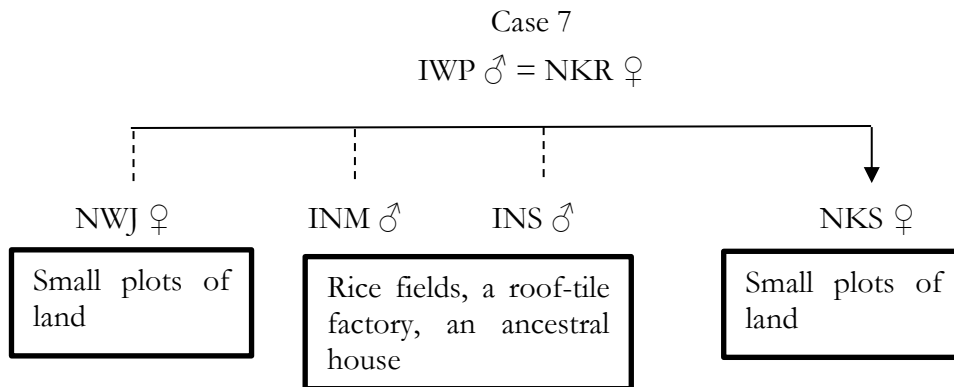


In case number 6, NWM (around 40-years-old, married with two sons) inherits her ancestral house and rice fields. She and her late mother both conducted *kawin nyentana* and continued the family line. In comparison, her younger sister did not receive any property because she conducted virilocal marriage. NWM inherits all the ancestral property because she is the only inheritor to continue the family line. NWM and her husband, WM (around 40-years-old) have two sons and they plan to divide those properties to them.

NWM and WM cultivate the ancestral rice fields around 40 ares, but the rice is only enough for family consumption. This family consisted of NWM's father, NWM, WM, two sons, one daughter in law, and one grandson. Therefore, NWM makes *banten* for sale, and her husband works as a construction worker as another source of livelihood.

WM said that he does not think about how to divide the rice fields to his sons. His oldest son graduated with a diploma, and now he works in a villa. When he is on holiday, every Thursday and Sunday, he helps his parents on the farm. At the same time, the youngest son usually joins his brother to the farm and his mother to feed the livestock.

“Usually, in Bali, property or farms are transferred when the children get married. My youngest son is still in elementary school. So, I have not thought about it yet. I will think about it when he gets married. Maybe I will divide it equally to both for fairness.” (WM)

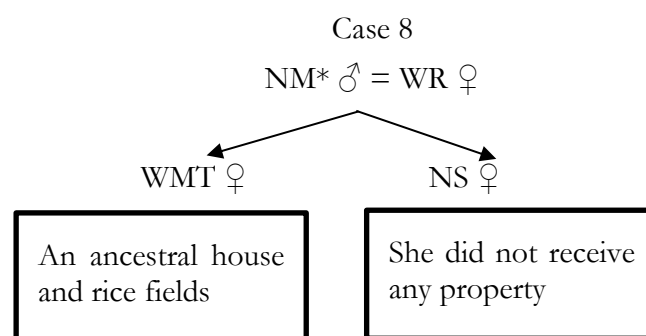


In case 7, NKS (46-year-old from *desa* Nyitdah) is an administrative staff in a public school, while her parents are roof-tile workers. NKS has received land from her parents (IWP and KR); the location is beside her parents' roof-tile factory and near her natal home. The land is from her parents, but her brothers gave her some money to help her build a house. In addition, the parents plan to give the oldest daughter small plots of land beside NKS' house. On the other hand, the parents to transmit rice fields, roof-tile factory, and ancestral house to their sons.

KR is an elderly 86-years-old woman who lives in *desa* Nyitdah; she said the land she gave to NKS is not an "inheritance" object because it is not ancestral property. This is how KR explained the property transmission to her daughter.

"This is not an object of inheritance (referring to the land); my husband and I bought it with the income from selling roof-tiles."

Her husband, IWP (86-years-old), confirmed that they bought that land around the 1980s. They earned the money from making roof tiles which are distributed around Bali.



Lastly, in case 8, WR a 68-year-old woman widow who lives in *desa* Pejaten, is an only child, so she conducted *keavin nyentana* to continue the family line. She has worked as a farmer since she was young while helping her parents. Since she is the only inheritor, she inherited an ancestral house and the farmland, around 24 ares (2,400m²).

WR herself has two daughters and no son, and consequently, one of them should conduct *kawin nyentana*. WMT (48-year-old) is the oldest child; she conducted *kawin nyentana* to continue the family line, while her younger sister conducted virilocal marriage. Therefore, she inherited an ancestral house and the rice fields, while her younger sister did not receive any property. Today, WMT could not merely rely on the agricultural sector. WMT also makes handicrafts while her husband works as a construction worker. Sometimes her husband helps her on the farm when he is not working.

WR said that the only property that her extended family divided was the ancestral farmland. The formal land title was divided with her male cousin when the free land certification programme reached her village.⁶

WMT herself has two children: one son and one daughter. Her son is in vocational secondary school, and he does not know whether he wants to be a farmer. However, WMT said she would transmit the rice field to her son. But when I asked whether her daughter (9-years-old) will receive shares in the rice field, WMT replied, “Of course not, she will conduct a virilocal marriage.” WR and WMT thus believe that the daughter who conducts virilocal marriage is not entitled to inheritance because she will leave her house and join her husband’s family.

The cases described above show the division of property between sons and daughters is unequal. Most daughters received small plots of land or land with a house. In comparison, sons received ancestral assets (house and rice fields) and family business. For women who conduct *kawin nyentana*, they received ancestral assets.

However, it is significant to note that there are two cases where daughters received property from parents before the MUDP decision in 2010. In case 3, the daughter received land with a house at the beginning of the 2000s. While in case 5, the daughter received small plots of land around the 1990s. It emphasized that the MUDP decision did not initiate women’s access to inheritance because the practice already existed in society.

4.3 When does the transmission start?

In three cases, parents transmitted property to their daughter when she married (Cases 1,3,4), but this is not considered a dowry. However, other cases indicate that it is also possible for the parent to transmit the property when their daughter is already married (Case 2,5,7). As always noted, nowadays not all Balinese women will leave their natal home. Balinese women who conduct *kawin nyentana*,

⁶ The land certified programme is part of the Completed Systemic Land Registration Program under the Joko Widodo government (Lumanauw, 2021).

live with their husbands in the woman's family house, as illustrated in cases 6 and 8.

Moreover, six cases (1,2,3,4,5,7) show the change in post-marital residence. When women conduct virilocal marriage, the couple usually resides in the man's family house, but today the woman's family could provide another option. The parents from the women's side transmit property that can be used as the post-marital residence.

In case 1, NN and KG said that when their daughter, KS, gets married, as parents, they want to give land to live on and run a small shop. Today, KS lives there with her husband and her child.

On the other hand, in case 2, the parents transmitted the property when their daughter was already married. WK married in 2004, but her parents gave her a house around 2012. Initially, she lived in her husband's family house. After that, she and her husband rented a room to live independently until her parents bought a house for her.

Like case 1, in cases 3 and 7 the parents also transmit the property when their daughter is about to marry.

Case 4 is interesting in that the family on the daughter's side went beyond the nuclear family for consultation, summoning their daughter's boyfriend to discuss the property transfer. WA revealed that when her husband, PT (51-year-old) "*ngapel*" (men visiting the girlfriend's house) in the 1990s, her father talked with PT about where they want to live if they get married. This conversation led to the decision that WA will receive land to live on after marriage.

On the contrary, in case 5, although WT was already married, she requested her father's land only last year (2020), and her father gave her that land. She and her husband are building their house on that land. Today they live there although the house construction is not finished yet.

A different pattern is shown in cases 6 and 8. There is no particular time of the transmission because both of the daughters in these cases conducted *kawin nyentana*. Therefore, they and their husband stayed in their natal home and together cultivated the rice fields.

These cases show that marriage is the significant step that leads the parents to transmit the property to their daughters. The parents transfer the property to their daughters when they are about to get married or when the daughters are already married. The reason why most parents transmit the property when their daughter gets married will be discussed in the following sections.

4.4 How is distribution negotiated and decided?

In the eight cases studied, there is no evidence of any taboo on open discussion within the family regarding property transmission. It seems common for parents to begin the discussion, particularly when their daughter is preparing to get

married. In some cases, the father initiated the conversation and in others, the father already had made a decision. Still, he announced it in the family meeting, and there was no negotiation in the discussion.

In case 1, KS revealed her story in property transmission from her parents saying that there was no family discussion about that particular issue. When the family discussed her plan to get married, her parents had already decided that they wanted to give land to her.

Her parents also confirmed this point. When I interviewed her parents separately, her father said they had already decided to give something to their daughter, but they had not thought about the object yet. Therefore, the nuclear family (KS, her parents, and her older brother) discussed what they could give KS. The result of this discussion was that the parents will provide KS land to live on and run a small shop.

I find it interesting that KS assumes that she would only receive land, including the house, while the rest of her parents' assets would go to her older brother. During the interview, she compared her condition with her older brother and clearly did not perceive the situation as fair. However, she did not want to bargain about it.

“Everything goes to him. I only got this (land with a house). He asked our parents to build a house and a small shop in the west because he wanted to be independent. But his business failed. He moved to our parents' house, and he asked them again to build a separate house there. He does not have a job; he only helps my father in the workshop. His wife helps my mother in the grocery shop. Everything is for him, house in the west and the east, rented house in Denpasar. He has a lavish life, but me, I accept just the way it is.”

This story and other cases indicate that although women commonly receive property from their parents, the quantity is smaller than what men get.

However, KS feels grateful for what she got. She remembered when she was injured in a traffic accident, and her parents spent much money on her treatment. She added that her parents also supported her education as well as her brother until completion of a bachelor's degree in a private university.⁷ In rural areas, like *desa* Pejaten it is still rare for people to obtain a bachelor's degree from a private university. Therefore, it is understandable if KS feels that her parents have invested a lot in her education and treatment.

I also asked KS about her older brother's reaction towards the property transmission. She said that her older brother accepted their parents' decision to give property to her because that is not his money. It is purely the income from their parents' hard work.

When I wanted to interview KS' parents in her natal home, her mother asked her son, WAT (39-years-old), to watch the grocery shop. The grocery shop is in front of the house. Therefore, I could confirm WAT's reaction towards the

⁷ Private universities are significantly more expensive than state universities.

property transmission. WA assured me that he does not mind if their parents give property to his sister.

“That is what siblings are for, right? There are only two of us, so it is okay. We only have each other as a sibling, so I do not mind.”

On the other hand, in case 2, the negotiation happened after the object was transmitted. BK and MK (both around 60-years-old) also engaged in the negotiation regarding the intergenerational transmission of property with their daughter. Initially, their daughter married in 2004 and around 2010, BK and MK bought a BTN house⁸ on around one are (100m²) of land for their daughter. The price was Rp 80 million (equal to \$5.517). However, a few years later, their daughter, WK, proposed to change the house into money.

WK and their son-in-law wanted to establish their own workshop to avoid disputes between relatives. Their son-in-law works in his relative’s workshop, and WK also sometimes help him to work there. Therefore, WK wanted to buy a small roadside plot of land for their workshop. Both BK and MK accepted their daughter’s proposal without hesitation.

WK proposed to return the BTN house to her parents and exchange it for cash around Rp 150 million (equal to \$10.344). The land that she wanted to buy is Rp 300 million (equal to \$20.689). So that WK and her husband will apply for a loan to pay the rest of the cost.

WK also confirmed this point. In a separate interview, she admitted that she did not have money to buy land in a strategic location for her workshop. Therefore, she asked for money from her parents to buy the land. Her parent gave her half of the cost. However, since the land was categorized as village land (*Pekarangan Desa*/PKD), the certificate could not be guaranteed in the village credit union. So, the BTN house’s certificate became the guarantee for the loan.

It is important to note, PKD land is land controlled by the *desa adat* (customary community). In this case, *desa adat* Pandak controlled the land. Hence, only the people from *desa adat* Pandak are entitled to buy the PKD land. The buyer pays the land cost to the seller, but the seller should give some money to contribute to the *desa adat*.

In the interview with BK and MK, I explored how their son reacted to their daughter’s property transmission. MK who dominated the conversation stated that she and her husband informed their son before they bought a house for their daughter.

“We told him like this: do not fight as a sibling! Do not problematize what we give to your older sister! Your sister owns that house, and we as a parent want to give something to her. Then he replied: It is okay, I am okay with your decision. I never give something to her too. I do not have money.”

⁸ BTN: State Savings Bank, which subsidizes low-cost housing construction.

MK underscored that they are the ones who work hard for their daughter's house. Since the property is the outcome of their work, they did not need to ask their son's permission. They only want to inform their son of the decision.

When they shared the story about their children, they compared their children's condition in which their son does not have any job, but their daughter works very hard to pay the instalments on the land. In comparison, the rest of their assets will belong to their son. Particularly, MK describes how hard her daughter works as a manual labourer. She stands in the truck in the heat of the day to deliver the sand, unloading the sand by shovel from the truck.

Moreover, two days after I interviewed BK and MK, I interviewed WK in her husband's house. She shared her story regarding property transmission, and she expressed her gratitude for the property from her parents.

"I conducted common marriage [virilocal], so supposedly I could not demand anything. I am really grateful because I have very nice parents."

WK's perspective reflects how women perceive themselves as deserving less than men. Women's perception is influenced by social norms limiting what women can receive from their natal family. When women conduct virilocal marriage, it is considered not appropriate to ask for resources from their natal family.

WK also described her condition compared to her younger brother. While her brother is now jobless, she works as labourer. In the interview, WK also described the insecurity she faces towards her younger brother. Although her younger brother has never questioned her property transmission, WK is still worried about what will happen in the future: will he change his mind? However, she realized that if she asked more of her parents, then her brother would be angry. Therefore, she feels what she gets now is enough.

In case 3, there were difficult negotiations regarding the form of ownership of the transmitted property. WS explained that her late father wanted to give her a small plot of land but under her husband's name. This is because before they got married, her husband agreed to conduct *kawin nyentana*. Since he will join WS' family, her late father decided to allow the land to be registered under his son-in-law's name.

I interviewed WS in her natal home, and her mother MC (around 70-years-old) listened to our interview while making *banten*. When WS started her story about her late father, who allowed the land to be registered under her husband's name, her mother jumped into the conversation. She said that she was the one who objected to this idea.

"I objected to my husband's idea, why should the land be in his name (son-in-law)? Why not under our daughter's name? I said like that at that moment."

But MC could not do anything; her husband insisted on putting their son-in-law's name on the land certificate. MC said:

"What can I say...it's his decision."

Confirming this, in a separate interview, WS' brother, NS (46-years-old), said there was a family meeting regarding the transmission of property within the family. The discussion centered on the form of ownership. Their father did not want to insult his son-in-law if the women's family gave him property. Therefore, the family decided to respect the *purusa* status, which is embedded in man, so the land is under WS' husband's name.

In this case, the patriarchal gender relations in the family can be seen where men's position is superior to women. It affects the decision-making process when women need to sacrifice their interests to maintain men's pride. WS could not be the legal owner of the land transmitted to her because her family did not want to insult her husband's pride. In contrast, only because he is a man, WS' husband became the legal owner of the land transferred to WS.

In addition, NS did not mind if his older sister received land and house from their parents. NS said he feels happy about his parents' decision. NS will inherit the rest of his parent's assets: his ancestor's house, roof-tile factory, and rice fields.

In case 4, because of her husband's economic condition, WA's late father decided to give her a small plot of land in *desa* Nyitdah. But the parents still held a family meeting to announce their decision. All family members, WA's parents, her two older brothers, their wives, and her husband gathered in her natal house to discuss the transmission of land around 2.5 ares. There was no objection from either of her older brothers.

Actually, the area of her parent's land was five ares, and WA received half of it. Several issues were discussed during the transmission negotiation—first, the negotiation about the identity of the landowner in the certificate. Initially, it was proposed that the land would be under WA's name, but her husband, PT (around 50-years-old), refused it.

PT accompanied his wife during the interview, and it was conducted in their house. PT revealed how he objected to the idea about his wife as the landowner. He wants the land under his name because he is the *purusa* in the family. PT justified his interest in the name of religion in which *purusa* is the leader in the family.

“At the family meeting, I said that: If all of you respect me and my status as purusa, so then the land should be under my name.”

In the end, all family members agreed to register the land under PT's name. Unfortunately, WA seems reluctant to talk about the negotiation regarding the landownership. When I wanted to explore more about it, WA replied:

“I do not know; I forget about it. Eventually, the result is the land under his (pointing to her husband) name.”

On the other hand, PT, who dominated the conversation, shared the story about it. PT said that if anyone had refused his idea in the family meeting, he

would have given up his opinion, and said it is better for the family to not give them any land.

Confirming this, when I interviewed one of WA's older brothers separately, he said he did not know under whose name the land was registered. For him, it is not his business; when their parents gave the land to WA, it became his sister and her husband's business to decide the legal form of ownership.

It seems that respecting *purusa* status is still very crucial to men in the Balinese family. Men use religion and custom as legitimacy to exercise their interests. In the above cases, gender inequality is maintained by persuading others that men as the head of household are entitled to be the landowner.

After the interview with both WA's husband and her natal family, I thought about the decision to make WA's husband the landowner. Why did the family make WA's husband just because he is a man, become the formal owner? Significantly, the land is the outcome of WA's parents' hard work, so there was no barrier in customary law to daughter's ownership; why did WA's parents give up the idea to make the land under their daughter's name?

As Agarwal (1997, p.3) has noted, each family member has different preferences and interests, which can conflict with each other. Moreover, the various actors within the family have different capacities to achieve that interest.

It can be seen that PT's interest is to be a landowner. At the same time, WA's parents' interest is to make the land under their daughter's name. Unfortunately, both of WA's parents have passed away, and I could only interview her older brother as the senior male in the family who attended the family discussion. But he declared that the issue about landownership is not his business. Therefore, I could not explore the tensions in the negotiation more precisely.

Perhaps, WA's parents did not have any option back then. Given PT's stance that it would be better not to transfer the property if WA becomes the landowner, if they did not receive land that would mean they would not have a place to stay after marriage. But if they transfer the land under their son-in-law's name, at least their daughter has a better place to stay after marriage. It reflects Agarwal's (1997, p.4) observation that "A member's bargaining power would be defined by a range of factors, in particular the strength of the person's fall-back position (the outside options which determine how well-off she/he would be if cooperation failed, also termed as the 'threat point'". Since WA's parents did not have better outside options, they could not improve the deal in the family.

The second element in the negotiation was about the size of the land. WA wanted all the land (five ares) to be given to her. But her proposal was refused by her family. Still, she did not give up; she proposed that the land be divided sideways, (parallel to the adjacent road), not lengthwise, because she wanted all of her house to be on the roadside. But this proposal was also rejected by her family. In the end, therefore, none of her proposals ended as she had hoped.

Recently, WA asked her older brother to give her 2.5 ares of land beside her house for a praying place, but her older brother refused it. He told her to stop asking for land. I realized from the interview that the 2.5 ares of land beside her house are the rice fields managed by her older brother. Therefore, it seems that her older brother does not want to lose his share. Indeed, that is his interest and by refusing his sister's offer he can pursue his interest.

In summary, WA's family's management of the inheritance, despite disagreements, reflects cooperation instead of contestation. Both male heirs cultivate the ancestral rice fields, operate the roof tile factory and live in the ancestral house, while WA still works in their roof tile factory.

Case 5 is another interesting example of a daughter desiring to request land. In this case, the daughter requested land explicitly. WT shared her story when she asked for land from her father. When she was in junior high school, her parents bought a small plot of land in a neighbouring village, *desa* Belalang, around 3.5 km from *desa* Pejaten. Last year WT requested that land to her father.

"I talked to my father like this: Pak (dad in Indonesian), you have two plots of land, right? One of them is still empty; what if my husband and I build a house on top of it?"

Her father, without hesitation, accepted her request. Moreover, her brother did not mind when their parent gave a small plot of land to her. But she was ordered by her father to talk with her younger brother regarding this transmission to avoid misunderstanding between them. However, her brother did not mind when WT requested land from their parent. He even ensured that their parents accepted her request.

In cases 6 and 8, where the daughter conducted *kawin nyentana*, there was no negotiation or declaration of the decision by the parents. As explained in the previous section, MM (grandmother in case 6), WM (mother in case 6), WR (mother in case 8), and WMT (daughter in case 8) automatically inherited the parents' ancestral assets and non-ancestral assets.

While in case 7, NKS (daughter) explained that there had been no specific discussion about the transmission of property within the family. In her case, her older brother initiated the transmission.

"He told my parents to give me land because he felt pity for me."

Her father accepted that idea, and agreed to give her a small plot of land near her natal house. NKS said that there was no discussion within the family to talk about property transmission. When her brother proposed his idea, then her father accepted it.

Furthermore, NKS' father, IWP, said in a separate interview that his oldest son recently proposed giving small plots of land to another sister since the parent owns land beside NKS house. IWP also agreed with his oldest son's proposal.

It is significant that in some cases women did not want to bargain for their interest in property transmission. Indeed, social norms limit women's bargaining

power. Men are more tolerated when they bargain about inheritance than women. In case 1, KS did not want to raise the issue regarding the unfair situation. Despite the unequal distribution, she felt grateful for the property transmitted by her parents. It suggests that women, in some cases at least, have internalized the idea that they deserve less and thus perpetuate gender inequality. This perception, in turn, benefits men as in cases 3 and 4. In the name of *purusa*, men feel they deserve to be the landowner even though the land is inherited by their wives.

But it is also important to explore the parents' perspective towards women's access to land. In this case, the parents' primary purpose is that their daughter can enjoy the land even though not as the legal owner. This issue will be explored further in the next section.

However, it is interesting to note that when family discussions regarding property transmission have occurred, in all cases women (both mothers and daughters) have participated in the discussion. This suggests their presence and contribution are acknowledged within the family in the decision-making process. Particularly, the mothers in all the selected cases contributed to the family finances. They may work independently - for example, owning a grocery shop (Cases 1 and 2) - or work together with their husband, for instance, as farmers (Cases 6 and 8) or as roof tile workers (Cases 3,4,5,7). Although in some cases, women's interests and wishes were not accommodated in the final decision. The powerlessness of MC (mother in case 3) to go against her husband's decision reflects the gendered power relations within the patriarchal family.

4.5 The reasons why most women received property from their parents

There are two significant reasons why many women received property from their parents. First, parents want their daughters to live near to them, to take care of them and the house. Gee in Dykstra and Hagestad (2016, p.55) noted that "today individuals spend more years as adult children with a surviving parent than they do as parents of minor children". Dykstra and Hagestad (2016, p.55) argue that the demographic condition formed the generational interdependency, which influenced the size of the family. Moreover, they describe how the lowered fertility and reduced mortality increased co-longevity which led to generational interdependency.

This is happening in Bali, influenced by the declining fertility rate and longer life expectancy. In the eight selected families, only three families have more than two children. Interestingly, the parents' age in these three families is above 70 years old, which shows the more senior generation preference towards the larger numbers of children. When increasing numbers of families have only two children, parents feel concerned and insecure about their old age, and which if any of their children will remain in or near the ancestral house to take care of

them and their assets. Therefore, it is understandable that they ask their daughter to marry a man from the same village.

A second important reason is the economic condition of the son-in-law, in cases where he cannot provide a decent house for their daughter. Since it is common for Balinese men to live in their ancestral house after marriage, the ancestral house compound it will usually consist of more than one family. At some point, the place may become very crowded, and it then becomes a consideration for the parents on the women's side to give their married daughters land or a house.

In case 1, KS has been asked to live near her natal home. When she was single, her parents explicitly asked her to marry a man from the same village so that she still lived near her natal home. Initially, her parents wanted to buy her a small plot of land to live in and open a small business near her natal home. The distance from her house to her natal home is around 200 meters.

KS recalled what her parents said when she was single. They gave her two options, first to conduct *kawin nyentana* and second, to marry a man from the same village. As mentioned previously, this was because they wanted KS to live near her natal home. At that moment, KS was very confused because it was a big decision.

"I needed a very long time to think about these options. It was a difficult option."

During the interview, KS described how confused she was facing those choices. On the one hand, KS thought it would be difficult to find a man who wanted to conduct *kawin nyentana*. Curiously, her older brother was already married and living with their parents, so there was no point in conducting *kawin nyentana* because there was no necessity to stay in her natal home.

"If my sibling were a woman, it would make sense for me to conduct kawin nyentana. Therefore, another option is to marry a man from and live in the same village, Pejaten, so that I still live near my parents."

KS mentioned that her extended family from her mother and father's side also encouraged her parents to give her something when she gets married. The reason is that KS was there when her parents struggled in their life, and now her parents' financial condition is much better. Moreover, KS emphasized that she is the only woman in *desa* Pejaten who received land from her parents although she conducted a virilocal marriage.

"It is only me, who as a daughter received land from their parents in Pejaten. There is no other woman. If so, they conducted kawin nyentana."

It is significant to note that because KS lives near her natal home, sometimes her mother asks for help making *banten*. KS revealed the reason why because her sister-in-law is Javanese, she does not understand about *banten*. In the interview, KS complained about her sister-in-law, who converted to Hinduism,

but is not competent to conduct the Hindu rituals. Therefore, KS still helps her parents especially in making *banten*.

Every time KS helps her parent making *banten*, her mother gives money to her. KS admits that if she has a financial problem, she will ask for money from her parents. She illustrates how different her life was compared to when she was single. Her life is very different after marriage because of her husband's financial condition. He works as a driver in a library in Tabanan in temporary contract, and his salary is only Rp 1,2 million per month (equal to \$82.75).

KS' husband's financial condition was confirmed by her father. He admitted that the primary reason he gave land to KS was his son-in-law's financial condition.

Moreover, KS' parents (NN and KG) explained that they gave KS land because she married a man in the same village.

"This is because she lives near me. If not, maybe I am not giving her anything." said NN (father).

"When she was single, I told her: if you marry a man from Gianyar or Karangasem, you will still come home whenever you need something, maybe you need food or money. So, what is the point of marrying someone who lives that far? It is better to marry someone who lives near us." said KG (mother).

NN and KG acknowledge that KS still helps them although she married and has joined her husband's family. Therefore, NN perceived that his son and daughter have an equal position because both will help them.

"Recently KS helped us in our house because my daughter-in-law is going back to her hometown in Java. So, who help me if I need something – my children, right? Whether son or daughter." said NN.

I interviewed KS' parents in their grocery store. When I finished the interview, it was almost 8 pm, which means the store will be closed shortly. I saw KS come on foot from her house, and she started to help her mother close the store.

The experience of case 2 is a different story. WK (the daughter) revealed that she fought with her mother-in-law at the beginning of her marriage. Then she confided to her parents. She and her husband even rented a room so that she does not have to live with her husband's family. Because of these circumstances, her parents bought a house for her to live independently with her husband. When WK shared this story, she realized that she was young at that moment.

One day before, I interviewed WK's parents, BK (father) and MK (mother). They said that when they get older, both of their children will take care of them.

"I have two children. Is it impossible if only one of them is taking care of us, right? Therefore, it is impossible if only one child inherits." said MK.

Hence, BK and MK give inheritance to both of their children, including their daughter, because both their children will be taking care of them, so they bought a small plot of land for WK near their home.

In case 3, WS story began when her younger brother had a relationship with a non-Hindu woman from Java. Her late father was scared that one day none of his children would inherit the responsibilities in his house. WS has one younger daughter and one younger brother. Therefore, her late father asked her to conduct *kawin nyentana*.

Her late father and her late grandmother were very persistent in giving her land, including a house. It is because her grandmother had experienced that her parent did not give anything when she got married. Hence, she wanted her grandchild to receive land from her son.

However, I find WS' case is a tragic story. WS revealed that she asked to conduct *kawin nyentana*, and her boyfriend accepted that proposal. Therefore, her late father intended to register the land under her husband's name because he would join WS' family. Initially, her husband refused the land and the house. But they did not have a place to stay after marriage because her husband's ancestral house was tiny. Unfortunately, she did not conduct *kawin nyentana* because she joined her husband's family although her parents had already given her land and a home.

"Practically, my marriage is like kawin nyentana, because since we get married, we mostly stay in my natal house. In fact, we never sleep in his family house in the last few years because we do not have a place there. We do not even have a room there; therefore, if there is a religious ceremony, we just visit, and when it finishes, we go back to our house."

WS maintains a close relationship with her natal family since she still lives in the same village. WS mentioned that she visits her natal home every day. Since she works as a nurse, and she usually has a night shift, she can accompany her mother in the daytime. WS realizes that her natal home is lonely, and her mother is only by herself during the daytime, although her younger brother and his family live there.

"I am the one who accompanies my mom." WS underlined her role in the family.

Moreover, WS illustrated how close the relationship between her family and her natal family is. Since WS is from *desa* Pejaten and her husband is from *desa* Nyitdah, they lived in *desa* Pejaten, so that when her son was a child, he told his friend that he comes from *desa* Pejaten. Since the Balinese acknowledge the patrilineal system and men continue the family line, it is usual to claim our father's home village as our home village too.

Moreover, WS added that her son has a closer relationship with her younger brother (his uncle) than her husband.

At the end of the interview, WS underscored that she received land because of her husband's house condition and considering the distance from her natal

home. However, WS claimed that she helped her father make roof-tile and clay pots; therefore, she also contributed to her parent's finances.

"I am happy that I can go home every day. I am very grateful that my parents gave me that land."

The condition of her husband's house was confirmed by her younger brother, NS. He said that WS' husband's house is small, with only one room, not enough if they have children. NS remembered that his older sister complained about her husband's condition to the family. WS and NS have another sister, but she married a man who has a better financial situation. Her husband is also the only son in the family. Consequently, she does not live with another family member, so her parents do not need to provide her with land or a house to live in.

NS also said the same thing about how close the relationship between WS' family and her natal family is. WS and her son mostly spend their time in her natal home in *desa* Pejaten, and they are more comfortable there. Since WS' son grows up in the same village, NS also takes care of his nephew. He feels like his nephew is his son.

"Every time my sister wants to decide something, she will call me to ask for consideration. Even when my nephew wants to buy a motorcycle, I am the one who accompanies him, not his father. I also give him advice if he makes trouble."

Furthermore, NS is very glad that his older sister lives near her natal home; although she is married to a man from the neighbouring village, she does not need to move out.

"I will be sad if my older sister lives far from us." said NS.

Furthermore, in case 4, WA is married to PT, who has eight brothers, while his ancestral house is very tiny. If they get married and live in the same place, the house will be very crowded. Hence, WA's late father ordered them to live on the land he had.

Figure 1.4
PT's ancestral house compound



Source: Fieldwork 2021

However, only WA received land from her parents while her older sister did not receive anything. WA said that her father was angry because her older sister married at a young age before graduating from high school. At that moment, her father already had land and farmland, but he did not offer anything to her. When her older sister knew that WA received land from their father, she felt it was unfair.

“She asked me why I did not get anything? I just answer, then why you married first? Then she never asks again after it.”

Although WA joined her husband’s family, she lives near her natal home; therefore, she can continue working in her family roof tile factory.

“I am happy working there; they give me lunch and coffee. Even after work, my sister-in-law usually gives me food to bring to my home. She said that I do not want you and your family starving in your house.”

In case 5, MS also has a similar reason underlying his decision to give a small plot of land to his daughter. He wants his daughter, WT, to be independent and live in her own house. His son-in-law’s house is small; therefore, it is better to live on his land. Moreover, his land is in a neighbouring village, *desa* Belalang, around seven minutes by motorcycle to *desa* Pejaten. If WT lives there, it is closer to her natal home. In contrast, his son-in-law’s family lives in the Baturiti sub-district, approximately 30 km from his house.

WT confirmed in a separate interview that her husband's family house is small, and her father-in-law has many brothers. She feels that it is better not to live with her husband's family, although her husband is the only son. WT expressed her feeling regarding the transmission, including her husband's gratitude.

"For me, this land is more than enough. My husband also did not mind when my parents gave me land to build a house. He even expressed his gratitude to my father."

Moreover, WT and her husband are now jobless because of the pandemic. She and her husband visit her natal home every day; they also help to take care of their nephew. They do not have a child yet, and there is no one else in the family who can help take care of the baby.

The cases mentioned above are about women who received land although they conducted virilocal marriage. In the case of women who conduct *kawin nyentana*, they inherited a share of the parents' and ancestral assets (Case 6 and 8). Usually, if a parent has more than one daughter, one will conduct *kawin nyentana*, and another will conduct a virilocal *marriage*. But whether she gets land or not depends on their parents' decision and financial condition.

In case 6, WW, who lives in *desa* Nyitdah (the natal village of his late wife), inherited the ancestral house and rice fields. He is taking care of them because he conducted *kawin nyentana*, and he joined his wife's family. He has no sons and two daughters, and one of them (NWM) conducted *kawin nyentana* so that she lives with him.

Since WW has difficulty speaking because of his age, his relative helped me communicate with him. WW said that his younger daughter conducted *virilocal* marriage to Klungkung District, he did not give anything to her. When I wanted to explore more about it, he remembered that he had given her a motorcycle when she was not married yet, bringing it to Klungkung.

His relative reacted to my question, and said that in Bali, women are not entitled to inheritance. Therefore, WW did not give anything to his daughter. He also mentioned that their family's financial condition is not very good, and a family can only provide land or house to their daughter, if the family's financial situation is good.

In case 7, the parents give land to their daughter because of their son-in-law's financial condition. NKS is from *desa* Nyitdah and married a man from a higher caste in Mengwi, Badung District, around 10 km from *desa* Nyitdah. She received land from her parents because she was the only one who did not have a house while all her siblings already had their own home, and her oldest brother even owned several houses in Denpasar. It was her oldest brother, who initiated the transmission proposal, and their parent agreed with his idea. NKS said that before her parents gave her land, she wanted to stay where she lives now, and her dream has now come true.

Previously, NKS worked in Denpasar, and lived in her husband's relatives' house. However, when she quit Denpasar and started working in *desa* Pejaten, she returned to live in her natal home. She lived there for around 14 years together with her husband and two children. In this case, it is important to note that none of her two brothers lives with their parents.

"My oldest brother lives in Denpasar. If he comes to Nyitdab, it feels like he just dropped by. He just visits for a while and then goes back to Denpasar. At the same time, my second brother's job is always moving, so he never lives with our parents. Therefore, I am the only one who is expected to live with my parents and to take care of them, including maintaining the house."

When NKS mentioned her condition, I was curious about the responsibility in her natal family since she said that her brother rarely comes to visit. As I mentioned in *Chapter 1*, in Bali men are expected to conduct several customary duties in their families. Therefore, I asked further who makes the daily offerings? Who prepares the *banten* for the religious ceremony? NKS revealed that both of her brothers rarely conduct the duties within the family.

"I feel pity for my mom, she is old, and she has osteoporosis. Can she mebanten (deliver offerings to God) every day? Therefore, I am the one who does that, although I am already married and joined my husband's family. Even when the Galungan ceremony comes, I will mebanten in my natal home first, and after that, I will go to my husband's house. I think there is nothing to lose; I do this effortlessly, although it is not my responsibility."

NKS underlined that supposedly both of her brothers realized their responsibilities. Both of her brothers have sons, so that they will inherit the family duties. But she does not know whether her nephews will fulfil the obligation or not.

Furthermore, when NKS lives in her own house, it leaves her parents living alone in their house. The distance between NKS' house and her parent's house is very close, around 400 meters. Every day around 5 pm, her parents will walk to NKS' house. They will have dinner with NKS' family and sleep in NKS' house. Then, in the morning, around 6 am, they will walk back to their house.

"I am apprehensive about letting my parents live alone, especially at night. They are very old; something might happen. Although there are neighbours, still, they do not know if something happens inside the house. Therefore, I prefer that my parents sleep in my house."

At the end of the interview, NKS expressed her imagination regarding property transmission within her family.

"Maybe, my brother gave me land and a house in return for my efforts looking after our parents."

It is interesting when NKS said that her brother gave her land, while actually, the parents gave it at the brother's suggestion. It shows how NKS considered all of their parents' assets belong to her brother. Therefore, she perceived that her brother gave her land.

When I finished interviewing NKS, she asked me to wait for her parents in her house, because they always come around 5 pm. And indeed, at that time, NKS' parents: IWP (father) and NKR (mother), came to her house on foot. Initially, I talked to them about living alone in the house because NKS already had a home.

When they talked about their children, NKR said that every child has an equal position, whether men or women. All their children obtained a university degree, all four of them got the same treatment.

IWP added that sons and daughters are equal, so that it is not a problem to give land to a daughter. IWP also mentioned that the daughter has more sense of caring toward parents.

"If I have a fever, I am looking for my daughter. If I try to find my medicine, I call my daughter."

Lastly, in case 8, the reason why the daughter received property from the parents is that she conducted *kawin nyentana*. In this case, when WR's parents died, she automatically became the heir to the family because she was the only child. She stayed in her ancestral house with her husband and her two daughters. She also cultivated her ancestral rice fields. The same pattern repeated with her daughter, WMT, who also conducted *kawin nyentana*.

Indeed, in rural society, it is common for children to contribute to economic activity. As stated previously, WA (daughter in case 4) mentioned that she has continue working in her family roof tiles enterprise until today while her older sister has already left her natal home since she was a teenager. Moreover, WS (daughter in case 3) clearly stated that she has helped her parent making roof tiles and clay pots since she was young; therefore, she contributes to her parents' finances.

Agarwal (1997) notes that family members' work contribution influences their bargaining position in the family. She illustrates how physical and monetary work is more valued than reproductive work because it is visible. Both WA and WS engage in economic activity, which contributes to their family economy. It is reasonable to assume that this affects their parents' decisions towards property transmission.

Moreover, in some cases, the parents clearly stated that their daughters contributed to taking care of them. In case 7, the father explicitly noted that his daughter has more caring towards parents. For example, she cooks and takes care of the house. It is similar to case 3, when the daughter accompanies her mother every day. In addition, in case 1, the father mentioned that his daughter helps in making *banten*. These examples reflect the gender roles recognised in a society; for instance, cooking and making *banten* are usually seen as women's responsibilities. Therefore, the daughters who conduct those kinds of responsibilities while their parents also ask for help doing those tasks. This reflects parents'

awareness of the importance and value of children's contribution, not only in monetary work but also in reproductive work.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that some parents are worried about their son having a relationship with non-Hindu women. Hence, they will ask their daughter to conduct *kawin nyentana* like KS' parents did (case 1). Because continuing the family line is paramount in Bali no matter what happens, there should be someone who fulfils the family responsibilities as a Balinese.

The cases and stories described above depict the dynamics of generational interdependence: individuals were cared for by their parents when they were children and when they in turn become adults, they will take care of their parents.

As mentioned in *Chapter 3*, in 2020 the life expectancy in Bali is 70.2 (BPS, 2021). Therefore, in this current situation, it is common for people to play the same role as parents and as children at the same time, in families with three living generations.

Moreover, the changes in life expectancy also affected the timing of the transmission of property. The longer the parents live, the longer the waiting period for the children to receive the property. However, the data shows that parents transmitted the property to their daughters while they were still alive. On the other hand, when the parents are alive, they still manage the property they plan to transmit to their sons, and the transmission might be completed when the fathers die.

In this context it interesting to note how many parents invest equally in education both for their sons and daughters. Investment in a son's or daughter's education, in fact, can also be considered a form of "intergenerational transmission" of resources from parents to their children, which may be gender-neutral or gender-biased. For example, MK (mother in case 2) acknowledges that her son and daughter are equal, and she supported both of her children to the diploma.

"I sent them to school at the same level of education. Both graduated with a hospitality diploma."

IWP and NKR (the parents in case 7) shared the same story; they admitted the equal position between their sons and their daughter. Therefore, all their children hold a bachelor's degree and receive land from them.

In addition, NN (father in case 1) mentioned his hard work with his wife until their children obtained a bachelor's degree. Remarkably, he described how proud he is of his daughter; KS is brilliant and diligent. She always got a good grade and reached top rank during school, while he only finished his education until elementary school. But it had happened before KS got an accident, which affected her health.

White (2020, p.73) explains that the current generations experienced the prolongation in their states of childhood and youth in which they spend more

years in education than their parents. For example, KS and her older brother graduated from university while their parent only finished elementary school.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This study has explored a range of questions about intergenerational property transmission in rural Bali: the objects and the timing of the transmission, the negotiation between women and the other family members, and the reasons for the division of property among sons and daughters. Therefore, this chapter aims to see how far the study has been able to provide answers to those questions. It is important to note that this study is based on only eight cases and a very short period of field research. Consequently, the conclusions are suggestive and should be viewed with caution.

The study showed that the transmission objects are ancestral houses, rice fields, residential land, houses, and family businesses. The most common transmission objects are the ancestral house in which all families transferred this kind of property to their children.

Agarwal (1994) argues that women's rights in land are significant because they provide direct access to an independent economic resource. This study confirms this argument, but in rural Bali's diversified economy it is not limited to agricultural land. Many parents transfer residential land with or without a house to live on and run a small business to their daughters. The cases presented show that residential land to build a business or the business itself is also a valued transmission object in diversified rural economies in Bali and provides direct access to an independent economic resource.

The study has found that although most women receive some property from their parents, the division between sons and daughters remains unequal. It was shown in *Chapter 4.2* that sons receive ancestral assets and more shares in parents' assets. The daughters seem ambivalent about the division. Some women recognized the unjust situation but did not want to bargain about it, while others internalized patriarchal norms about women deserve less than men.

Regarding the timing of transmission, the property transmission to daughters occurs when the parents are still alive. Some parents transmit when their daughters are about to get married, while others transfer the property when their daughters are already married. In comparison, the transmission to sons, especially of ancestral property, is usually completed after the father die.

It is significant to highlight two cases where the parents transmitted property to their daughters long before the MUDP decision of 2010. This strengthens the supposition that the MUDP decision did not initiate the change in inheritance practice, but rather reflected and legitimized the existing practice.

Furthermore, there is no taboo on open discussion within the family regarding property transmission. In all selected cases, the sons accepted the property transmission to their sister. Although in some cases, not all daughters' interests are accommodated in the final decision. However, among the eight cases, some husbands object to their wives' property transmission from their parents in law.

For some, the property gifted to their wives must be registered in the husband's name.

However, in all cases, women (both mother and daughter) participated in the discussion regarding property transmission. Even in some cases, women's financial contribution is better than their husbands. Indeed, it is a good sign for a daughter's position within the family, especially in property transmission. In addition, since in all cases, the family background is from the same caste and class, therefore, those aspects are not significant in the decision-making process. Although mothers participate in these discussions, in cases where their wishes do not coincide with the father's intentions, it is the father's will that prevails, again reflecting the persistence of patriarchal norms.

Since negotiations about property transmission are open, however, there might be room for future changes towards gender equality, for example if parents increasingly allow their daughters the status of landowner, or increase the share of property transmitted to daughters.

The study shows that parents need their children to live with them or near their home, whether their son or daughter. It is not only the physical presence to take care of them and the house, but also for a spiritual reason to conduct the religious ceremony in the ancestral house.

The study confirms Dykstra and Hagestad's (2016) argument about the influence of demographic conditions on generational interdependence. The life expectancy and fertility rates in Bali affect the intergenerational transfer. First, rising of life expectancies influence the timing of the transfer; the children do not need to wait until their parents die to receive the property. Second, declining the number of children drives the parents to ask their daughter to live near them.

In conclusion, this study has shown the persistence of gender inequality in property transmission. Some women received less share in parents' assets, while others did not receive anything. Organizations and movements for women's right and gender equality in Bali should pursue an end to these conditions, and an equal share for women in parents' assets. In the longer term, the still persistent view – endorsed by MUDP – that women have no right inherit ancestral assets from their own or their husband's family also needs to be questioned, recognizing the role of women in conducting duties both in their natal family and in their husband's family after marriage. In the longer term, equal rights to both parents' and ancestral assets are significant and necessary steps to achieve gender equality in Bali.

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