

Women's subordination in premarital pregnancy

Subordinasi perempuan dalam fenomena kehamilan pranikah

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Abstract

The presence of patriarchal culture can be found in most regions of Indonesia, including Bali. The patriarchal culture in Bali tends to be more rigid because of the Balinese belief that any offspring, especially men, will not only continue the responsibilities of the parents in terms of the social life of the community; however, they also expected to carry out the ceremonies of death for their parents. They are trusted to help their parents reach the creator easily. The Balinese culture has been dominated by patriarchy for a long time and has continued developing to this day. Patriarchal power is increasingly persistent when it comes to power in Bali. As a result, women in Bali are still considered subordinate creatures under the patriarchy's control and bondage. The phenomenon of premarital pregnancy in Bali is a reflection of the new way that men dominate women. The approach used in this study is Michel Foucault's theory of power. The method used was qualitative research with in-depth interviews with 18 informants who were native Balinese. This research was conducted in Denpasar, Singaraja, and Badung City. The results of this study found that the social reality of premarital pregnancy in the urban areas of Bali's Island is inseparable from the influence of the social discourse behind the apparent reality. The discourse then obtains the legitimacy of truth from the family and produces new knowledge to believe the truth. In this social reality, premarital pregnancy has made Balinese women significantly disadvantaged and increasingly subordinated.

Keywords: patriarchy; power; women, premarital pregnancy

Abstrak

Budaya patriarki terjadi di sebagian besar wilayah Indonesia, termasuk di Bali. Budaya patriarkal di Bali cenderung lebih kaku dan kuat karena kepercayaan Orang Bali, bahwa keturunan, terutama laki-laki, tidak hanya akan meneruskan tanggung jawab orang tua kepada kehidupan sosial masyarakat, tetapi juga diharapkan untuk melaksanakan upacara kematian bagi mereka, dan dipercaya untuk membantu orang tua mencapai pencipta dengan mudah. Budaya Bali yang telah didominasi oleh budaya patriarkal masih terus berkembang hingga hari ini dan masih tetap ada sehingga kekuatan patriarkal semakin kuat berkuasa di Bali. Akibatnya, perempuan di Bali masih menjadi makhluk bawahan kedua hingga sekarang, di bawah kendali dan ikatan patriarki, fenomena kehamilan pranikah di Bali merupakan cerminan dari cara baru dominasi laki-laki terhadap perempuan. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori kekuasaan Michel Foucault. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode penelitian kualitatif dengan data primer berupa wawancara mendalam dengan 18 informan yang merupakan orang asli Bali. Penelitian ini dilakukan di kota Denpasar, Singaraja, dan Badung. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa realitas sosial kehamilan pranikah yang terjadi di daerah perkotaan Pulau Bali tidak terlepas dari pengaruh wacana sosial di balik kenyataan yang tampak. wacana itu kemudian mendapatkan legitimasi kebenaran dari keluarga dan menghasilkan pengetahuan baru sehingga diyakini kebenarannya. Dalam realitas sosial ini, praktik kehamilan pranikah telah membuat perempuan Bali sangat dirugikan dan menjadi semakin tersubordinasi.

Kata kunci: patriarki; kekuasaan; wanita; kehamilan pranikah

Introduction

Bali is a region in Indonesia that adheres to patriarchal value in the social structure, which positioned men in a unique role in the family. It was indicated by men's role as heir to hold the responsibilities of the family in the *Niskala* (beliefs) and the *Sekala* (reality). In *Niskala*, people believe in invisible

spirits such as their deceased ancestors or the Deity, whereas in *Sekala*, they perceive the value of family, traditions, and society (Windia 2016). The situation has underlined the patriarchal line in Balinese offspring, until today. Offspring is regarded as essential that creates fear for newly married couples in Bali for not having descendants. Excessive fear has led to an increase of premarital pregnancy, which against the prevailing social and religious norms in Bali.

The Balinese Hindus believe that the world is divided into four stages of life known as Catur Asrama (four levels of life that must be lived to reach moksa), namely Brahmacari, Grhastha, Wanaprasta, and Sannyasin or Bhiksuka. Catur Asrama explained that human has a different stage of life, and unmarried people belong to the Brahmacari level, the period of study. People at this level must study to become a wise human while completing good deeds in their life (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 2014). At this stage, humans are prohibited from having sexual intercourse. This stage is also known as the phase to build a household (Budiarta 2013). Thus, it was clear that the current phenomenon that occurred in Balinese society is contradictory to the Hindu value, which marked the significant changes in Balinese society. In older days, the Balinese community considered premarital pregnancy as improper, while it perceived as something ordinary these days, and marriages are optional for the youngster (Saraswati 2013). Many brides were pregnant at their wedding ceremony. Thus, it attracted researchers to conduct a study regarding the phenomena of premarital pregnancies in Bali. The study focused on finding out information related to the women's position in premarital pregnancy in Bali and the growing discourse in Balinese society regarding this phenomenon.

Premarital pregnancy signified the position of women in the Balinese social structure. Pregnancy is considered the duty of women, and women's inability to give offspring is discouraged by the family. Therefore, women have no right to rejects pregnancy to prove the spouse that they are fertile, even before marriage. The widespread patriarchal culture leads to social bias that makes Balinese women not feel burdened anymore of premarital pregnancy. Society overrides the fact that such patriarchal influence dan put obstacles to women's careers. Based on the problems, researchers intrigued to find the position of women in premarital pregnancy in Bali.

Rahmawati (2016) expressed that in 2013, eight out of 20 women in Bali decided to get pregnant before marriage to get support from spouses' families. Sultana (2012) clarified that the underlining factor of patriarchy is women's subordination. Other supporting factors, such as the patriarchal interpretation of religion, the patriarchal interpretation of tradition, and the patriarchal interpretation of culture, cause women's subordination. It is often not realized by women because of the patriarchal value is deeply embedded in their lives (Sultana 2012). This research discovered that patriarchal value was practiced daily in the community, such as women's domination on behalf of the love and men's responsibility in marriage. In Balinese youth today, premarital marriage is no longer a discouragement. Premarital pregnancy does not evoke any problems as long as the men take responsibility by immediately carrying out the wedding ceremony. In addition, premarital sex and free lifestyle become a supporting factor of the widespread of premarital pregnancy in Bali

Research Method

Researchers conducted direct observation for over the past five years and encountered many phenomena related to pregnant women and wedding ceremonies. Through the experience, researchers were able to find out about women's position in premarital pregnancies in Bali and learn more about the growing discourse in society, and the phenomenon has become commonplace for the Balinese people. This research was conducted in Bali due to this phenomenon occurring in almost all regions in Bali and employs a qualitative research method with a critical paradigm. The method allows researchers to comprehend informants' experiences, facilitating them in interpreting the events and objects personally and socially. The critical paradigm was a suitable approach where researchers sought to dismantle the gender injustices in Balinese society. Researchers provided suggestions based on the research results to provide recommendations to achieve justice and gender equality.

Researchers observed Bali’s latest developments related to marriage for approximately five years and from the observation results. We also employed a literature study related to Bali’s premarital pregnancies to find out more about the phenomenon.

The method used was qualitative research with in-depth interviews with 18 informants who were native Balinese. The data used in this research was primary data obtained through in-depth interviews with the chosen informants consisting of four Balinese young males and four citizens who knew about the phenomenon. The subject informants consisted of five women who had experienced premarital pregnancy. The non-subject informants consisted of religious figures, legendary figures, women observers, and a Bali humanist. Besides conducting in-depth interviews, the researcher also conducted a focus group discussion (FGD), where the population consisted of Balinese young females and males to learn their opinions about the studied phenomenon. This research was conducted in Denpasar, Singaraja, and Badung City. The data obtained through the in-depth interviews in the recorded form were then converted into research result transcripts in written form. The transcripts of the interview results were reduced and selected. The data that was considered necessary separated from the data not related to the research. All of the data that has been collected and reduced was analyzed using Michel Foucault’s theory of power approach. Michel Foucault’s power theory was very suitable for this study because the phenomenon that occurs contains several problems that Foucault also discussed in his theory. It includes a developed discourse in society related to the phenomenon of the power of patriarchy in society. It was the subject of this research—furthermore, the study results presented in the form of scientific writing and a conclusion drawn.

Results and Discussion

Marriage tradition in Bali

Marriage is a bond that holds a man and woman together who loves each other and wants to live happily forever (Windia 2015). Marriage is held following state law and the applicable religious law. In Indonesia as state law, marriage is explained in Law Constitution Number 1 of 1974: “Marriage is a physical birth bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife to form a happy and eternal family (household) based on the belief in the one and only God.” It also explained in article 2 (1) of Law Number 1 of 1974 that, “Marriage is legal if it carried out according to the laws of each religion and its beliefs,” (Windia 2015).

In addition, marriage is also governed by religion; all religions regulate the marriage of the people who follow them according to the religion’s teachings. Marriage is said to be valid if it is made valid through a religious ceremony, and it is deemed to be based on applicable regulations. The marriage ceremony is based on the religious rules adopted by the person concerned; however, it also takes place according to the tradition. In Indonesia, there are many marriage traditions in each region, and they are all unique. Marriage is important and sacred, it is because marriage will be remembered for life by the person concerned, and the marriage ceremony is based on religious regulations, state regulations, and implemented according to local customs. According to Hinduism and Balinese Customary Law, the purpose of marriage is twofold, namely the purpose of *Sekala* (real) and the purpose of *Niskala* (belief). First, marriage aims to fulfill biological needs, continue *Swadharma* (one’s right, duty) and continue the parents’ and ancestors’ responsibilities, referring to both the family and the community. It includes *parahyangan* (responsibilities and religious activities), *pawongan* (carrying out responsibilities as a community member and carrying out humanitarian responsibilities), and the last is the responsibility for the maintenance of the natural environment. The third goal is to give birth to children, so then the second goal’s responsibilities can continue (Windia 2015).

In Bali, the procedure for marriage is classified into one of two categories, namely marriage by *ngerorod* (eloping) and marriage in a *mepadik* (the process of proposing the groom to the bride by being requested and approved by both families) way. Marriage by *ngerorod* is a marriage carried out by way of an elopement; usually, this marriage is carried out because the family’s blessing blocks

it due to differences in the family background. Marriage by *ngerorod* is also believed to reflect the male attitude, and it is responsible for prospective grooms in a *ngerorod* (elope together) marriage who believed to be more practical, informal, and long-winded. Before the 1970s, *ngerorod* marriages occupied a higher position than civil marriage; however, everything changed along with the awareness of mutual respect, educational progress, changes in people's views on intermarriage marriage, and difficulties completing the marital administration. *Ngerorod* is being abandoned, and most of the Balinese people go through the *mepadik* marriage procedure as most do today (Windia 2016).

The main ceremony in marriage in Bali is called *byakaon* or *abhayakala* or *makala-kalaan*. It has a cleansing meaning referring to the various negative influences for the bride and groom. It contains a series of other processes that must be performed by the bride and groom. Windia (2015) stated that each process has meaning; it can be explained as follows: 1) *mapegat*, is the bride and groom have left their youth behind; in the Hindu religion, this is called the Brahma period, and they are looking forward to the period of marriage, which is a private period, 2) *piculsion*, is agreed; that the bride and groom must be prepared to bear all the things that happen to their household jointly, 3) *madagang-dagangan*, is like having a role as both buyer and seller (transaction); when they are married, they must have a source of income to survive the new family, 4) the beginning or planting of coconut shoots, it means that married couples must start planting something for the future of their families and communities, 5) *matig-tig* (broomsticks) refers to the beaten brooms made by the parents; the parents as the motivators, will always provide encouragement and support for those who are married, 6) impromptu stabbing or stabbing mats held by female substitutes stabbed using a dagger by the groom, it means that they have been allowed to engage in bodily relations.

Point six, however, is an impromptu procession that indicates that they have been allowed to engage in human relations. It seems only to be a symbol of *Melaka*, which does not have any meaning anymore because the phenomenon that occurs today is that many couples become pregnant before marriage. It means that they have had sexual relations before the wedding ceremony held. According to the informants' information and the respondents' answers, we know that there has been a shift in the values held by Hindu youths in Bali today. Some of them no longer think that sex is a sacred relationship that can only be done by those who have entered a private or household period through holding a wedding ceremony according to religion and state.

In Bali, there are three forms of marriage: ordinary marriage, marriage, and marriage, according to *Pada Gelahang* (Windia 2015). In ordinary marriages, the husbands' status is *Kapurusa* (the term for the male role for Hindus), while the wife's status is *Pradana*. Marriage ceremonies are usually held in the men's homes. The women will be taken and invited to the men's homes so that a married woman will give up any legal relations with her native family. She will carry out her husband's family obligations, and any children born will follow the father's lineage. This form of marriage reinforces the patrilineal system; women's position is under the power of men. By customary law, a married woman will legally break away from her family, and in the past, she did not get any inheritance from her native family and her husband's family. She also has nothing because her husband's inheritance will fall to her son based on the Supreme Court Main Council of Pakraman Village or *Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman (MUDP)*. Budawati et al. (2012) stated that wealth not given to boys; however, all of the biological children, including girls entitled to the following provisions: 1) a third of the wealth making up the wealth of the parents, sons of the *Kapurusa* who continue the obligations of the parents, and 2) the remainder divided between boys and girls. The girls' share is half the portion of the boys.

Another form of marriage in Bali is *nyentana* or *nyeburin*, and this marriage is the opposite of ordinary marriage. In this marriage tradition, men with the status of *Kapurusa* and women of the status *Pradana* participate in a marriage ceremony held at the women's home, it is the responsibility of the women's family. For men who have stopped going to their homes and who go to their wife's house and who are part of their wife's family, their children's bloodline will follow the maternal line. A *nyentana* marriage (a term given to a husband and wife, the husband is proposed (requested) by the wife's family and enters the family's ancestral line of the wife and releases hereditary ties from the

original family) is usually done if the family does not have a son, in Bali, the most critical marriage is in the Tabanan area. From the marriage system, *nyentana* is a deconstruction of Bali's patriarchal culture, because, in this marriage, the woman feels like a wife has a position above men. In reality, it is only a status like that of a *Purusa* in their social life, and men are still the head of the family. There is still a marriage to continue their father's descendants.

The last is the form of marriage in the groove, a new form of frivolous marriage was discovered by the Association of Law Lecturers or *Pergerakan Sanatana Dharma (Persadha)* Bali in 2008 (Windia 2015). *Pada gelahang* in the Indonesian language is equally owned; the form of marriage chosen when a man and woman both have the status of being an only child. Because both of them have the status of an only child who has to carry on the family responsibilities, they must have the status of *Kapurusa* in their family. The marriage in the gulf must, therefore, be an alternative. In a mass marriage, both men and women have the same responsibilities and obligations within each of their families, and both of them have no legal status apart from their families, which is different from the usual forms of marriage. This third form of marriage reflects the dynamic nature of Balinese society.

The discourse behind the phenomenon of premarital pregnancy in Bali

According to Hinduism, having a child as a descendant is one of the goals of marriage in general, married couples must expect a child. For families in Bali, children's existence is fundamental, especially for the men who want heirs. In Balinese customary law, inheritance is not just the manifestation of objects such as family property. It also involves social rights such as the rights to village coral land, the right to use a grave, and the right to worship in the Kahyangan Desa Temple. Inherent obligations accompany the existence of the rights that are received due to the receipt of these rights (Budawati et al. 2012). Behind the occasion that appears as a phenomenon, there must be something behind it that causes it to happen. Something behind it is called as discourse by Foucault. Bali society holds patriarchal values in high esteem, making it easier for there to be male domination. The patriarchal discourse, like the dominion discourse, is increasingly influential over Balinese society's life. Various discourses and cognitions are produced rapidly to reinforce the patriarchal dominion.

According to the data obtained in the field, it can be seen that offspring have an essential meaning for the Balinese from a long time ago until now. The presence of offspring has become an essential thing for Balinese families because, in Niskala or Hinduism, they believe that offspring will free their parents from misery (Atmaja 2008). They also believe that offspring can open up the way for the ancestors reincarnated into the world. Socially, offspring are expected to continue to be responsible and understand the obligations of the parents in relation to the banjar tradition and the whole family. Besides this, the offspring, later on, will prepare the funeral of their parents. It is reasonable if a couple expects to have a male descendant in their family. The discourse on the importance of descendants in the Balinese family is inseparable from the cognition spread through the various Hindu religious stories in Bali, one of which is the story of Jaratkaru.

Jaratkaru was a young man who was very diligent and obedient at carrying out religious teachings. Because of his diligence, Jaratkaru was given a gift and allowed to go anywhere that he wanted. One day, Jaratkaru went to a place called Ayatanastana, the border between heaven and hell. The spirits of the Pitara or the ancestors were tried there. They decided to go to heaven or hell according to the *karma phala* or reciprocating their actions while living on earth. Jaratkaru saw his ancestors being punished. Their heads were down and feet above, tied to a bamboo tree, and a mouse was gnawing on the trunk, so it became more fragile and ready to break. Right below, one of his ancestors was hanging on to the edge of a bottomless abyss connected to hell. Jaratkaru approached his Pitara and asked what punishment he would receive there. The Pitara answered and said that his family descendants were *putung*, or broken up because his son named Jaratkaru was not married. It meant that he could not continue to have descendants. Hearing this answer, Jaratkaru returned immediately and looked for a wife to continue his family so then their ancestors would be free from the petung bamboo tree's torment in Ayatanastana (Atmaja 2008). This story has a significant influence on Balinese Hindus

related to the importance of descendants in the family. In this case, the discourse plays the role of authority or power used to describe something propagated by an institution (Wiradnyana 2018). What is propagandized is the patriarchal values found in Balinese society.

The discourse about the importance of descendants in the Balinese family affects how people think and how they act. Due to offspring being considered very important, married couples will use various methods to have them. According to Foucault (2009), power creates and maintains truth, while the truth itself is the product of certain practices. The methods used to obtain offspring then and now are different. It happens because of the other discourses that are equally important in influencing the Balinese life. The discourse of morality as the dominant discourse in ancient times has the power to create the truth. It was considered real, so the developed cognition says that legal sex should be carried out after marriage. Based on this truth, premarital sex is considered wrong, and premarital pregnancy is a violation of the social norms.

The discourse of morality is increasingly marginalized. The lifestyle of youths in terms of relationships is also changing, especially in big cities. Morbid ways to establish new relationships cause many incidents of premarital pregnancy. Various methods have been taken by those who experience it. Those who try to undergo an abortion throw out babies as soon as they are born, and they are forced to get married to eliminate their disgrace. Getting married is the most common solution, and reality becomes the signs and patterns that repeatedly occur, forming a discourse. According to Foucault (1972), discourse is formed by the signs and statements in line with the understanding of the discourse. It can be confirmed the existence of specific modalities (Wiradnyana 2018). The formed discourse is known as “*sing beling sing nganten*,” or no pregnancy, no marriage.

Foucault explained that discourse influences how someone participates in their social life and constructs objects through specific terms and narratives (Jatiningsih 2017). “*Sing beling sing nganten*,” has become a popular term among Balinese youths, and it is a discourse that influences their mindset and behavior. As a result, many premarital pregnancies occur, and the phenomenon is justified by the discourse of the importance of descendants in the family. It makes the phenomenon considered to be accurate by some Balinese, especially in the big cities. Foucault states that episteme or discourse carries a dominant interest in the form of an invisible ideology. It can influence society’s thoughts through a set of rules and guidelines for behavior (Jatiningsih 2017). Rules and guidelines for behavior refer to the truth produced by the ruling regime through the power that it has, including determining right and wrong. In this case, the family as an institution can provide legitimacy based on the discourse of the importance of descendants in the Balinese family. As a result, premarital pregnancy’s social reality has steadily become a discourse that backs the legitimacy of the truth.

The premarital pregnancy discourse creates a new cognition, which is the difficulty of having descendants. The descendant’s importance to the Balinese family structure not only supports the new discourse regarding premarital pregnancy that has existed among Balinese youths, but it also causes concerns for couples who are seeing to build a household. According to Foucault (2002), dominion is not only present as a repressive power. It can create a new cognition and discourse in a positive form so that it can be readily accepted. It is what happens in the social reality that is under investigation today. The “*sing beling sing nganten*,” discourse related to premarital pregnancy in Bali’s big cities can increase the awareness of the difficulty of having offspring for newly-married couples. It is considered accurate and eventually becomes a new discourse that influences both mindsets and individual actions.

Based on the data obtained from the interviews, most opinions state that many couples find it challenging to have offspring at this time. Many factors cause it. It could be due to their occupation, poor health condition, and less healthy food consumption. Many people have complained about it. In the end, the pregnancy program before marriage becomes an action that has to be done because it considered being the best choice.

Women's subordination in the phenomenon of premarital pregnancy in Bali

Wiradnyana (2018) explained that certain discourses could place the subject in certain positions in a social relationship that exists in society. Althusser defines discourse as having a role in defining and placing someone in a particular position. It is because there must be a subordinate position under a superior or absolute power (Sarup 2011). In premarital pregnancy, women must be in a disadvantaged position and assume a lot of the burden. As stated by Malik et al. (2015), the researchers explained that pregnancy among teenagers had become a severe problem for women around the world because pregnancy in teenagers involves a higher risk for the mother and unborn baby.

Women also have to assume the burden caused by unwanted or premarital pregnancy. Bhawono (2016) stated that the results showed that the forgiveness dynamic experienced by the informants began with hatred towards their partner, who was refusing to be responsible for her pregnancy. Although the informant initially tried to have an abortion, in the end, the informant decided to keep the fetus that she was carrying. She would not repeat the mistake for a second time. The informant tried to forget the past and not bring up the mistakes made by her partners. It was done by the informant educating her children for future growth. The informant filled her daily life with college and a job to support her children. In addition, some informants began their life with a new partner.

Based on the data obtained in the field, women's subordination in the social reality of premarital pregnancy in Bali's significant cities includes the mastery of women's bodies by men. There is also the limited creativity of women in the public sector, which obstructs their careers. As the patriarchal discourse places men in a super-ordinate position and puts women in the subordinate position, as stated by Bhasin (1996), the patriarchy is thus the relationship between men and women's power, referring to the system where women remain dominated by men.

The "*sing beling sing nganten*," discourse also causes men to dominate women in terms of the proposal to attend the premarital pregnancy programs. It is carried out more by men than women. The women who do this do not want to disappoint their spouse and his family; however, this is not realized as a form of male domination over women. It indicates that the "*sing beling sing nganten*," discourse's power is an effective mechanism that seeks to reach its target effectively. The power goal is no longer physical preservation. Instead, it is aimed at the mindset, perspective, and individual awareness of something (Hardiyanta 2016). In the social reality of premarital pregnancy that occurs in Bali's significant cities, it is men who prefer pregnancy before marriage to ensure that their family will be blessed with offspring. Some of the male informants claimed that they have the desire that when they get married later, their future wife will already be pregnant.

From the interviews with the informants, it is clear how men dominate and control the female reproductive system in the social reality of premarital pregnancy in Bali's big cities. The control of men in the field of reproduction causes the women to be unable to make decisions related to their reproductive system. Women can never determine when they will get pregnant and give birth and how many children they will have. They can also choose to delay or stop their pregnancy, and everything is arranged according to the desires of men (Bhasin 1996). Indirectly and unconsciously, there has been a regulation of the social practices by men towards women. There are rules in a sexual relationship, such as where a woman must get pregnant before marriage. It is appropriate when examined according to Foucault's statement that sexuality is a system in which there are many entities, strategies, tactics, and particular systematic apparatus (Kali 2013). Thus, the sexuality involved in the social reality of premarital pregnancy in Bali's big cities is not as simple as it seems. There are strategies and techniques related to the male domination over women caused by the discourse of "*sing beling sing nganten*."

The power of discipline can occur in a variety of social relations and the social reality of premarital pregnancy in the significant cities of Bali. It involves the relations between men and women in the field of dating. Foucault states that power operates in a disciplinary setting that is not identical to

individual formal institutions. According to Foucault, the power of discipline is the body's technology that forms an individual into someone useful and obedient by conducting physical training, conducting supervision, and habituation, so then the body does useful things (Hardiyanta 2016). In the social reality of premarital pregnancy that occurs in Bali's big cities, women are unconsciously disciplined to do things that are useful that can provide offspring in their new families later on.

Another form of women's subordination is the limitations of their creativity in the public sector. Women as subordinates are the target objects of the dominant power. Women have to surrender to the rules that are applied in order to discipline their bodies. In this case, it is pregnancy and giving birth to a child. Patriarchal societies use rigid gender roles to ensure that women remain passive and remain active (Tong 2006). Women's subordination as a result of the discourse of "*sing beling sing nganten*," forces women to think and act in continual adjustment with the discourse rules. As a result, women cannot reject the consequences of these actions, including the family conflicts caused by the social reality of premarital pregnancy.

After getting married, women spend more time in the domestic sector due to various household matters such as caring for children, cooking, cleaning the house, and caring for their husbands. As mentioned earlier, those are the responsibilities of women, meaning that the time they have left to continue their careers in the public sector is increasingly limited. Tong (2006) stated that according to the radical-liberal feminist ideology, women must replace the natural mode of reproduction with an artificial mode because fewer women are becoming involved in reproduction. It means that they have more time to be involved in the productive process of society. It is what is experienced by women who sustain the social reality of premarital pregnancy in Bali's significant cities. They are forced to stop working when they are pregnant and give birth to their children.

In the phenomenon of premarital pregnancy in Bali, women accelerate the time spent out of their daily lives in the domestic sector because pregnancy will cause them to have limited movements, more so after giving birth. The informants interviewed by the researchers claimed that they did not continue their careers when they were pregnant and up to and after birth until an unspecified time limit. Almost all of them stated that they did not feel an objection to it, although they argued that it was their wifely duty. This discourse power is positive and productive, so it is challenging for the target object (Kali 2013). The social reality of premarital pregnancy makes them have to stay at home, reducing the time available for them to be creative in the public sector.

In patriarchal societies, men dominate women in several ways, including by having control over reproduction, productive power, and female labor. In the previous chapter, it was discussed how men control women's reproductive power. This control systematically makes women subordinated because their space is limited, and the burden on their family thus increases. Men also control women in the field of productive power and female labor. In the household, women provide a range of services for both their children and their husband. Working outside the household with the salary they earn, women are placed in low salaries. Working in the public sector will never reduce their burden in the household sector (Bhasin 1996).

In this case, women are always in a disadvantaged position, although "*sing beling sing nganten*," has become a discourse that exists among Balinese youths today, not everyone justifies the incidents involved, especially women. Before marriage, women who become pregnant are still called bad women even though the condemnation is not as bad as it was in ancient times. However, this predicate does not apply to men. Men who are mature and ready to get married are supported by their families to do this to get offspring. The same thing was found in Zimbabwe, Makaudze (2015) stated that in Shona society, one of Zimbabwe's regions, stringent regulations regarding sexuality are applied to women, whereas for men, the rules do not apply as tightly. One of the reasons men should continue the family line is that it is natural for men to have sex outside of marriage.

Conclusion

Based on the research done, the data was analyzed using a theoretical approach so that a conclusion could be drawn—the conclusion obtained from the results of the research that is still currently ongoing in Bali. There are continually developing discourses that position women in either a secondary or

subordinate position. The social reality of premarital pregnancy that occurs in Bali's significant cities is inseparable from the influence of discourse behind the visible reality. The discourse is that of "*sing beling sing nganten*," built through the phenomenon of free sex that causes premarital pregnancy. This phenomenon then gets legitimacy from the dominant discourse that has a power related to the importance of offspring in Bali's family. After getting a sense of legitimacy through the family, the discourse is known as "*sing beling sing nganten*," increasingly influences Balinese youths' mindset and behavior, especially in big cities. This discourse results in premarital pregnancy's social reality becoming a reference point that is in great demand by young men who are going to get married. It is to ensure that they will be blessed with offspring when they are married. Nowadays, this social reality has become a trend among Balinese youths, especially in big cities.

"*Sing beling sing nganten*," discourse creates cognition through a collection of apparent realities referring to the awareness of married couples' difficulty having offspring. Because it is built from visible reality, society is convinced, especially the young Balinese, in the cities. It developed to be a fear and worry for couples who will go on to build a household. Considering that descent has an essential meaning for Bali families, engaging with a premarital pregnancy program is considered the best solution. This choice means that the "*sing beling sing nganten*," discourse increasingly dominates the lives of the Balinese.

In society, there must be a particular discourse that dominates. The dominant discourse can consist of more than one discourse. The dominant discourse is what then affects the thoughts of individuals and guides their behavior. The dominant discourse has power in social relations, so the discourse places different people in certain positions. In the social reality of premarital pregnancy in Bali's big cities, it is known that the discourse of "*sing beling sing nganten*," places women in a subordinate position and men in a superordinate position. Under this discourse's influence, women have no choice except to follow their partner's orders to attend a pregnancy program before they get married. If they refuse, they will be considered violating the norms and thus will be disliked by society.

The first form of subordination is the mastery of women's bodies by men as a giver of descent. The patriarchal power in the *sing beling sing nganten* discourse applies political technology to discipline the body. The female body is disciplined to be useful, namely, to provide a baby. An interesting finding in this research is that disciplining the body is not only done to manipulate the body, so then it carries out its function as a reproductive tool. The body's discipline is also more directed to manipulate the body to become useful for the production sector of society. The researchers found that in the social reality of premarital pregnancy that occurs in Bali, especially in big cities, disciplining women's bodies precisely targets the reproductive organs. Women were forced to bear children. Women's subordination in the form of the mastery of women's bodies impacts the other types of women's subordination, such as the obstacles they face in the public sector. The social reality of premarital pregnancy causes obstacles in women's careers in the public sector because their time is used to provide services to their children and husbands, not to mention the household chores assigned to them.

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