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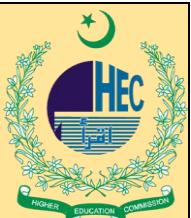
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Demystifying Patriarchal Authority: The Politics of Women's Oppression in Muna Masyari's *Damar Kambang*

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Abstract

Patriarchy is a social-cultural order in which men are the dominant entities in the social, political, economic, and family institutions, and women are the sub-ordinate and marginalized beings. Employing feminist theoretical approach proposed by Walby, this paper offers a critical examination of patriarchal power, and the politics of women oppression under patriarchal system as reflected in Damar Kambang by Muna Masyari. Damar Kambang is the story of patriarchal social order in which gendered power relations are legitimized by cultural norms, family structures and moral ideologies. It demonstrates how the social consent and cultural legitimacy reproduces gender inequality and challenges the issue of gender inequality as political by preempting the experiences of women living in oppressive structures. The novelist, Masyari, unveils the different degrees of female oppression which include forced silence, economic dependency and psychological oppression, all of which enhance male dominance. She does not only criticize acts of violence on a personal level perpetrated against women but also questions and critiques the patriarchal structure that allows this violence to thrive. The research findings reveal that patriarchy dominates the bodies, voices and life choices of women. And the novel is a powerful literary intervention that challenges the patriarchal hegemony and contributes greatly to feminist discourses of gender, power, and oppression.

Keywords: Muna Masyari, Damar Kambang, Patriarchal Authority, Women's Oppression, Gendered Power Relations, Feminist Criticism.

Introduction

Muna Masyari is a popular Indonesian writer of Pamekasan, Madura. Her literary works are notable for their treatment of gendered social realities. In *Martabat Kematian*, a collection of short stories, and the novel *Damar Kambang*, Masyari shows massive interest in capturing the life experiences of Madurese women. Masyari's writing has been associated with a gynocritical approach, in which the voices of women are expected to be represented by adopting a realistic narrative style in its documentation, and a culturally grounded symbolism and historical consciousness. Her fiction is founded on the local wisdom of Madurese and explores the sensory, emotional and psychological dimensions of the life of women in the rigidly patriarchal social structures. Her key themes are patriarchal hegemony, gender-based injustice, and the repressive rules. Masyari demonstrates the interplay of cultural traditions and power relations to define the

female identity, agency, and resistance, and position the women as the subjects of tradition and complex agents of power in subordinate social frameworks through characterization and socially embedded narratives.

This paper discusses the way in which patriarchy is revealed as an institutional system that regulates the identity, behaviour, and agency of women in the novel, *Damar Kambang*. Patriarchy is not depicted in the novel as a system of individual practices or a temporary occurrence but as an organized institutionalized system that dominates the identity of women, their agency, and their everyday behaviour. The experiences of characters, Nyai Marinten and Chebbing, in the story reveal how gendered inequity is normalized by culture, family values, and religious practices. The novelist shows several overlapping forms of violence, including psychological control, emotional bullying, battering, and sexual exploitation. These forms of violence are accepted in the male dominated domestic world, community practices and institutional practices to make women vulnerable and resistant to any struggle. Patriarchy in the novel is not represented as the result of the personal actions of men, but it is institutionalized in the social institutions and reproduced by the collective consent. Power systems that contribute to gender inequalities are family systems, religious practices and social norms. Patriarchy is oppressive and dominating. Rituals like *taron-tona* and *tengka* (wedding gifts) are the cultural tools of reinforcing gender hierarchies. The novel demonstrates that the bodies and decisions of women are governed by cultural rituals, social expectations and moral judgments that restrain the women and enhance the dominance of men. The social isolation, blame or in some cases additional restriction is normally imposed on women when they would want to resist and thus, reinforcing the notion that resistance is risky or unacceptable. The novelist presents the struggle of women not as a struggle against individual oppressors but as a greater struggle against the institutionalized power. *Damar Kambang* is a significant feminist intervention because it demonstrates the structural and cultural foundation of the hegemony of patriarchy in Madurese society. The novel challenges the legitimacy of gendered inequalities by emphasizing the experience of women and illuminating the chances of resistance in the repressive social order.

Review of Literature

Patriarchy refers to a social-cultural order in which men are the dominant and controlling power in the social, political, economic, and family institutions and women are the sub-ordinate and marginalized. "Patriarchy is a societal system that prioritizes male dominance over females, profoundly impacting women's lives by silencing and rendering them voiceless" (Qasim et al., 2024, p. 171). Walby (1990) theorizes patriarchy as a compound system that operates in the form of interrelated institutions such as family, religion, law, and culture that constitute a structural foundation of male dominance. Patriarchal order is enforced through direct authority, through social conventions and institutional procedures that naturalize and necessitate gender inequality. Beauvoir (1949) argues that women are socially constructed as the 'Other'; they are marginalized and they are deemed to be subordinate. Hooks (2000) asserts that patriarchal ideology is reproduced both through coercive and non-coercive methods of control that include emotional manipulation, cultural conditioning and normalization of the role of women as care givers.

Feminist theory has been a process that has been going on since the late nineteenth century, beginning with first-wave feminists who wanted legal and social equality, particularly in fields like education and suffrage. These initial feminist movements gave rise to feminist literary criticism. Feminist literary theory is a methodology that foreshadows patriarchal systems that are coded into literary texts (Ali, 2024). Feminist literary criticism has gone through particular phases throughout its history, which are associated with the major waves of feminism and each

of which is concerned with a particular aspect of gender inequality and women agency in literature, including the first-wave feminism that is concerned with legal rights and education, the second-wave feminism that is concerned with cultural and social oppression, the third-wave feminism that is concerned with intersectionality and diversity of women experiences, and the fourth-wave feminism that is concerned with digital activism and current gender issues (Feminist literary criticism, 2026). Feminist literary criticism is central to the unveiling of the ideological foundation of patriarchy through the unmasking of the normalization and reproduction of male dominance in literary representation. The feminist movement which has been evolving greatly since its inception has introduced novel perspectives to the field of literature; the first feminist waves were primarily concerned with the suffrage of women, their right to education and their fundamental rights, but as feminism evolved, it began to represent more structural injustices (Abbot, 2017).

Patriarchal dominance is a popular theme in English literature. Feminist literature reflects the social and structural relations of male dominance and female subordination (Hiwarkhedka and Sharma, 2024). It has been the representation of gendered power relations since the beginning of history, with the male voice prevailing, and the experiences of women being pushed aside or silenced (Ali, 2024). Feminist readings re-construct texts to show the issue of agency, autonomy, and self-definition of women, and their resistance to social, cultural and institutional limitations. Literature is, thus, an effective instrument of expression of marginal voices, whereby women voices can be listened to, identified, and valued. Gender inequality is found in literature as it breaks patriarchal premises of the narrative and becomes a place of feminist intervention and social commentary. Patriarchy is depicted in most novels as a social order that arranges family life, economic positions and personal identity in such a manner that gives male power and restricts female autonomy. According to feminist critics, literary works tend to reflect the ways in which patriarchal language and narrative traditions disenfranchise the female voice and promote the ideology of masculinity (Jose, 2023).

Indonesia novels tend to mirror the influence of patriarchy on gender roles and the reaffirmation of male dominated power systems by cultural values and social expectations. Indonesian fiction portrays women as objects of social control, exploitation, and limited agency in the domestic and social spheres that reveal the power dynamics inherent in cultural institutions. Yuliana et al., (2025) demonstrate that female characters in *Katresnan* challenge deep-rooted patriarchal principles by pursuing education and refusing forced marriage. *Katresnan* depicts the role of gender inequality in the Indonesian social life. Indonesian novels of Reformation period portray different gender ideologies, such as patriarchy and familialism, which domesticate the roles of women and reflect the masculine hegemony in society (Yulianeta et al., 2016). Sri Lestari and Nugroho (2022) claim that the economic dependence of women in *Dunia Padmini* is the manifestation of the greater gender inequality based on patriarchal culture. Prasetyo and Suryaman (2022) remark that *Garis Perempuan* indicates that several female characters do not succumb to the patriarchal order, which highlights the importance of literature in describing oppression and resistance to the dominance of men.

Although much academic attention has been paid to the concept of patriarchy in the Indonesian literature, the intersection of Madurese cultural practices and patriarchal power as a form of oppressing women in *Damar Kambang* has received little academic attention. This leaves a research gap in addressing how local traditions, religious institutions, and family structures interact to reinforce male dominance (patriarchy) in the fiction of Masyari.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This paper is based on a qualitative approach of hermeneutics to analyze *Damar Kambang* by Muna Masyari as primary data. The paper focuses on the aspects of narrative, characterization, and cultural symbols by closely reading them that show the patriarchal power and the politics of women oppression under patriarchy. Academic literature on feminist criticism and patriarchy is secondary data. The textual analysis is founded on the theoretical framework proposed by Walby. The textual analysis describes how the normalization of the oppression of women in the Madurese society is achieved through the institutional norms, rituals, and social practices.

Feminism is a critical movement and theoretical approach, which seeks to explain and challenge the social, cultural, and political organization that causes gender inequality. It emphasizes the role of women rights, independence, and equal representation in every aspect of life, and simultaneously condemns patriarchal systems that keep the males dominant and the females subordinate (Mohajan, 2022). Feminism is not an ideology but a dynamic discourse which has evolved in different waves and perspectives including liberal, radical, Marxist, psychoanalytic and intersectional. All these perceptions assist in the realization that gender is a social construct and reinforced by institutions, family, religion, law, education, and media, thereby determining the identity, roles, and opportunities of women (Revise Sociology, 2016). Feminist theory also examines the internalization of patriarchal values among women, which leads to self-deprecating ideologies and internalization of oppressive norms. Feminism is a method in the context of literary studies, which can be applied to re-read texts to reveal hidden biases, voices, and ideological activities that legitimize gender hierarchies (Arinder). Feminist criticism aims at exposing and dismantling the cultural discourses that reproduce patriarchy and encourage more inclusive and equal narrative and social organization (Diwan & Thakur, 2021).

Patriarchy is a social system in which men are dominant and powerful in every respect; in politics, economy, culture and family and women are subordinate and marginalized. It is not as an isolated act of discrimination, but institutional and it operates through the family, religion, law, and tradition to naturalize male authority as a natural one (Guy-Evans, 2024). Patriarchy is coerced and socially conditioned in a direct and indirect manner, in matters of social demands, moral monitoring, and internalized obedience. The features of patriarchy in literature are often represented in the form of dominant male discourse, restrictive and silencing gender roles, and demonstrating the way the relations of power are embedded in everyday life, and cultural practices. These trends are exposed by using the feminist criticism to see how the texts either reinforce or criticize patriarchal ideology and how the texts expose the resistance and agency of women to the system of patriarchal oppression. Walby (1990) suggests that patriarchy refers to a system of social structures and institutions that, in combination, reproduce male dominance and female subordination. This perspective alters the focus on personal bias to the broader structure of power within society; and it is notable that the long-established institutions and cultural activities reproduce patriarchy. According to Walby (1990), there are six structures that are interconnected through which patriarchy operates: the state, household, paid work, male violence, sexuality, and cultural institutions. The structures are all systems of preserving male dominance in one way or another but in different ways. The economic reliance of women and the household work is supported by the family system, hence limiting their power to make decisions in the family. The paid work reinforces gender inequality due to the differences in wages, occupational segregation, and access to leadership opportunities. The male violence format emphasizes the importance of the physical and emotional force as one of the means of women control.

To Walby (1990), patriarchy is not a phenomenon that is fixed and monolithic; it evolves with time in response to social, economic and political developments. She indicates that the level and

the manifestations of patriarchy may vary according to historical circumstances and institutional variations, yet the rationality of male domination is ensured through the adaptive mechanisms. It is important to note that Walby (1994) admits that patriarchy is not merely reproduced through the process of blunt coercion but also through the institutional norms and cultural legitimization, thereby making the process of normalization and internalization of patriarchal power. Consequently, women are allowed to engage in their oppression by accepting the norms of gender as normal or inevitable.

Walby (1990) theoretical framework offers a good analysis tool to the novel, *Damar Kambang* that portrays patriarchy as a systemic framework that is institutionalized and embedded in cultural practices and not merely a domination of men. As illustrated in the story, male power is supported by family, religion, law, and tradition. Patriarchy marginalizes women and women bodies; their choices and social locations are controlled by rituals such as *taron-tona* and *tangka*. Moral and religious norms justify male dominance. The characters such as Nyai Marinten and Chebbing have no choice but to meet the expectations of patriarchy that is reinforced by the relatives, community leaders and religious leaders, thereby proving the argument by Walby (1990) that patriarchy is institutionalized and upheld by the collective consent. Social stigmatization, emotional violence and structural constraints are the lot of women characters even when they attempt to resist. Thus, the theoretical framework by Walby describes how gendered power dynamics in *Damar Kambang* are woven into a system that has always existed and that naturalizes the superiority of men and restricts the freedom of women in the Madurese community.

Textual Analysis

Masyari (2020), the novelist, condemns the essence of patriarchy that is firmly embedded in the traditional society where men are granted normative power and women are confined by the roles and expectations constructed by the society. In this novel, patriarchal authority is not at all in the direct form of domination, but also in the traditions and social conventions that legitimize the hierarchies based on gender. Women, thus, do not necessarily fight back in an outright manner but are indirect and strategic. The women characters attempt to create their little space of action within a system where male decision-making is the norm and the women are relegated to the margins. To reinforce its authority, patriarchy intimidates and uses violence against those who challenge it and, therefore, makes domination appear natural. Patriarchal hegemony is visible in psychological and physical violence, which advance the superiority of men and inferiority of women. Masyari (2020) points out that the traditional practices and social norms put men in the centre of the decision-making process and inhibit the agency of female characters. This thing leads to physical, psychological, and structural violence against women characters. Psychological violence is evident in the account of the experience of women; an instance is when Marinten recalls what her husband said: "...I was like a pinch of cotton that flew out of its shell with just one blow... [And] a husband's mouth is like a wizard's mouth. He can extinguish me with just one word!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 6). This quote demonstrates that the strength of patriarchy is backed up with threats and emotional control, in which a single remark can cement obedience and ruin the identity of a woman. Patriarchal domination is also manifested in an open demonstration of power, such as the loss of a bet by the husband of Marinten who throws away their marriage in a throwaway way: "How fragile a relationship is tied and then destroyed by a piece of tongue. After the divorce was dropped, the marriage knot was unraveled, and the two of them transformed into strangers with backs to each other, different paths and goals" (Masyari, 2020, p. 10). These events highlight the fact that, under patriarchy, men have permission to inflict harm in the name of culture or home.

Other than violence, patriarchal hegemony can also operate through unilateral decision-making, where men make decisions regarding family, economic and social issues without the contribution of women. According to Walby (1990), patriarchy works together in a complex system of structures, including the household, paid work, the state, culture, sexuality and male violence, which all combine to perpetuate male domination. Male dominance is justified by everyday practices and cultural norms, and this enables patriarchy to exist even without direct coercion. In *Damar Kambang*, the husband of Marinten inherits the property that they both share and tells her: "For the time being, you don't need to go to the pond. Our ponds are already owned by people..." (Masyari, 2020, p. 2). Patriarchal system that justifies the male authority to make critical decisions without involving women is reflected in the appalled reaction of Marinten on hearing that the three ponds of the family were mortgaged.

Patriarchy is a system in which men are positioned at the centre of the social organization, and wives and children are put in the peripheral positions where they are mainly subservient to the interests of the patriarch. In these organizations, religious and cultural teachings tend to be interpreted in a manner that legitimizes the male authority and thus contribute to the creation of a hegemonic order that is seen as natural and is recreated time and again. According to Walby (1990), interrelated structures like the household, culture and the state, which interact to normalize male dominance and uphold gender hierarchies throughout the society, are used to preserve patriarchy. This is particularly so in Madurese society as depicted in *Damer Kambang*. Internalization of patriarchal norms are evident when Marinten says, "I'm not commenting. Losing the pond has made my chest like an empty barrel. Don't fight as a form of respect for your husband" (Masyari, 2020, p. 2). The manifestation of the concept of not fighting as the symbol of respect to husband is the means according to which the concept of obedience and silence are introduced as the virtue, which justifies the concept that the submission of women is not only morally correct but also socially essential. The culture of female compliance is endorsed by the fact that Marinten did not reject unilateral decisions made by her husband. Moreover, in many Indonesian social systems, women are predominantly defined by reproductive roles and domestic chores such as giving birth, care giving and ensuring the family health. The standards strengthen gender inequalities and patriarchal hegemony restrict social and economic agency of women by placing unequal burdens on them.

Patriarchy is a culturally rooted system, and it is supported by the long-established practices that seem natural and beyond question. According to Walby (1990), these values are supported by institutions such as the family, religion and education where the teachings of the ancestors and selective interpretations of religion are employed to legitimize the authority of the male. These practices become institutionalized over time, and patriarchal culture is passed down to children in a cyclical process, which guarantees the continuation of the dominance of men over the generations. Madurese culture of *Damar Kambang* is patriarchal evidenced by the rites of passage which socialize boys to the world of power and dominance. As an illustration, Sakrah, the uncle of Kaong, narrates about what the *taron-tona* ritual means on Merapi Earth: "By setting foot on the earth for the first time, we hope that Kaong will become a tough man who can stand up to anything!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 59). This statement highlights the active role of cultural practices in the development of gendered expectations that condition boys to assume dominant positions and establish the role of women as subordinate. Patriarchal values, as is stated in the quote, are deliberately transmitted within families and supported across generations. Boys are conditioned to be dominant and powerful which is more of a generic patriarchal ideology that views male dominance as a precondition to leadership and power. This type of patriarchal education is cyclical in the sense that parents bring up children in the same

manner they had been raised and thus convert the family to a breeding ground where male dominance is nurtured and multiplied.

Patriarchy makes men to be the main source of power particularly in the leadership positions and the power is justified not only by the social status but also by the approval of the ruled and the ruler. According to Walby (1990), this power can be frequently supported by the socially acceptable attributes, e.g. intelligence, ancestry, spiritual power or some other culturally determined attributes that are considered good. In the context of hegemonic theory, this kind of leadership is an ideological structure where the dominance of males seems to be natural and self-evident and social hierarchies are enshrined in common sense. The Kyai is the symbol of this patriarchal power in *Damar Kambang*, both religiously and socially, since his decisions are relied upon to control the moral and social order such as such critical matters as polygamy. This is demonstrated in the novel through the way Madlawi acts, "At Chebbing's wedding to Bulla, the most influential kyai in the village was forced to be unable to attend because his mother was seriously ill. The young wife of Bulla is present with some of the invited students" (Masyari, 2020, p. 17). This thing reveals the symbolic quality of patriarchal power that is founded on ritual, recognition and social expectation, which in turn reproduce hierarchies and naturalize power. The Kyai description emphasizes how patriarchal systems make male leadership appear to be necessary, right and indispensable to the functioning of the community. Hence, patriarchal values, religious legitimacy, and culture that support the status of male dominance in Madurese society comprise the authority of the Kyai.

Emotional violence is a subtle and a very potent tool that controls the behavior of women and reinforces the patriarchal domination by lowering women's self-image, limiting their autonomy, and governing their social and emotional behavior. According to Walby (1990), this kind of violence, albeit non-physical, is executed through manipulation, coercion and the culturally approved social expectations that women internalize their subordinacy. This kind of control is especially effective since it is normalized in ordinary interactions, and gender hierarchies seem to be natural and beyond doubt. This dynamic is vividly depicted by different examples in the novel when the choices of women are restrained by patriarchal norms. The father of Chebbing fails to receive the promised wedding gifts of the Kaong family, a house and furnishings as a sign of respect and status, and abruptly cancels the marriage of his son, declaring, "We have to cancel this wedding right now" (Masyari, 2020, p. 26), "disregarding the mediation of the penghulu and kiai" (Masyari, 2020, p. 42). Madlawi, too, demeans his daughter in terms of money: "They value my daughter no more than three hundred thousand!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 24). Such practices are emotional violence regarding the social disgrace and material expectations of women, whereby the agency of the women is subdued to family and social standards. Similarly, Chebing is compelled to marry Ke Bulla, the religious teacher of his father not by choice but in the name of healing which demonstrates how male power uses emotional and spiritual defense to control life of women. The case of Nyai Marinten supports this tendency: she is forced to divorce her husband who rolls dice with their common property and proves that women are socially and emotionally punished due to the circumstances when they cannot act and have little opportunities to show their independence. These examples suggest that emotional violence by patriarchy is institutionalized and socially accepted. By bringing these versions of coercion into daily life, patriarchal systems regulate the expression of emotions, reputation and duties of the relationships, and thus, the life of a woman turns into the environment of normalized harm.

Masyari (2020) points out that the process of perpetuation of patriarchy is not limited to direct physical force, but emotional and coercive forces that are subtle in their nature and influence behaviour, limit the agency of individuals, and reinforce the power structure of men in families

and society. The issue of tengka (wedding delivery gifts) is a good example of how even the seemingly minor social needs can be transformed into a means of oppression. The father of Chebbing breaks off the marriage when Kaong comes with cakes and cushions instead of house and furnishings which had previously been promised. Chebbing says, "This is about tengka (delivery)! The issue of tengka is a matter of pride! A matter of honor!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 26). In this instance, the members of family determine the worth of the bride by the material gifts given to the groom and as such, they say "The more expensive the hantaran that the groom brings, the higher the bride's price!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 26). This undermines her as a symbolic and economic commodity without regard to her personality and approval. Although the absence of the promised gifts is justified by the miscommunication and not the intentionality, Chebbing is the one who suffers the social and emotional blow, which demonstrates the fact that patriarchal society is more concerned with the family honour and social status than with the independence of women and children. This emotional blackmailing is evident when Chebbing is compelled to marry Ke Bulla, the religious teacher who is the father, as a ritual injunction to counter the supernatural force of Kaong. Despite his protest, "What? Marry me? I don't want to!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 109), he has no option but to accept it. This indicated that patriarchal power employs tradition, religion and cultural rituals to control women and children. These incidents reveal that emotional violence in patriarchy is institutionalized; it does not operate through direct directives or threats but also through systems that are acceptable within society. Masyari (2020), therefore, concludes that emotional and symbolic coercion can be as good as physical domination in maintaining patriarchal power and that women and children are the ones who must carry the burden of social and moral orders that elevate collective honour over individual agency.

Emotional abuse, manipulation and coercion are systematically used to undermine the agency and identity of women, and to impose submission and normalize male domination within the family and the social world at large. According to Walby (1990), this psychological oppression is usually internalized which influences the behavior and self-image of women. The psychological oppression creates an extended feeling of helplessness and fear. Such practices strengthen patriarchal authority, as over time, subordination becomes a natural and inevitable thing. This relationship is manifested in the relationship between Nyai Marinten and her husband, who bets away their home and their possessions, and in a sense, sells her as a slave: "You are one of the contents of this house, taiye? So, from now on you don't belong to me anymore! But mine!" (Masyari, 2020, p. 8). Patriarchy deprives women of personhood and transforms them into objects whose value and status are determined by men. Similarly, the protagonist, Chebbing, is emotionally manipulated by male power figures in the novel on many occasions. This destroys her independence as she is compelled to call off his engagement with Kaong because the *tengka* gifts are not worthwhile and is then compelled to marry an older man, Ke Bulla, as a ritual cure to get rid of the magic of Kaong. Both Chebbing, as well as other female characters, are illustrations of how patriarchal system can turn individuals obedient by forcing them into it and humiliating them by using social tradition, depriving them of agency. This form of treatment is emotional violence that is the outcome of power inequity between men and women and promotes gender inequality.

Physical abuse that comes with emotional violence is another type of oppression that has long-term consequences on the lives of women. Walby (1990) claims that physical violence is one of the main ways in which patriarchal systems control women, which support gender hierarchies and restrict autonomy. Physical and emotional abuse do not only cause instant damage but also form psychological health in the long term, instilling fear and dependence. In the long run, such forms of violence become normalized and lead to the replication of patriarchal structures

between generations. In the case of *Damar Kambang*, physical violence is presented as a direct weapon of patriarchy, which is employed to intimidate, discipline, and demand submission to ensure the supremacy of men. His father beats Chebbing up several times when his marriage is annulled. When he does not want to go home after the break of his union with Kaong, he is beaten with firewood, slapped, and dragged: "A hard slap landed on my cheek...Then my father dragged me even more roughly" (Masyari, 2020, p. 96). The cumulative impact of emotional and physical violence is evident in Chebbing who has been influenced by Kaong, despite the intervention of his mother and traditional healers. These punishments demonstrate the legitimacy of patriarchal power to use physical force to make people obedient.

Masyari (2020) points out that sexual violence is a weapon of patriarchy, which is utilized to dominate the bodies of women and deprive them of their freedom. Patriarchal systems support and justify sexual coercion by harassing and exploiting social and institutional contexts. Kaong rapes Chebbing as a form of manipulation by supernatural: "This should have been our first night back then..." (Masyari, 2020, p. 90). The long-term effects of this attack are social and personal, which culminate in pregnancy. Similarly, at one time, Kaong goes to seek shelter during a storm, her mother, Sakrah, her brother-in-law, rapes her, and this left a family trauma within her, which subsequently affected the turn of events: "Again I tried to struggle free, but I couldn't do anything. His burly body pushed me gently against the wall..." (Masyari, 2020, p. 137). Chebbing also suffers sexual violence, when the ex-husband of Nyai Marinten kidnaps and rapes her in revenge over Ke Bulla only to be rescued in a dramatic way by Kaong: "No, let me go...Shut up! my body was slammed into a thin sheet. Then he mounted me. Rode me" (Masyari, 2020, p. 195). Such examples prove that patriarchal power plays a role in the coercion of sexuality, leading to the humiliation, traumatization, and deprivation of autonomy among the victims. Such violence has multidimensional effects that involve loss of privacy, depression, personality disorders, and long term psychological trauma.

Conclusion

Damar Kambang is a severe critique of patriarchal authority that legitimizes oppression of women in the cultural, social and institutional levels. Masyari (2020) points out that patriarchal power is not merely the direct violence and coercion but also the indirect ones, including cultural norms, moral values, and family practices, which are employed to justify the subordination of women. Women characters have no choice but to live according to the requirements of obedience, sacrifice and silence; male dominance is represented as natural, indisputable and morally correct. Female oppression takes political dimension when it is upheld by the norms of the community, theological interpretations, and the law. Women are taught to be subservient as a natural order of things. By demystifying patriarchal authority, Masyari (2020) makes the readers understand that the problem of women oppression is a systemic one and is founded on the power relations that have deep roots rather than being a personal one. The novel, thus, encourages one to be critical of gender inequality, and to struggle against the cultural and institutionalized mechanisms that support it.

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