

# Care for the Elderly in the Indigenous Peoples of the Lampung Pepadun Tribe: Islamic Law Perspective

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**Abstract:** The objective of this research was to find out the caring of elderly Lampung that carried out by the family, particularly by the son or eldest son of the family. This research based on two cases of aged Lampung individuals, by using observation as well as interview, and secondary data as sources of research. The research finding is that the Lampung elderly, whether they live under the same roof with the married son (or eldest son) or not, are the responsibility of that son because it is disseminated among the Lampung people from early childhood. The son is regarded as replacement of the parent, and this understanding has implemented through common law. Meanwhile, the religion obliges the boys to responsible for the family. Therefore, no matter how complete the nursing home facilities are facilitated by the government, the elderly still supported by their own biological children.

**Keywords:** *care; elderly; Lampung custom; son*

**Abstrak:** Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui pengasuhan lansia Lampung yang dilakukan oleh keluarga khususnya oleh putra atau putra sulung keluarga. Penelitian ini didasarkan pada dua kasus lansia Lampung, dengan menggunakan observasi, wawancara dan data sekunder sebagai sumber penelitian. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa lansia Lampung yang tinggal serumah dengan anak yang sudah menikah atau tidak tinggal serumah dengan anak laki-laki, menjadi tanggung jawab anak laki-laki tersebut. Anak laki-laki dianggap sebagai pengganti orang tua, dan pemahaman ini diterapkan melalui hukum adat. Selain itu, agama mewajibkan anak laki-laki untuk bertanggung jawab terhadap keluarga. Oleh karena itu, selengkap apapun fasilitas panti jompo yang difasilitasi oleh pemerintah, para lansia tetap disantuni oleh anak kandungnya sendiri.

**Kata kunci:** *penyantunan; lansia; adat lampung; anak laki-laki*

## Introduction

To refer to an aged person, people in Indonesia at first used the word *manusia lanjut usia* (or *manula*), or *lanjut usia* (or *lansia*<sup>1</sup>), one already experiences physical weakness and high dependence on others,<sup>2</sup> or the person with the sad condition, or whom are classified as unproductive people. According to Carol A. Miller,<sup>3</sup> other family members have to pay special attention to them. Chen Ai Ju dan Gavin Jones<sup>4</sup> state that old people who are in Southeast Asia rely, for their life, on their grown children who are still productive. In England and Australia, according to Michael D. Fine,<sup>5</sup> the caring for elderly people runs by the care system of the nursing home. Ronald C,<sup>6</sup> asserts that the individual's desire-based work system can strengthen relationships between nurses and the elderly more closely. This is a major factor for British and Australian society to utilize nursing homes. In Japan,

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<sup>1</sup> In local society, aged people are referred to or addressed in highly various ways. Among the Sunda people, old men and women are called *kolot* and addressed as *aki* or *nini*, respectively, the aged in East Sumba are known as *maka weda* or *weda ndai*, the local terms among the Batak people for the male and female elderly are, respectively, *ompung doli* and *ompung boru*, and in Java the elderly are called *mbah* or *eyang*. See Alfian Miko, *Sosiologi Lansia: Pergeseran Pranata Penyantunan Lansia dalam Keluarga Minangkabau yang Berubah di Sumatera Barat* (Padang: Erka, 2017). Meanwhile, in the Lampung local society, male aged people are addressed as *sidi* or *bakas* while female ones are addressed as *andung*. According to BPS (*Badan Pusat Statistik* 'the Central Agency of Statistics), the ages classified as advanced are 65 years upwards.

<sup>2</sup> Cristina Victor, *The Social Context of Ageing* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Carol A. Miller, *Nursing for Wellness in Older Adults: Theory and Practice*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (Philadelphia: Lippincott, William and Wilkins, 2004), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Chen Ai Ju and Gavin Jones (eds.), *Ageing in ASEAN: Its Socioeconomic Consequences* (Singapura: ISEAS, 1990), p.39.

<sup>5</sup> Michael D. Fine, "Individualizing Care. The Transformation of Personal Support in Old Age, *Ageing and Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2013, p. 421-436.

<sup>6</sup> Chris Ronald, "I'm Still an Individual A Blueprint for the Rights of Residents in Nursing Homes and Hostels," *Issues Paper* (Canberra: Department of Community Services and Health, 1985), p. 169.

England, and Australia, the nursing homes for the elderly provided by the government.<sup>7</sup>

In Indonesia, the government has provided such facilities for elderly people, like *posyandu* (*pos pelayanan terpadu* 'integrated service post') and social security programs, religious, mental, and spiritual service to enhance their faith, and diverse nursing homes equipped with various facilities adapted to the needs of the aged. Though such varying facilities and resources have been provided by the government, Indonesian people have seemingly decided to nurse their aged in their own families. According to Nurus Sa'adah, it is caused by the great strength of the customary law or culture,<sup>8</sup> that caring elderly people is the responsibility of their child. Locating elderly people in a nursing home is considered as neglecting them.<sup>9</sup>

The decision of the elderly to live with their children is not merely based on customary law, but it is also based on religious values. According to Turner,<sup>10</sup> religion is a way of life that is believed to bring good to the lives of its followers, including the obligation of the children to care for their parents. This religious teaching formed moral responsibility and bind the children with their parents into intimate relationships.

In the ethnic groups in Indonesia, the aged's care becomes the responsibility of the family and especially of the children, for example, in the Lampung society. According to Sulistyowati Irianto and Risma Margaretha,<sup>11</sup> the Lampung customary law obliges the son (or oldest

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<sup>7</sup> Putri Ely, *Dinamika Lansia di Jepang* (Yogyakarta: Aswaja Pressindo, 2012), p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Nurus Sa'adah, "Menata Kehidupan Lansia: Suatu Langkah untuk Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Studi Pada Lansia Desa Mojolegi, Imogiri, Bantul, Yogyakarta)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi Agama*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2015, p. 49- 70.

<sup>9</sup> Miko, *Sosiologi Lansia ...*, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Briyan S. Turner, *Runtuhnya Universitas Sosiologi Barat, Bongkar Wacana Atas Islam vis a vis Barat, Orientalisme, Postmodernisme, dan Globalisme*, Trans. Sirojuddin Arif, et al (Yogyakarta: Al-Ruzz, 2008), p. 108.

<sup>11</sup> Sulistyowati Irianto and Risma Margaretha, "Piil Pesengiri: Modal Budaya Strategi Identitas Ulun Lampung," *Makara, Sosiologi dan Humaniora*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2011, p. 140-150.

son) to take care of the elderly, and very few children put their elderly family to the nursing homes. The eldest son has an important role in the family, they have regarded as *punyimbang* (replacement for the parent) in the family.

Some researches related to old people have been conducted. Putri Elsy,<sup>12</sup> in her research the aged in Japan, resulted that in past agrarian times, the elderly was given care at home so that the daughter-in-law becomes a servant to them. Tanaka Yukiko<sup>13</sup> shows that 60% of the Japanese women believe that live in the same house with their children is the right way, because their daughter-in-law would nurse them. Anne E. Imamura,<sup>14</sup> describe differently, that the Japanese aged tend to wish to be taken care of by their daughter because they have long lived together with her. The position of the daughter-in-law in the family is a newcomer, so that she requires adaptation when living together with the aged parent-in-law.

In other region, Michael D. Fine<sup>15</sup> examines the care of elderly people in Britain and in Australia who live in nursing homes. Even though the nursing care system uses an individual care model, some of the elderly feel uncomfortable because they would rather receive care from the family. In Indonesia, Machasin researches their life expectancy and religiosity,<sup>16</sup> Nurul Sa'adah's research was on old people's welfare in Java,<sup>17</sup> Marianti's research, far before that, was on the Javanese elderly living in Javanese cities, and Alfian Miko's research was on the change in the care of the Minang old.<sup>18</sup> A synthesis of those pieces of research is that the old need to receive care in the social, economic, cultural, and religious aspects. So that

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<sup>12</sup> Elsy, *Dinamika Lansia di Jepang ...*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Tanaka Yomiuri Shimibun, *Contemporary Portraits of Japanese Women* (London: Praeger, 1995), p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Anne E. Imamura, *Urban Japanese Housewife at Home and in the Community* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p. 96.

<sup>15</sup> Fine, *The Transformation of Personal Support ...*, p. 421-436.

<sup>16</sup> Machasin, "Religiusitas, Harapan Hidup dan Peran Dakwah pada Lansia," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, Vol. 33, No.1, 2017, p. 65-88.

<sup>17</sup> Sa'adah, "Menata Langkah Kehidupan Lansia: ...," p. 49-69.

<sup>18</sup> Miko, *Sosiologi Lansia ...*, p. 87.

they live properly, they require care given not only by the government but also by the family.

This article views the reality people of Lampung ethnicity embrace the culture of patriarchy, which places the son (or eldest son) in the central position, not only in the heirs but also has the responsibility of parent. Besides, the daughter-in-law, for Lampung people, also has an important role, in comparison with the biological daughter. In certain cases, the patriarchal culture positions the daughter as the one given more burden in the family. It is different in the case of the Lampung custom, while the patrilineal family system conducted, the people concerned that the son of the family was the most responsible for providing care for the old.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, among Lampung people, the involvement of the daughter-in-law in the family has the same role as that of the son in her used family. This is different with the practice of old people's care according to the Lampung custom from that according to the custom of other ethnic groups.

This article will describe the life of old people given care by their son and daughter-in-law according to the Lampung custom. The two old people's categories represent the customary law of Pepadun Lampung that the son (or eldest son) in the family is to be *penyimbang* in the eyes of that law. To analyze this problem, researcher use the interaction model developed by Huberman and Milles,<sup>20</sup> by compiling, reduction, analyzing data and the drawing the conclusion.

### **The Lampung Customs of the Pepadun**

Lampung, the region located at the island of Sumatra, besides being the home region of the indigenous ethnic group of the same name, is also inhabited by people from various other ethnic groups like the Javanese, the Bataks, the Minangs, and the Palembang people and even by the Chinese and Balinese ethnicity. Lampung ethnic

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<sup>19</sup> Mawardi R. Harirama, *Falsafah Adat/Budaya Lampung* (Bandar Lampung: Yayasan Pesirah Marga, 2004), p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> A.M. Huberman and M.B. Milles, "Data Management and Analysis Methods," in Denzin, K.N. and Loncoln, Y.S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage Publication, 1984), p. 428.

group is small in comparison with that of non-natives because the region is highly strategic as the one that functions as connector between the island of Java and the island of Sumatra<sup>21</sup>.

The inhabitants who belong to the Lampung ethnic group (*ulun lampung*) are those who are the natives of the region. They originated from two different lines of descent so that they are recognized as those implied in the expression *Sai Bumi Khua Jukbai*, which literally meaning is one region inhabited by two different bloodlines. The two lines are respectively called Pepadun and Saibatin, interpreted as respectively implying the ruler and the throne for the ruler's coronation. Though the two branches of the Lampung ethnic group is different, but they have similarities in custom. A similarity could be seen in their religion (Islam) and the philosophy of life called *Piil Pesenggiri*, which consists of *nemui nyimah*, *nengah nyampur*, *juluk beadek*, and *sakai sambaian*.<sup>22</sup> *Nemui nyimah* means that polite behavior towards guests is held high whatever their ethnicity, religion, or group, so friendly relation is closely maintained. *Nengah nyampur* means that Lampung people have associations with a wide range of people in society. *Bejuluk beadek* means that each Lampung individual getting married according to custom gets a honorary title, and *sakai sambaia* means that Lampung people with a wide range of social relations are to be given priority as those to have collaboration with.

In reference to the life philosophy of Lampung people, their openness and togetherness regardless of ethnicity, race, or group is their way in integrating social relations with a wide range of people in society. In fact, when a conflict has occurred, Lampung people often use local ways that are based on an elaboration of their philosophy of life<sup>23</sup>.

### **The Kinship System of the Pepadun Lampung People**

Traditional Pepadun Lampung people have groups in their

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<sup>21</sup> Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Lampung, 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Irianto and Margaretha, "*Piil Pesenggiri: ...*," p. 140-150.

<sup>23</sup> Hadi Pranoto and Agus Wibowo, "Identifikasi Nilai Kearifan Lokal Fiil Pesenggiri dan Perannya dalam Pelayanan Konseling Lintas Budaya," *Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling Indonesia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2018, p. 36-42.

family system<sup>24</sup>.

### 1. Kinship groups related by blood

First, the *warei* group consists of children of the same parents with lines drawn upwards and aside to include unmarried sisters or siblings of their *datuk* (grandfather) following the male line of descent. Second, the group of *apak kemaman* consists of all the father's brothers (uncles to the said children) whether they are of the same parents or the same *datuk* or brother *datuks* (grandfathers) following the male line of descent. In relation with this group of *apak kemaman*, *punyimbang* has the right to ask them for advice and opinions and the obligation to take care of them and look after their interests. Conversely, the group of *apak kemaman* have the right to take care of and the oblige to give advice to the *adek-warai* group, which consists of all the brothers of *punyimbang* whether they are already married or not. The children's group consists of children of biological parents. They have the position of being heirs and being those to replace their parents or their biological father.

### 2. Kinship groups related by marriage

This kinship relation is binding between *punyimbang* and members of the *lebu* group (brothers of the mother and their descendants), the *laku* group (brothers of the grandmother and their descendants), the *benulung* group (daughters of aunts and their descendants), the *kenubi* group (cousins of the mother), the *persabaian* group (the kinship resulting from *punyimbang*'s marriage, covering the parents-in-law and their relatives), and the *mirul-mengijyan* (married sisters and their husbands) and *marau* (brothers- and sisters-in-law) groups.

### 3. Kinship groups related by the *Mewarei* custom

This kinship appears because there are cases of a Lampung family in which the husband-and-wife pair does not have any son. According to the Lampung custom, the son is the one to continue the

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<sup>24</sup> Anisa Tanjung Sari, "Kedudukan Anak Laki-laki Tertua dari Hasil Perkawinan Leviraat dalam Hukum Waris Adat Masyarakat Lampung Pepadun," *Disertation*, Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, 2005, p. 25.

family's bloodline so that his presence is greatly longed for. However, if it is already impossible for a Lampung family to naturally have a son, they would adopt a son in accordance with Lampung custom.

*Mewarei* is the custom of getting a son or brother from outside. Among Lampungs, adopting a boy as one's own son or adopting a boy as a brother is frequently done to strengthen brotherhood. Adopted son or adopted brother is done through ceremonial process and witnessed by custom figures and custom assembly of representatives. If the status as adopted son or adopted brother is acknowledged by the custom assembly, the boy be part of the Lampung family and he could become *punyimbang*. In that way, the boy has the right to be an heir and replace his adopted father.

### **The Marriage of the Pepadun Lampung People**

Lampung people have customs in choosing a couple because for them making a family is not only for continuing the family line but also for preserving the continuity of Lampung people's customs. Therefore, marrying someone from the same ethnicity is recommended for the Pepadun Lampung family. It is to anticipate various sorts of domestic conflicts in result of the occurrence of difference in principle of life which finally ends up with divorce. That is why Lampung people make efforts to marry their son to a Lampung girl in order that the Lampung customary rules are not lost<sup>25</sup>.

The first consideration in choosing a couple is the religion, because Lampung people were Muslim. Besides, the line of descent, the background of grandparents and parents becomes matters that are paid attention to. Thus, choosing a partner for life is not only a matter for the individual; instead, it becomes a matter for the whole expanded family and especially those on the father's line. Thus, the process of choosing a lifelong mate, from the very beginning, already involves the family and especially the boy's family. Therefore, there

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<sup>25</sup> Tesar Ersandra, "Kedudukan Anak Angkat pada Masyarakat Adat Lampung Pepadun Siwo Migo Buai Subing Studi di Kecamatan Terbangi Besar Lampung Tengah, Lampung," *Thesis*, Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, 2019, p. 64.

are some stages in the process of the mate choosing for people of the Pepadun Lampung custom<sup>26</sup>. The following are stages conducted by the boy's side in the process of family forming.

*First*, *nindai* or *nyubuk* is the initial process conducted by the prospective bridegroom's side to learn the condition of the prospective bride. Together with family representatives, he would come to the place where she lives to know directly the condition of her family. They would see the physical and behavioral aspects of the girl.

*Second*, the stage of *benlib-ulih* ('asking'), the groom-to-be asks the bride-to-be questions about matters concerning her family's line of descent like what the names of her parents are, where they come from, and what their morals and religiosity are like. The questions are addressed directly to the bride-to-be or through parties who know matters concerning her family.

*Third*, the *bekadu* stage, indicating the relation between the two is getting increasingly closer because they have found compatibility in lineage, behavior, and religion. In this stage, the prospective groom's family come to the house of the prospective bride, bringing with them various food and drinks. In the encounter, the visitors' intention of obtaining blessings from the bride-to-be's family is uttered. In addition, both sides also make an agreement concerning the day on which they would conduct the wedding process.

*Fourth*, *seimbangan* stage, the bride-to-be announces that she goes along in being "taken away on the run" by leaving a letter telling that the groom-to-be is the husband-to-be of her own choice. Besides the letter, she also leaves some money for his family. However, the custom of *seimbangan* is already starting to fade because it is often misinterpreted as seemingly taking away the prospective bride on the run by force. That custom has been replaced with a marriage proposal openly witnessed by both families. In the occasion of the proposal, it is expressed that the process would hopefully be soon followed with a determination of the wedding day, often called *peradu rasan* by the local community.

*Fifth*, the wedding ceremony is customarily performed in the

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with religious leaders, July 13, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

groom's place. However, if the bride desires that it be conducted at her home, it is not a problem. The prospective groom would first give his wedding-day gift to the prospective bride in accordance with her request. Usually the gift is in the form of a set of worship clothes or an amount of gold whose weight depends on the man's economic condition<sup>27</sup>.

However, the ceremony according to cultural custom is conducted at the groom's place. The couple would be given ceremonial titles after getting married. Some of such titles which are often used are *suttan*, *pangiran*, *radin*, and *raja* for men while women are often given the title of *ratu* and *pimpinan*. The title giving is done by the elders authorized in matters of custom<sup>28</sup>.

After getting married, the husband-and-wife pair is obligated to live at the husband's house. At this stage, the daughter-in-law of an elderly couple has become the mistress of the house in her man's family, with a role replacing that of her mother-in-law's. For the woman (as daughter-in-law), her man's family are hers now and her own parents are no longer her parents. After she gets married, her status as a girl (or *mirul*) of Lampung descent causes her to become her parents-in-law's daughter<sup>29</sup>.

According to the Lampung custom, the only or eldest son in the family receives special treatments like being allowed to stay at his parents' house to live there with them after getting married. Meanwhile, the position of the daughter-in-law becomes an important one in her new family. The daughter-in-law takes over the family matters, which include matters of running the household. Even in social matters, the daughter-in-law plays an important part<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Harirama, *Falsafah Adat/Budaya Lampung ...*, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Lampung traditional leaders, July 13, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Lampung traditional leader, July 24, 2018 in Bandar Lampung city.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with youth from the Lampung tribe, July 26, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

## **The Son, Daughter-in-Law, and Elderly in Lampung**

According to the Pepadun Lampung custom, inheritance distribution given to the sons adheres to the Islamic teachings, which is shared when the parents are still alive. It is to ensure that their children accept the portions of the inheritance given to them sincerely. It seems that, to a Pepadun Lampung son, inheritance is a symbol of appreciation given to a son. Even if the share given to a son is not considerable, it does not reduce the responsibility for providing care for the aged<sup>31</sup>.

The Lampung elderly do not wish to depend on their sons for their living, but the Lampung custom binds them to doing it. The cases of the two elderly Lampung individuals who became main informants in the research represent the life of the aged Lampung people. They are referred to respectively here as Aged Persons A and B. Both have the educational background of the elementary school level. They have the status of housewives and both have sons. They are respectively categorized as aged person living together with a son and aged person not living together with a son<sup>32</sup>.

### **The Son's Responsibility towards the Elderly**

#### **1. The decision to live together with the son**

Aged person A is a widow 65 years old. She has five children, three sons and two daughters. Two years after her first child son married, her husband died at the age of 68 years. According to Pepadun custom, for oldest son, the parent's house (*nua tuba*) is belong to him. If he would leave this house, he should have his parents' permission. The decision to live together with the aged person has been considered after he got married. All brothers and sisters were involved in the discussion to decide the place for their newly-married brother to live in. The purpose of involving those members of the family is to inform that there was new family that

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with the elderly of the Lampung tribe, August 1, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with aged person of the Lampung tribe, August 1, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

would live together with them and also use the various facilities in their house<sup>33</sup>.

There is no change in the house inhabited by the two families. Her other children then got married one after another and left the house to follow their husband or wife. Thus, Aged Person A lives with her eldest son and her family.

## 2. Daily needs

Before Aged-Person A's husband died, she did not rely on her children for her living because her husband had plantation of pepper, coffee, and rubber. However, after he died, there was no one that could take care of the plantation, so she decided to sell it to meet her daily needs and pay the cost of her children's education. Since then, she depends on her life on her eldest son<sup>34</sup>.

The household chores and the fulfillment of her needs have been done by her daughter-in-law, from the financial management to making decision in the household matters. All the activities from going shopping to the market, choosing the menu for meals, and cooking are done by the daughter-in-law. while Aged Person A merely submits to whatever has been decided by her. The food that she cooks adjusts to the eating pattern that her mother-in-law and her children are accustomed to. In fact, she even cooks as requested by her mother-in-law or her husband's brothers or sisters. She does it without feeling any state of being forced because, as daughter-in-law, she is responsible for fulfilling the needs of all members of the family that she has joined<sup>35</sup>.

Usually the daughter-in-law would prepare dishes that are characteristically in accordance with the Pepadun Lampung custom with the dominance of processed fresh fish. Because of any prohibited food, the Aged Person A's food consumption is different from that for the other family members. On the face of such matter, the daughter-in-law prepares two menus of dishes, one menu for Aged-Person A and another for the other family members.

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<sup>33</sup> Interview with aged Person A, August 1, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Interview with daughter-in-law, August 1, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

### 3. Health

The health of the aged person have been responsible of her son's family, who aware of her condition. They take medical precautions by taking the aged person to the doctor routinely. The Lampung aged also use herbal medicines which are made by the daughter-in-law each day. When the aged person requires medical care and has to hospitalized, members of the family are involved in the care of the aged.

When aged person A is sick, all family also feel suffer. For the children (or, more precisely, grandchildren), the grandmother is their daily companion because there is no one else at home to keep them during working hours. The feeling of missing the absent of grandmother seems to appear not only in the children but also in the daughter-in-law who has dedicated herself to her every day.

### 4. Social and religious activities

The social activities done by Aged Person A are continuations of those that she has pursued all this time. The monthly and weekly *pengajian* (religious activity) are the routine activities that she takes part in. The activities are conducted in the mosque. Such religious activities also conducted in members' homes in rotation. There the group members in turns recite parts of the holy book. These activities were conducted once a month at members' homes consecutively according to an agenda that the members have agreed upon.

In participating in the activities, Aged Person A is always accompanied by her daughter-in-law, so a friend of the aged person also a friend of the daughter-in-law's simultaneously. So do the activities of the aged person there simultaneously become the activities of the daughter-in-law. That is why if the daughter-in-law is not present, the other participants in the social activities would miss her.

## The Aged Person Living Alone

### 1. The decision to live alone

Aged Person B is a housewife of 65 years of age who has been left by her husband since his death in 2008. She has nine children consisting of four sons and five daughters. Her first son already got

married when her husband was still alive. Besides, five of her other children are also already married. She is still responsible for only three of her children but they already have steady jobs in the same city.

Aged Person B has enough left to her from her late husband in the form of rubber, *duku* fruit, and coffee plantation. The *duku* fruit and coffee plantation bring income routinely once a year. Meanwhile, what is harvested from the rubber plantation could turn into weekly and even daily income. Therefore, there is no financial problem for Aged Person B. She does not intend to move from her house; moreover, there are still many relatives around her dwelling.

Long before her husband died, he had agreed with her to pair their first son with a girl who was a daughter of a neighbor who was same as them culturally, because they were fellow Pepadun Lampung people. Their wedding was conducted according to the religion and the state requires. In front of Aged Person B's house, there is a house that was built by her second son, who works as entrepreneur, with a wife of Minang descent and three children. Among Aged Person B's children, he is the only one who lives in the same city. Therefore, his relationship with her is closer than that of her other children, who live far away.

Meanwhile, her children who are not married yet work in a different city and they come home to meet her only once a week so that day after day she lives alone at the big house with ten rooms, with the assistance of only one servant or housekeeper who has served her loyally for ten years. Every day Aged Person B still does her activities as usual in taking care of the household and also in managing the workers who look after the orchards.

Such a way of life for the aged person makes it possible for her to more freely decide her daily activities. However, her close relatives always keep watch and monitor her daily activity. The oldest son was always visited her every day and specially in religious holidays like Idul Fitri and Idul Adha. The length of the visiting time depends on what chance is available. On Idul Fitri and Idul Adha, he would usually come in the early hours in order to arrive before other relatives. In

leave-taking, he would usually go home after the others. It is done to show his sense of responsibility to the other relatives<sup>36</sup>.

## 2. Health

Aged Person B, who lives alone at home, has a great responsibility for herself. The reason is that none of the grown children could accompany her every day. When she is ill, she also makes the decision to have medical treatment herself. The responsibility for transporting herself to the nearest health centers is, without exception, also hers, though close relatives could give assistance. However, everything would be different when she requires care at a larger hospital because then she would involve her eldest son.

In such a case, the son takes over all the responsibility of the aged person's, including in deciding the hospital and the doctor to refer to. It is up to him whether to hold a discussion with the others or not. What happened to Aged Person B was that once she suffered from high blood pressure which led to a stroke and the decision to take her to a hospital to get medical treatment was her eldest son's. As stated by the following informants:

“Even though the mother does not live with us, I am responsible for all cost and care during her illness, because all of that is actually my duty as a boy in my family.”<sup>37</sup>

Though at the hospital adequate facilities were provided, she remained being assisted by her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law would always remain on watch at the hospital as long as the aged person was hospitalized. In addition, the daughter-in-law would also assist her after her return from the hospital, by doing activities like accompanying her when having a checkup and purchasing the medicine for her and paying for the place and accommodations and even the treatment during the patients' stay at the hospital. All those

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with aged person B's son, August 1, 2018 in Kota Bumi, North Lampung.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with aged person B's son, August 8, 2018 in Kota Bumi, North Lampung.

were done by the daughter-in-law under her coordination with her husband, Aged Person B's son.

### 3. Social life

In social interaction, the aged person living alone at her own house, has own circles that have long been formed. Routine *pengajians* held once a month or once a week and an *arisan* (closed lottery group with money pooled from members won in turns in meetings rotated at members' homes) are the forms of meetings always attended. In addition, other social occasions like wedding, birth celebration, and even funeral are also always attended. She does those activities together with the daughter-in-law. Even when for some reason she could not be present in such gatherings, the daughter-in-law would still come by herself to attend such social occasions.

In the social gatherings, the presence of the aged person indicates her ability and her wish to still be with other members of her community but the presence of the daughter-in-law is considered compulsory by the community members around her. The reason is that the presence of the daughter-in-law together with the aged person indicates that the relationship is good between the two, so there are no suspicions in the local community that the aged person is neglected by her daughter-in-law or that the daughter-in-law is not accepted or recognized by the aged person<sup>38</sup>.

In the routine *pengajian* and *arisan* gatherings held at Aged Person B's house, all the services would be given by the daughter-in-law. Tasks ranging from determining the day and date of the activity, taking care of the place and refreshments, and even welcoming the *pengajian* or *arisan* participants are done by the daughter-in-law herself. It becomes an honor by itself for the daughter-in-law because in that way her presence at Aged Person B's house is recognized and acknowledged by her and the other social group members. Besides, the services given by the daughter-in-law are often turned into Aged Person B's way in showing the cleverness of a daughter-in-law in

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with aged person B, August 1, 2018, in Bandar Lampung City.

managing a household. That is why Aged Person B would not use anyone's service other than her daughter-in-law's<sup>39</sup>.

### **The Islamic Law of the Son's Responsibility in the Care of the Aged Person**

Though it is not specifically mentioned in the written law that old people's care is regulated by law, for Pepadun people, such matter is already regulated in their customary law. According to Ade Maman Suherman,<sup>40</sup> customary law is the law that originates in the habits of the local community which continue to live as manifestation of the people's sensibility. Thus, customary law is as strong as written law in the matter of old people's care and both of them stand in harmony.<sup>41</sup>

The patriarchal system indicates that there are several options in the typology concerning who is responsible for the nursing of the old. In the case of the Javanese, for example, the youngest daughter is the one who is responsible for nursing the old. In Minang is different, though the family system is regulated matrilineally, the matter of old people's care is not regulated by customary law so that not rarely are there Minangs who submit their parents into old people's homes to be given care<sup>42</sup>. Such cases indicate that old people's care differs.

According to Pepadun Lampung customary law, any daughter in the family is not given any authority to give care to the older family member because a Lampung daughter, also known locally as *mirul*, would get married and leave her parents, so that her husband's family becomes her family. In her husband's family, even where he is not the oldest son, as daughter-in-law, she may have a more important part to play. It is shown in the case of the two Aged Persons A and B. Though Aged Person B lives at her home alone, such matters of household management as her health, daily need service, and socio-

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with aged person B, August 1, 2018 in Bandar Lampung City.

<sup>40</sup> Ade Maman Suherman, *Pengantar Perbandingan Sistem Hukum* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2012), p. 224.

<sup>41</sup> Murdan, "Harmonisasi Hukum Adat, Agama, dan Negara dalam Budaya Perkawinan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia Belakangan," *Asy-Syir'ah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah dan Hukum*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2016, p. 505-535.

<sup>42</sup> Miko, *Sosiologi Lansia ...*, p. 104.

religious activities are the tasks and responsibility of the daughter-in-law.

The case of the Lampung old according to custom differs from that indicated in studies on the old in Japan. For the Japanese old, a daughter-in-law does not have any important part to play; she is even made to serve as servant. Parents-in-law have the right to break the marriage ties of their son (and force a divorce) if the daughter-in-law could not get into his family. In this matter, the daughter-in-law does not have any important role. The same thing happens in India, with the daughter-in-law having no strong bargaining position in front of her parents-in-law.<sup>43</sup>

However, it is not so among the Pepadun Lampungs, with the daughter-in-law having an important role, because the son is the one who is to replace the father so that for dealing with domestic matters he would give full authority to his wife. In that way, both the son and the daughter-in-law have important roles in the aged's family caring. The son is even contested in Lampung culture as *punyimbang* who would replace the aged in many matters, not only in the life of the old as in the case of the two aged Lampung persons, Aged Persons A and B, but also in bearing a considerably greater responsibility, namely, that of getting a sister married, as what happened in the case of Aged Person A.

Therefore, according to Pepadun Lampung custom, the son is not obligated to leave his parents' home, in line with what is expressed in the local language as *nua tuba*, which means that though he owns a house and dwells at his own house, he would return to his former home to dedicate his service to his parents. It is in line with the opinion expressed by Chici Rima Putri Pratama<sup>44</sup> that the child is the parents' future because the child is on whom the parents first become dependents when they get old. Besides, according to Etty

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<sup>43</sup> Serena Nanda and Johan Gregg, *The Gift of a Bride a Tale of Anthropology, Matrimony and Murder* (New York: Altamira Press, 2009), p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> Chici Rima Putri Pratama, *Value Children dalam Budaya Adat: Eksistensi Anak Laki-Laki pada Suku Komering, An Nisa: Kajian Gender dan Anak*, Vol 12, No. 01, 2017, p. 89-98.

Padmiati and Kissumi Diyanayati<sup>45</sup> the culture that is deeply rooted in society is the obligation for the children to give the old lifelong care.

The majority of the Lampung tribe embraced Islam, where Islamic values teach every child other than having the right to get love from parents, also has an obligation to respect by being loyal to them throughout life. That value seems to be internalized in Lampung children, especially boys who traditionally have an obligation to support their parents. This shows that the family has an important role in the care of the elderly. Referring to Ananda Ruth Naftali, et.al<sup>46</sup>, for the elderly, the family has function to provide comfort for their life because of obtaining care, economic security, motivating for meaningful life and facilities to fulfill spiritual needs. Therefore, the elderly who have families, especially boys, prefer to be supported by the family.

In the Islamic law, the boys have a large responsibility in the family. This can be seen in the practice of Lampungnese customs, the boys have the responsibility of caring for the elderly, both elderly living together or living separately with the boys. Both cases show that the boys play a big role in the family, especially in taking care of the elderly. Thus, the practice of elderly care carried out by Lampungnese customs has been harmonious between customary and religious law, because the religion asks the boys to take a large responsibility caring for both parents and the Lampungnese boys have done.

## Conclusion

Elderly care has been facilitated by the government with a nursing home that has complete facilities according to the needs of the elderly. However, no matter how complete the facilities at a nursing home are, the elderly still choose to live with their biological children. This is because culturally speaking, children who are successors of the offspring have responsibilities to their parents.

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<sup>45</sup> Etty Padmiati and Kissumi Diyanayati, "Pelayanan Sosial Lanjut Usia dalam Keluarga," *Jurnal PKS*, Vol 14, No. 3, 20 15, p. 329-324.

<sup>46</sup> Ananda Ruth Naftalia, et al, "Kesehatan Spiritual dan Kesiapan Lansia dalam Menghadapi Kematian," *Buletin Psikologi*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2017, p. 124 -135.

Therefore, putting the elderly into a nursing home is the same as neglecting the parents. In addition, religious teachings that require children to be devoted to their parents have encouraged elderly support to be carried out by biological children.

The care of old people in several ethnic groups that embrace the patrilineal family system has been regulated by customs that become laws that are not written but practiced by society from generation to generation. The Lampung customary law regulates the responsibility of the son in the family in relation with the care of the old, with the son, in practice, being assisted by the daughter-in-law in the family so that her role is not less important in old people's care. In that way, the son contributes to the care of old people, which, in practice, is framed by common law. Meanwhile, the religion asks the boys to responsible for the family. Thus, there has been a harmonization between customary and religious law in terms of the practice of elderly care carried out by the Lampungnese.

This research is limited to elderly support which is carried out by their own families, in accordance with the Lampung custom and internalized Islamic teachings regarding elderly sponsorship. However, along with changes that occur in society, it is possible for the elderly in Lampung to be supported in nursing homes. This study on the elderly in Lampung at a nursing home has become an interesting discussion to describe the changes in the indigenous people of Lampung.

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