

DOUBLE-BURDENED AND MARGINALIZED WOMEN Patriarchal Dominance in the Development in Padang Lawas, North Sumatera

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Abstract

Village Law Number 6 of 2014 stipulates the principles of participation, equality, and empowerment to make women subordinate in village development. This discourse cannot be separated from the role of the Batak Angkola Padang Lawas community, which is deeply committed to the patriarchal system. Women who work in development must face this well-established wall of old social construction. The study intends to investigate the reasons why women are marginalized in this development agenda. The data was gathered through documentation and interviews. Based on the patriarchal theory of Walby, it is safe to say that the construction of women's positions in village development in Padang Lawas is a manifestation of constructed patriarchal culture, which has long been part of Batak culture. Women's "lower education" than men's places them in an unfavorable position. The patriarchal dominance in the clan structure and dual roles as housewives perpetuate and gloss over this poignancy on a daily basis.

[Undang-Undang Desa Nomor 6 Tahun 2014 mengatur prinsip partisipasi, kesetaraan, dan pemberdayaan untuk menjadikan perempuan tersubordinasi dalam pembangunan desa. Wacana ini tidak lepas dari peran masyarakat Batak Angkola Padang Lawas yang sangat kental dengan sistem patriarki. Perempuan yang bekerja dalam pembangunan harus menghadapi tembok konstruksi sosial lama yang sudah mapan ini. Studi ini bermaksud untuk menyelidiki alasan mengapa perempuan terpinggirkan dalam agenda pembangunan dalam konteks Desa Padang Lawas. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui dokumentasi dan wawancara. Berdasarkan teori patriarki ala Walby, dapat dikatakan bahwa posisi perempuan dalam pembangunan desa di Padang Lawas merupakan wujud dari konstruksi budaya

patriarki yang telah lama menjadi bagian dari budaya Batak. "Pendidikan perempuan yang lebih rendah" daripada laki-laki menempatkan mereka pada posisi yang tidak menguntungkan. Dominasi patriarki dalam struktur klan dan peran ganda sebagai ibu rumah tangga mengabadikan dan memoles kepedihan ini setiap hari.]

Keywords

Double-burdened, patriarchal dominance, rural development, women's marginalization

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Introduction

The role of women in gender-oriented development as an integral part of national development has an important meaning for realizing gender equality and justice between men and women in life and development. In their position as development subjects, men and women have the same role in planning, implementing, monitoring, and enjoying the results of development.¹ Village law number 6 of 2014 stipulates the principles of participation, equality, and empowerment, article 26 number 4 letter e Law number 6 of 2014 that the village head is obliged to carry out a democratic and gender-equality life.

¹ Harmona Daulay and T Ilham Saladin, "Resilience of Women Leaders as Village Heads in Patriarchal Culture (Eco-Feminist Analysis)," in *2nd International Conference on Social and Political Development (ICOSOP 2017)* (Atlantis Press, 2017), 144–49, <https://doi.org/10.2991/icosop-17.2018.22>.

Article 63 letter b states that members of the village consultative body are required to carry out a gender-equality democratic life in the administration of village government. Article 54 of the village law number 1 that village meetings are deliberative forums that are attended by village consultative bodies, village government, and elements of the village community.²

Faqih explained that in this digital era, there was a change in the pattern of traditional feudal society to modern urbanism, which Spencer called a social Darwinist.³ This theory influences modern thinking about development, that a non-industrial, primitive, poor society will evolve into a more complex and cultured industrial society. According to this theory, the source of the problem is tradition. Gender injustice manifested in various ways, i.e. marginalization of development, exclusion from education, politics, economy, longer workload and heavier (*burden*), negative labeling (stereotypes), and victims of violence (*violence*).⁴ Discrimination against women is strengthened by the existence of legitimacy from those who use the structural-functional school in examining gender. This flow assumes that the family is the smallest system in sociology.⁵

Gender differences are considered to be God's natural or biological provisions that cannot be changed so that gender differences are understood as the nature of men and women.⁶ This point of view arose because of the customs of the patriarchal system within looking at men and women so there are difficulties distinguishing the nature of women with cultural construction (femininity). The nature of women is menstruation, pregnancy, giving birth, and breastfeeding. Whereas femininity is activities that are produced from culture and domesticated. Based on the background above regarding the concept of marginalization, it can be concluded the definition of marginalization is a process that

² Novri Susan and Tuti Budirahayu, "Village Government Capacity in the Implementation of Village Law No. 6 of 2015 in Indonesia," in *Sustainable Future for Human Security: Society, Cities and Governance* (Springer, 2018), 17–27, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-5433-4_2; Hans Antlöv, Anna Wetterberg, and Leni Dharmawan, "Village Governance, Community Life, and the 2014 Village Law in Indonesia," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 52, no. 2 (2016): 161–83, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2015.1129047>; V E L Jacqueline, Yando Zakaria, and Adriaan Bedner, "Law-Making as a Strategy for Change: Indonesia's New Village Law," *Asian Journal of Law and Society* 4, no. 2 (2017): 447–71, <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2017.21>.

³ Mansour Faqih, *Analisa Gender Transformasi Sosial, Yogyakarta:(It)* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1996).

⁴Tenu Permana and Indra Maulana, "Marginalisasi Perempuan Dalam Cerpen 'Inem' Karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Sebuah Kajian Feminisme)," *Jurnal Salaka: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Budaya Indonesia* 2, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.33751/jsalaka.v2i1.1837>.

⁵ Ratna Megawangi, *Membiarkan Berbeda?: Sudut Pandang Baru Tentang Relasi Gender* (ATF Press, 1999).

⁶ Faqih, *Analisa Gender Transformasi Sosial*.

Double-Burdened and Marginalized Women

marginalizes the role of women so that women are unable to act, express, and actualize themselves because of the role of women geared toward male domination.

The Village Development Planning Consultation Forum (Musrenbangdes) does not make women's representation a prerequisite for participation.⁷ Neglecting the role of women has placed women in a weak position, for example in the field of education, an impartial culture, and an understanding of religious interpretations that tend to be gender biased so that women are increasingly cornered and have a vulnerable position. The role of women in village development is often doubted because they are considered inadequate and incapable.⁸

The existence of the role of women in Hadungdung Pintu Padang Village only works in the domestic sector. In terms of leadership, women cannot occupy government positions starting from the Village Consultative Council (BPD), village apparatus, and the village head. The role of women in development aspects is very low, starting from the construction of village facilities, making decisions in village meetings, planning village fund management, social politics, and religion. Data from the Central Statistics Agency for 2020, the female population in the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang is 370 people and the male population is 366. The reality is women do not dominate participation in development planning, especially village development.

Based on this explanation this study aims to describe the forms of women's marginalization in village development in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, Padang Lawas. The study of the marginalization of women in rural development seeks to reveal the existence of conditions of agreement from hegemonic inferior groups that cause this patriarchal ideology to persist and to subordinate women in the public sphere. This study used a descriptive-qualitative method, aiming to describe and analyze the marginalization of women in village development in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, Padang Lawas. The steps taken in the research include collecting data, documentation, and interviews. To analyze the phenomenon of marginalization of women in rural development, the author uses the patriarchal theory by Walby, according to which patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices where men dominate, oppress and exploit women. The use of the term social

⁷ Andi Nurhalimah, "Partisipasi Kaum Perempuan Dalam Perencanaan Pengelolaan Dana Desa," *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara (JUAN)* 6, no. 2 (2018): 35–54.

⁸ Michael P Todaro and Stephen C Smith, *PEMBANGUNAN EKONOMI, Edisi 9, Jilid 1* (Erlangga, 2006).

structure is important because it implies the rejection of biological determinism and the proposition that every individual man is always in a dominant position and women are subordinate.⁹

The concept of patriarchy is indispensable to understanding gender inequality in development.¹⁰ Walby mapped the six patriarchal structures that make up the patriarchal system as one of the studies of patriarchal power relations in social life.¹¹ The six structures are patriarchal modes of production, patriarchal relations in wage employment, patriarchal state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal culture. This research approach uses the approach of gender and development (GAD) which emerged in the 1980s. This approach appears to analyze all aspects of life and work carried out by women, both productive and reproductive, in the private and public spheres. The approach is built on the impact of development on both men and women and encourages equal participation of both men and women in development. This approach emphasizes the equality of benefits and control in everyday life. GAD traces the roots of discrimination in race, class, colonial history, and the position of the state in the international economic order and does not emphasize women's issues specifically, but how gender relations give rise to different divisions of roles, responsibilities, and expectations between men and women, thus harming Woman. The focus of GAD is the social relations between men and women in society and concerns access to and control over resources and power.¹²

Forms of marginalization of women in village development are studied based on the concept of patriarchal structure initiated by Walby. The structure of patriarchy includes the practice of patriarchal rule in the field of work with wages and control patriarchy in the country, the reign of patriarchy in the field of culture, and patriarchal modes of production (domestic field). According to Kramarae and feminist theorists, women are often not taken into account in society, especially in the area of development. Women's thoughts are not

⁹ Sylvia Walby, "Theorizing Patriarchy//Review," *Canadian Woman Studies* 13, no. 4 (1993): 135; Febi Rizki Ramadhan, "Kekerasan Itu Katarsis Dari Patriarkil': Resistensi Pada Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Dalam Praktik Gerakan Sosial Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru," *Antropologi Indonesia* 38, no. 2 (2017): 80.

¹⁰ Abeda Sultana, "Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis," *Arts Faculty Journal*, 2010, 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.3329/afj.v4i0.12929>.

¹¹ Dewi Candraningrum, in <https://www.jurnalperempuan.org/blog/dewi-candraningrum-karirpatriarki> published on 30 December 2014, accessed on 12 February 2022.

¹² Jane S Jaquette, "Women/Gender and Development: The Growing Gap between Theory and Practice," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 52 (2017): 242–60, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-017-9248-8>.

valued at all. When women contribute to development in the village it is only limited to administrative formalities on paper. Power relations constructed by men tend not to benefit women. The language created by men is interpreted with pretensions, does not respect, and excludes women.¹³

This practice is not very gendered, because it is clear in Article 26 number 4 letter e of Law number 6 of 2014 that the Village Head is obliged to carry out a democratic and gender-just life, is obliged to carry out a gender-just democratic life in the administration of Village Government. This law is strict and binds all components of government at the central and regional levels to carry out village development programs seriously. Talking about women, especially in the Angkola Batak culture, cannot be separated from the role of men, because in reality there is a division of roles between the two in the midst of family, society, and country. The division of roles between men and women is the result of cultural determinations in each ethnic group so there will be different roles between men and women in different tribes. So it can be understood that the role of women in the Angkola Batak society in contemporary times is the result of the formation and determination of the Angkola Batak culture itself.

In research in the field, the authors found data that there is inequality of women in the social reality of society both in the domestic and public spheres. Departing from the framework mentioned, below are several factors in which women are marginalized in village development in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, Padang Lawas Regency.

Marginalization of Women in the Wages of Work

Ziegenhain said that Southeast Asian women do not have the same access as men in many aspects such as the education system, health care, jobs, and capital as well as land. In the political field, women also do not have access to power that is not equal to men. In Southeast Asian countries there are some differences in terms of culture, religion, and social status. According to Ziegenhain, there is a relationship or connection between economic status and the situation of gender equality in Southeast Asia. Data on the birth of women in Southeast Asia, women who develop tend to have fewer children, for example, in Singapore the figure reaches 1.3, quite small compared to the Philippines and Indonesia.

¹³ E M Griffin, *A First Look at Communication Theory* (McGraw-hill, 2006).

In Indonesia, the figure reached 2.4, in the Philippines 3.1, and in Timor Leste, it reached more than 5. In the field of education, more developed countries such as Singapore and Malaysia have more women who are educated. In developed countries, there are more women who continue their education.¹⁴

Based on Gender Indicator data for Padang Lawas Regency 2018, there is still a gender gap in the implementation of the compulsory education program in schools based on gender and age group. The results of the 2018 Susenas, that at the level of education still in school at all levels of education, men are always higher than women. However, the biggest difference only occurs at the level of junior high school education, where the percentage of the male population is 1% greater than the female population. At the no longer schooling level, the percentage of the female population is higher than the percentage of the male population. Then the number of people aged 15 years and over who were illiterate was 0.10% for men and 0.48% for women. In the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang, school participation at the high school level for girls and boys is not much different. The male group only excelled in the 13-15 year age group with a slight difference. Meanwhile, in the age group 7-12 and 16-18 years, women dominate school participation.¹⁵ In higher education, the number of women attending college is lower than that of men. Women are not prioritized to continue their studies at tertiary institutions because women are second in the family and economic factors are also the reason why women do not continue to a higher level.¹⁶ Then the Hadungdung Pintu Padang community gave a different opinion which shows whatever the education of women, their main future is domestic.¹⁷

Women's duties are of the view that their nature is in the kitchen, well and caring for children. Women's participation in development is greatly supported by several important indicators which serve as barometers in determining the level of women's participation in increasing regional development. Women's participation in village development can be

¹⁴ Quoted from the 10th Women Gathering Journal Friends Discussion with the theme "Tradition, Customs and Equality Politics", one of the speakers was Patrick Ziegenhain, Southeast Asian Women's Politics: Challenges and the Future, p. 10. (Women's Journal Foundation, Saturday 21 March 2015, 09.00-12.00).

¹⁵ Padang Lawas District Gender Indicator 2018, p. 27-29.

¹⁶ Interview with the Hadungdung Pintu Padang community, Zakaria Pohan on September 29 2020

¹⁷ Interview with the community of Hadungdung Pintu Padang, Hasnah Susiati Pohan on October 28, 2020.

measured in real terms, seeing how far the role of women is in development. Based on the explanation above, the scope of those affected by the results of decisions or development processes, everyone is involved in the Hadungdung Pintu Padang village development project process. Women's participation in the village is only prioritized in the health area, while in other public domains, there is no women's participation. This was reinforced by village officials who said that it is not true that women work only in the house. There is some field in society which is dominated by women, such as work of healthcare. In full redaction, the official state:

Women's work other than parties and cooking? In Posyandu it's a woman's right, immunization is a woman's role. Indeed, there are around 5 women formed in *posyandu* (integrated health service). Currently, it is still active from the village head's decree and is active until now. So, the role of women is prioritized in the health sector.¹⁸

Marginalization of Women in the State Area

Factually, women are faced with the issue of the opportunity to gain access and be involved in the formulation and implementation of development policies. Public construction assumes the role of women only as housewives, thus reducing women's rights and opportunities which ultimately reinforces forms of gender inequality and injustice in all fields of development.¹⁹ Gender injustice occurs in various aspects of life in society, the state, and even religion. Gender inequality in society depends on the economic structure and social organization of a particular society and on the culture of certain groups in society.²⁰ Is it true that women in Padang Lawas society are marginalized in development? In research in the field, the authors found data on women's inequality in the social reality both in the domestic and public spheres.

In the political contestation of Padang Lawas Regency, women's representation in the legislature has not been fulfilled by 30%. The data shows that the number of members of the Padang Lawas Regency DPRD for the 2019-2024 period is 30 people consisting of

¹⁸ Interview with the officials of Hadungdung Pintu Padang Village, Gunawan Daulay on 29 September 2020 September 2020.

¹⁹ See Presidential Instruction 9/2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development and also Permendagri 15/2008 concerning General Guidelines for Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions.

²⁰ Cecilia L Ridgeway, "Framed before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations," *Gender & Society* 23, no. 2 (2009): 145–60, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243208330313>.

29 men and 1 woman. It is quite unfortunate that the participation of women who sit as council members in the Legislative Body (DPRD) of Padang Lawas Regency is 3.3 percent. The number of Padang Lawas Regency DPRD members by political party and gender for the 2019-2024 period is one woman out of 30 members.

Figure 1: Party representative on Legislative Body Padang Lawas Regency

No	Party	Man	Women	Amount
1	Golongan Karya	5	0	5
2	Hanura	4	0	4
3	Demokrat	3	0	3
4	PKB	3	0	3
5	PPP	2	0	2
6	PKS	1	0	1
7	Gerindra	3	0	3
8	Nasdem	2	0	2
9	PDIP	0	1	1
10	PSI	1	0	1
11	PAN	4	0	4
12	PKPI	1	0	1
Amount		29	1	30

Figure 1 shows that during the running period, among 30 members of the legislative body in Padang Lawas, there is only one woman. This shows that it is not impossible that women to be members of legislative body but it is just a minimum possibility. The government of Padang Lawas Regency consists of only 1 sub-district led by a woman. Eleven others are led by men. This shows that the opportunity for women to occupy leadership positions in the sub-district area is quite open, but very few women take part in the world of politics to become leaders in government agencies in Padang Lawas Regency, especially the Village Head. Number of Camats by Gender in 2021.

Marginalization of Women in Clan Structure

Manurung explained that patriarchy is the domination or control of men over women, Their jobs, roles, and status, both in the family and in society. Patriarchy as a system of

distributing rights and obligations that are constructed based on gender that prioritizes men as patrons are very strong in Batak traditional culture. Men mostly play as a source of consideration and decision-makers in the family and on a public occasions. Men also serve as the successor of the clan. In this context, men possess privileged priorities for getting higher education, and vice versa for women.²¹

Marga is essentially the name of the forerunner of a Batak kin group according to the father's lineage. The clan was then passed down from generation to generation by all male lineages. In subsequent developments, all descendants of the sons with the surnames formed again the clans that were passed down to them. Then the clans of the same origin continue to behave like siblings according to the lineage of the father.²² *Marga* is the identity of people who have the same lineage according to the father. For example, if our father has the Pohan surname, then his children, both boys, and girls, have the Pohan surname.²³

The Southern Tapanuli Region has jurisdiction over the clan system. The area includes a village. For example, in the Mandailing Natal area, the majority is from the Nasution clan, South Tapanuli is from the Siregar clan, North Padang Lawas is from the Harahap clan, and in Padang Lawas is from the Hasibuan clan. The owner is the clan that first opened the village. The term *onma nadi dokkon urat ni tano* (this is what is called Raja Kampung). The clan that opened the village was called king's clan. Usually, the clan of the king in the village is the majority ruler and there are more generations and they are appointed king in the village. All surnames that are not king's clan will be called *marga boru* who does not have the right to be the king of the village. Then the lower position is expressed by *marga boru*. *Marga boru* is a second-class citizen in a village. Indeed this includes the category that *boru* word shows lower class and status.²⁴

The discourse on clans in Padang Lawas Regency is divided into several clans, each *kampung* or *buta* has a clan territory. Historically, the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang

²¹ Interview with Nusuruddin Nasution on 18 October 2020

²² Parsadaan Marga Harahap, "Horja: Adat Istiadat Dalihan Natolu," *Jakarta: Parsadaan Marga Harahap Dobot Anak Boruna*, 1993.

²³ Hadriana Marhaeni Munthe, "Phenomenon of Women Marginalization in Poor Family in Pakpak Community (A Case Study in Pegagan Julu Village, Sumbul Subdistrict, Dairi Regency-North Sumatra-Indonesia)," *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 6, no. 6 (2017): 38–51, <https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v6i6.1196>.

²⁴ Wasinton Hutagalung, *Adat: Tringot Tu Rubut-Rubut Ni Pardongan Saripeon Di Halak Batak*, (No Title), 1963.

has been ruled by the Daulay clan until now and will exist for an indefinite period of time. They are the village kings as village rulers and the kings of the Daulay clan as men. As for clans outside the Daulay clan in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, they cannot rule, because their position is not king, but *anak boru*. This applies in state administration or village government, although women with the surname Daulay still cannot become village heads in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, because women cannot become leaders of the king. For example in this case is the position of the Pohan clan in Hadungdung Pintu Padang. This clan is known as *anak boru* or migrant who marries the daughter of the king of the Daulay clan. Therefore, the Pohan clan must respect those who have a village and never will become village heads in Hadungdung Pintu Padang in the future.²⁵

The phenomenon above was approved by Mr. Saidina Umar Pohan as secretary of Hadung Pintu Padang village. The political contestation for power in the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang is controlled by the Daulay clan because they have the right and authority to become village heads. Outside the Daulay clan, there is no history of becoming a village head. As the village secretary, Saidina Umar Pohan is only in the position of village secretary or assistant. Strategic positions in other village apparatus areas are also controlled by the Daulay clan.²⁶

The context of village development in Hadungdung Pintu Padang between *mora* and *anakboru* or the Daulay and Pohan clans created a class system or were limited by the ruling male clan structure so that women contesting the position of village head were prevented by the royal clan structure system. Although the requirements for becoming a village head and village apparatus at Hadungdung Pintu Padang are not based on clan, they are based on democratic elections.

Walby explained that in his theory of patriarchal structure, the family can be analogized to a small country that maintains and promotes rules that are detrimental to women's interests. The family is the basis and reflection of the condition of society as a whole. The family preserves traditions that restrict women's freedom to the public sphere to continue to be involved in the domestic sphere.²⁷ The concept of patriarchy raises a

²⁵ Interview with Community Figure Baginda Mangalayap Pohan on 01 October 2020.

²⁶ Interview with Saidina Umar Pohan on November 21, 2020.

²⁷ WALBY Sylvia, "Theorizing Patriarchy," *Oxford: Basil Blackwell Articles Scientifiques et Chapitres de Livres ANDERSSON Bengt-Erik (1992)«Effects of Day-Care on Cognitive and Socio-Emotional Competence of Thirteen-Year-Old Swedish Schoolchildren» Child Development 63, no. 1 (1990): 20–36.*

form of domination and it places women in a second position in a social structure. Patriarchal domination is not only supported by men but also supported by women. This makes the dominance of the patrilineal system increasingly strong in Batak cultural society.

Marginalization of Women in the Production Mode: Double-Burdened

Women's discourse is very interesting and sensitive among social feminist intellectuals. The reality of women being subordinated in private and public spheres makes women experience a double burden. In the private sphere, women are considered as the person in charge of the domestic sphere and do not have the same authority as men who are considered as the head of the household with full authority. Women participate in the public sphere but are still considered 'second' human beings. So that even though they take part in the public space, the rewards both materially and non-materially that women get are not as big as those that men get. The ontological argument that women are naturally domestic creatures is used as justification for subordinating the roles and functions of women in the public sphere. Knowledge about the essence of women in society is packed with textual approaches and patriarchal religious understanding.²⁸

Sarbin and Allen stated that in everyday life, every individual plays multiple roles (dual roles) or double burdens.²⁹ Women who work, however, are also housewives who find it difficult to just let go of the family environment. The results of the author's interview with the Hadungdung Pintu Padang community show that the duties and roles of women are the most numerous in everyday life. Apart from being busy at home taking care of children, cooking, washing, and shopping at the market is also busy in the public domain, such as working in the market, daily work to earn a living, and community activities.³⁰

The construction of Batak culture is very patriarchal and the power relations of men in the family have been constructed since childhood until now.³¹ The author himself as a

²⁸ Elya Munfarida, "Perempuan Dalam Tafsir Fatima Mernissi," *Maghza: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 1, no. 2 (2016): 21–34, <https://doi.org/10.24090/maghza.v1i2.738>.

²⁹ Faqih, *Analisa Gender Transformasi Sosial*.

³⁰ Erond L Damanik and Muhammad Iqbal, "The Contribution of Batak Ethnic Women in the Province of North Sumatera Legislative," in *1st International Conference on Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Studies (ICSSIS 2018)* (Atlantis Press, 2019), 176–78, <https://doi.org/10.2991/icssis-18.2019.35>.

³¹ Antonia Fernandez and Uma S Kambhampati, "Shared Agency: The Dominant Spouse's Impact on Education Expenditure," *World Development* 96 (2017): 182–97,

Batak person was constructed from childhood to be a role model in all aspects of life, both in the religious, social, educational, and political public spheres. Meanwhile, women are constructed in the domestic realm, such as washing clothes, cooking, and being a good wife as a form of embodiment of women in the family and as a form of devotion to parents.³² The following is an interview with male Batak people on the roles and functions of women in family status and applies to every family in Padang Lawas, especially in Hadungdung Pintu Padang Village. The understanding of society between men and women towards the nature of women is concerned with aspects of the domestic sphere. I observe that in the current context and the reality between women and men, it is women who invest more of their lives in the family. Women think that it is their nature to take care of the household, but this is not the case. It is just a stereotype for centuries against women. Naturally, women only get pregnant, give birth and breastfeed, while taking care of children and domestic work is also a joint responsibility of their husbands.³³

In the Hadungdung Pintu Padang community, Padang Lawas, there is a social construction as if it were God's decree and obligations to comply with men and women resulting from gender inequality (marginalization). Gender inequality in culture society or patriarchal system is a system and structure built for male clappers. It's the men who construct the system that was created, which causes women to be dominated by race man. Finally, women become a victim in that system walk. According to Friedan,³⁴ the patriarchy is a social organization. In the social organization, men dominate women. Meanwhile, patriarchal ideology is a view that places men as the superordinate of women and women are subordinate. System this patriarchy also gave birth to gender inequality, that is, inequality in the distribution of wealth and power between men and women. Marginalization of women can occur in various aspects of life in society, state and even religion, in the aspect of development in the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang is

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.03.006>; Antonia Fernandez, Marina Della Giusta, and Uma S Kambhampati, "The Intrinsic Value of Agency: The Case of Indonesia," *World Development* 70 (2015): 92–107, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.12.020>.

³² Himasari Hanan, "Modernization and Cultural Transformation: The Expansion of Traditional Batak Toba House in Huta Siallagan," *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 50 (2012): 800–811, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.082>.

³³ Raith Baiduri, "The Meaning And Dimensions of Work: Women Traders Toba-Batak (Inang-Inang) in Medan, North Sumatera, Indonesia," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no. 1 (2014): 66–74.

³⁴ B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, Jakarta: Indoliteras, (1963).

experiencing construction. The construction of Batak culture is very patriarchal and the power relations of men in the family have been constructed since childhood until now. The patriarchal domination in the clan structure of Hadungdung Pintu Padang village is controlled by the Daulay clan.

Conclusion

Marginalization of women occurs in various aspects of life in society, state, and even religion. Forms of marginalization of women in the aspect of development in the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang, such as (1) segregation of positions and differences in wages; (2) the absence of women in important positions and the limited rights of women in the field law and politics; (3) the duties and roles of women in the domestic and public spheres (in the household taking care of children, cooking, washing, shopping and in the public sphere such as working in the market, daily work to earn a living); as well as (4) the construction of Batak culture in the family has been constructed since childhood. The patriarchal domination in the clan structure in the village of Hadungdung Pintu Padang is controlled by the Daulay clan. Although women members of the Daulay clan still cannot become village heads in Hadungdung Pintu Padang, because of the community's view that women should not become leaders in the village. This condition shows that oppression by power patriarchy has been strongly accepted, including by the hegemonic group.

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