

## **Patriarchy Negotiation: Batak Women and the Domination of the Role of Cultural Space**

Ulfa Ramadhani Nasution

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email: ulfa.ramadhani.nasution28@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

This paper tries to understand how Angkola Batak women negotiate a patriarchal cultural system, by trying to find a middle way that still goes hand in hand with Batak customs and Islam, and on the other hand, slowly brings them out of the shadow of patriarchy itself. Through the results of interviews and field observations, this paper argues that the relationship between women and the patriarchal cultural system is dynamic in different structures and times. Women constantly use different ways to deal with the difficulties they face in different situations. This paper concludes that only by describing the dynamic negotiation context and the process can we avoid the assumption that Batak women are passive, oppressed, and powerless subjects. This paper describes the negotiations carried out by Angkola Batak women to achieve changes in gender relations with a more accommodating attitude towards inequality itself. Thus, the defense that emerges from women's actions is a framework that can change the patriarchal cultural order, no matter how slowly the change occurs.

[Makalah ini mencoba memahami bagaimana perempuan Batak Angkola menegosiasikan sistem budaya patriarki, dengan upaya menemukan jalan tengah yang tetap beriringan dengan adat Batak dan agama Islam, dan di sisi lain secara perlahan mengeluarkan mereka dari bayang-bayang patriarki itu sendiri. Melalui hasil wawancara dan observasi lapangan, makalah ini berpendapat bahwa hubungan perempuan dengan sistem budaya patriarki berdinamika dalam struktur dan waktu yang berbeda. Perempuan secara terus-menerus menggunakan cara yang berbeda untuk mengatasi kesulitan yang mereka hadapi dalam situasi tertentu. Temuan dalam makalah ini adalah bahwa hanya dengan menggambarkan konteks dan proses negosiasi yang dinamis tersebut maka dapat menghindari asumsi yang menyatakan bahwa perempuan Batak adalah subjek pasif, tertindas, dan tidak berdaya. Makalah ini menggambarkan perundingan yang perempuan Batak Angkola lakukan untuk mencapai perubahan relasi gender dengan sikap lebih akomodatif terhadap ketidaksetaraan itu sendiri. Maka bentuk pertahanan yang terlihat dari tindakan perempuan merupakan kerangka yang dapat merubah tatanan budaya patriarki tanpa peduli seberapa lambat perubahan itu akan terjadi.]

### **KEYWORDS**

Patriarchy negotiation, Batak women, resistance to femininity, domination, cultural space

### **ARTICLE HISTORY**

Received: 6 November 2023

Approved for Publication: 30 June 2024

### TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

Ulfa Ramadhani Nasution, "Patriarchy Negotiation: Batak Women and the Domination of the Role of Cultural Space" *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 17, no. 1 (2024): 71-92, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2024.17105>.



Copyright © 2024 by Author(s)  
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

## Introduction

Since the beginning, the Angkola Batak people have used the patrilineal system in establishing their kinship. This system refers to the father's or male lineage in determining the lineage marked by the clan lineage, and therefore a lineage or clan will be 'lost' if the family does not have a son. Men are the creators of kinship relationships, while women are the creators of *besan* relationships.<sup>1</sup> Not only regulating lineage, this patrilineal structure is also the backbone and basis that guides all aspects of Batak people's life, such as marriage, inheritance distribution, government, settlement patterns, cultivating land, administering justice,<sup>2</sup> to the domestic area, as the division of roles between husband and wife, wife and child care, how to establish relationships as men (masculinity) and women (femininity), all of which are still related to the principles of the patrilineal system that intersect with patriarchal culture.<sup>3</sup>

Several studies have been conducted to examine the patriarchal culture that exists in the Batak ethnicity, especially the Angkola Batak, and these studies agree that patriarchal culture is the cause of marginalization, gender role conflict, discrimination, and stereotypes against women in the Angkola Batak ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, research that discusses the existence of the Batak patriarchal culture

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Cornelis Vergouwen, *Masyarakat Dan Hukum Adat Batak Toba* (Yogyakarta: LKIS Pelangi Aksara, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Vergouwen.

<sup>3</sup> Ulfa Ramadhani Nasution, "Nalar Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak Dalam Menghadapi Modernitas Dan Kesetaraan Gender" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> The following is a study that examines the patriarchal culture of the Angkola Batak ethnicity in the last 5 years which the author suffices to represent a general discussion about the study of women in the Angkola Batak customs, namely: Mangihut Siregar, "Ketidaksetaraan Gender Dalam Dalihan Na Tolu," *Jurnal Studi Kultural* 2, no. 1 (2017); Helmi Suryana Siregar, "Perubahan Kedudukan Perempuan Pada Masyarakat Batak Angkola," *Jurnal Ius Constituendum* 6, no. 1 (2021): 252-68, <https://doi.org/10.26623/jic.v6i1.3281>; Syarief Husein Pohan, "The Position of a Wife as a Breadwinner in the Family (Study in Aek Lancat Village, Lubuk Barumun District, Padang Lawas Regency, North Sumatra Province)" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2018); Nasution, "Nalar Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak Dalam Menghadapi Modernitas Dan Kesetaraan Gender."

as a whole which is considered 'uncooperative' with women has been widely published. Many narratives agree that Batak women are in a socially and culturally disadvantaged position and trapped in the confinement of domestication, reproduction, double burden, subordination, secondary, and other similar terms.<sup>5</sup>

If indeed the Batak patriarchal culture oppresses women, then why do Batak women continue to maintain a culture that places them in a low and unequal position? What went wrong with Batak women? Are they passive and helpless? These lead us to rethink about Batak patriarchy, women's involvement in patriarchal culture, the nature and dynamics of contemporary gender relations, the production and preservation of patriarchal values, and how women seek to negotiate the challenges of modernity and social change. This is to gain an understanding of what women are doing to the patriarchal culture that accompanies their lives.

The latest research that focuses on Batak women and their lives is by Suaidah Lubis. She discussed the strategy of the Mandailing Tribe women in playing dual roles to maintain cultural and religious values. Suaidah focuses on the psychological dynamics of wives who are active both domestically and publicly. As a result, there is a contradiction in the assumption that women have multiple roles to be considered more prone to conflict, anxiety, and fatigue which results in mood disturbances and reduced job satisfaction because, in Suaidah's research, this is not the case. The dynamics and psychology of Mandailing women in her research can have a good career path, have outstanding children and harmonious home life, and have a positive impact both inside and outside the home because conflicts that arise at work and home don't mean much.<sup>6</sup>

The patrilineal culture of the Batak people is described as a form of devotion of a wife to her family, such as taking care of her husband, children, and domestic household tasks. However, this does not at all prevent Batak women from working in public spaces, for the increasing economic demands and the connection between work and worship. Sincerity and fortitude in carrying out domestic duties as well as carrying out public duties are summarized in the category of religious values. Suaidah's research proves that negotiations are taking place by Batak women in the context of a patriarchal family, periodically and continuously. This negotiation is a dynamic social process that must be given more attention even though it is

<sup>5</sup> Research such as 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>; Karina Meriem Beru Brahmana, "The Influence Of The Socialization Of Gender Roles On Patriarchal Culture and Masculine Ideology On The Emergence Of Gender Role Conflict In Men Of Karo Tribe," in *International Conference on Psychology and Multiculturalism 2017* (Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, n.d.), 94–101; Sulistyowati Irianto, *Perempuan Di Antara Berbagai Pilihan Hukum: Studi Mengenai Strategi Perempuan Batak Toba Untuk Mendapatkan Akses Kepada Harta Waris Melalui Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Suaidah Lubis, "Work-Life Balance Strategy for Wives Working in the Public Sector from Mandailing Tribe Muslim Families in Medan, North Sumatra" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2019).

limited by the typical dichotomous Batak gender culture. The results of Suaidah's research provide a basis that Batak women continuously use certain methods to overcome the difficulties they face to achieve a higher level of autonomy, moral satisfaction, and independence.

Through ethnographic investigation, this paper seeks to understand the involvement of Angkola Batak women in the continuation of today's patriarchal culture. Exploring the distinctive meaning and dynamics of women's cultural participation in the Batak traditional context. How they negotiate the division of patriarchal gender roles, and the reasons that make them persist, are part of the research problem that started this research. This paper has two main objectives. First, through analyzing the unique character of Batak women's involvement in the Padang Lawas region, it aims to contribute to expanding and complicating the current understanding of the cultural role of women in maintaining the patriarchal culture that exists there. Second, it will also examine the complexity of customs and religion and their impact on Angkola Batak women in understanding their roles and space amidst the flow of modernity with the consequences of economic demands and gender equality.

The approach method used has a feminist perspective by allowing subjectivity when women study women in an interactive process without a subject/object gap that arises between the researcher and the researched. Through this empirical study, existing data is developed with various other related facts to achieve the main analysis. So this research boils down to the assumption that the studies examined are typical for certain cases. However, with in-depth analysis, generalizations can be applied to other cases of a similar type.

January-October 2020, the author interviewed 17 people (12 men and 5 women). However, of the 12 men, only around 6 of them had the results of their interviews become the source of data in this research paper. Meanwhile, in 2021 the author interviewed 7 women. So the number of informants in this study was 9 women and 6 men (see table). Informants were selected using a purposive sampling, where informants were determined based on their position, standing, knowledge and experience with the problem being studied, namely: Angkola Batak women, traditional figures, religious figures, and Angkola Batak men. The author used semi-structured interviews, in the sense that the author had a series of basic questions that she wanted to know but the interview session was also left open to allow the informant to carry out the conversation in the desired other direction.

In this article, the author will show the ambiguous and fraught consequences for Batak women, namely consequences that are both oppressive and liberating. For this reason, it is necessary to recognize the dimensions of resistance implicit in their actions. Through the case of Batak women, several things need to be discussed further related to issues of patriarchal power, especially regarding women's cooperative attitudes in the continuation of the patriarchal cultural order. About the threshold position between resistance and a more accommodating attitude of Batak women's actions. Like putting together a puzzle, this paper will highlight the ambiguity of intentions, women's subjectivity, and the consequences of their actions related to patriarchal culture in Angkola Batak which has not been explored in the literature so far.

## Women's Agency and Resistance in Cultural Contexts: A Theoretical Framework

Feminist theorists have long been interested in the role that women play in power relations. They often make women victims, accepting the inevitability of domination.<sup>7</sup> Some describe women as subordinates who immediately agree and are relatively satisfied with accepting this role. Later, to counter this image of passive victimization and active acceptance, feminists portrayed women as holders of strong informal and hidden influence. As emphasized by feminist anthropologist M.Z Rosaldo, if formal authority is not something that women enjoy, then we must understand women's informal power,<sup>8</sup> by arguing that women are active subjects and subjects of domination.<sup>9</sup>

Discussions about the puzzle of women's persistence in surviving under the power of a patriarchal cultural order in gender relations were first opened by Arlene Elowe Macleod (1992). Taking a case study of the phenomenon of the hijab worn by women in Cairo, Macleod guesses how women are moving towards changing gender inequality. Macleod called the strategy of women's struggle to fight the limits of power by 'accommodating protest'. According to her argument, as subordinate players, women always play an active role that transcends the dichotomy between victimization or acceptance, a dichotomy that for MacLeod flattens the complexity and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, reject or protest, which sometimes all occur at the same time.<sup>10</sup>

Macleod's research has inspired several similar studies that aim to show women's agency, power politics, motivation and resistance to culture and religion through their daily life experiences.<sup>11</sup> These various studies show that women's accommodation to the ideology of submission is not a simple surrender to patriarchy, but rather an effort to repair and renegotiate gender relations and achieve stability,<sup>12</sup> both in marriage, family and society. Recent studies have shown

<sup>7</sup> See Chandra Talpade Mohanty. "Under Western Eye", in Rey Chow, "Violence in the Other Country", in Chandra Mohanty, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Indiana UP (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Michelle Z Rosaldo, "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 3 (1980): 389–417, <https://doi.org/10.1086/493727>.

<sup>9</sup> Arlene Elowe MacLeod, "Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 17, no. 3 (1992): 533–57, <https://doi.org/10.1086/494748>.

<sup>10</sup> MacLeod.

<sup>11</sup> Such as research by Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah: Agency and Identity Negotiation," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 173–98, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.173-198>; Kelly H Chong, "Negotiating Patriarchy: South Korean Evangelical Women and the Politics of Gender," *Gender & Society* 20, no. 6 (2006): 697–724, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206291111>.

<sup>12</sup> Brenda E Brasher, *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1998); R Marie Griffith, *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of*

that orthodox beliefs and religion can be a relative resource in women's efforts to pursue their domestic interests and a means of empowering women, especially through feminist reinterpretations of traditionalist ideologies that value womanhood and reaffirm women's power.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, research such as this concludes that it is more effective to change gender unequal attitudes and elevate the status of women through 'submission' to patriarchy than Western feminism.

This interpretive approach emphasizes issues such as agency, resistance, and praxis in the analysis of subordinate groups.<sup>14</sup> Women's forms of resistance are facts recorded in research oriented towards the 'post-structuralist' era, where culture is considered a dynamic thing. In the case of a patriarchal regime, women's involvement in maintaining the patriarchy is a complex thing and has certain impacts that must be understood in a sociohistorical context, a long-term process of adapting to the situation and conditions. For this reason, it is not easy to provide parameters for the causal relationship of actions and attitudes carried out by women who are living their lives as 'patriarchal women'.

This is what this paper wants to annul, by emphasizing that there is an ongoing latent negotiation by Batak women against patriarchal culture, even though it appears that the women 'agree (surrender)' to this culture. The basic argument offered in this paper is that Batak women try to bargain with patriarchy, and negotiations continue while also maintaining the existing culture. So the form of defense carried out by women is a framework that can change the patriarchal cultural order, no matter how slow the change is happen.

## **Gender Relations of Angkola People**

Two things can be explained regarding the gender relations of Batak society in general, and Angkola Batak in particular, namely the kinship system and the sexual division of labor. These two things influence and shape how gender relations exist today.

### *Patrilineal Kinship System*

The Angkola Batak community in the Padang Lawas area is relatively loyal to maintaining the traditional values, as the same case with the Toba, Karo, Simalungun, Pakpak and Mandailing Batak communities. They tend to keep sacred

*Submission* (Univ of California Press, 1997); Susan D Rose, "Women Warriors: The Negotiation of Gender in a Charismatic Community," *Sociological Analysis* 48, no. 3 (1987): 245-58, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3711521>.

<sup>13</sup> Lynn Davidman, *Tradition in a Rootless World: Women Turn to Orthodox Judaism* (Univ of California Press, 1991); Debra Renee Kaufman, "Patriarchal Women: A Case Study of Newly Orthodox Jewish Women," *Symbolic Interaction* 12, no. 2 (1989): 299-314, <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1989.12.2.299>.

<sup>14</sup> Theoretically, this approach utilizes recent developments in social scientific and feminist theory which cannot be separated from the influence of the ideas of thinkers such as Foucault (1978), Gramsci (1992) and Williams (1973). Broadly, this horizon of thought is characterized as "poststructuralist" which can help complicate the understanding of women's actions and choices in the context of patriarchal culture. See Jeffrey W Rubin, "Defining Resistance: Contested Interpretations of Everyday Acts," *Stud. L. Pol. & Soc'y* 15 (1995): 237.

traditional values which are deemed not to violate religious provisions, which they adhere to (*hombar do adat dohot ugamo*; custom alongside religion).

The Angkola Batak people are also proud of their patrilineal kinship system, which is guided by their *dalihan na tolu* (three-hearth) speech lineage (*tutur*).<sup>15</sup> This pride is implied when the Angkola Batak people always like to trace speech lineage every time they meet someone from the same tribe, and the source for tracing this speech is the clan (*marga*) and male descendants. So, in this *dalihan na tolu* kinship system there is gender inequality because women's position is considered weak and unclear. Thus, the dominance, influence, and power of Batak men can be seen in various elements of social and familial structures, even down to institutions, such as law, custom, politics, and religion. The influence and dominance of male power were acknowledged by all informants, one of which was stated by Rizal Hasibuan:

*Women follow men. Women cannot be used as a parameter to determine traditional positions. The traditional position of women is determined by men, and the position of men is determined by themselves (their clan).*<sup>16</sup>

Considering how important the position of sons, in Batak society if a family is not blessed with male offspring, the consequences that will be received include the following: 1) "*Dang boi pajonjong adat di harajaon*" (can't hold a big party). 2) Can't continue the clan and when they die they are called *nupunu* (extinct). 3) When you die, you will not be able to carry out the *saurmatua* ritual (a traditional funeral ceremony for someone who died completely having married all their children and having male and female grandchildren). 4) "*Boru siparsondak ibana*" namely the daughter who will take care of her parents, which should be the man who does it. 5) Not having "*Mora*" which functions to provide cultural blessings. 6) Feeling isolated, like laughing in crowded places and crying in hidden places.<sup>17</sup>

These consequences are not only felt by parents (father and mother), a daughter will also suffer consequences if she does not have a brother. Including that daughters will be limited in dressing, moving, and socializing, so there is a sentiment that it will be difficult for them to find a mate (*husband*). Like parents, girls will also feel isolated from their environment if they don't have brothers. When dancing *tor-tor* (traditional Batak dance), she will wrap the *ulos* (traditional Batak cloth) between her waist and armpits. While women who have brothers only

<sup>15</sup> The concept of functional relations between the *Dalihan Na Tolu* clans consists of: 1) *Kahanggi*, namely the male family from the male parent's lineage 2) *Anak Boru*, namely the male family from the husband of the married sister 3) *Mora*, namely the male family of the wife's brother. See Roslana Lubis, "Partuturon in Angkola Society," *USU Scientific Journal of Language and Literature* 2, no. 1 (2006).

<sup>16</sup> Direct interview with Rizal Hasibuan (Sibuhuan traditional figure) in June 2020. In general, all informants, including women, in this research acknowledged that men are leaders for women and men are kings, they must be served in every family institution, especially.

<sup>17</sup> Robbert and Peninna Simanjuntak Sibarani, "Rights and Position of Batak Toba Women Who Have No Brothers in the Distribution of Inheritance: A Sociological Study of Literature," 1999.

wrap the ulos around their waists.<sup>18</sup> So, it is not uncommon to find Batak women who will continue to be pregnant until they can give birth to a son, because only by giving birth to a son they can be considered to have human dignity, and the family becomes perfect.<sup>19</sup>

Through the description above, it can be understood that the existing traditional confines not only bring problems to Batak women but also to men.<sup>20</sup> Gender roles that have been ingrained and are continuously socialized can become a scourge in itself. Of course, this scourge does not only affect women, the same thing will also be felt by men. This is visible when a man who is already married does not have sons, and for some reason, he is unable to carry out polygamy or raise children, not only women but men will also be affected by the consequences.<sup>21</sup>

The *dalihan na tolu* kinship system is the root underlying the gender relations pattern of the Angkola Batak community, and the pattern formed is a representation of male dominance (patriarchy) and creates a hierarchy that places men in a superior position and women in a subordinate position.<sup>22</sup> In this patrilineal kinship, the roles and relationships between men and women are regulated, which are then adopted by institutions and social groups in the Padang Lawas area, including the family. Traditional patriarchal values are closely integrated into social interactions and communication between individuals, both within the family and within the Angkola Batak community.

### *Sexual Division of Labor*

The inherent rules for Angkola Batak men and women regarding the roles they must fulfill have become part of everyday life. In carrying out activities, Batak men and women already have their parts, this division of roles based on gender (sex) has been going on for a long time in society and has been passed down from generation to generation. This is considered a cultural heritage of high noble value and even sacred, as is the religious value they understand. Until finally the existing culture becomes local wisdom whose existence must be fought for and maintained. The reality of patriarchal gender will be very clearly visible in certain areas where the Batak community is based, for example in Padang Lawas.

Angkola Batak men and women both agree with what has been intended for them, without making many complaints or negating their inherent roles. It doesn't

<sup>18</sup> Sibarani.

<sup>19</sup> Ratih Baiduri, "Paradoks Perempuan Batak Toba: Suatu Penafsiran Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya Sastra Ende Siboru Tombaga," *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan* 31, no. 1 (June 8, 2015): 51–60, <https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v31i1.1088>.

<sup>20</sup> Brahmana, "The Influence Of The Socialization Of Gender Roles On Patriarchal Culture and Masculine Ideology On The Emergence Of Gender Role Conflict In Men Of Karo Tribe."

<sup>21</sup> As the story in the literary work Ende Siboru Tombaga (EST) illustrates how important the position of boys is in Batak society, even abundant wealth was not enough to complete the family life of Raja Ompu Gulasa, Siboru Tombaga's father. See Baiduri, "Paradoks Perempuan Batak Toba: Suatu Penafsiran Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya Sastra Ende Siboru Tombaga."

<sup>22</sup> Erlina Pardede, *Menelusuri Bentuk-Bentuk Kekerasan Perempuan Di Masyarakat Adat* (Sidikalang: Pesada Publishers, 2010).



matter if it's with or without their consent, as long as they know, everyone is doing the same thing there, as stated by Umi Kalsum Pulungan.

*Well, how about it, Nantulang feels like most of the women here are like Nantulang. They go to the fields, sell at the market, take their children to school, cook, wash and so on. Nantulang even feels that what Nantulang does to earn money is better than Nantulang's friends, because Nantulang doesn't feel the heat of the sun., Nantulang just sits and sells in front of the house.<sup>23</sup>*

As stated by female informants, men also realized that not only them, but women also did not consider the gender roles that had been attached to them to be an issue that should be questioned. As stated by Aspan Pulungan.

*People here don't care about the gender equality movement. There are no objections between men and women here, it is suitable for women according to their bodies. Even though women sometimes scream, she just accepts it. It's okay for the Batak women, they have a lot of things to do. They don't have time to protest about this problem.<sup>24</sup>*

Nevertheless, most Angkola Batak men and women admit that what has been imposed on them can sometimes be called a 'burden' and that in doing so they often feel that they have made a 'sacrifice'. What's unique is that even though they openly complain, it doesn't mean they are reluctant to do it again and again.

*Yes, you could say it's a burden to be man. He can't just do whatever he is, he has to work hard, be responsible and protect his family. But we can turn that burden into motivation.<sup>25</sup>*

Like the men's responses, statements about what women feel when carrying out the roles assigned to them are also not much different from the word burden, namely Batak women feel very tired and make many sacrifices for the survival of their family and household. However, once again, this is by no means a sign that they are reluctant to do it.

*It's more than sacrificing what the women are doing in this area. She has been working at home, taking care of the children, and helping earn a living for the family again. But sometimes we have to sacrifice ourselves and feel tired is common things. Because after all, we are doing our job.<sup>26</sup>*

<sup>23</sup> Nantulang is what the author said to the informant. Direct interview with Rahmi Pulungan in December 2021

<sup>24</sup> Direct interview with Aspan Pulungan in July 2020

<sup>25</sup> Direct interview with Rizal Hasibuan in July 2020. The same thing was also stated by Usman Harahap and Hamdan Daulay.

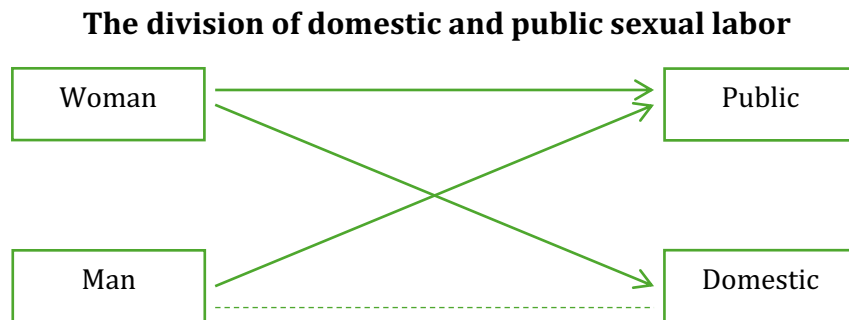
<sup>26</sup> Interview with Evida Rahmi Dongoran in December 2021

Like the patrilineal kinship system, this system of sexual division of labor also contributes to the gender inequality that women experience. This is reflected in the case of boys who are given priority in education,<sup>27</sup> while girls are given priority to help their parents at home. Although this has now gradually changed, the role of the state and religion greatly influenced this change. Parents are now preparing for higher education for their daughters, just like their sons.

*Since the arrival of Islam, women's lives have changed a lot. Islam has made real changes in the equality of women in the field of education. Men and women are the same, only their duties are regulated, namely men play the role of earning a living and women take care of the household.<sup>28</sup>*

However, even though there is equality in obtaining education, this does not mean that the behavior received by men and women is the same. Especially in the field of work, parents, especially mothers, will divide the types of work carried out by daughters and sons. In this division of labor, especially for lower-middle-class families, girls will be placed in tasks and responsibilities that include domestic and public affairs. Girls will carry out activities such as washing, sweeping, and cooking (domestic), and will also be given responsibility for farming, gardening and raising livestock (public). Meanwhile, boys will only be charged with tasks involving activities outside the home, such as taking care of the fields, herding livestock and gardening, where women are also involved in doing this.

**Figure**



Source: processed by the author.

Through the illustration above, it can be seen that this division of labor is not directly proportional, in the sense that, while women are involved and actively carrying out productive roles in the public sphere, on the other hand, men are still reluctant to be involved in domestic work. Thus, the domestication process does not occur in the male gender role, and the public role of Batak women becomes

<sup>27</sup> Hadriana Marhaeni Munthe, "Ideologi Gender pada Perempuan Pakpak".

<sup>28</sup> Direct interview with Ali Hasibuan in July 2020

increasingly visible.<sup>29</sup> This change was also expressed by one of the informants who is a traditional and religious leader.

*Indeed, now what has changed is that women also help the family economy. This is because of the demands of the times. Husbands can't do washing dishes and other domestic tasks, but if women are no longer capable, then if men don't mind, it's okay to do women's tasks. What is clear is that the work is done without being asked or forced, only if the man wants to do it.*<sup>30</sup>

The principle of kinship and the phenomenon of sexual division of labor will influence the role and status of men and women in the Angkola Batak community. Furthermore, Ihromi stated that men's plays in Batak culture which display the patriarchal values and norms they carry out have given women a lower status.<sup>31</sup> This low status and position also makes inequality in gender relations completely inevitable. Even if a woman has a good career path, or even if she can earn more money than a man, this does not guarantee that she has a higher position and status than a man.

### **Negotiating Patriarchy**

At this point, it appears that there is no balanced reciprocal relationship between the work of a woman/wife in the Batak community of Angkola, Padang Lawas. Working and earning a woman's income does not mean that gender relations with men are equal. On the contrary, there are indications that women are becoming increasingly involved in patriarchal cultural schemes. Angkola Batak women who are required to work and still choose to work with or without the demands have indirectly become agents that foster patriarchy itself. Research by Menjivar and Salcido found that if women work, on the one hand, it can improve their financial status but on the other hand it can also strengthen their role as family household servants. In short, existing research shows that even when women shoulder the economic burden of supporting their families, they continue to bear the pressures of patriarchal family structures, in which women are subordinate to men.<sup>32</sup>

*Even though women have helped support the family and earned more money, that doesn't mean that men have become inferior or despicable in front of them. A man's self-esteem is when he has worked hard, whether he makes a lot of money or not. A woman's work in no way reduces a man's masculinity as long as he has worked hard, for example caring for or protecting, that includes the man's hard work.*<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Hadriana Marhaeni Munthe, "Ideologi Gender pada Perempuan Pakpak". p 156

<sup>30</sup> Direct interview with Ali Hasibuan in July 2020

<sup>31</sup> T.O Ihromi, *Toba Batak Community and Customary Law*, (Jakarta: Asset Center, 1986).

<sup>32</sup> Cecilia Menjivar and Olivia Salcido, "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries," *Gender & Society* 16, no. 6 (2002): 898-920, <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124302237894>.

<sup>33</sup> Direct interview with Dr. Hamdan Daulay in October 2020

The words of the informant who is an academic above are increasingly convincing that the social construction of Batak society appears to be well established and consistently places women as subordinate, as if men were more important than women both in public and domestically (they must be served). In almost all important aspects that have social, cultural and economic implications, men play the main role, such as inheritance, marriage, decision-making in the family, customs, religion and other institutions. It is clear that Batak women know and feel how society and culture position them. However, what is an anomaly is that women themselves are increasingly strengthening their stance on the continuation of this culture. This can be seen in how Batak women will try to find a Batak male partner and have the ambition to marry and have male offspring.<sup>34</sup>

Two female informants indirectly admitted that they were unable to fight the current patriarchy. Angkola Batak women can only defend themselves, not fight against the existing culture. So the middle path taken is to try to live out the culture that has already been created while looking for opportunities to remain in harmony with the religion and customs that they understand.

*So what do you want from Nantulang, Nantulang just ran away because my husband works odd jobs and doesn't want to help me. Of course it can't be like that. I cannot demand to my husband (your Tulang). My work is my responsibility. If he want to help, thank you, if not, what else can I do?<sup>35</sup>*

Evida also expressed the same attitude and decision, she clearly explained how she finally became independent, not standing idly by with the help of her husband. Informant statements like this show how Angkola women accept patriarchal culture.

*Your Uda, if I am tired it will be assumed to be of teaching at school. Even though I was happy there, just was during teaching I can rested. I am tired and nagging because of taking care of the children and household. Your Uda doesn't want to help me. But I know that domestic work is my obligation as a woman, I just want my husband to take the initiative. But it's useless to hope for this man, so in the end, I do everything myself.<sup>36</sup>*

Thus, on the one hand, Batak women have strengthened the patriarchal system and on the other hand have simultaneously exercised their rights to fight for the rights of themselves and their immediate families. As Wolf found in his research on the case of Chinese women, on the one hand, they were consolidating

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Halima Hotna Lubis in October 2020. Men are so important in Batak culture that only by giving birth to sons are women considered to have human dignity. Ratih Baiduri, "Paradoks Perempuan Batak Toba: Suatu Penafsiran Hermeneutika terhadap Karya Sastra Ende Siboru Tombaga".

<sup>35</sup> Nantulang; Aunt, Tulang; Uncle. Interview with Umi Kalsum Pulungan in December 2021

<sup>36</sup> Ujing; Aunt, Uda; Uncle. Interview with Evida Rahmi in July 2020

the patriarchal order, and on the other hand, they were fighting for the rights and interests of themselves and their biological families. This is implied in a quote from an interview with Evida Rahmi where she tries to survive and fight for her rights while expressing what is wrong with her every day (through scolding which tends to be in the form of being 'angry', ordering this and that in a high tone).

*Overall, there is something good here, women don't have to dress up, Batak men don't need that. Look at me, this is how I look, it's never been protested. Then I don't need to ask permission if I want to go out, your Uda just trust to me. That's what's nice. I can feel free. I am grumbling doesn't mean I'm angry, I'm just asking for help, but your Uda doesn't get arrested, that's why I grumbles every day. He goes to Lopo if I starts nagging, I don't care whether he listens or not, the important that I vent my ego through grumbling.<sup>37</sup>*

Their involvement in public and domestic spaces also indicates that Batak women can feel freedom amidst social demands and patriarchal culture. At this point, the assumption that women who work to help support the family economy and continue to do domestic work as well as giving birth and educating children is simply strengthening patriarchal values needs to be further clarified. Because it appears that Angkola Batak women with their negotiating skills can consolidate the patriarchal order while fighting for their rights. At this point we will also be brought to rethink Batak patriarchal culture, about women's involvement in maintaining patriarchal culture, the subjectivity and ambiguity of women's intentions. Furthermore, Angkola Batak women can actually master two spatial types at once, namely playing public and domestic roles simultaneously. Can it then be said that Batak women are truly oppressed (?)

Men openly support women's work in public spaces, even though this contains elements of resistance on their part.<sup>38</sup> However, women's work is supported by religion and the state and is a logical consequence of social change and modernity. On the other hand, the role of Batak men in the domestic sector, apart from not being easy for Batak men to do, Batak women also seem unable to simply hand over domestic duties to men. So once again here, we cannot consider men's non-involvement in the domestic sphere and allowing Batak women to work in public spaces as a form of oppression against women. This does not mean that Batak women are passive and resigned to the patriarchal conditions that bind them, their determination to seek work and education and not abandon domestic duties are among the layers of resistant dimensions that can be seen.

So the understanding that can be drawn is that when women can empower and play a role in two spaces, namely domestic and public, Batak men are only able to empower themselves in public. This means that while Angkola Batak women have two choices, men only have one. Furthermore, when Batak women are unable

<sup>37</sup> Lopo is a small coffee shop. Interview with Elvida Rahmi Dongoran in December 2021

<sup>38</sup> Nasution, "Nalar Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak Dalam Menghadapi Modernitas Dan Kesetaraan Gender."

to exist in one space, they can utilize other spaces to channel their existence, whereas if Batak men fail to develop themselves in the public sphere, they are unable to empower themselves in the domestic sphere. In short, women are more 'free' under a structure different from the patriarchal term. The following is an explanation of the art of defense (negotiation) of Angkola Batak women against the phenomenon of patriarchal culture.

### *Not allowing men to do domestic work*

It's unique, on the one hand, Batak women want help and lighten their work because they have helped lighten the family's burden of living, but on the other hand, they are reluctant if their husbands or sons are too involved in domestic household matters, such as sweeping and washing, cooking, shopping and so on. Batak women will feel humiliated if their partners are more reliable than them when it comes to housework. They will prevent this from happening as early as possible, starting with their sons who are not given the basic skills to complete household work, which is the basics of human life.

*Men's main job is to earn a living and women take care of household work. These basic roles are not interchangeable.<sup>39</sup>*

The prohibition on helping with domestic work is a form of resistance for Batak women to maintain their femininity. They try to continue doing domestic work no matter what because carrying out household work is one of the reasons that justify women being able to feel in harmony with tradition and religion. So it can be understood that domestic affairs are a representation of the feminine form that masculine men should not touch. And so that Batak women do not feel like they have lost their identity as a woman, no matter how tired the situation she faces, no matter how high the education and income she obtains, she will do the domestic work, as this has become part of her life and a symbol that indicates she is a woman by traditional teachings and is in line with religious mandates.

Even if men help with domestic work because of the man's initiative, then women naturally keep this involvement as secret as possible from outsiders (other than the nuclear family), because not only men will be embarrassed, but women are no less embarrassed by this action. As stated by the informant below.

*Your uncle actually he want to sweep, but usually it doesn't reach the terrace, only inside the house. Later, when he want to reach the terrace, I will continue. Your uncle actually wants to help me but you can't say that, it's not good for people to know that our husbands help us with our work as wives.<sup>40</sup>*

### *Producing patriarchal values in the role of motherhood*

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Rizal Hasibuan (Sibuhuan traditional figure) in June 2020.

<sup>40</sup> Direct interview with Enni Hayati Hasibuan in July 2020

Regarding raising children, Batak mothers place different burdens on the sons and daughters they have. There are differences in the parenting styles they apply, and these differences are very gender biased. Batak mothers will place responsibility for the future of the family on their sons, she considers that sons have more potential to carry out these responsibilities than daughters. Meanwhile, with daughters, a mother tends to try to mold them to be like her own mother (copy-paste). Mothers will teach their daughters things they have been accustomed to do since they were young, namely washing, drying, cooking, mopping and easing the mother's other domestic burdens. The concept of easing mothers' domestic burdens is only applied to women, not to men, so men are not familiar with these domestic skills.

Furthermore, a Batak mother will forbid sons from getting involved in the domestic sphere if there are still daughters doing it. On the other hand, for work outside the home that is not too hard for daughters to handle, mothers will involve daughters to do it. As previously explained, women's roles have always been not limited to the private sphere, but have also penetrated the public sphere. In this way, a mother has planted the seeds of patriarchy by confirming male domination, whether physical, economic, political, social, cultural, or symbolic, for her sons and daughters from childhood and starting from the home (nuclear family). This effort to produce patriarchal values in the maternal role is a form of defense for Batak women in the patriarchal culture that surrounds them.

*This is indeed how tradition and religion place men as leaders. You cannot lose your dignity in public. From the beginning, that's how we felt. Our parents' behavior is different towards girls and boys, that's the way it is. So women must be able to try on their own, they must be independent.<sup>41</sup>*

In fact, it is not only women who play the role of mothers who can socialize patriarchal values, women in the roles of in-laws and sisters-in-law will also do the same. This woman will give the impression that men should be treated like 'kings' by women. They should not be humiliated by being involved in primarily domestic matters. Men must be 'served' by women because that is how they understand traditional and religious mandates.

So it is not uncommon to see how fellow Batak women will ostracize certain women who simply allow their men to do work that women should do. Even if there are women who don't work in the public sphere, only rely on their husband's finances, are indifferent to their children's affairs, and spend too much of their husband's money for their personal needs, they will really become targets of ostracism by the general Batak women there. On the other hand, if a woman works and earns money, takes care of her children and can even lead them to success, and buys her personal needs with her own money, that is where women's social success lies, both in the eyes of men and among women.

<sup>41</sup> Direct interview with Lanniati Dongoran in December 2021

### *Highly educated and gainfully employed*

Educated women and well-paid working women are two aspects that influence changes in the construct of Batak men's masculinity. These two things are the basis that can trigger the resistance that Batak men experience.<sup>42</sup> For this reason, these are the two things that women are fighting for even more strongly today.

Women compete to obtain higher education because education makes women more empowered and it is easier to get jobs that they are capable of and deserve (avoiding becoming manual workers). Apart from that, education is also part of the formulation of the Batak people's philosophy of life ( *hasangappon*; honor and social status) and is also one of the means for achieving principles ( *hamoraon* ; wealth), and they play an important role in realizing the life goal of having offspring (*hagabeon*).<sup>43</sup> So it is not surprising that both men and women will equally support the highest educational attainment. Currently, parents agree not to differentiate educational recommendations for boys and girls, and access to education is equally open to all (gender-free). Even mothers, not only fathers, are willing to borrow money, and pawn goods, look for side jobs, and work harder so that their children can achieve higher education.<sup>44</sup>

Through education, women have hopes of being able to live more empowered lives, especially in front of men. Because there are certain values that Batak men and their families attach to educated women. This value is manifested in the form of giving a high dowry. For this reason, it is not surprising that Batak women will struggle to get degrees and occupy decent work positions, apart from being financially independent, they will also have high social status and receive high dowries.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, no matter how open educational and employment opportunities are for Batak women, they are still bound by concepts and values regarding women that place them in the domestic arena and traditional confines. Even if they can get out of their traditional roles by pursuing various honorable professions in society and living as 'modern people', they still cannot escape from their traditional obligations. Such as they have to give birth to sons, be good mothers and wives for their children and husband, as well as being good relatives for their husband's

<sup>42</sup> Nasution, "Nalar Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak Dalam Menghadapi Modernitas Dan Kesetaraan Gender."

<sup>43</sup> There are three life goals or cultural missions of the Batak people, namely *hagabeon* (blessed by descent), *hamoraon* (wealth), and *hasangapan* (honor). These three things are the Batak people's guidelines for acting and behaving in their lives. See BH Harahap and Hotman M. Siahaan, *Orientation of Batak Cultural Values: An Approach to the Behavior of the Toba Angkola-Mandailing Batak* (Jakarta: Sanggat Willem Iskandar, 1987).

<sup>44</sup> Bill Tancher Situmorang, "Gengsi Etnis Batak Toba Dalam Pendidikan (Studi Di Desa Urat Timur Kecamatan Palipi Kabupaten Samosir)" (Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Ria Damayanti, "Fenomena Jumlah Sinamot Dalam Perkawinan Suku Batak (Studi Kasus Di Desa Hajoran Julu, Kabupaten Labuhan Batu Selatan, Provinsi Sumatera Utara)" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2019).



family and their father's kin group (*mora*), and have various work obligations but do not have the right to speak in various family (custom) gatherings.<sup>46</sup>

Through this argument, the author interprets that the resistance that Batak women carry out is not in the form of confrontation, because they understand the weakness of their position and are reluctant to be involved in open confrontation not only with men but also with the traditional and religious values understood by the Batak people, generally, including women themselves. Submission in the form of accommodation to all forms of patriarchy can be interpreted as resistance and is seen as a strategy, part of a bargaining process *that* has no beginning or end. For women who live in a patriarchal social order, knowing when it is time to give in is an integral part of knowing how and when it is time to fight back,<sup>47</sup> or what is also called a form of resistance, an art of survival for women who live in a patriarchal social and cultural order.

### **Between Resistance and a more Accommodating Attitude**

There was an interesting discussion between Beauvoir and Sartre about gender relations, Beauvoir stated that men are the creators of the world, they are *designers* who shape what the world will be like. Then Sartre immediately answered, that despite this, it does not mean that women do not have a choice, women can still choose freely, namely to dissolve in the patriarchal system, try to fight it, or commit suicide to avoid it. If the woman still chooses to live then the woman deliberately includes patriarchy in her vision and thoughts, thus she must bear the consequences herself.<sup>48</sup>

Through this discussion, Sarte emphasized that the gender relations created between men and women should not be viewed as a natural fact. Women have choices, although the choice to continue living under patriarchal social and cultural control carries consequences that must be borne, and that does not mean that choosing to confront does not have complicated consequences for women. So what appears to be a 'natural' fact should be understood in political and social terms, not a necessity, but a product that can be understood through mutual accommodation. So that women's consent to patriarchal structures and authority, the latent tension that exists between resistance and the more accommodating aspects of women's actions, aspects that raise questions about the ambiguity of intentions, women's subjectivity and the consequences of their actions against patriarchy, become an inseparable part in discussing defense Batak women.

The point is, that women's position should not be simply reduced. It cannot also be said that women's acceptance of patriarchal culture, even furthermore, they also become defenders of the existence of this culture, is a form of women's passivity and helplessness, which seems to justify women being weak in reason.

<sup>46</sup> Irianto, *Perempuan Di Antara Berbagai Pilihan Hukum: Studi Mengenai Strategi Perempuan Batak Toba Untuk Mendapatkan Akses Kepada Harta Waris Melalui Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa*.

<sup>47</sup> Irianto.

<sup>48</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *Second Sex: Facts and Myths*, Terj. Toni B. Febriantono. Surabaya: Pustaka Prometheus (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Prometheus, 2003).

The condition of Angkola Batak women is not only limited to defending or breaking down patriarchal culture, it is not about choosing to act submissively or aggressively with the consequence of 'suicide', it is clear that what Batak women experience is not just a dichotomous choice, there is a complexity that is not only about defending themselves. There is a complex situation behind efforts to accept, there is a complexity of resistance that is explicitly opposed to more accommodative actions, between reaching for patriarchy and empowering oneself. A threshold position between accommodating and protesting at the same time.

Angkola Batak women accept that men are placed above and are superior culturally and religiously. Customs and religion are important foundations that legitimize male dominance in Batak culture. However, it needs to be demonstrated that the Batak customs and Islamic religion that women understand are not only about the basis that positions them at the bottom, customs and religion on the one hand are tools for perpetuating patriarchy but also have consequences as tools that underlie women's liberation from the pressure of patriarchy itself. Even though female domination does not have cultural recognition and is not legitimized by religious interpretation, Angkola Batak women in certain conditions have power with unlimited spatial reach (public-domestic) as well as a more liberating role (working woman and housewife). Instead of being confined, custom and religion become nomenclature that frees us to move towards infinity while remaining in harmony; as a woman of culture, religion, and not behind the times. Role effectiveness and time efficiency while still feeling feminine amidst the onslaught of masculine roles.

The outline that can be seen is that Batak women have accommodated patriarchal interests to empower their interests simultaneously. Satisfaction in playing the role of a woman who is free to take part in both public and domestic roles is important for Angkola's existence. Shackled on the surface, liberated within. So these shackles and freedom are still a puzzle for women themselves which can only be felt by each woman based on her experience (subjective). So women's intention to maintain patriarchy has a double meaning (ambiguous).

With the help of Batak culture and understanding of the Islamic religion, Batak women developed strategies to escape the gender constraints that enveloped them. Even though they are seen as women who have a real double burden, having to take care of the domestic sphere and also work in the public sphere makes them women who are not completely dependent on their husbands, especially financially. This makes Batak women truly empowered and have high fighting power in society. They earn money and store it in the form of gold jewelry while increasing economic security. Here it is implied how custom and religion are sources that suppress women but also liberate them.

Apart from that, the consequences of patriarchal culture mean that Batak women do not rely at all on customs to provide them with equal opportunities with men. As the understanding of Islam there also perpetuates patriarchal culture. So they try to continue to respect men no matter what they are because custom and religion mandate that; men are the source of *sahala* (authority) and

they are leaders for women ( الرجال قوامون على النساء ).<sup>49</sup> The need to respect men is part of the lives of Batak women in Padang Lawas. Continuing to play a domestic role even though having a job in the public sector is a matter of necessity, women do this as an integral part of their lives, integrated with habituation, both culture, religion and the social conditions that surround them. However, the unique thing is that this decree makes Batak women struggle more in facing a culture that is 'harsh' towards them. This is in no way understood as a form of colonialism against them, on the contrary, custom makes Batak women more valuable because of their tenacity.

The dominance of space and roles that are often carried out by women to strengthen the patrilineal system is manifested in patterns of resistance that contain complex and ambiguous meanings. Even though the pattern of resistance carried out by women is aimed at strengthening the patrilineal system, in fact, it also has certain crisis consequences for men.<sup>50</sup> As women have also been going through this crisis phase for a long time,<sup>51</sup> which they counter with forms of resistance in everyday life. So efforts to preserve patriarchy from the women's side can also be interpreted as an effort to fight against patriarchal culture.

## Conclusion

The analysis of Angkola Batak women presented in this article confirms several important findings from recent research on Angkola Batak women and patriarchal culture. Among them, the compromising attitude of Angkola Batak women towards patriarchal culture cannot be interpreted as a form of submission without containing an element of resistance. Efforts to balance between custom and religion with more cooperative actions towards aspects of patriarchy are interpreted as a parallel part of defense, therefore negotiating with patriarchal culture is a complex strategy. Complexity can be seen from how Angkola Batak women accommodate but on the other hand, also resist changing the dominant patriarchal order. So the efforts to perpetuate patriarchal culture that Angkola Batak women carry out are a scheme of resistance against patriarchy itself, without paying attention to the estimated time when the change will occur as a consequence.

Thus, Angkola Batak women's negotiations are characterized by a conformational attitude by showing efforts to adapt to patriarchal values as a representation of a form of resistance to patriarchal culture itself. This typical negotiation of Batak women is summarized in how they dominate the roles of

<sup>49</sup> Verse excerpt from QS al-Nisa' 4: 34. Which means: Men are the leaders of women.

<sup>50</sup> Brahmana, "The Influence Of The Socialization Of Gender Roles On Patriarchal Culture and Masculine Ideology On The Emergence Of Gender Role Conflict In Men Of Karo Tribe." Ulfa Ramadhani Nasution, "WHEN TRADITION AGAINST MODERNITY: Batak Angkola Men's Resistance towards Gender Equality," *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (2023): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16102>.

<sup>51</sup> Irianto, *Perempuan Di Antara Berbagai Pilihan Hukum: Studi Mengenai Strategi Perempuan Batak Toba Untuk Mendapatkan Akses Kepada Harta Waris Melalui Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa*.

cultural space (public and domestic; being working mothers and housewives). This paper reiterates that the accommodative attitude of Angkola Batak women, on the other hand also contains elements of protest, where women persisting and defending themselves against patriarchal culture is an effort to negotiate and resist which is followed by strengthening patriarchy but also empowering women themselves. It seems to perpetuate patriarchal culture, but simultaneously, in different realities, women continuously fight against this domination in certain ways in different structures and times.

## References

- Baiduri, Ratih. "Paradoks Perempuan Batak Toba: Suatu Penafsiran Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya Sastra Ende Siboru Tombaga." *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan* 31, no. 1 (June 8, 2015): 51–60. <https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v31i1.1088>.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *Second Sex: Facts and Myths*. Terj. Toni B. Febriantono. Surabaya: Pustaka Prometheus. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Prometheus, 2003.
- Brahmana, Karina Meriem Beru. "The Influence Of The Socialization Of Gender Roles On Patriarchal Culture and Masculine Ideology On The Emergence Of Gender Role Conflict In Men Of Karo Tribe." In *International Conference on Psychology and Multiculturalism 2017*, 94–101. Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, n.d.
- Brasher, Brenda E. *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power*. New York: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Chong, Kelly H. "Negotiating Patriarchy: South Korean Evangelical Women and the Politics of Gender." *Gender & Society* 20, no. 6 (2006): 697–724. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206291111>.
- Damayanti, Ria. "FENOMENA JUMLAH SINAMOT DALAM PERKAWINAN SUKU BATAK (STUDI KASUS DI DESA HAJORAN JULU, KABUPATEN LABUHAN BATU SELATAN, PROVINSI SUMATERA UTARA)." UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2019.
- Davidman, Lynn. *Tradition in a Rootless World: Women Turn to Orthodox Judaism*. Univ of California Press, 1991.
- Griffith, R Marie. *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission*. Univ of California Press, 1997.
- Harahap, BH, and Hotman M. Siahaan. *Orientation of Batak Cultural Values: An Approach to the Behavior of the Toba Angkola-Mandailing Batak*. Jakarta: Sangkat Willem Iskandar, 1987.
- Irianto, Sulistyowati. *Perempuan Di Antara Berbagai Pilihan Hukum: Studi Mengenai Strategi Perempuan Batak Toba Untuk Mendapatkan Akses Kepada Harta Waris Melalui Proses Penyelesaian Sengketa*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003.
- Kaufman, Debra Renee. "Patriarchal Women: A Case Study of Newly Orthodox Jewish Women." *Symbolic Interaction* 12, no. 2 (1989): 299–314. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1989.12.2.299>.

- Lubis, Rosliana. "Partuturon in Angkola Society." *USU Scientific Journal of Language and Literature* 2, no. 1 (2006).
- Lubis, Suaidah. "Work-Life Balance Strategy for Wives Working in the Public Sector from Mandailing Tribe Muslim Families in Medan, North Sumatra." UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2019.
- MacLeod, Arlene Elowe. "Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 17, no. 3 (1992): 533–57. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494748>.
- Menjívar, Cecilia, and Olivia Salcido. "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries." *Gender & Society* 16, no. 6 (2002): 898–920. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124302237894>.
- Mohanty, Chandra. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Indiana UP. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- Munthe, Hadriana Marhaeni. "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>.
- Nasution, Ulfa Ramadhani. "Nalar Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak: Kajian Maskulinitas Laki-Laki Batak Dalam Menghadapi Modernitas Dan Kesetaraan Gender." UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2021.
- . "WHEN TRADITION AGAINST MODERNITY: Batak Angkola Men's Resistance towards Gender Equality." *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 16, no. 1 (2023): 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2023.16102>.
- Pardede, Erlina. *Menelusuri Bentuk-Bentuk Kekerasan Perempuan Di Masyarakat Adat*. Sidikalang: Pesada Publishers, 2010.
- Pohan, Syarif Husein. "The Position of a Wife as a Breadwinner in the Family (Study in Aek Lancat Village, Lubuk Barumun District, Padang Lawas Regency, North Sumatra Province)." UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2018.
- Rosaldo, Michelle Z. "The Use and Abuse of Anthropology: Reflections on Feminism and Cross-Cultural Understanding." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 3 (1980): 389–417. <https://doi.org/10.1086/493727>.
- Rose, Susan D. "Women Warriors: The Negotiation of Gender in a Charismatic Community." *Sociological Analysis* 48, no. 3 (1987): 245–58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3711521>.
- Rubin, Jeffrey W. "Defining Resistance: Contested Interpretations of Everyday Acts." *Stud. L. Pol. & Soc'y* 15 (1995): 237.
- Sibarani, Robbert and Peninna Simanjuntak. "Rights and Position of Batak Toba Women Who Have No Brothers in the Distribution of Inheritance: A Sociological Study of Literature," 1999.
- Siregar, Helmi Suryana. "Perubahan Kedudukan Perempuan Pada Masyarakat Batak Angkola." *Jurnal Ius Constituendum* 6, no. 1 (2021): 252–68. <https://doi.org/10.26623/jic.v6i1.3281>.
- Siregar, Mangihut. "Ketidaksetaraan Gender Dalam Dalihan Na Tolu." *Jurnal Studi Kultural* 2, no. 1 (2017).

- Situmorang, Bill Tancher. "Gengsi Etnis Batak Toba Dalam Pendidikan (Studi Di Desa Urat Timur Kecamatan Palipi Kabupaten Samosir)." Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2017.
- Sunesti, Yuyun, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca. "Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah: Agency and Identity Negotiation." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 173–98. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.173-198>.
- Vergouwen, Jacob Cornelis. *Masyarakat Dan Hukum Adat Batak Toba*. Yogyakarta: LKIS Pelangi Aksara, 2004.