

Gender Analysis in the Dalihan Na Tolu System in Batak Toba Culture in Samosir

Prinsi Rigitta

Universitas Al-Azhar, Jl. Pintu Air IV No. 214 Kwala Bekala Padang Bulan Medan
rigittaprinsi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: The position, social relations and social roles of women in the Dalihan Na Tolu system of the Toba Batak tribe are important to study considering that the patriarchal system still dominates decision making in the socio-economic life of the Toba Batak tribe which is able to control production assets. The purpose of this study is to determine gender roles through the concept of Dalihan Na Tolu and 3H in the extended family system. The research method used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches using social role analysis in a gender perspective combined with the Harvard Model gender analysis method. The research location is in Pangururan District, Samosir Regency, most of whom work as farmers. The role and position of women in the perspective of the Toba Batak ethnic group in Pangururan District have a strategic role and position in decision making. Social relations between men and women experience a shift in cultural values towards women, along with the increase in education, the level of economic needs is also increasing. The factors that influence gender equality in Toba Batak women in the Harvard Model Gender Analysis consist of: Community norms and social hierarchies. Community norms and social hierarchies are norms that have developed in an area that have been passed down from generation to generation. Demographic factors such as number of children, age, education are considered as obstacles to gender equality. The weak economy of the people in Samosir causes institutional structure / economic factors to be considered as obstacles to gender equality. Political factors are an obstacle to gender equality. Legal parameter factors are an obstacle to gender equality. The training factor is an opportunity for gender equality. The factor of public attitudes towards outside intervention is considered as an obstacle to gender equality.

Keyword: The Position of Toba Batak Women, the Concept of Dalihan Na Tolu, Gender Analysis. Gender equality.

I. INTRODUCTION

The pride of the Toba Batak community in having the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system can be seen in the ideas that are often related to traditional practices that prioritize the harmonization of the three elements (stove) in an integrated unity. In the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system there is equality with each other because in this system there is no caste. In addition, each position will always change. No one always has the same position at every traditional event or in social life. Everyone's position always changes according to the situation and conditions. No one always has the same position at every traditional event or in social life. Everyone's position always changes according to the situation and conditions. *Dalihan Na Tolu* consists of: *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu* and *boru*. *Hula-hula* is the giver of the wife, *dongan tubu* is the ones who is the same clan, and *boru* is the recipient of the wife. Every Toba Batak person will be included in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* element. There are no restrictions on heredity, region or sex.

Adult Batak Toba people who don't know each other, they always *martarombo* and *martutur*, that is, trace their lineages, to determine the kinship between them. Every Toba Batak people have a kinship relationship with one another. This relationship occurs because all Batak people believe in the same ancestor, namely Si Raja Batak. In the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system, men are the main role, while women are only complementary. The patriarchal ideology contained in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system makes this system centered on men. Men are called kings, while women are never queens, only called princesses (*boru ni raja*).

This cultural value is used as a view and at the same time a life goal which can be formulated as a series of three words, namely wealth (*hamoraon*), many children (*hagabeon*) and honor (*hasangapon*). Respect for these customs will certainly have an impact on the social relations of women and men in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system. In the terminology of the Toba Batak culture, the positions of men and women are conceptualized in an honorable position. For men, the term is known as *anak ni raja*, while women are called *raja ni boru*. These two terms do not necessarily place women in an equal position with others in the socio-cultural structure of the Toba Batak people, especially in managing resources and in the decision-making process in various traditional events. The position of men is higher than women, who are constructed naturally and culturally.

Every boy who was born was nicknamed by the term sibursok (responsible), girls were nicknamed sitatap (staring at the beautiful).

With this difference between man and woman, which is God's creature, natural, permanent, non-exchangeable and applies throughout generations. Patriarchal culture controls culture to interpret biological differences as appropriate indicators through action, and there is an emphasis on rights, access, participation in supervision, enjoy the benefits of existing resources and information. In this context, it is the focus of the study by examining it through the Harvard model of gender analysis to see the social roles and functions of Toba Batak women in the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 The Research Approach

The approach used in this study is a qualitative and quantitative approach. Data and information tracing was carried out to find and understand in a sequence about the *Dalihan Na Tolu* system in the social relations of Batak Toba women (Moleong, 2018).

The data to be collected comes from two sources, namely: primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interview techniques and participant observation which aims to gather information about mangrove forest management, also sharpened with focus group discussion techniques. Meanwhile for quantitative data, data was collected through interviews through questionnaires to several respondents who were drawn from the existing population (Hadi, 2015).

2.2. The Research of Informan

The determination of informants is based on the grouping of key informants which include traditional leaders, community leaders, administrators of customary and community organizations who are domiciled in Pangururan, Samosir Regency. There is no limitation on the number of informants, as long as the data required has answered the objectives of this study. Secondary data were obtained from related organizations, such as documents regarding the general description of the area, the *Dalihan Na Tolu* Batak Toba Kinship System which was related to regional ties, places of residence and so on.

2.3 Sampling Method

The sample in this study was rice farmer households. The sampling procedure in this study was purposive sampling. The reason for using this method is because the presence of male and female rice farmers is not evenly distributed over a very large area and there are several locations that have difficulty in means of transportation.

To determine the research sample, the equation introduced by Slovin was used with an error rate set at 10 percent (Sutrisno Hadi (2015). Based on this, this study took a sample of 103 rice farmer households in Pangururan District.

III. Result And Discussion

3.1 Gender Relations and Patriarchal Systems to the Role of Toba Batak Women in the Dalihan Na Tolu System

Social differences in the concept of gender have given rise to differences in the roles of women and men in the society. generally, the existence of gender has created differences in roles, responsibilities, functions and even the space in which humans are active. So it seems that this gender difference is inherent in our perspective, so that we often forget as if it is something permanent and eternal as permanent and eternal as the biological characteristics of women and men (Fakih, 2004).

The meaning of the word "gender" can be interpreted as the existence of differences in roles in society, functions, and status and responsibilities of men and women as a result of the formation (construction) of the existing socio-culture through the socialization process from one generation of society to another. Thus gender is the result of an agreement between humans in social life which is not natural. Therefore gender varies from generation to generation and from place to place. Gender that is not natural, gender can change and can be exchanged from one human to another depending on the time and local culture (Puspitawati, 2012).

Gender is the difference between men and women in roles, functions, rights, responsibilities, and behaviors that are shaped by the social, cultural and customary values of community groups which can change according to time and conditions of the local community. Community responsibility and behavior is shaped by

the social, cultural and customary values of community groups which can change according to time and conditions of the local community.

So it can be said that gender is related to ethics between men and women. Due to differences in reproductive organs, men who fertilize with spermatozoa and women experience menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding, in this case, it does bring consequences for different reproductive functions. With this difference between a man and a woman, this is God's being, natural, permanent, non-exchangeable and valid throughout generations.

Patriarchal culture controls culture to interpret this biological difference into appropriate indicators through action, and there is an emphasis on rights, access, participation in supervision, to enjoy the benefits of existing resources and information. It varies greatly from society to society in terms of demands for roles or tasks performed by men or women, as well as positions and obligations that are appropriate and which are not appropriate for men or women (Monika, 2012). There is a perspective of some people that limits the roles that both men and women should play, for example a man who walks into the kitchen is considered taboo or a father who is holding his baby in front of people and a mother is considered taboo if she works outside. But for some residents, men and women are allowed to become masons on construction project (stirring cement, lifting bricks or sand), women are also doing it to replace broken house tiles or climbing coconut trees, while men gamble and participate on cock fighting.

Gender analysis is the right tool and technique to find out whether there are gender problems or not by knowing the gender disparity. With gender analysis, it is expected that gender gaps can be identified and analyzed appropriately so that the factors causing them can be found and steps to solve the problem.

This study uses the Harvard Model Gender Analysis technique because:

1. Determine whether there is an investment in the economy made by both women and men or not.
2. Provide more detailed information as a basis for achieving efficiency goals with an optimal level of gender equity
3. Shows various jobs of men and women in society and see the factors that cause differences (Elaina Rose, 2000).

3.2 Harvard Model Gender Analysis on the Gender Role of Women in Samosir District

(a) Activity Profile

The first Harvard Analysis Tool is the activity profile. There are two household activities in Samosir Regency, namely production activities and average reproductive activities

- **Production and Reproduction Activities**

Production and Reproduction activities for household women in Samosir District can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1
Profile of Rice Farmer Household Production Activities in Samosir

Activities	Female farmers(%)	Male farmers(%)
Land cleaning	-	99 (100%)
Seeding	99 (100%)	-
Planting	99 (100%)	5 (5%)
Weeding	99 (100%)	-
Fertilization	87 (87%)	16 (16%)
Eradicate pests	-	97 (97%)
Harvest	46 (46%)	57 (57%)
Raise livestock	-	47 (47%)

Trading	31 (31%)	-
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Source : Primary Processed Data, 2020

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that the results of the sampling of 99 rice farmer households in Samosir Regency are as follows:

- All male farmers performed land clearing work, while female farmers did not clear the land.
- All female farmers do seedings while male farmers do not do seeding work.
- The planting was carried out by all female farmers while only 5 male farmers participated in the planting.
- Weeding is carried out by all female farmers while male farmers do not do the work.
- Fertilization was carried out by 87 female farmers, while 16 male farmers were involved in the fertilization work. In this work, it was found that there were several households that did fertilization together.
- The harvest work was carried out by 46 female farmers while 57 male farmers were involved in the harvest work. In the harvest work, there are several households whose husband and wife do it together.

Apart from the agricultural production activities mentioned above, it is found that there are several other activities that function as a livelihood such as livestock raising and trading. As for livestock and fisheries activities, which include raising livestock such as pigs and goldfish, are carried out by 47 households, namely male farmers. Then there are also trade production activities which include opening grocery stalls. This trading activity was found in 31 households which were only worked by female farmers.

Based on the results of interviews about productive activities carried out by the farmer household, Mrs. Isabel boru Tobing and her husband, Mr. Sihol Siregar, some information is obtained as follows. Mrs. Isabel works as a rice farmer in Balige District. Isabel's mother is also a strong Batak woman. He does several important things in rice farming activities, namely seeding rice seeds, then planting them regularly, then weeding rice from weeds and the like, providing fertilizer and rice harvesting activities. Besides working as a rice farmer, Mrs. Isabel also has a *kede* (tavern) in front of her house. In the *kede*, there are merchandise such as groceries and snacks. Doing sales after returning from the fields. The result of this side job becomes additional income to support the family economy considering the increasingly narrow rice fields. Mr. Sihol Siregar, her husband, also helped in clearing agricultural land and spraying pesticides on rice crops to eradicate pests. During the harvest, Mr. Sihol also helped Isabel.

Furthermore, reproductive activities. This activity emphasizes the domination of female farmers in the family, such as caring for children, making and preparing food, cleaning houses, carrying jerry cans filled with water, taking care of children when they are sick, controlling children while studying and buying staples at the market. But there is also a role for men, even though it's only like taking firewood for cooking, repairing houses such as leaky roofs, painting walls and so on.

Table 2
Profile of Rice Farmer Household Reproduction Activities in Samosir

Activities	Female farmers (%)	Male farmers (%)
Baby-sit	99 (100%)	9 (10%)
Cooking	99 (100%)	-
House cleaning	99 (100%)	7 (8%)
Fetch water	94 (95%)	5 (5%)
Fetch firewood, repairing leaky roofs, painting walls.	-	99 (100%)
Take care when child is ill	99 (100%)	-
Supervise studying child	99 (100%)	-

Buying staples at market	99 (100%)	-
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Source: Processed Primary Data, 2020

Based on Table 2, it can be seen that the first reproductive activity is looking after children. This activity was carried out by all female farmers (99 female farmers). However, it was also found in 9 households that carried out reproductive activities together with their wives (female farmers) and husbands (male farmers). The second reproductive activity is cooking and food preparation. This activity was carried out by all wives (female farmers) from the researched household without assistance from their husbands (male farmers). The third reproductive activity is cleaning the house. This activity was carried out by all wives (female farmers) from the households studied, with 7 households doing this house cleaning activity together with their wives (female farmers) and husbands (male farmers). The fourth reproductive activity is taking water. This activity was carried out by the wife (female farmer) in 94 households while in 5 households it was carried out by the husband (male farmer). The fifth reproductive activity is taking fire wood, repairing leaking roofs and painting the walls of the house. All of these activities were carried out by male farmers in all rice farmer households studied. The sixth reproductive activity is caring for children when they are sick. This activity was carried out by all wives (female farmers) in the 99 farmer households studied. The seventh reproductive activity is to supervise children's learning which is carried out by all wives (female farmers) in the rice farmer household studied. The eighth reproductive activity, namely shopping at the market, is also entirely done by the wife (female farmer) of the whole rice farmer household studied.

Based on the results of an interview with Mrs. Erni Panjaitan, a female farmer who does not forget her job as the mother of her two children and as a wife who has to carry out household tasks. She got up early in the morning at 4 o'clock. Cooked rice and cooked side dishes for breakfast for her husband and children and arranged the rice and side dishes into the basket to take to the rice fields. Then proceed to bathe the two children, and prepare all the equipment that will be brought to work in the fields. After returning from the fields, other reproductive tasks await, such as washing clothes, bathing the children, cooking for dinner and accompanying the children to study.

(b) Access and Control

Access and control are two different concepts, but in reality these two concepts are inseparable and interrelated. Access is an opportunity that can be achieved by men and women to do, own or enjoy a variety of resources related to information / education, capital, technology and opportunities to do business or work. Meanwhile, control concerns the extent to which men and women have the power or ability in the decision-making process in planning, doing, owning or enjoying something (Nugraheni et al, 2012).

The pattern of household decision making between husband and wife is decided by the husband, but the wife is sometimes asked for her opinion on a matter. However, if his opinion is not asked, the wife will not speak. Access to resources that can be accessed by women is money and training. Meanwhile, control of these resources remains with men or husbands.

Other business income, ownership assets, education, political power and prestige are still things that can only be accessed by men or husbands. Women or wives can only access benefits in the form of basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. Meanwhile, control of these benefits is still with men or husbands.

The following is a table of research results on access and control in rice farmer households in Samosir:

Table 3

Access and Control in Rice Farmer Household in Samosir

Resources and Benefits	Female farmers (%)		Male farmers (%)	
	Access	Control	Access	Control
Land, production tool, labor, education dan saving	99(100%)	-	99(100%)	99(100%)
Money and training	99(100%)	-	99(100%)	99(100%)

External income, basic needs	99(100%)	-	99(100%)	99(100%)
Ownership assets, education	45(45%)	-	99(100%)	99(100%)
Political power, prestige			99(100%)	99(100%)

Source: Processed Primary Data, 2020

Based on Table 3, it can be seen that Access and Control in the rice farmer household in Samosir is as follows:

- **Resource**

Resources in the form of land, means of production, labor, education and savings can be accessed by all wives (female farmers) and husbands (male farmers) in the rice farmer household studied, but control can only be done by husbands (male farmers). Resources in the form of money and training can be accessed by wives (female farmers) and husbands (male farmers), but control can only be done by husbands (men)..

- **Benefit**

Benefits in the form of side income, basic necessities such as food, clothing and housing can be accessed by all respondents, wives (female farmers) and husbands (male farmers) in the rice farmer household, while control of these benefits remains with the husband (male farmers).

Benefits in the form of asset ownership, education, political power / prestige / social can only be accessed by 45 wives (female farmers) out of 99 female farmer respondents. Meanwhile, all husbands (male farmers) can access these benefits. For control of benefits in the form of ownership assets, education, political power / prestige fully rests with the husband (male farmer). Risyard Albert, (2012) in his research in Liang Village, Central Maluku District, describes that women devote more time to work than men so that women's access and control of socio-political activities is smaller than men.

IV. CONCLUSION

1. The more influential the Toba Batak Tradition on the dominance of female farmers in rice farming, the more female farmers spend their working time. The very patrilineal Batak culture causes the wife to be more active in earning a living to increase the bargaining position in front of her husband.
2. Based on the Harvard analysis tool in Samosir, it was found that there was no gender equality between husbands (male farmers) and wives (female farmers) both in production and reproduction activities as well as access to control over resources..
3. Profiles of activities or production activities carried out by female farmers are seed preparation, planting, weeding or cleaning and harvesting activities. Meanwhile, the production activities carried out by male farmers include land clearing, fertilization, eradication of pests or plant diseases and side jobs such as entrepreneurship and raising livestock such as pigs and goldfish. In reproductive activities, caring for children, cooking and preparing food, cleaning the house, fetching water, caring for children when they are sick, watching children learn and shopping at the market are done by the wife. However, there is also a role for men in looking after children and cleaning the house in a few households. Meanwhile, the activities of taking firewood for cooking, repairing houses such as leaky roofs, painting walls and so on that require physically strong and dangerous are done by men..
4. Batak Toba women who carry out economic activities in Samosir are obedience to their husbands and Batak customs, although in the end these economic activities produce output in the form of production and income. The very patrilineal Batak culture adheres to the philosophy of "*hamoraon hagabeon hasangapon*" which means sufficient material, many boys and prestige; is the purpose of life for the Batak people. The philosophy should have made Batak men in fact the husbands to be fully responsible for a family. But as time passed, through several generations, this philosophy underwent a shift which made Batak men in Toba Samosir prefer to sit on *lapo* drinking *tuak* and chat with their *dongan* rather than devote time to work or help their wives..

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