

PATRIARCHAL REPRODUCTION OF WOMEN'S GENDER IDEOLOGY IN THE PAKPAK FAMILY, INDONESIA

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Abstract. *This study deconstructs the role of women as reproductive people in patriarchy through cases of marginalization of women in the Pakpak community in Pegagan Julu VIII village, Dairi District, North Sumatra, Indonesia. This study uses a feminist sociology perspective with a feminist qualitative approach. The aim of this study is to examine how the reproductive process patriarch of women in the community of Pakpak community in Pegagan Julu VIII Village. The study results show the process of patriarchal reproduction in women (mothers) down streaming to gender ideology patriarchal entrenched and attached Pakpak women's values. The patriarchal gender ideology attachment of Pakpak women is shown in the treatment or practices that prioritized son than a daughter in the family.*

Keyword: patriarchal reproduction, reproductive people, marginalization of women

JEL Classification: J1, J16

1. Introduction

Several studies examining patriarchal culture are the cause of the occurrence of marginalization, violence and women's subordination in Pakpak societies (Padang, 2009, Pardede, 2010, Bangun, 2013, Tinendung, 2012). Furthermore, these studies recommend cultural solutions to solve gender inequality in women. Indeed, it cannot be denied that these studies were able to explain the inequality of Pakpak women leading to a patriarchal position within the framework of cultural analysis. But so far the existing studies do not see the existence of social actors as patriarchal who strengthen the structure of gender inequality in the Pakpak community. As a result, the solution to addressing gender inequality in Pakpak women as proposed by previous studies has so far not adequately addressed the problems faced by Pakpak women, especially those in rural areas (Munthe, 2017). This study explains that cases of marginalization in women of low-income families and even high economic families caused by patriarchal practice carried out by people closest to the family. The study saw that poor families tended to practice discrimination and marginalization in girls accessing education at the level of Junior High School and Secondary School. While the marginalization of education occurs in higher education

girls (diplomas or stratum 1) in relatively wealthy families. Referring to the Munthe study (2017) indicates that the family's representation of social structures has the potential to maintain patriarchal values and norms.

Furthermore, this study confirms that in social institutions such as families there are cases of marginalization of women who are entrenched in the presence of parents, brothers and sisters-in-law as actors or social actors who have the potential to oppress women. This study also has similarities with other studies that place the existence of men as social actors or the main actors who construct, produce and reproduce patriarchal values (Chester et al., 1944; Cravey, 1998; Krane et al., 2000; Shirkat, 2001; McFadden, 2001; Alpizar, 2003; Maria, 2003; Cevallos, 2003; Susanty, 2003; Cockburn, 2004; Hunter, 2005, Rianingsih, 2005; Chowdorry, 2005; Pantaleo, 2006; Erturk, 2007; Panther, 2007; Shaheed, 2008; Misri, 2008; Martinez, 2008; Menjivar, 2008; Agarwal, 2009; Abell, 2009; Naeem, 2011).

While the reality and facts that reveal women as reproductive actors of patriarchy have so far not been studied or revealed in research. There are several studies of social activism that show the existence of women as actors of cultural reproduction and resistance (Tridewiyanti, 2009) in Arab communities in Jakarta. Other study shows that the reveal of existence of women as socialization in patriarchy cultured families conducted in rural Pakpak Batak communities (Pardede, 2010; Tinendung, 2012 dan, Munthe, 2017).

Likewise, the study of the phenomenon of women's inequality in the Pakpak community turned out that no one has yet taught the existence of women as patriarchal reproductive actors. The study of women as actors of reproductive patriarchy is important to do with the background of the complexity of gender issues in the Pakpak community which has a background of the diversity of people (Suak). The Pakpak Batak community or termed Tanoh Pakpak (Berutu, 1998) is classified into five major sections ware, namely: (1) Pakpak Simsim, namely the Pakpak Batak people who live and have customary rights in the Simsim region covering Salak, Sitali Telu Urang Jehe, Situju, Kerajaan, Pergetteng-getteng Sengkut, Tinada and Jambu. There were included Berutu, Padang, Solin, Cibro, Sinamo, Boang Manalu, Manik, Banurea, Sitakar, Kabeaken, Lembeng, Tinendung and others. (2) Pakpak Keppas, namely Pakpak Batak people who settled and had customary rights in the Sidikalang area, Sidikalang, Sitalu Nempu, Siempat Nempu, Silima Pungga-Pungga, Tanoh Pinem, Parbuluan, Lae Hulung. namely Bintang, Capah, Ujung, Berampu, Pasi, Maha and others. (3) Pakpak Pegagan, namely Pakpak Batak people who settled and owned customary rights in the Pegagan region including Sumbul, Tiga Baru, Silalahi, and Tiga Lingga. (4) Pakpak Kalasen, the Pakpak Batak people who lived and owned customary rights in the Classen area included the Parlilitan, Pakkat, Barus and Manduamas areas. Generally surname was: Tiambunan, Tumangger, Turuten, Maharaja, Pinayungan, Anak Ampun, Berasa, Gajah, Ceun, Meka, Mungkur, Kesogihen and others. (5) Pakpak Boang, namely Pakpak Batak, people who living and have owned customary rights the Boang area including Singkil namely:

Simpang Kiri, Simpang Kanan, Lipat Kajang dan Kota Subulussalam. As for the Saraan clan, Saraan, Sambo, Bancin, Kombih, Penarik, and others.

The reality of diversity in the Pakpak ethnic community is very potential to bring up the reality of gender issues diversity, including in analyzing the social position of women. In the sense that the social position of women in Pakpak society must consider the existence of clan that might influence the position of women. In addition to understanding Pakpak women's problems which are characterized by a variety of, it must be remembered that the reality of Pakpak women reflects the reality that is not always homogeneous when viewed from the social, marital status, age, education, religion and livelihood activities.

2. Research Methods

This study using a qualitative approach with a feminist perspective study case design. The emphasis of the feminist perspective in this study explains how women's perspectives interpret the existence of other women as patriarchal reproductive actors who practice the marginalization of women in the family. Typical feminist case studies emphasize in-depth and complete description of the study of events of a single person, group, organization or community. Feminist researchers state that feminist theory will be impoverished without case studies. This implies that understanding women needs to be thoroughly studied in their cases. Determination of case studies in feminist research is driven by the desire to straighten out research tainted by gynopia, misogyny, and the compilation of theories dominated by men.

Through the case study method, the existing data is developed with various other facts into a single case so that the related data is utilized maximally to achieve an in-depth and complete analysis. In this approach it relies on the assumption that the case under study is typical for certain types of cases so that through in-depth analysis, generalizations can be made which can be applied to other cases of similar types (Maquaire, 1986; Reinhartz, 1992; Wolf, 1996; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Venny, 2006; Pardede, 2010 and Suriadi et al., 2015).

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Result

In accordance with the research design, namely case studies, this study presents cases of marginalization of women obtained from various sources. Case information originating from the local community, the empowerment of women in village government. Information about cases of marginalization was also obtained directly from women and community leaders (Sirojuzilam et al., 2016). In addition to information from these sources, other supporting data is also shown by data on the inequality of education levels of the population based on the sex of Pegagan village Julu VIII.

Likewise, observations made in March to May 2014 showed that they tended to practice marginalization of education as well as inheritance rights to girls in the family.

The most prominent practice of marginalizing education for women is found in low-income families. While families are relatively rich in marginalization practices occur in girls accessing high-level education (college). Whereas cases of marginalization of inheritance rights for women are related to inheritance systems that apply in the patrilineal of Pakpak community system.

Regarding the entire case data collection that took place in September and October 2014, finally there 10 cases of marginalization of women in the family who specifically showed the potential of women as actors of patriarchal reproduction.

After studying and discussing the case with the research team in December 2014, the study focused on ten marginalization cases of women who had experienced cases and agreed to become research informants.

Each of the three cases of marginalization of education for family girls headed by widowed (poor) women and five cases of marginalization of education and inheritance in low-income family women and two cases of marginalization of women's education in wealthy families. Determination of women who are willing to be informants is based on social characteristics, namely age, marital status, class gender (berru), education, work, and residence (according to Pakpak family characteristics). Regarding the characteristics of woman informants presented in the following Table 1 as follows:

Table 1. Characteristics of Woman Informants

Informant	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	Family Name	Living with
Informant 1	15-year-old	Single	Primary School	Farming sector	Munthe	Parent
Informant 2	17-year-old	Single	Primary School	Farming sector	Lingga	Parent
Informant 3	18-year-old	Single	Primary School	Farming sector	Tumangger	Family
Informant 4	18-year-old	Single	Primary School	Fabric Worker	Keloko	Family
Informant 5	19-year-old	Single	Primary School	Fabric Worker	Tinambunan	Family
Informant 6	35-year-old	Widow	Primary School	Maid	Tinendung	As a Housemaid

Informant 7	17- year- old	Single	Primary School	Maid	Capah	As a Housemaid
Informant 8	25- year- old	Married	High School	Housewife	Maha	Husband Family
Informant 9	30- year- old	Married	High School	Housewife	Angkat	Husband Family
Informant 10	35- year- old	Married	High School	House Wife	Manik	Core Family

Source: Primary Data (2015).

All woman informants who experienced marginalized or discriminatory practices conducted focus group discussions (FGD) and structured interviews from the beginning of January 2015 to April 2015. Interview material and FGD included a system of division of labor between men and women in the family, history of marginalization, causes of marginalization, forms the form of marginalization and identifying who are the main actors and supporters of discrimination and marginalization in the family.

All interviews with informants using Indonesian and also local languages (Pakpak) were conducted by a team of researchers and field research assistants assisted by local people as translators. The use of local languages is preferred by informants rather than Indonesian because local languages make informants more open and comfortable. The final interview results were made in the form of transcripts of each informant whose results were studied and discussed by the research team. In addition, FGDs were also conducted on village women from various social categories, namely age, marital status, residency status, education, employment, Pakpak clan (berru).

The purpose of the FGD is for village women to find out how they understand the roles of gender, gender relations and also the ideology of gender in their communities. Furthermore, determining key informants is someone who is considered to know a lot or has essential information about the subject of research.

Key informants in this study: (a). Community members who know women's background as research subjects. (b). Local public / government officials as sources of information to obtain cases of women's inequality in public institutions. (c). Community leaders, traditional leaders who know and understand the social values and cultural values of the Pakpak community. Based on the characteristics that were determined finally three people were willing to become key informants representing community members, government (local) and community leaders.

3.1.1. Gender Ideology of Pakpak

The concept of gender is interpreted as a difference that is not biological and not natural (Oakley, 1972; Wallace and Candida, 1991; Mosse, 1992; Moser, 1993; William et al., 1994; Wijaya 1996). Caplan (in Abdullah, 2001) describes that differences in behavior between men and women are not as biology, but through social and cultural processes. Gender is therefore bound by culture, space and time, changes from time to time and place even from class to class, while biological sex (sex) will remain unchanged.

Gender becomes a polemic source in a society which tends to harm certain groups, namely women. Gender reality shows that women experience more physical and non-physical violence in various societies and cultures. The presence of boys is more desirable than girls. Similarly, many cultures in the community treat boys more special than girls.

In community development programs, women are less involved, or often their interests are neglected so that in the name of development women are also parties that are often sacrificed. As a result, the symptoms of women's impoverishment and feminisation of poverty and various other sufferings are increasingly severe for women because of their gender status. This presumption is voiced by female observers or feminists. Of the overall gender issues raised, it can be redeemed that women do face an inherent and inherent problem with their identity, status and gender role (Budiman, 1981; Andersen, 1983; Fakhri, 1996; Munthe, 2007; Munthe 2017). Concerning this issue of gender, Fakhri (1996) and Abdullah (2001) two feminist male academics gave a critical view and answer.

Both analyze that the concept of gender will become a problem when existing gender differences process in social and cultural systems turn into a gender ideology that creates values or bias views on women. The consequence in the future is inequality in the form of views, treatment and various actions towards women's lives that are unfair in their society.

The idea put forward by feminist academics regarding the concept of gender, which then proceeded to become a gender ideology was used as a reference explaining the gender ideology of the Pakpak community. This idea is used because specifically there are no studies that examine the concept of gender in the Pakpak community. It is just that several studies allude to how reluctant gender and gender roles are practised in Pakpak society through studies on inequality of Pakpak women (Boangmanalu, 2009; Tinendung, 2012, Pardede, 2010, Bangun, 2013, and Munthe, 2017).

This study implies that there is an imbalanced gender relation in women if it is reviewed in the context of the life of rural communities who are strong in carrying out traditional values. Adat plays a role as a regulator of life and determines the sustainability of the life of the Pakpak community so that obedience and obedience to traditional values are prioritized in this community. However, in the customary context, women are often placed in a marginal position and subordinated by men because the system of division of labor in general activities carried out in the Pakpak custom is dominated by men. As speakers, planners and regulators of activities in adat. On the contrary women are not talking because they are not justified by customary rules.

They are usually positioned as listeners and accept all customary decisions to be implemented. The point is that women are positioned as indigenous workers, not as

receptors or traditional leaders. The Pakpak community in the countryside is very loyal to traditional values and they sacralize their common values as well as the people of Batak Toba, Karo, Simalungun and Mandailing which also have the background of a patrilineal kinship system. In patriarchy society, it is solid in constructing a patriarchal culture that is full of patriarchal power. The influence of patriarchal power can be seen in various elements of social structure that are very close to family institutions. Even patriarchal power is embedded in its institutions, namely the institution of marriage, inheritance of law, custom, politics and even religion (Ihromi, 1986, Simbolon, 1998, Irianto, 2003, Simanjuntak, 2006).

The point is that Pakpak's inequality studies provide a sign that the entrance to understanding gender ideology is placed in the framework of patrilineal Pakpak community relations systems. In the past, there are norms that regulate the roles and relations of men and women which are then used as the basis for the social institutions in the Pakpak community including the family. Not just in the family, common values are also a reference to the norms that regulate the roles and relationships of men and women in other institutions in the Pakpak community. For example, inheritance system, customary law, marriage system, education, health, politics and others.

The existence of adat as the central norm of guardianship and harmony in the Pakpak community is rooted in the values of patriarchy which are very laden with various practices of injustice to women. Adat as *local culture* is a representation of the patrilineal kinship system turns out to construct hierarchical relationships that place men as the position of the superior and women in the subordinate position (Wake, 2009, Pardede, 2010, Munthe, 2017). In the context of adat, patriarchal norms place men as kings or leaders.

Men who are authorized to lead every activity are so that the social position of men is very special and valued. On the other hand, women are only limited to executors and those who work on customary decisions. Women are not permitted to speak and are authorized to lead adat so that the consequences are weak positions and tend to be subordinated by adat. The reality of the subordinated position of women in the future reflects gender relations which also affect the construction of gender relations in family, marriage and inheritance institutions. The customary provisions impose inheritance systems that place men as the main heirs primarily to inheritance. In each customary activity the position of men as the main actors and men are considered as representatives of the family in adat.

In addition to using the patrilineal kinship system framework to explain gender relations, other clues explain the role of gender in the Pakpak community can be seen from the system of sexual labor distribution that takes place in the Pakpak community (Bangun, 2009). Pakpak families, especially poor families, women place not only domestic roles but also the main and crucial actors in supporting household economics in the public sector. Pakpak women in the countryside play a public role or their productivity role in farming, gardening and raising livestock activities.

Not only that, they are even required to participate in traditional activities as adat implementers. In all traditional ceremonies, both good work and bad work often held in Pakpak communities in this village show the involvement of huge male and female adult members. It is just that in the customary work that takes place, there is a difference in gender roles, namely men functioning as speakers or *parsinabul*. Conversely women are not allowed as speakers. Traditional activities start the opening of the program until the man finishes the core role in determining the course of the event. Likewise, concerning decisions or division of labor determined in adat activities, women are usually only as executors or those who work on decisions.

Women are more positioned as the party that prepares the event such as providing a place, holding mats and other equipment and providing consumption. When the event takes place, women usually sit at the back of the listener who is diligently listening to traditional events even though sometimes they are seen carrying, breastfeeding or caring for their toddlers. The involvement of women in customary activities or overcrowding is very significant. The reality of the participation of large Pakpak women in adat shows that they are a community group that has the potential to be a conservationist in their ethnicity (Pardede, 2010; Munthe 2017).

On the other hand, in the division of labor, men are more concentrated in roles outside the home or the public sphere, such as managing fields, livestock, gardens and the most important are their main roles in adat. In the context of the division of sexual work that places women in various domestic and public duties and responsibilities it is often not directly proportional to the role of men. This means that when women are involved in a productive role, it turns out that men are still involved in domestic work so that the domestication process does not happen to men.

The Munthe Study (2017) emphasizes that the system of division of sexual labor in Pakpak communities is patriarchal. With a patriarchal sexual division of labor system itself shows a patriarchal gender ideology and this ideology tends to be practised by rural low-income families. This patriarchal gender ideology is increasingly fertile when poverty frames family life, so it is very vulnerable to creating bias in men and indicates the occurrence of practices of gender inequality towards women. The sexual division of labor system presents the reality of gender inequality experienced by women as reflected in the cases experienced by girls those who drop out of school, women who do not have access to inheritance.

In these cases, women get a heavier portion of work and the system also has the potential to bring up practices of gender injustice. Concretely, girls are more concentrated working to help parents at home and while the fields of boys are more encouraged to go to school. Thus, the reason for the continuity of education in boys leads to justification and legality for them to access inheritance rather than girls.

3.1.2. Gender ideology Patriarchal Women Pakpak

Gender patriarchal ideology that has been going on for so long in the Pakpak community is a legacy a high-value culture that is very sacred to all members of the Pakpak

community. The gender patriarchal ideology which is ultimately seen as local wisdom is maintained by its values up to the present generation. But it must be admitted that this ideologigender is a gender reality in rural Pakpak communities rather than in urban areas.

This is possible because Pakpak people in urban areas have modernized gender values in their families, for example, inheritance rights have been given to women, Malau (2013). Gender patriarchal ideology is a system that is cultured and structured as a reference to moral values that are considered ideal and must be fulfilled by men and also women in their communities. At least this can be seen in cases of marginalization of girls in poor families who do not have access to continue their education to secondary and tertiary levels. The same is true for girls who are limited to accessing higher education (universities) to relatively wealthy families while some women have marginalized access to inheritance from their original family.

Cases of gender inequality in women in the Pakpak family have a linkage to the roles carried out by family social actors. Often the role of decision making is determined by the head of the family. In the context of the Pakpak community with patriarchal ideology, been given the legality of men as heads or leaders in their families. The legality of men as heads of families is often linked and related to the illegality of men as determinants of descendants, clan determinants and inheritance owners. As the head of the family strengthens the assumption that patriarchal culture constructs men as the dominant social actor to practice gender inequality in women in the Pakpak community (Bangun, 2009; Padang, 2009; and Pardede 2010; Tinendung, 2012).

The existence of men as patriarchal actors was associated with their position as fathers, husbands, brothers and also male relatives. However, the findings in these studies do not examine the existence of women as patriarchal actors who have the potential to perpetuate the act of gender inequality in women. Studies of marginalization cases of women in Pakpak's family show the existence of women as truly patriarchal actors rooted in patriarchal values adopted, constructed and reproduced by women. The construction of a gender ideology rooted in patriarchal values is the norm for most Pakpak women when they carry out their motherhood in their families. The construction of a gender patriarchal ideology reproduced by women is implemented into the roles and functions of women who are married to married women and also a widow. The practice of marginalizing education in girls is a natural thing for families to do, especially those headed by widows.

This description can be seen from the cases of girls who could not continue their education to junior high school (SMP) and high school (SMA) because of problems with poverty and also the background of the family head of widowed women. Even these cases show how multiple values apply to women. Gender patriarchal ideology and poverty cause the *perinangen* (motherhood) to prioritize the interests of their sons rather than girls. The treatment of mothers for their daughters was revealed in cases of girls who were decided by their mothers to stop going to school and had to be followed by relatives in the city to get a job.

The patriarchal way of thinking attached to the mother (widow) is at least implied from the interview footage on the girls.

Haven't finished your brother's college and he needs a lot of money. Don't you ever go to school, so I decided to send you to Meded, stay with your uncle so you can send him to school or withdraw his work "(Informant 4)

The same treatment is also shown by another mother (widow) towards her daughter and even tends to be more assertive in taking action because without any discussion or discussion, more precisely directly on the execution

"... because you do not go to school anymore so that you continue to study with your older brother, follow your cousin in Medan ... whatever work you are there for you can help your brother's school fees"(Informant 5).

While the other poor families showed the treatment of mothers, who prioritized their sons: *"My daughters should not go to school for a while, because you and your father must work on the coffee fields in another village some of these fields. We had to leave early and go home late at night ... if the work in the fields was heavy and difficult, we were forced to spend the night in the fields. So, you have to take care of your little brother and reduce your brother's needs. If we have finished our work, can you continue your school "(Informant 1 and Informant 2)*

While the practice of marginalization also occurs in married women from wealthy families. This woman experienced the practice of marginalization in her native nuclear family. Marginalization practices were demonstrated by the role of women (mothers) who supported her husband's policy that did not allow her daughter to continue her higher education reflected in the following interview with women: *"... you don't need to go to school, because you will take care of your family and your children. You don't have the knowledge of your school if you are married "(Informant 10).*

Meanwhile, the treatment experienced by widowed women (Informants 6) who are marginalized in accessing inheritance in the marital family cannot be released by the treatment of women who are located as mothers-in-law. Women as mothers-in-law are not willing to give inheritance to their daughters who are widowed because of the tendency of daughters-in-law whose widows always return and serve their families. The practice of marginalizing inheritance is also experienced by married women (Informant 8).

This woman is not permitted by her sister-in-law to access her native nuclear family inheritance. A woman who is domiciled as an instigator of her husband so that the inheritance does not fall to her husband's sister. Furthermore, all the attitudes are shown by this sister-in-law in the family depart from the value of the rationality that exists in this woman. Women as in-laws reacted to inciting her husband not to give a legacy to his sister to preserve the sovereignty of her son as the main heir in the family.

The treatment of women who marginalize women as deconstructed in cases of marginalization of women from low-income families and wealthy is very close and attached to the figure or figure of a woman who is domiciled and also plays the role of mother, father-in-law and sister-in-law. Sister-In-Law reproduces patriarchal values in their everyday motherhood in the family.

The role of motherhood is translated into a number of treatments that privilege boys like a king (make your son like a king). The treatment of mothers privileging their sons is implemented through socialization and internalization of patriarchal values in their family daughters. Privileges of boys in the Pakpak family are stated in orders and directions from mothers to girls to always respect, glorify and serve their brothers in the family.

All his religious orders on behalf of men as kula, the successor of and families, leaders and bearers of the name and honor of the family. Concretely every mother and daughter must provide the best service starting from attention, food, clothing and education. Conversely, inheritance, opportunity to advance and prestige are given to men in the family.

3.2. Discussion

The patriarchal reproduction of women was found in cases of marginalization of women in the Pakpak ethnic family of Pegagan Julu VIII village. The marginalization practices of women in the Pakpak family in Pegagan Village Julu VIII have deconstructed female figures as social actors that have the potential to strengthen and perpetuate patriarchal structures in the Pakpak community.

The phenomenon of women as patriarchal reproductive actors in the family shows the existence of women as patriarchal reproductive actors in the family area or called patriaki privat. The type of patriarchy reproduced by Pakpak women is "private patriarchy". As stated by Walby (1990) in his patriarchal theory that patriarchy is two, namely "private patriarchy" and "public patriarchy". The core of this theory has been the expansion of patriarchal forms, from private and private spaces such as family and religion to a wider area of state. This expansion caused patriarchy to continually succeed in gripping and dominating the lives of men and women.

The practice of marginalizing women in the Pakpak family shows a reality of women's social activism that reproduces a patriarchal system that proceeds from a patriarchal female gender ideology. Then this patriarchal female gender ideology is expressed in the form of motherhood in Pakpak women. The reality of the marginalization of women played by women as mother, father-in-law and brother-in-law supports the feminist ideas of Einstein, 1994 (in Ruwaida, 2004). Einstein stated that the phenomenon of marginalization and subordination was not caused by the biological condition of women, but was built through social structures, social relations as well as power between groups and or between social actors.

Therefore, the position and experience of women is a source of exploration, including the involvement of women in subordinating or oppressing other women's

communities. Reproduction of patriarchy in Pakpak women at the same time confirms the issue of gender inequality that has not been highlighted by previous studies.

Likewise, the reality of women as reproductive actors of patriarchy has not become the spotlight of government or other institutions that are concerned with women's issues. The reproductive studies of women's patriarchy were specifically carried out in the community of Pegagan Julu VIII village but it is also possible that this phenomenon was also found in the rural communities of Dairi Regency.

The strong patriarchal values embedded in the Pakpak gender (women's) ideology in the countryside has had an impact on the slow pace of local government efforts to address issues of gender inequality. Furthermore, the phenomenon of poverty in women is getting worse and harder to overcome. Therefore, this study suggests to village governments through the women's empowerment bureau to synergize with other institutions that are concerned with women's issues to carry out gender awareness that is sustainable for women in order to alleviate education disparities as well as poverty in women's groups.

4. Conclusion

Specific findings from this study that reproductive patriarchy of women was presented and deconstructed from cases of marginalization of women in the family of Pakpak Pagagan in Pegagan village Julu VIII. That is, the potential patriarchal ideology is "reconstructed" and "reproduced" by Pakpak women in this village.

The phenomenon of the reproduction of female patriarchy reveals how women marginalize women who are attached and attached to the value of motherhood (... interrupted). The construction of patriarchy in Pakpak Batak women is in the value of motherhood (...) which treats boys like kings (daholli irajaken).

On the contrary, girls are positioned as those who serve, serve and serve in the family. Patriarchal reproduction that is attached to the value of the motherhood (perinangen) shows that women are actors who have the potential to marginalize women. Patriarchal reproduction is found in family institutions through the role of women as mothers (host), women-in-law (simatua daberu) and sister-in-law (eda). This study also sees the marginalization of women practiced by men as patriarchal actors experiencing a shift; namely women are significant actors of marginalization towards women. The phenomenon of the marginalization of women is shown by the role of women as actors of "patriarchal reproduction" or the phenomenon of "patriarchal women" in the context of Pakpak Batak communities in Pegagan Julu VIII village.

The findings of the study of the reproduction of female patriarchy differ from patriarchy in men in the context of the Pakpak Batak community in this village - if patriarchy in men comes from cultural values and becomes a structured ideology. On the contrary, "female patriarchal reproduction" initiated by this study proceeded from a patriarchal gender ideology that constructed the maternal value of Pakpak women.

The findings of this study also show the position of researchers who are different from previous studies which tend to see the reality of men as the party responsible for gender inequality in the context of the Pakpak Batak community. On the other hand, this

study also looked at the reality of the presence of women as a party that perpetuates the practice of marginalization in Pakpak Batak women, especially the family of the Pakpak Pegagan Julu VIII village.

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