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Abstract

This study explores the historical background of the establishment and the uses of customary land in Lumban Rau Timur Village. It analyses the process and mechanism of transferring customary rights as well as factors that influence the role of the state and the market in determining the direction and change of the customary land of the Toba Batak people in Samosir Regency. Sources were collected by structured interviews, observation, and literature study. Methods and data analysis uses a descriptive qualitative research approach with a socio-historical approach. The historical background of the formation of ulayat in Lumban Rao Timur Village comes from land clearing and comes from *golat* land (land grabbing due to land conflicts). Communal land includes areas where ceremonies, graves, rice fields, livestock grazing areas, cultivated forests, expansion areas or settlement expansion, waters and forest areas, wild plants are managed and used together. Ethnic groups are inhabited by residents who have genealogical and territorial ties. According to tradition, the land should not be transferred to other parties, but over time, there has been a transformation of land ownership to other parties, both local residents who lived in and outside the village, which is intended for agriculture and non-agriculture. The transformation of ulayat land ownership is caused by socio-cultural shifts, demographic pressures, openness information and communication as well as the state penetration via government regulations on natural resources under the development programs in the areas of Lake Toba.

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Introduction

Land is a basic human need, as long as human life always interacts and is related to land. Fruits and plants that are consumed by humans are produced on land either from rice fields, fields, plantations and forestry. Land is a place where humans carry out life processes and activities: a place to be born, raised, matured, aged and died. On land, humans build houses, places of worship and carry out various social activities. Land is needed not only while humans are still alive, but also needed after death. On the land various public facilities were built such as schools, hospitals, markets, airports,

hotels, offices, houses of worship, cemeteries and various other public facilities and public spaces. The variety of uses, benefits and functions of land in supporting the activities of human life makes the relationship between humans and land very complex, magical in nature, influencing the way of thinking, economic activity and the meaning of land (Soesangobeng, 1971, p. 51).

In a number of communities there is an understanding that land is defined not only physically, but as a "spirit object" that is closely related to the life of the community. Land and humans are like two entities that influence each other in a macro-cosmic and micro-cosmos relationship, where humans are the center who are intertwined with supernatural powers (Sitorus & Sierrad, 2006, p. 3). Soil is not only an element of production but also has socio-cultural and religious magical meanings (Vallenhoven, 2011), Bushar (1981, p. 103). In short, land is a place for humans to develop their humanity and civilization.

Land as an element of production in contemporary society has the role and function of land: (1) land is an object and property is fixed, even the value / price is getting more expensive; (2) land is a place to live for citizens, communities, clans and alliances when they are still alive and can provide livelihood, hope and glory. (Wignjodipoero (1983, p. 197). The socio-cultural meaning of land in society is recorded in a number of expressions. In Javanese society and ethnicity there is a saying: as loud as the cough is as gentle as the earth, the yen needs to be filled with starch (so that an inch of his land is defended until he dies). In the Karo Batak community and ethnicity there is a proverb: *Ija Taneh idedeh Ije pusung ndabuh* [where the ground is stepped on that is where the navel falls (the place of birth)], in the Toba Batak ethnic land is likened to *ulos na sora bad* [a cloth that will never rot] Siregar (2011, p. 1).

The proverb describes the importance of the meaning, role, function and benefits of land in people's lives, both while still alive and after death. When they die, the land is the place where the community, clan and community members are buried. In society there is a belief that the land where the community members live is the ancestral dwelling place, *danyang-danyang* and becomes the protector of the community and community members and clan members.

Thus, for the community or community members, land does not only function as an element of production in economic activity, but also has socio-cultural and religious meanings. Therefore, during the feudal period, the authority to control and own land was in the hands of the kings, where the king had political authority or public rights to regulate and determine the area and boundaries of his power and regulate the distribution of land products. Although the authority over the land is in the hands of the king, there is room for the citizens to open, cultivate and control the land with the permission of the king. Along with the development of time, the land which was opened and cultivated by the members of the alliance developed into ulayat land or customary law community.

Based on the results of Van Vallenhoven's research, in the archipelago there are 19 areas of customary rights (*beschikkingrecht*) or what Soepomo called lordship rights (Ngani, 2012, p. 51), one of which is the Batak customary law community. In various

regions in Indonesia, there are several names for referring to customary land rights: such as *wawengkon* (Java), *torluk* (Angkola), *ulayat* (Minangkabau), land clan (Lampung), *panyampeto* or *pewatasan* (Kalimantan), *limpo* (South Sulawesi), *tatabuan* (Bolaang Mangondow), *patuanan* (Ambon), *paer* (Lombok), *prebumian* or *payer* (Bali) (Hilman, 1992: 181). The results of Vallenhoven's research on the heterogeneity of ulayat rights are a real and natural portrait of Indonesia's pluralistic socio-cultural and legal conditions that continue to this day.

Legally and constitutionally, the position and status of ulayat land in laws and regulations have a very high position. Article 18b of the 1945 Constitution states: "The state recognizes and respects customary law community units and their traditional rights as long as they are alive and in accordance with the development of society and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In the Regulation of the State Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of the National Land Agency No. 5 of 1999 concerning Guidelines for the Settlement of Problems with Ulayat Rights of Customary Law Communities, ulayat land is a parcel of land on which there are ulayat rights of a certain customary law community. Customary law communities are groups of people who are bound by their customary law order as joint citizens of a legal alliance because of the similarity of residence or on the basis of descent. "Regional government is the party authorized to determine and give recognition to ulayat rights in its area through regional regulations". Ter Haar (1996) defines customary law communities as organized community groups, living in a certain area, having their own power, and having their own wealth in the form of visible and invisible objects, where the members of each unit live a normal life according to their own principles. nature and none of its members have the mind to break the bonds or break free from the bonds forever.

The ILO Convention 169 of 1989 defines indigenous peoples as peoples living in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other peoples in the country, and whose status is regulated, either wholly or in part by the customs and traditions of these indigenous peoples or with special laws and regulations. The Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (AMAN) defines indigenous peoples as a community that has ancestral origins from generation to generation living in a certain geographical area, and has a distinctive value, ideology, political economy, culture and social system (International Labor Organization, 1989, Arizona, 2016).

Harsono (2003 pp. 185-186) defines ulayat rights as a series of authorities and obligations of a customary law community related to land located within its territory which is the main supporter of the livelihood and life of the community concerned throughout the ages. According to Harsono, the scope of ulayat rights includes all lands within the area, both those that have been occupied by someone and those who have not. The boundaries of the area of ulayat rights in a community and customary law community cannot be determined with certainty. In Harsono's view, the concept of ulayat rights implies the existence of social relations, activities and laws between legal communities as subjects of rights and the land in their territories. Hasono (2003,

pp. 185-186) identified the relationship between ulayat rights holders and customary law area units on two matters: (1) regulating and administering land use (for settlements, farming), inventory (creation of new settlements/rice fields) and land maintenance; (2) regulate and determine the legal relationship between people and land; and (3) determine the legal relationship between people and legal actions related to land (sales and purchases, inheritance).

Ter Haar (2017, p. 15), identifies community associations with ulayat rights territorially and genetically. Territorial alliances refer to community members who live in the same place and genealogical alliances because residents who hold ulayat rights have blood ties. Stakeholders of territorial and genealogical ulayat rights have the authority to manage agrarian resources in their internal and external areas. In depth, ulayat rights holders have the authority and obligation to manage resources for the welfare and interests of the participating citizens, including resolving agrarian conflicts between their citizens. Stakeholders of customary rights are also responsible for regulating and safeguarding the resources of the alliance area from interference and occupation by outsiders.

Customary rights, which live and grow in Indonesian society, have various legal systems, traditions and customs that have been developed from time to time to meet the individual needs of the cultural community and its environment. From the results of the study by Sirait et al., (2000, pp. 1-2) the management of agrarian resources carried out by stakeholders and customary rights communities shows their ability to manage cultivation forests, gardens, agricultural businesses and forests that are passed down from generation to generation in a sustainable manner. The management of agrarian resources in the area of customary rights takes various, dynamic and integrated forms that produce various benefits for the community and the environment, both economically, socio-culturally, religiously, and ecologically.

On the other hand, various customary rights that live and grow in various communities and indigenous peoples experience marginalization (Bedner and Arizona, 2019; Sirait et al., 2000; Sutarja et al., 2019; Murray, 2001). Based on the results of research conducted (Marbun, 2021; Firmando, 2021). Sembiring (2017) has experienced degradation and change into private ownership which contradicts the basic concept and function of ulayat rights in Batak culture and traditions. Starting from the description above, the researcher is interested in revealing the dynamics of customary rights on the Batak ethnic group in Samosir Regency. The choice of this theme is intended to explore data and information related to the phenomenon of the diminishing role and function of ulayat rights that take place in the Toba Batak community and ethnicity. The focus of the research is to: (1) explore the historical background of the formation of alliances and customary rights of the Batak ethnic group in Lumban Rau Timur Village, Samosir Regency, (2) analyze the process, mechanism and dynamics of the Batak ethnic customary rights in the study area and (3) analyze the influence of the inflow and outflow of ethnic Bataknese, and the effect of state and market penetration on the transformation of ulayat rights to other parties in the research location.

The study of customary rights conducted by Bedner and Arizona (2019) is general in nature by using a historical approach and reveals the development of the study of customary rights from colonial to the reform era. Studies conducted by Marbun (2021), Elfriany (2020), Elfriany (2020) and Sembiring (2017) explore the role, function and existence of customary rights from a legal perspective, while Firmando (2021a and 2021b) and Sugiyarto (2017) reveals the relation of ulayat rights with harmony and social integration in the Batak community.

In contrast to the study conducted by the researcher, this paper is intended to explore the changes and dynamics of the customary rights of the Toba Batak people in Samosir Regency. Based on this thought, the research problem was formulated as follows (1) the historical background for the establishment and uses of customary land in Lumban Rau Timur Village; (2) the process and mechanism for the transformation of customary rights to other parties; (3) the role of the state and the market in determining the direction and change of the customary lands of the Toba Batak people in Samosir Regency.

Koentjaraningkrat (1986) identifies the land ownership system in Indonesia in four forms, namely a public or communal property system with shifting use (*norowito*), a property system with rotating use (*norowitogilir*), a communal system with fixed use (*bend*), and an individual system (*foundation*). Tjondronegoro stated that the communal land ownership system was the original form of land ownership in Indonesia, and the king was the center that determined various matters related to the ownership, control and use of land (Tjondronegoro, 1984, p. 254).

The system of ownership and control of communal land in other terms is called ownership based on customary law communities or ulayat rights. In the customary law literature, it is known that there are two patterns of control and ownership of land. The rights of control and ownership of land are control by community groups called ulayat land and individual land. According to Hooker (1978, p. 118) ulayat land is a form of joint ownership of land, the thing attached to ulayat rights is the authority/power to administer and regulate the land in and out of it.

From the aspect of the parties who use it, customary land is categorized as a common pool of resources. In contrast to common pool resources such as shepherds' fields, there is a "rivalry in consumption" character, in customary lands there is supervision from fellow beneficiaries, customary holders and social sanctions. Therefore, it does not cause overuse (Saunders, 2014, pp. 636–656).

Vollenhoven (2011) and Sudiyat (1981, p. 2) analyze the characteristics of ulayat rights as follows: (1) Only legal alliances and their citizens are entitled and free to use land within their jurisdiction; (2) Outsiders who wish to use the land must first obtain permission from the legal alliance; (3) Citizens of legal alliance may take advantage of ulayat land for their personal and family interests; (4) The legal partnership is responsible for everything that happens within its territory; (5) ulayat rights may not be relinquished; (6) ulayat rights include rights that have been cultivated by individuals in the territory of the alliance.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2002, p. 3), defines land tenure as the relationship between humans (individuals or legal entities) relating to land based on state law or customary law. FAO considers land tenure rights as a set of rules made by the community or by the state, to regulate the behavior of citizens regarding land tenure and use. The set of regulations not only regulates the authority of the subject of the right to use, control and transfer the land attached to his right, but also the limitations and obligations of the subject of the right when exercising his authority.

The governance of land tenure and ownership in customary rights belongs to the common property category (Dagan and Heller, 2001, p. 549). Stakeholders of customary rights authority or Commoners as the subject of rights have the rights and obligations to regulate “objects of customary rights – common resources, membership and territorial boundaries, to comply with norms and values in order to achieve common goals.

The concept of land tenure formulated by FAO is in line with the principle of social function of land contained in the Basic Agrarian Law no. 5 of 1960 (Harsno, 2006, pp. 23-24). In the Basic Agrarian Law, it is stated that the control and use of land is explained that there are things that are allowed, mandatory or prohibited for the subject of land rights. In every right of control and use of land rights, including those contained in customary rights, there is an interaction of rights and obligations between legal subjects, namely the owner of land rights and other people outside the owner. The interaction between the subjects of rights related to land by Cohen (1978, pp. 154-157) and Reich (1978, p. 181) is defined as the legal relationship between people with regard to natural resources that are entitled to rights. According to Sumardjono (in Warman, 2010, p. 18) the determination of customary rights includes three things, namely: a) the existence of customary law communities that meet certain characteristics as the subject of customary rights; b) the existence of land/areas with certain boundaries as *lebensraum* which is the object of customary rights; c) the existence of the authority of the legal community to take certain actions as determined.

Ulayat rights or alliance rights are areas where a group of customary law communities reside, which in traditional societies are often magical-religious. In customary rights, legal communities have the right to manage agrarian resources including land according to prevailing norms, traditions and customs. Each member of the community can get a share of rights to agrarian resources (land, water, plants, trees, cultivated forest and grazing areas) with certain limitations.

The partnership regulates the boundaries of individual rights and rights for the benefit of the partnership. Individual rights and partnership rights complement, complement and are closely related. Each member of the partnership is given the right to work on customary land rights in his territory by being given a permit called the right to vote. If a piece of land in the partnership area has been worked on by a citizen continuously, then the relationship with the land is getting stronger, on the contrary, the relationship between the land and the partnership is getting more and more tenuous and over time the land will be recognized as the property of the person working on it.

The use and control of land owned by a person or entity, is not just a technical relationship, the method and form of a person or entity relating to land and agrarian resources in general. The right to use and control within the scope of customary rights has a broad meaning, namely that it is an institution that regulates the use of an item/land tenure, resource tenure, property rights which have social, economic, political and legal dimensions.

It is no exaggeration to say that the right of tenure and ownership is a social institution because it is a patterned social behavior regarding how rights and obligations to natural resources are determined and implemented. Thus, Moeliono (2000) assessing the system of land tenure and ownership is the coexistence of a state and community-based regulatory system. Land tenure and ownership rights are related to the equitable allocation and distribution of wealth to prevent the concentration of power that could lead to social conflict.

From the aspect and nature inherent in ulayat rights, land tenure and ownership rights can be interpreted as political institutions, because they are related to and determine the distribution, concentration of power in society. In Cohen's understanding (1978, pp. 154-157), tenure rights and ownership of land and agrarian resources are generally people-to-people relationships related to land, controlled/owned commodities and power relations between people. The right of control and ownership of a commodity such as land gives the owner the power to deal with other people who are not owners. Referring to Reich (1978, p. 181), the control and/or ownership of one's rights to objects such as land can have an impact on others/neighbors.

The right of control and ownership can become power over others, agricultural land owners can exploit tenants or peasant laborers. In this context, land tenure and ownership rights act as legal and economic institutions. From the legal aspect, the form of right or regime of tenure and ownership rights over land influences and determines the achievement of the goals and interests that are expected to be shared (Barnes, 2009, p. 10).

Economically, land tenure and ownership rights are related to the allocation and use of land for sustainable economic progress. Proper management of land and agrarian resources can contribute to community and community productivity, beauty and environmental sustainability and social cohesiveness. A good land/agrarian resource tenure and ownership system can help owners and users of agrarian resources minimize losses, and at the same time maximize profits.

The practice of adaptive tenure and ownership of customary rights is strongly indicated as a stimulus to increase the use of more productive resources, invest in maintaining or increasing property values. In modern society, the regime of land tenure and ownership is oriented towards business development, commodities and capital accumulation (Besley and Ghatak, 2010). In De Soto's understanding, an accountable system of resource control can convince people to use property rights as capital to invest by making it a collateral (De Soto, 2000). From an economic perspective, an accountable system of control and ownership of agrarian resources has

an impact on environmental sustainability, or vice versa is an indicator of government failure, and triggers population growth (Heltberg, 2002).

The system of control and ownership of ulayat rights, in line with the times, has developed and changed. The relationship of the subject of ulayat rights and the inherent nature of ulayat rights with agrarian resources or objects of ulayat rights, especially land, the pattern of control and utilization of land, underwent significant changes, namely from the system of control and communal ownership moving towards individual control and ownership. Ownership rights or ownership rights as private rights are usually conceptualized as a function of private property rights related to freedom, autonomy and preference satisfaction. The inherent nature of individual ownership requires the existence of the so-called trinity of rights essential to private, namely property control, exclusion, and alienation. The nature of such individual ownership is an "absolute" form of ownership in the practice of land ownership in Indonesia, with limited application.

In individual land ownership, there are public interests and social functions, namely the fulfillment of the basic needs of community members and supporting the realization of community welfare (Barnes, 2009, pp. 119-120). Yannacone in Barnes, (2009, p. 159) states "social property" namely "property which has become vested with the public interest to such an extent that the property itself can be considered dedicated to public use". In the ownership rights or individual ownership rights there is a "duty of stewardship" which requires the holder of the control right to use and manage the resources they have in a way that does not violate any significant value contained in these natural resources.

Method

Study on changes in tenure and the use of ulayat land was carried out in Lumban Rau Timur Village. The selection of the village as the research location was based on the following considerations: (1) Lumban Rau Timur Village is one of the villages in Nasau Subdistrict, Toba Samosir Regency, where there is a use and utilization of ulayat land rights (2) the control and use of ulayat land rights in this village is in the process of transition and changes due to internal and external pressures.

The research method used is a qualitative descriptive approach and socio-historical. The use of a qualitative approach is intended to understand and analyze the phenomenon of changes in tenure and use of customary rights through relevant informants and documents. The use of qualitative and socio-historical approaches is intended to produce a description of the phenomenon of changes in tenure and use of people's customary rights or the behavior of informants and documents related to the causes of changes in customary land rights, processes and forms of transfer of ownership and utilization by other parties.

Creswell (2014, pp. 234-235), Creswell and Poth (2018, pp. 111-126) identify the characteristics of qualitative research: (1) research is conducted in a natural setting as a direct data source; (2) researchers as key instruments; (3) describe a particular situation or data collected in words; (4) relating to processes rather than results or

products; (5) the analysis tends to be inductive; (6) research focus on the views and experiences of participants, and how people make sense of life. In this study, matters related to the root causes of changes in customary land rights, the process and form of changes in customary rights and forms of use of customary land rights by other parties are identified, sorted, categorized as construction material or narrative.

Data collection techniques used are interviews, observation, and literature study. Interviews were conducted in an unstructured manner to explore information and facts related to the causes of changes in customary land rights, the process and form of changes in customary rights and forms of use of customary land rights by other parties. Informants interviewed are parties who understand and are involved in the process of transforming ulayat rights to other parties. The informants consisted of 4 residents of Lumban Rau Timur village, 2 village officials and 3 traditional administrators in the East Lumban Rau area. Observations are used to observe the conditions of socio-cultural life and forms of customary land use found in the research location. The document study is intended to find information and data relating to the history of customary rights and forms of control and use of customary land rights in the research location.

The interviewees were selected purposively and snowball. Such selection is related to the nature of the object of research in the form of social situations, places, actors, and activities Spardley (2006) which is not known and experienced by everyone. Thus, those who were selected as informants were those who were involved in the process of transforming ulayat rights, had real understanding and experience regarding the control and use of ulayat lands. Data analysis used a qualitative data analysis approach proposed by Creswell (2014, p. 255). Data analysis is carried out interactively and continuously until certain themes are completed and compiled. Data analysis was carried out through the following stages: data reduction, data classification according to variables and research focus, narrative construction, generalization and conclusion drawing.

Managing Communal Land

The position, role and function of land and especially ulayat rights in the Batak community and ethnicity have an important role economically, politically and socio-culturally in accordance with the values, views and philosophies of Hamoraon, et al. (2009). By owning a large area of land, a Batak has the opportunity to develop offspring (hagabeon), through possession and land ownership of wealthness (*hamoraon*), by owning a large land a Batak people has honor (*hasangapon*). For the Toba Batak people, land, especially inherited land, is considered a manifestation of the body of their ancestors which must always be cared for and maintained. Because of that, parents in the Toba Batak family always socialize the importance of their homeland (*bona pasogit*).

The customary land in Lumban Rau Timur Village comes from the clearing of forest into a village. This is indicated by the name of the village Lumban Rau, which comes from the word *lumban* commensurate with *huta*, meaning village; *rau* means tree or trees, place of trees or forest. Before becoming a village, East Lumban Rau was a

caterpillar area or alliance originating from the forest clearing process carried out by the Hasibuan clan, so that the Hasibuan clan was called *sipukka huta*. Some of the remaining forest clearing is still found in the Lumban Rau Timur village area.

The opening tradition in the Toba Batak ethnic community is spoken by Mr. Daulat Naibaho as the Raja huta/customary figure of East Lumban Rau. "The stories and collective memories our parents always tell are the *mamungka huta* and the *do nampuna tano* clan, the establishment of a village and land belonging to the clan. The expression *mamungka huta* or village opening as spoken by Daulat Naibaho, is not only found in the Lumban Rau Timur ulayat land area, but is also found in other ulayat rights circles in Indonesia. The opening of a village is one of the general characteristics and principles in the process of forming and establishing an alliance or village. It's just that the *mamungka huta* that takes place in the Lumban Rau Timur ulayat land area is specifically intended for the clan, the clan *do nampuna*.

In the ethnic Batak tradition, the founder of the huta is called the king clan (*tano* clan). Another clan that lives in the forest is called the boru clan, they do not have land rights. *Huta* was founded by a clan of kings and in every Batak *huta* there is a *huta* king, one of the founders of the *huta*. The clans of *tano* and clans of *do nampuna tano* indicate that the cleared land is not owned individually but collectively, in the context of the Toba Batak ethnicity it is called the *tano* clan. This is related to the form of ethnic Batak kinship which is patrilineal. The ulayat land areas in Lumban Rau Timur Village originating from the Mamungka Huta are the Napajulu, Sibaning and Batu Sandar forests.

The expression of the clan is *nampuna tano*, *mamungka huta*, provides an overview of the meaning and function of land for the Toba people and ethnicity. For the Toba Batak ethnic, land is a treasure that not only has a material meaning but is also an important geneological and territorial element. For the Batak ethnic, someone who is capable of *huta*, the opening and establishment of a village has meaning, he has created a village for himself and his son to become a separate community in his village.

Over time, starting with the family who opened the village, then certain clans were formed which had their own territorial areas and became the holders of power in and out of the village they founded. Thus, land plays a role and functions as a uniting tool for residents who have blood and family ties, land becomes a binder and unifies families and clans. The expressions *marga do nampuna tano* and *mamungka huta* are in line with the views on the important principles and characteristics of ulayat rights put forward by Vergouwen (2004, pp. 79-80).

An important unique characteristic of ulayat rights in Lumban Rau Timur village is the presence of *golat* land. This village's *golat* land is the ulayat land of the Naibaho clan and its descendants which is managed jointly from the results of land grabbing caused by land conflicts between the alliance/founding clan, the Hasibuan clan and the Naibaho clan. The land conflict started with the land claiming ownership by the Naibaho clan which then led to a conflict between the Hasibuan clan and the Naibaho clan, that ended with the victory of the Naibaho clan. As a result of the defeat in the conflict, the Naibho clan automatically controlled the union territory which was

previously controlled by the Hasibuan clan. The *golat* lands in Lumban Rau Timur village that came from the confiscation are Lobok Dolok Pagar Gunung, Lobu Oporibu and Lobu Andahara Pagar Gunung (Interview with Daulat Naibaho, 22-10-2020).

The object of ulayat rights found in Lumban Rau Timur Village is related to the village tradition (*huta*) of the Batak community. Huta, as a residential unit in the Batak community, is a genealogical and territorial unit. The huta people are bound by blood relations and are their descendants and ancestors, have the same clan, only a small part including the boru are of different clans. The ulayat area of the Batak community in this village includes areas where ceremonies, graves, rice fields, pasture land for cattle grazing, cultivated forest areas, land for settlement expansion or settlement expansion, water (rivers), forest land (including plants or plants) wild plants and wild animals), *tunggane huta* (shared burial place) *tapiian* (public bathing place). This customary land is managed collectively which is called ripe-ripe land). The transfer of this category of land to other parties is the shared responsibility of all villagers and is carried out carefully.

In the territory of the Batak community alliance, in addition to communal lands that are managed collectively, there are land areas that are managed and controlled individually. The land area controlled individually is the land used as the site of the house and yard, the land area where the family and its members carry out daily work activities around the house and part of the land around residential areas. Land in this category is a source and a place of livelihood as well as meeting the food needs of residents. such as rice fields and fields and which produce food needs and ceremonial purposes throughout the life cycle and as a place for certain cultivated lands which are customary lands can only be managed and cultivated by villagers.

Land Transformation Process

The process of transformation or transfer of ownership of customary land that took place in the Lumban Rau Timur Village area based on information from the village head, Mr. Anton Naibaho, was carried out through various varied activities, namely in the form of gifts from parents to children or in-laws, buying and selling, exchanging, pawning, leasing, separation and division of joint assets and income in the company or inbreng. A brief description of the various processes of customary land transformation at the research site is described below.

Transformation using grants

Based on the narrative of one of the informants named Anton Naibaho, the process of transforming ulayat land in the Batak community in this village is *pauseang*, (giving land to daughters), *ulos nesorabad*, (giving inheritance given by parents to daughters), Panjaean (inheritance given by parents to sons and *parbandaan* (giving grave land), *tuhorni boru* or *sinamot* (dowry), *pauseang* is a form of giving parents to daughters either before or after the daughter gets married. the Batak community is intended as a sign of love and memories from their parents to their daughters. Giving *pauseang* to girls in the research location is in the form of rice fields, gardens, fields and yards. Other forms

of gifts given by parents to their daughters who are categorized as *pauseang* are in the form of gold, household furniture, jewelry and land (Sinambela, 2014, p. 1).

Nasorabad is the giving of part of the inherited land owned by parents to daughters. The difference between *pauseang* and *ulos nasorabad* relates to the implementation of the administration. The provision of *pauseang* land is given when the woman's parents are still alive and is intended as a provision for her daughter's domestic life. Meanwhile, *ulos nasorabad* is the gift of land given to daughters from inherited land. The granting of *pauseang* and *ulos nasorabad* lands is often a matter of debate, considering that according to patrilineal lineages, daughters do not have inheritance rights from their parents' wealth, including land. Sons are entitled to the wealth and inheritance of their parents, including land, because sons are the successors of the clan. Giving *panjaean* by parents to boys is a form of traditional affirmation of sons as successors of the clan. The term *panjaean* comes from the word *manjae* which means separating from parents or forming a new family. (Interview with Rahmat Sitorus Pane October 17, 2022).

Other forms of land giving at the research site are *tano parbandaan*, *tuhorni boru*, *indahan nalas* (a gift to a newborn grandson), *tuhorni boru* or *sinamot* (dowry), *pandungoi*. *Tano parbandaan* has an important role in the *pago*, usually in the form of intact meat as a sign of gratitude for the Batak tradition related to the Batak cosmology of Bona Pasogit, (the village where people were born which provides information about where people come from, who they are, why they migrated and were then buried in their hometown).

Tuhorni boru or *sinamot* is the giving of a piece of land to a woman by a male party or family. This gift occurs when a man from a certain indigenous community will marry a woman from another community. *Pandungoi* is the giving of a piece of land in exchange for services. *Pandungoi* is carried out when an indigenous community has misfortune (died) and the deceased before being buried is shaken (usually in the Batak tradition, the deceased who are usually shaken are people who already have grandchildren and great-grandchildren). The gift of this piece of land as a dowry, it must be with the knowledge and approval of local traditional leaders, namely land that is donated by parents or *ulayat* land holders for funerals/cemeteries (Interview with Rahmat Sitorus Pane October 17, 2022).

Usually, the giving of *ulayat* land is accompanied by a traditional event called an *archivingan*, a joint meal attended by all family members of the grantor consisting of elements of *dalihan natolu*. In this activity, the parties negotiate the boundaries of the land to be granted. The archiving activity ends with the distribution of *pagos* (usually in the form of whole pork and/or money as a sign of gratitude) to each element of *daliha natolu*. *Pago-ago* in the form of meat is called *jambar* (a certain portion to be distributed to a number of people based on their position on the *dalihan natolu* at the event) rather than representing the indigenous people as land clans (Interview with Rahmat Sitorus Pane October 17, 2022).

Transformation via buying and selling

The second form of the process of transferring ownership of customary land at the research site is through buying and selling. Based on the results of the interview with Mr. Continued Naibaho, information was obtained on the forms of buying and selling land that are common in East Lumban Rao, namely: *mangodis pate* (free sale), *dondon/sindor* (annual sale or limited sale) and *marlibe* (land swap). *Mangodis pate* is a sale and purchase of land, where the land owner surrenders his land in perpetuity to the buyer (another party) with the payment of an amount of money whose amount is determined on the basis of an agreement between the land owner and another party. (Interview with Lanjutan Naibaho, 22-10-2020).

Dondon/sindor is a sale and purchase of land in which the land owner submits his land to be worked on in several harvest periods to the buyer with the payment of an amount of money, the amount of which is determined on the basis of an agreement between the land owner and the buyer. After several harvest periods (usually a year) according to the agreement, the land previously handed over to the buyer is returned to the seller (original land owner). *Marlibe* (change of place of land), is the transfer of land ownership between residents by exchanging their land forever on the basis of an agreement between the two land owners.

The practice of buying and selling customary land rights in the form of free or limited sale is carried out by agreement between the seller and the buyer who is known by the customary ruler. Based on the informant's narrative, "the parties involved in the process of buying and selling land, mostly between residents who live and live in the Lumban Rau Timur Village environment. The process of controlling customary land through limited buying and selling and free buying and selling always requires the presence of witnesses from local residents and the approval of the penghulu or village head.

Based on information from the local village head, Daulat Naibaho, "the legality of the transfer of land through sale and purchase is determined by customary rules in the form of giving witness money called *pago-pago* and the approval of the local ulayat land ruler. The giving of pagos or witness money in the Batak community, including those found at the research site, is more of an obligation and customary right than the fulfillment of administrative requirements in buying and selling. The obligation to pay *pago-pago* for witnesses is interpreted as compensation, because the land being traded contains customary rights.

With the buying and selling process, either on a limited basis or independently, it results in the loss of the rights of communal members or parties who are witnesses. As a substitute for the loss of communal rights to land, the person or party who is a witness has the right to *pago-pago*. Meanwhile, for the buyer, the payment of *pago-pago* is interpreted as compensation or payment of customary obligations due to additional communal rights according to the customary rules of land originating from the recipient of the *pago-pago*.

The process of transferring customary land through sale and purchase is carried out in writing, usually signed by the seller and buyer, known by the head of the

partnership and also signed by the necessary witnesses. The practice of buying and selling customary land rights that took place at the research site took place both in writing and unwritten. The practice of buying and selling in writing carried out by residents can be categorized as fulfilling the buying and selling conditions regulated in civil law, namely cash, real and clear (Sumardjono, 2001, p. 6).

Buying and selling land orally is most commonly done by residents. This is related to the *ipso facto* land tenure system. Land tenure status and one's ties to land are determined by the intensity and investment in the plot of land controlled. The right to control and manage land is attached to a person if he/she continues to work on it. The stronger the intensity and the amount of investment in land, the stronger the control over the plot of land. On the other hand, the weaker the intensity and the smaller the investment in land, the weaker the strength of their customary land rights so that they can be transferred. on the parties.

From extracting information from informants, the process of transferring customary land rights is not only carried out according to formal procedures, but is accompanied by *mandegehon*, namely the activities carried out by the seller and the buyer both setting foot on the land to show the boundaries of the land and to introduce the new owner to the land. adjacent land owners. Furthermore, a meeting was held by inviting parties from the family, in which there was an element of *dalihan natolu* consisting of *hula-hula*, *dongan tubu* and *boru. jambar* (certain parts to be distributed to people based on their position (*dalihan natolu*) in the event) rather than representing the indigenous peoples as land clans. With a pawn, it means that ownership rights are not lost, because they can still be redeemed, if they cannot be redeemed, it can be increased to a loose pawn.

Transformation via pawn

Pawning in local terms is called *dondon*, which is the transfer of control of land (fields or rice fields by means of temporary rent or by agreement (one day the land) will be redeemed by the pawnbroker. In the practice of *dondon*, a land owner pawns his land to a second party (the beneficiary). pawn) in return for receiving a certain amount of money with the agreement of both parties. Pledge recipient after paying the pledge has the right to use the land within a certain period of time until the pawners pay the specified amount at the time of the pledge agreement.

If within a specified period of time, the pawnbroker does not pay the pawned money he has received, the pawned land or rice fields can become his right of control or the property of the pawner. According to Anton Naibaho, residents in his village avoid *dondon* as much as possible, and it is carried out between parties who have close relations with close relatives, carried out in secret and often unwritten. This is done considering that donating rice fields or fields to parties who are not close relatives, is considered to be able to injure self-esteem. This is related to the tradition, a person who gives money as a mortgage for a field or field is automatically entitled to the result which is considered as interest on the debt.

An informant named Hendrik Simmangunsong said “the amount of the pawn money

depends on the value of the land, the fertility of the land and the amount of money needed by the pawner. Residents here pawn the land or fields when in a very urgent situation. If there is no urgent need, people usually prefer to rent out their land. Leasing land is safer than pawning, considering that the balance is often detrimental to the pawner and benefits the moneylender". (Interview with Hendrick Simangunsong 23 October 2020).

In the General Elucidation of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 56 of 1960 concerning Maximum and Minimum Agricultural Land, it is stated: redemption of pawned land depends on the willingness and ability of the pawner. Many pawns last for years, decades, and some are even continued by the pawnbroker's heirs and pawnbrokers, because the pawnbroker is unable to redeem the land.

"... in other areas, pawning is also known where the yield of the land is not only interest, but also installments. Such a pawn is called "selling in installments". In contrast to the ordinary mortgage, in installment sales, after a long period of time the land returns to the pawner without paying a ransom."

Regarding the process of the pawn transaction, Anton Naibaho explained, "along with the times, when parents pawn the land when the situation is urgent, nowadays it is considered as a way to solve problems. Pawnshops in our village are not like pawnshop advertisements that solve problems without problems, but on the contrary, pawns are often a source of problems. When the dondon cannot be paid off, a pate agreement will be made, which results in the release of rice fields and fields." (Interview with Anton Naibaho October 23, 2020).

Factors Affecting Transformation of Communal Land

Factors that influence the process of transforming ulayat land in the research location can be distinguished into internal factors that live and exist in the community and external factors originating from the supra-village (local and central government regulations), money market penetration, widespread commoditification and growth of economic development and facilities public.

Internal factors: Worldview: Hamoraon, Hasangapon and Hagabeon

The Toba Batak ethnicity has a world view in the form of hamoraon, (wealth), hasangapon, (honor) and hagabeon (many descendants). In accordance with this world view, every Batak person as much as possible to embody it in their socio-cultural life. Hamoraon is the basic and main capital for achieving other life goals, namely hasangapon and hagabeon. The actualization of the world view of hamoraon, hagabeon and hasangapon is carried out in various ways, one of which is ownership of property such as land.

For the Toba Batak ethnic and community, land is identified as status and power, so for them land ownership is a means of actualizing their identity. A person who owns a large land is a sign that he has wealth, by owning the wealth in question is interpreted as having power. A person who has power automatically attaches a high social status,

with the social status he bears, he becomes an honorable person (*sangap*) in society. Likewise, only with the world view of *hagabeon* (many descendants), such as having a "ticket" to enter and be part of the *Dalihan na tolu* system that ensures a harmonious life for the entire Toba Batak culture. An ethnic Toba Batak wherever located is governed by the *dalihan na tolu* system which is a guide in social activities, especially in the implementation of various traditional ceremonies. Everyone involved in traditional ceremonies is separated in position and roles through the *dalihan na tolu* system. Each Toba Batak will occupy a position in the *na tolu* pretext, namely as *hulahula* [the giver of the wife], *dongan tubu* [brethren of the family] and *boru* [the recipient of the wife] (Simanjuntak 2009, p. 158).

In line with the patrilineal lineage, everyone and the Toba Batak family tend to have *hagabeon* [many descendants]. *Hagabeon* is the basic capital to realize *hamoraon* and *hasangapon*. With many descendants, especially having sons, an ethnic Toba Batak has a *hamoraon*, a high social status, because the continuity of his lineage and clan is maintained. For the Toba Batak, boys play a role in forming kinship groups and girls create an affinity relationship (Butarbutar, 2019, p. 498).

A Batak family head who has complete offspring (sons and daughters), is recognized, enters and becomes part of the *Dalihan na tolu* system. The position of a person depends on the activities made and the implementers of the activities. A person who has descent or clan will determine the position and kinship relationship between a person and the executor of the activity (Gultom, 1992, p. 53). The presence of a person in a traditional event is intended to carry out obligations and receive all rights that have been determined by custom *dalihan na tolu*. These obligations and rights are manifested in the form of giving and receiving "customary objects" which are symbols and become means for both parties in traditional ceremonies.

The consequences and actualization of the life goals of *hamoraon* and *hagabeon* encourage the transformation of land tenure and land conflicts that take place in sync with demographic growth and the development of the economic value of land. In line with the *hamoraon* life orientation, the Toba Batak ethnic view of land tends to be secular, the religious aspect of land values shifts from social-religious magic towards and becomes a commodity, so that control and ownership of land becomes a sign and symbol of wealth.

In line with the *hagabeon* world view with patrilineal lineages, almost all Toba Batak people view that descendants, especially sons, are a buffer and guarantee for the continuity of the *dalihan natolu* system. The Batak ethnic view of the meaning of children also tends to shift from quantitative to qualitative. Proverb: *marboro sapuluh pitu, maranak sapuluh anom* [seventeen daughters and sixteen boys are being abandoned]. Boys are not only the successors of the lineage/*marga* and play a role in traditional events, but also children are interpreted qualitatively. In relation to land, the quantitative and qualitative meaning of children has implications for the transformation of *ulayat* rights. It is related to the quantitative and qualitative meaning of children requiring land ownership as social capital and economic capital.

The orientation of life in *hamoraon* is indicated by a phenomenon: land is identified as status and power, so that land ownership becomes a means of actualizing one's identity. In relation to ulayat rights, it turns out that the world view of *hamoraon* encourages "acceleration of the transformation of ulayat land from being communal to being individual. Likewise with the life orientation of the *hagabeon*, the presence of children, especially sons as the successors of the clan and acting as a buffer for the *dalihan na telu* system. In the actualization process, the community encourages land fragmentation through various grants and the transfer of land ownership to other parties.

The orientation and way of life about the *hagabeon* in turn has implications for the wider need for land. When the land area is very large, the increase in the membership of the alliance and demographic pressures are overcome by new forest lands, but when the land has been completely divided and every corner of the mountains and forests has been claimed to be clan land or state land, the available land is divided and continues to be divided between children and grandchildren.

In the context of the Naibaho clan, for example, it has reached its 17th generation. Demographic pressures on ulayat land have an effect on changing the views of Batak youth about clans. Only a few young Batak people know the original location of their clan land (*huta*) and the clan is understood solely genealogically without any historical connection with the name of the village which is derived from *mamungka huta* (village opening) due to demographic pressures. In the context of the socio-historical conditions of the ulayat land of the Rau Timur Village, it can be stated: if at first the opening of the village (*mamungka huta*) was followed by the emergence of a "new clan" as a response to the increasingly limited natural carrying capacity due to demographic pressures, now demographic pressures on ulayat land responded to by the transfer of ulayat land which results in the fragmentation of ulayat land.

The transformation process of ulayat land transfer in Lumban Rau Timur Village is also related to the intensification of Batak ethnic and cultural interactions with the outside world since the entry of zending, Dutch colonial penetration and the enactment of national land law and economic development and policies that place the Lake Toba area as a leading tourist destination in North Sumatra.

The entry of zending and colonial penetration had a major influence on changes in the socio-cultural and economic structure of the ethnic and territorial Bataknese. Although at the beginning of the entry of zending was rejected by the ethnic Batak elite as shown by the king of Singamangaraja, but slowly the presence of zending increasingly gained a place in Batak land. The presence of zending does not have a major effect on the agrarian structure, the transfer of control and utilization of ulayat land. The influence of zending is limited to the use and utilization of land for the construction of places of worship, health and education.

This is different from the colonial penetration and European multinational companies that developed large plantation businesses on Batak land. The enactment of the agrarian law in 1870 had a major impact on the transformation of control and use of land in Batak lands, including customary lands. Although for the Nasau sub-

district, the influence of colonial penetration and Dutch and European multinational companies in general was very limited, because their operational areas were concentrated in the surrounding Deli Serdang and Langkat areas.

One of the important events of the Dutch colonial penetration in the Batak lands was the takeover of the Sihaporas customary land which had been occupied for generations by about eight generations in 1913 as a pine forest and the publication of the Sihaporas Enclave map, in 1916. only physical but followed by coercion of local residents to work in pine forests, some residents were expelled from the Sihaporas customary community who were then assigned as Dutch Colonial spies, (Simangunsong, 2020).

Country and Market Penetration

The penetration of outsiders that had a major influence on the transformation of customary land tenure in Batak lands was the issuance of various regulations related to forest governance, plantations, regional and village administrations as well as the inclusion of various development programs in the New Order era and the reform era. Juridically and constitutionally, ulayat rights get quite respectable because it is stated in the 1945 Constitution in Article 18 b of the 1945 Constitution: "The state recognizes and respects customary law community units and their traditional rights as long as they are still alive and in accordance with developments. society and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia". Other laws and regulations related to customary rights include: Agrarian Law no. 5 of 1960, the Mineral and Coal Mining Law no. 4 of 2009 and No. 3 of 2020, Law no. 2 of 2012 concerning Land Acquisition for Development, for Public Interest, Plantation Law No. 18 of 2004, Forestry Law No. 41 of 1999.

In the five laws, customary rights are stated in terms and statements as: (1) "Agrarian law applicable to earth, water and space is customary law", (2) Customary Law as original Indonesian law, (3) Legal dualism land based on customary law and national law, since the enactment of UU PA No. 5 of 1960 became the national agrarian law. (4) "... the indigenous peoples, as long as they still exist, must be in such a way that they are in accordance with the national and state interests, which are based on national unity and may not conflict with laws and regulations". (5) "... in the event that the required land (for plantations) is land with customary rights of customary law communities which in reality still exists, the applicant for rights (plantation investors) is obliged to hold consultations with the customary law community holding customary rights and citizens holding rights to the land in question, to obtain an agreement regarding the surrender of the land, and the compensation.

The terms and statements contained in the five sectoral laws describe the ambiguity and ambiguity of the government's legal politics regarding ulayat rights. The existence of ulayat rights is locked with the statement "... as long as it is in fact still there, it must be in such a way ...". If this statement is related to the philosophy and principles of national law, it is positive, so there is no room for the existence of ulayat rights to survive and survive. Considering that the philosophy and principles of

positive Indonesian law are ipso de jure, while the philosophy, principles and existence of ulayat rights are based on ipso de facto. The application of ipso de jure legal philosophy and principles in positive law has implications for the integration of customary rights in national agrarian law and the position of customary law communities into a sub-ordinance of the positive legal system which results in the decay of customary rights (Davidson, et al., 2010, p. 144; Safitri, et al., 2010, p. 186).

On the other hand, various regulations on natural and agrarian resources have become the entry point for the penetration of state and market power in rural areas and communities and communities. Laws on forestry, plantations and village governance in fact strengthen the grip of state and market forces to exploit natural resources in customary rights areas. Various regulations related to natural resource and agrarian governance have resulted in the decay of local institutions related to agrarian governance, including customary rights institutions.

The process of legal subordination of customary rights that took place during the New Order era and continued in the reform era, was strengthened by the inclusion of various development policies and programs that entered rural areas in Samosir Regency. In relation to the existence of ulayat rights, the inclusion of economic and infrastructure development programs, the placement of the Lake Toba area as a national leading tourism followed by the penetration of market forces, resulting in changes in the physical, geographical, social, economic, cultural and political landscape of Batak land and the transfer of ownership of ulayat lands. in East Rau Village and the Lake Toba area in general.

Based on the narrative conveyed by one of the community leaders, Mr. Anton Naibaho, the impact of the penetration of economic power that took place in Rau Timur Village was the increasing number of traditional markets, weekly markets, promotions and offers of electronic goods on credit, ease of access to financial and banking institutions, and host -host interest money. According to him, the ease of getting fresh money from formal and non-formal financial institutions in his village was followed by an increase in the sale of land pawns and the transfer of ownership of land, including the transfer of ownership of customary land.

Next, Anton Naibaho, explained that the process of transferring ownership of ulayat land took place between residents in his village and other parties from outside the village. In general, the recipients of land pawns and/or land buyers are rich and influential people in the village, government employees and companies or those who work in the city. Mr. Naibaho also explained that the money obtained from the proceeds of pawning and selling was used for various purposes such as wedding parties, children's educational needs, business capital and sudden needs such as death or accidents.

External factors that have an important impact on the transformation of customary land tenure are the expansion and regional autonomy, namely Samosir island becoming an independent district. Autonomy and regional expansion make it easier and shorten the chain of control of the bureaucracy and accelerate political decision making and the implementation of economic development. Socially,

autonomy and regional expansion encourage the inclusion of state administration into the spatial and social space of society. In empirical reality, regional autonomy has an impact on the transformation of authority over ulayat land, which was previously the full right of customary holders, to the local government. Matters related to the boundaries of customary territory, scope, existence and position, rights and obligations of customary law as well as institutions and use and utilization of ulayat rights in Samosir Regency are regulated in Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2003. In this regional regulation there are also rules for the use and utilization of customary rights through the relinquishment of rights for tourism, agriculture and other purposes requiring Cultivation Rights and or Use Rights.

The influence of state and market power in the transformation of the transfer of ownership and use of customary land in the Lake Toba area has been going on since the New Order government and continued during the reform era. The process of the transfer of land ownership and the transformation of land use in the Lake Toba area began with the development of PT Indorayon on April 26, 1983, a year later, obtained a Forest Concession Right (HPH) covering an area of 150,000 hectares, which includes the *merkusi* pine forest in North Sumatra. At the beginning of the reform PT Indorayon was closed because it was considered damaging to the environment, PT Indorayon later changed its name to PT Toba Pulp Lestari, but the nature and form of the company's operations in relation to the community and the Lake Toba area have not changed significantly. By North Sumatra environmental activists and activities, the presence and continued operation of PT Toba Pulp Lestari in the Lake Toba area, not only destroys the environment but is also considered to have committed crimes against humanity, divided politics and damaged the order of Dalihan Natolu (Simamora, et al., 2021). So that there are suggestions from environmental activities so that the Government revokes the Government to immediately revoke the TPL permit. A similar proposal was submitted by the Indonesian parliamentary chairman (MPR) Bambang Soesatyo who asked the central government, particularly the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, to revoke PT Toba Pulp Lestari's land use concession permit. Given the presence of TPL for approximately 30 years of operation in Tapanuli, North Sumatra leaves deep sorrow for the Batak community.

In the New Order, the state penetrated customary rights and customary communities with the issuance of the Industrial Plantation Forest Concession Rights Scheme (HPHTI) with the Minister of Forestry Decree No.320/Kpts-II/1986. Siringgo (2011) stated that the existence of PT Toba Pulp Lestari's HTI has an impact on job creation, infrastructure development in the form of road openings and increasing government revenue. But this has to be paid dearly with the loss of about 50 thousand hectares of customary forest land in the Lake Toba area undergoing a function change into industrial forest plantations. As a result, the community has not only lost their customary land, but also lost the endemic frankincense plant which has been a source of livelihood for the community for decades.

In the reformation era, the state's penetration of ulayat rights and indigenous peoples is by placing Lake Toba as a super priority tourist destination in 2015, the

determination of the Master Plan for Priority Tourism Destinations (RIDPP) for Lake Toba, an agrarian reform program in the form of land certification and the designation of the Lake Toba area by UNESCO as a one of the world's geoparks (2 July 2020).

The determination of the Lake Toba area as a national flagship destination in 2015, was greeted with joy by the community and 6 local governments in the Lake Toba area. The central government's policy was responded to two years later by issuing Samosir Regent Decree Number 474 of 2017 concerning Determination of Criteria and Classification of Tourism Objects in Samosir. The Decree of the Regent is intended to facilitate the proper management of tourism objects. After the Samosir Regent's Decree was issued, the reality on the ground showed that many elements were involved, the ability of government and community resources at tourism objects was not ready, the management of tourist objects was not yet professional and the conditions of facilities and infrastructure were inadequate (Saputra & Ali 2020), So that the program has not been fully present and felt by the community. According to the narrative of the Village Head of Rau Timur before and after the Lake Toba program as a national flagship destination, it was stated that there was no significant difference.

According to Anton Naibaho, this is due to tourists coming to certain areas and staying at hotels whose owners are from the city and some of the hotel employees are not sons of Samosir. In Wardani and Nasution's notes (2016), the key success factors for the Lake Toba tourism development strategy are accessibility, amenities, attractions and the establishment of a Management Agency through the Tourism Authority Agency. It is not yet fully available in Samosir Island.

State penetration that has a major influence on the existence of *ulayat* rights and indigenous peoples in the Lake Toba area is agrarian reform in the form of land certification and UNESCO's designation of the Lake Toba area as one of the world's geoparks (2 July 2020). Agrarian reform is one of the flagship programs of Joko Widodo's first term of government. At the local and village levels of Rau Timur, the agrarian reform program is conducted by several residents who have taken care of land registrations derived from grants and the proceeds of buying and selling.

This phenomenon indicates that in the Rau Timur village area, it is not only the transfer of customary land ownership to other parties (outside the village) but land commodification and changes in land tenure from communal to individual ownership. This change in the form of ownership has implications for the change in the meaning and function of the land from being cultural, magical religion shifting to profane and commodity land and is commercial in nature. It is in line with the understanding and interests of the state and the market, that communal land tenure can be an obstacle to economic development and the entry of investment into the Lake Toba area. In this regard, land certification has become smooth of investment and the gateway to commoditization and commercialization of land since the President Joko Widodo in office.

The existence of customary rights in the Lake Toba area is not threatened by state and market forces at the national level but also from global forces. The determination of the Lake Toba area by UNESCO to become one of the world's geoparks on July 2,

2020) was greeted with joy by the local government and local elites who have been struggling and waiting for UNESCO's decision. In the analysis of Borrás Jr and Hall (2009), UNESCO calls the designation of the Lake Toba geopark as a global land grabbing phenomenon. The determination of the Lake Toba Geopark by UNESCO has implications for the loss of access and authority of the local population to customary lands and resources that are the source of life and support for a civilization that has lasted for decades.

The determination of the Lake Toba geopark also triggered agrarian conflicts and social movements (Manalu, 2009) because after the Toba caldera was designated as a geopark, it was followed by infrastructure development such as the mega project The Caldera–Toba Nomadic Escape. Local residents' protests over the mega project were resolved by operating a bulldozer to drive away the demonstrators, so that dozens of indigenous women cried and struggled. As if in desperation, the mothers who took part in the demonstration were treated inhumanely, they were forced to take their clothes off—to the point that they were almost naked. The loss of access and land assets due to infrastructure development and the expansion of capitalist businesses that befell the people in the Lake Toba area also took place in West Sumatra (Narihisa, 2002), Central Sulawesi (Aragon, 2002), Central Kalimantan (Palupi, et al., 2015; Warren, 2002; Zakaria, 2002).

Conclusions

Based on the history of its establishment, ulayat land in this village is divided into *mamungka huta* (village opening) and *golat* (land confiscated due to land conflicts). The customary lands originating from the *golat* land in the village of Lumban Rau Timur are Lobok Dolok Pagar Gunung, Lobu Opuribu and Lobu Andahara Pagar Gunung. In line with the patrilineal Batak ethnic kinship system, the opening of the village to the king's clan (*marga tano*), the establishment of the village was aimed at clan land. The clan founder of the village in Lumban Rau Timur village is the Hasibuan clan. The village areas originating from the *mamungka* forest are the Napajulu, the Sibaning and the Batu Sandar forest.

The customary land area in the research location is a residential unit **inhabited by residents who have genealogical and territorial ties.** The residents of Lumban Rau Timur Village are almost completely bound by blood relations and are descended from their ancestors (the same clan), only a small part including the boru whose clan is different. The village ulayat area includes the area where the ceremony is held, graves, rice fields, pasture land for cattle grazing, cultivated forest area, land for settlement expansion or settlement expansion, water (river waters), forest land (including plants or plants that grow wild animals and wild animals), *tunggane huta* [common burial place], and *tapián* [public bathing place].

The transformation process or ownership transfer of ulayat land took place in the Lumban Rau Timur Village area was carried out through various varied activities, (1) through various land grants such as *pauseang* [giving land to girls], *ulos nasorabad*, [giving inheritance given to people, parents, to daughters], *panjaean* [gifts of

inheritance given by parents to sons], *tano parbandaan*, *tuhorni boru*, *indahan nalas* [gifts to grandchildren], *tuhorni boru* or *sinamot* [dowry]; (2) various buying and selling and exchanging land such as other *mangodis pate* [free sale], *dondon/sindor* [annual sale or limited sale] and *marlibe* [land swap]; (3) pawning, leasing and pate agreements; (4) separation and distribution of joint assets and income in the company or *inbreng*.

Traditionally, customary land rights cannot be transferred to other parties, as time goes by, in fact there is a transformation of land ownership to other parties, both between local residents and residents from outside the alliance which is used for agriculture, settlements, educational facilities, places of worship.

The internal factors that drive the transformation of ulayat land are demographic pressures. The Batak ethnic view of *hamoraon*, *hagabeon* and *hasangapon*, migration in and out and the interaction of the bono *pasogit* with the homeland of life and the overseas world. External factors that have a major influence on the transformation of customary lands are the penetration of the state and the market through various regulations on forests, local government and various development programs that enter the union area. About a century ago, Ter Haar indicated that the inherent nature of customary land was "condensing or deflating and expanding" reciprocally and continuously. This condition is what happened to the customary land of the Toba Batak ethnicity in the eastern Lumban Rau village, the process from expanding to deflating.

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GAYA BERPAKAIAN PRIA PRIBUMI DI SUMATERA TIMUR AWAL ABAD KE-20: ANALISIS NARASI FOTO

by Lukitaningsih ,parida Hasni, Haddad Wifaq Arraihan,dimas Setiawa



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GAYA BERPAKAIAN PRIA PRIBUMI DI SUMATERA TIMUR AWAL ABAD KE-20: ANALISIS NARASI FOTO

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ABSTRACT

This study is a study of the clothing styles of indigenous men in East Sumatra which has the objectives of: 1) To find out the clothing styles of indigenous men in East Sumatra in the early 20th century; 2) To find out the relationship of clothing styles to the economic, social and cultural life of indigenous men in Sumatra. East early 20th century. This article uses historical research methods. The result of this study is that there is an influence of western clothing style with what was adopted by indigenous men in East Sumatra in the early 20th century. Among them are Toba Batak, Simalungun and Javanese coolies. This style of dress also affects a person's social position from the nobility, educated, workers, immigrants. Noble men appeared in hiou on tolugbalanga and soja as well as a number of makers of hats and accessories, noble men who were colonial servants usually appeared in corolondo clothes, intellectual or educated men used to wear corolondo clothes and robes, local men who were Christians usually wore shirts white with the bottom of the pants, and men who are Muslim usually appear with a bracket shirt. The influence of this dress appeared because of the colonial position in East Sumatra at that time so that the style of dress accompanied the daily life of the people in East Sumatra, from company owners, workers in company factories, regional aristocrats to ordinary people.

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PENDAHULUAN

Pakaian merupakan salah satu kebutuhan pokok yang dikenal masyarakat sejak jaman dahulu. Pada awalnya pakaian digunakan sebagai alat untuk melindungi tubuh dari pengaruh cuaca, gigitan serangga, dan lainnya yang kemudian berkembang ke arah etika dan estetika. Pakaian juga menjadi bagian penting dalam etnis ataupun suku tertentu. Setiap etnis memiliki gaya berpakaian yang berbeda-beda. Perbedaan tersebut terletak pada bahan yang digunakan, bentuk, warna, perhiasan, corak/motif, dan ornamen-ornamen lain. Pakaian merupakan salah satu penampilan lahiriah yang paling jelas membedakan penduduk satu dengan lainnya atau sebaliknya yaitu menyamakan diri dengan kelompok lainnya.

Tradisi berbusana di Indonesia menunjukkan tiga pengaruh yaitu kultur pribumi, kultur Arab (Islam), dan kultur Barat (Kristen). Ketiga pengaruh ini memunculkan perbedaan penampilan gaya berpakaian yang memperlihatkan sikap dan pandangan terhadap ketelanjangan. Taraf pribumi menilai ketelanjangan bukan sebuah ketelanjangan melainkan sebagai taraf berpakaian sesuai zamannya. Kultur Arab memandang ketelanjangan sebagai perilaku yang amoral. Kultur Barat menilai ketelanjangan sebagai sebuah kebodohan, kemunduran, dan keterbelakangan. Ketiga pengaruh ini menampilkan gaya berpakaian yang berbeda-beda. Kultur Barat terlihat pada pakaian yang biasa mereka gunakan yaitu *calvinis* dan *coro londo* yang identik dengan jas, celana, kemeja, sepatu, dan topi. Kultur Arab menampilkan penutup kepala seperti toga dan turban, baju bodo (baju kurung). Sedangkan Kultur pribumi menampilkan pakaian berupa sarung batik, *hiou*, *ulos*, *abit*, dan berbagai macam sebutannya (Damanik, 2019).

Tulisan ini memfokuskan perhatiannya pada gaya berpakaian pria dalam lingkup lokal yaitu Sumatera Timur awal abad ke-20. Sejak abad ke-19 Bangsa Barat sudah memasuki wilayah Sumatera Timur, hal ini tidak serta merta berpengaruh pada kehidupan ekonomi, sosial, dan lainnya tetapi juga



pada perkembangan Gaya berpakaian. Pada awal abad ke-20 Sumatera Timur merupakan wilayah tempat menetapnya banyak kuli kontrak yang diperkerjakan oleh kolonial Belanda dan kebanyakan dari mereka adalah para pria sehingga apa yang mereka kenakan dalam hal ini adalah pakaian menunjukkan identitas mereka. Seperti halnya gaya berpakaian atau *fashion* menjadi bagian yang tidak bisa dilepaskan dari penampilan pada aktivitas keseharian. Segala apa yang dikenakan oleh seseorang dalam berpenampilan bisa menjadi alat komunikasi untuk menunjukkan identitas pribadi. Berbeda pakaian yang dikenakan oleh seorang pekerja kasar dengan atasan dan identitas pekerja kasar atau atasan itu bisa terlihat dari bagaimana mereka berpakaian. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa melalui analisis gaya berpakaian seseorang bisa mengetahui bagaimana kehidupan sosial, ekonomi dan budaya pada suatu masa.

METODE

Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi sejarah yang merupakan suatu metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian sejarah. Dalam suatu metode penelitian sejarah dikenal dengan langkah-langkah penelitian yang dipergunakan dalam suatu penelitian. Gottschalk mengemukakan 4 langkah dalam meneliti sejarah (Gottschalk, 1986).

Pertama, heuristik merupakan proses pengumpulan data. Pada tahap ini kegiatan diarahkan pada pencarian dan pengumpulan sumber-sumber yang akan diteliti, baik yang ada di lokasi penelitian, temuan benda maupun sumber lisan. Dengan demikian data yang akan dikumpulkan terdiri dari: (1) Sumber tertulis. Semua data yang berbentuk laporan tertulis yang memuat fakta gaya berpakaian pria pribumi di Sumatera Timur awal abad ke-20 secara jelas. Dalam hal ini penulis mengumpulkan sumber tertulis melalui literasi buku-buku serta artikel yang di akses melalui perpustakaan dan Google Scholar sebagaimana yang tertera pada daftar pustaka; (2) Sumber tidak tertulis. Semua keterangan yang dituturkan atau keterangan dari benda-benda yang memuat fakta sejarah. Dalam hal ini penulis mengumpulkan data melalui foto-foto sezaman dengan masa yang berkaitan dengan judul penelitian yang diambil dari laman KITLV. Dari jenis-jenis data yang akan dikumpulkan dalam kriteria di atas maka sumber-sumber tersebut akan dipilah dan dikategorikan dalam dua jenis yaitu: (1) Sumber primer berupa foto yang digunakan adalah foto sebagai rekaman sezaman; (2) Sumber sekunder berupa buku dan artikel sebagaimana yang tercantum dalam daftar pustaka.

Kedua, verifikasi atau kritik sumber. Teknik kritik sumber yang digunakan adalah: (1) Kritik eksternal, yakni uji keaslian dari sumber yang akan dikumpulkan. Sumber tertulis akan diuji otentisitasnya dengan kesesuaian pengarang dan periode penerbitan. Dalam hal ini penulis menganalisis beberapa foto pria yang penulis temukan dari laman KITLV dan laman lainnya untuk kemudian di kritik apakah foto tersebut benar-benar keadaan yang sebenarnya pada awal abad ke-20 di Sumatera Timur atau tidak; (2) Kritik internal, yaitu uji isi dan maksud dalam sumber agar peneliti mengetahui bahwa sumber yang akan didapat dapat diandalkan (reliabel) dan memiliki hubungan atau kesesuaian dengan data-data lainnya. Dalam hal ini penulis membandingkan hasil analisis foto dengan keadaan yang sebenarnya dari beberapa tulisan atau penelitian sebelumnya yang menjelaskan keadaan sosial, ekonomi, dan budaya serta gaya berpakaian di Sumatera Timur awal abad ke-20.

Ketiga, interpretasi atau penafsiran. Proses kerja interpretasi yang akan digunakan adalah: (1) Pencernaan evidensi, yaitu menguasai fakta yang dikumpulkan melalui data-data serta menyusun kombinasi untuk mengetahui makna yang ada pada bukti-bukti berupa foto-foto yang telah terkumpul dari laman KITLV; (2) Hipotesis kerja, yaitu hipotesis kerja digunakan sebagai acuan sementara dalam menganalisis data-data yang telah disusun dengan mengarahkan pemilihan dan penetapan bukti yang digunakan; (3) Proses analisis-sintesis, yaitu dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan analisis dengan teori fenomenologi karena memungkinkan peneliti untuk berusaha memahami arti dari peristiwa dan kaitan-kaitannya dengan orang-orang yang berada dalam situasi tersebut dengan cara memahami arti gaya berpakaian pria di Sumatera Timur. Ini dipahami sebagai

alat komunikasi untuk menunjukkan identitas pribadi berbagai suku yang ada di Sumatera Timur serta kaitannya dengan kehidupan sosial, ekonomi dan budaya mereka.

Keempat, historiografi merupakan penulisan sejarah yang akan terwujud ke dalam suatu tulisan yang dapat dibaca. Tulisan tersebut merupakan hasil dari analisis-analisis data yang akan dikumpulkan dan akan membentuk sintesis yang saling berhubungan. Dalam hal ini teknik historiografi yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah deskriptif yakni menulis sejarah berdasarkan fakta-fakta yang tersusun. Data-data yang akan dikumpulkan melalui heuristik dan akan diverifikasi serta diinterpretasi hasilnya akan disajikan sebagai jawaban untuk rumusan masalah.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Dirumuskannya pakaian tradisional tidak merujuk pada ketelanjangan atau *nudity* sebelum pertemuannya dengan bangsa Barat. Pakaian tradisional suatu daerah/wilayah yang memiliki suku bangsa mencerminkan sebuah adaptasi maupun komodifikasi. Upaya adaptasi dan komodifikasi pakaian mencerminkan ekspresi identitas (Lurie, 1992). Di dalam pakaian terdapat pluritas makna dan menjadi kulit sosial kebudayaan (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985) Adaptasi dan komodifikasi ini menunjukkan bahwa pria pribumi di Sumatra Timur menerima kultur baru yang mereka dapatkan dari orang Eropa selama periode kolonialisme.

Pengaruh dari bangsa Barat, terutama bangsa Belanda dan Jerman tampak jelas pada penampilan *elitis* masyarakat Lokal. Dikenalnya pakaian setelan berupa jas berwarna gelap, jas tanpa kerah merupakan hasil komodifikasi, ataupun *coro londo* yaitu pakaian setelan berwarna putih. Pakaian ini awalnya dikenakan oleh para kaum bangsawan hingga diikuti oleh beberapa orang-orang terdidik yang lulus dari sekolah kolonial dan zending. Terdapat pula pengaruh Islam atau Melayu pada pakaian pria pribumi di Sumatra Timur awal abad ke-20 yaitu pada pemakaian kemeja kurung.

Penggunaan pakaian-pakaian itu tidak terlepas dari posisi dan kelas sosial penggunaannya pada era kolonialisme. Kelas sosial itu kemudian dibedakan menjadi tiga yang pertama sebelum masuknya bangsa barat, kedua sesudah masuknya bangsa barat dan terakhir masyarakat perkebunan yang meliputi pria bangsawan, pria pegawai kolonial, pria kaum intelektual, pria lokal, dan pria beragama Kristen dan Islam. Para pria bangsawan biasa tampil dengan balutan *hiou* terhadap *tolugbalanga* dan *soja* serta sejumlah milineris dan aksesoris, para pria pegawai kolonial biasa tampil dengan busana *coro londo*, para pria kaum intelektual atau kaum terdidik mereka biasa menggunakan pakaian *coro londo* dan jubah, pria lokal yang beragama Kristen biasanya menggunakan pakaian kemeja putih dengan bawahan celana, serta pria yang beragama Islam biasanya tampil dengan pakaian kemeja kurung. Pakaian-pakaian baru tersebut menjadi gambaran bahwa hal tersebut merupakan bagian dari usaha bangsa Barat dalam menghias gaya berpakaian pria lokal dan mengenalkan mereka pada tatanan baru yaitu peradaban modern.

Gaya berpakaian ini menandakan pada awal abad ke-20 sudah terbentuk perusahaan besar perkebunan yang dikenal dengan *Deli Planters Vereeniging* (DPV). Adalah sebuah kumpulan dari delapan perusahaan perkebunan asing yang memiliki konsesi masing-masing lebih dari 15 ribu hektar. Dengan hak milik empat perusahaan pengusaha Belanda, dua maskapai perkebunan karet RCMA (Rubber Cultuur Maatschappij Amsterdam) dan komoditi teh yaitu HVA (Haandels Vereeniging Amsterdam) dan dua perusahaan mengusahakan perkebunan tembakau yaitu Deli Maatschappij dan Senembah Maatschappij. Dua perusahaan milik Amerika yaitu US Rubber (Uniroyal) dan Goodyear. Dua lainnya merupakan perusahaan Inggris yaitu Harrisons dan Crosfield dan Perusahaan Belgia yang bergerak di komoditi kelapa sawit yaitu SocFin (Societe Financiere des Caoutchoucs) (Lindblad, 2009) yang pada saat itu masyarakat yang ada di Sumatera Timur banyak diperkerjakan ke dalam pabrik perusahaan dalam fase kedudukan bangsa luar di Sumatera Timur (Damanik, 2019)

Sehingga dengan adanya perusahaan yang dibangun oleh kolonial pada abad ke 20 ini menjadikan masyarakat pribumi Sumatera Timur menjadi pekerja-pekerja pabrik-pabrik perusahaan

tersebut yang pada saat itu raja-raja atau penguasa daerah menjadi partner kerja sama hubungan antar daerah sedangkan masyarakat biasa menjadi pekerja yang diupah sesuai dengan status sosialnya. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari bagaimana cara berpakaian pada saat itu di Sumatera Timur dengan ciri khas kepala daerah dan ada juga yang berpakaian biasa khas daerahnya bahkan ada kuli pendatang yang di datangkan dari Jawa untuk diperkerjakan. Berikut ini adalah analisis terhadap 8 (delapan) foto yang dikelompokkan berdasarkan etnis yang ada pada awal abad ke-20 di Sumatera Timur.



Gambar 1. Penampilan Partongah Simalungun, 1935

Sumber: kitlv.nl

Pada gambar 1 yaitu foto bertahun 1935 tampak beberapa pria yang berbaris panjang ke belakang yang Keseluruhannya mengenakan *hiou ragi panei* (mengganti celana), *tolugbalanga* dengan bros, di bagian bahu sebelah kiri diletakkan suri-suri, menggunakan sepatu, *doramani* dan kelopak bunga, serta penutup kepala atau gotong yang memiliki bentuk dan motif yang khas. Terdapat rantai emas yang terletak di antara kantung sebelah kiri dan bros. Selain itu, tampak pula beberapa pria yang mengenakan dasi dan kemeja putih. Terdapat pula pisau yang diletakkan di pinggang sebelah kiri. Cara berpakaian seperti ini mendekati cara berpakaian tradisional suku Simalungun saat ini, Perkembangan busana di Simalungun ini dimulai dari istana (rumah Bolon) yang di mana dipraktikkan oleh kaum bangsawan. Mereka adalah keluarga dan kerabat dari raja-raja maupun kaum terdidik yang berasal lulusan sekolah kolonial dan zending di Simalungun.

Kelompok sosial ini dianggap memiliki relasi dan kedekatan tersendiri dengan Pemerintah Kolonial pada saat itu. Kaum bangsawan juga merasa perlu melakukan modernisasi berbusana, yang di mana di tengah-tengah dinamika perkembangan sekaligus membangun sebuah interaksi dan relasi dengan Pemerintah Kolonial. Dari sini juga upaya dalam politik dalam berbusana diciptakan dan mengokohkan serta membuat status, peran, posisi sosial serta kekuasaannya dalam hal berpakaian. *Soja* yang dikenal sebagai (kebaya) dan *tolugbalanga* (teluk belanga). Gaya berbusana ini mencerminkan kedekatan gaya berbusana di Indonesia yang hanya dapat terlihat pada masyarakat yang memiliki tatanan sosial monarki atau biasa kita sebut dengan monarki sedangkan *hiou* (sarung) mencerminkan atribut lokal yang umum di Indonesia yang di mana *hiou* sekarang digunakan sebagai salah satu pakaian upacara kematian di Simalungun.



Gambar 2. Pekerja galian di sebuah perusahaan di sekitar Tebing Tinggi
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Foto para pekerja perkebunan yang ditunjukkan merupakan foto bertahun 1910 yang menampilkan para pekerja pada penggalian di sebuah perusahaan dekat Tebing Tinggi. Pada foto tersebut terlihat para pria sedang jongkok dan berdiri yang di tengah kebanyakan tanpa mengenakan baju dan hanya mengenakan bawahan semirip kain yang dililitkan ke pinggang dan mengenakan penutup kepala dengan bentuk yang beragam dan sepertinya dibentuk dari sehelai kain yang dililitkan. Pada sebelah kiri foto juga terlihat seorang pria yang mengenakan pakaian kemeja berwarna gelap yang memiliki bros dengan bawahan berupa sarung sebagai pengganti celana, serta mengenakan penutup kepala. Di sebelah kanan foto juga terdapat seorang pria yang mengenakan pakaian kemeja putih. Dari foto tersebut terlihat jelas perbedaan kelas sosial para pekerja yang tidak mengenakan baju dan para mandor yang mengenakan pakaian lengkap. Foto para pekerja tersebut juga merupakan salah satu aktivitas dari perkembangan perkebunan yang ada dan nantinya akan menjadi sangat besar dan juga pesat mengakibatkan banyaknya pengusaha-pengusaha perkebunan datang dan membuka lahan. Perkebunan tembakau yang saat itu sudah menjadi komoditi yang sangat populer di pasaran Eropa, dan foto para pekerja tersebut juga terdapat penampakan foto akan pembukaan lahan yang dilakukan oleh kuli yang berasal dari luar daerah yang di mana hal tersebut dilakukan dikarenakan penduduk lokal sangat sedikit bekerja atau membuat kontrak dengan Belanda pada saat itu dan Mereka tidak tertarik bekerja menjadi buruh karena telah mempunyai sumber kehidupan dari tanah-tanah yang mereka Kelola, dan yang berseragam putih, memakai topi sebagai administrator yang bertugas untuk mengendalikan pelaksanaan yang dilakukan oleh buruh di perkebunan dan mengelola semua faktor produksi yang ada, selain itu juga peran administrator sebagai penanggung jawab atas kepemilikan perkebunan tersebut atau direksi atas segala hal yang beroperasi di dalam perkebunan.

Orang yang berada di belakang administrator adalah asisten kongsi, yang memiliki tugas yaitu memberikan pengarahan, mengawasi, dan mengendalikan segala kegiatan di tiap-tiap kongsi dan afdeling yang dipimpin olehnya. Seorang asisten pengolahan bertugas untuk memberikan pengarahan, mengawasi, dan mengendalikan segala tiap kegiatan yang ada di gudang dan biasanya status sosial yang berada pada kalangan mengenal ke atas. Orang yang berbaju hitam sebagai mandor yang bertugas sebagai mengawasi pekerjaan buruh baik mandor tanam ataupun mandor di gudang yang mayoritasnya kaum menengah. Serta orang yang terakhir ada kaum buruh atau biasa disebut pekerja kasar yang mayoritasnya ada pribumi dan kalangan status sosialnya berada pada status sosial bawah dan terikat dengan kontrak (Yasmis, 2007).



Gambar 3. Penduduk desa Batak Toba, Samosir
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Foto pada gambar 3 ini menunjukkan penduduk desa Batak Toba tepatnya di Samosir yang diambil pada tahun 1915. Pada foto tersebut terlihat para pria penduduk desa mengenakan kemeja berwarna gelap dan putih sedang duduk berjajar dan mengenakan penutup kepala yang dililitkan dengan bentuk yang tak seragam. Bagian bawah mereka menggunakan sarung sebagai pengganti celana. Ada pula seorang pria yang sedang memegang tongkat ia menggunakan penutup kepala berbeda dari yang lainnya, yaitu semacam topi lebar. Dan foto tersebut bisa diamati pada saat itu daerah Keresidenan Tapanuli yang berkedudukan di Sibolga dipimpin seorang residen Belanda. Keresidenan Tapanuli terdiri dari Afdeling Bataklanden, Padang Sidempuan, Sibolga, dan Nias. Afdeling Bataklanden ini yang dipimpin oleh seorang asisten residen yang berkedudukan di Tarutung.



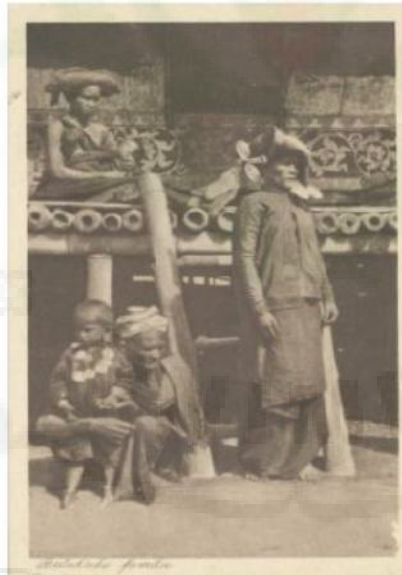
Gambar 4. Penampilan kaum terdidik Simalungun, 1940
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Foto pada gambar 4 adalah foto kelas menengah baru. Foto ini bertahun 1940 yang menunjukkan kan beberapa kaum pria intelektual yang lulus dari sekolah Zending di Tarutung dan Seminari Jakarta. Mereka tampil dengan pakaian setelan berwarna putih yang biasa disebut *coro londo*. Pakaian ini melambangkan bawah mereka merupakan kalangan dari kelas menengah ke atas. Lahirnya Politik Etis pada tahun 1901 memberikan pengaruh yang besar bagi daerah jajahan Belanda termasuk Hindia Belanda. Prinsip dari Politik Etis ini juga bertujuan untuk meningkatkan kondisi kehidupan penduduk pribumi pada saat itu. Saluran Politik Etis yang dimaksudkan itu dilaksanakan oleh Belanda itu sendiri dan melalui tiga jalur atau tiga bidang, yaitu irigasi (pengairan), emigrasi

(perpindahan penduduk), dan yang terakhir ada edukasi (pendidikan). Salah satu pihak yang berperan dalam dunia pendidikan pada masa Hindia Belanda adalah organisasi Zending.

Zending ini adalah organisasi yang menyebarkan agama Kristen Protestan yang tidak hanya disebarluaskan melalui sekolah namun juga melalui gereja. Pendidikan yang dibangun oleh zending mengikuti konsep kolonial. Ciri-cirinya bisa kita lihat seperti orang yang berpakaian jas, celana, kemeja, sepatu dan topi (berpakaian *coro londo*) tersebut. Kaum pelajar dan statusnya sebagai pelajar biasanya kaum pelajar tersebut diidentik dengan kalangan menengah ke atas, dan anak-anak pribumi dari keluarga miskin tidak berhak untuk sekolah, jadi yang boleh mengenyam pendidikan itu ialah anak yang sama dengan anak bangsawan dan keturunan Belanda lainnya.

Orang yang berada di tengah adalah para pendidik (guru). Mereka bertugas sebagai pengajar dan diperintahkan oleh pemerintah Hindia Belanda dan mayoritasnya ialah orang Belanda yang didatangkan langsung dari Belanda. Cara ini bertujuan untuk menjadikan warga pribumi patuh dan mengabdikan pada kepentingan Belanda. Dengan kata lain adalah pendidikan bertujuan untuk mencetak tenaga-tenaga yang dapat digunakan dan dimanfaatkan setiap individunya yang digunakan sebagai alat untuk memperkuat kedudukan penjajah, dan mengabdikan kepada kepentingan Belanda pada saat itu. Pendidikan itu sendiri pula hanya sekedar pengetahuan dan kecakapan yang dapat membantu mempertahankan kekuasaan politik dan ekonomi penjajah serta membantu menyebarkan paham agama Kristen.



Gambar 5. Batak Karo di Pantai Timur Sumatera
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Pada gambar 5 yang bertahun 1915 ini merupakan penampilan orang Karo di Pantai Timur Sumatera. Terlihat seorang pria yang berdiri mengenakan penutup kepala khas Karo yaitu tudung dengan bawahan seperti sehelai kain yang dililitkan berwarna gelap senada dengan bajunya yang semirip kemeja. Seorang pria yang lain sedang jongkok dan memeluk seorang anak kecil ia mengenakan penutup kepala yang berbeda yaitu seperti kain yang dililitkan di kepala dan menyandang kain seperti sarung serta mengenakan bawahan sarung. Wilayah Karo pada zaman kolonial menerapkan sistem *zelfbestuur* dengan tujuan membangun keterikatan antara *inlanders* dengan belanda. Meskipun disebut bercorak monarki, tetapi Sibayak dan kesultanan lebih mencirikan *chiefdom* (kepala pemimpin). Raja tidak memiliki kekuasaan mutlak terhadap raja bawahan (datuk) (Milner, 1982).

Saat itu telah terjadi modernisasi di tanah Karo khususnya pada bidang pertanian. Gaya berpakaian lengkap dan tertutup seperti gambar 5 sebelah (kanan) adalah pakaian yang digunakan dalam aktivitas di luar proses bertani/berladang. Pakaian tertutup tersebut dipakai jika ada agenda/pertemuan khusus di wilayahnya untuk menyambut tamu/acara adat istiadat karo. Jika masyarakat karo ingin melakukan aktivitas pertanian maka akan melepas baju lengan panjangnya dan telanjang dada agar pakaian yang dipakai tidak kotor/ternoda. Gambar di atas merupakan tampilan keseharian orang Karo dengan visual sebuah keluarga Karo.



Gambar 6. Penampilan Keluarga Bangsawan dari Tanah Jawa, Simalungun, 1941
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Pada gambar 6 terlihat keluarga bangsawan dari Tanah Jawa, Simalungun yang bertahun 1941 ini terlihat penampilan para bangsawan tidak mencirikan pakaian tradisional tetapi telah mengadopsi secara penuh kultur Barat yaitu menggunakan sepatu, dasi jas hitam atau putih, celana hingga kopiah yang merupakan lambang nasionalisme Indonesia. Sorotan gambar ini menarasikan sedang Duduk Raja Tanah Jawa 1919-1940, Tuan Sang Majadi (1885-23 Juli 1940).

Duduknya raja Tanah Jawa ini di kediaman kerajaannya dengan gaya berpakaian yang *coro londo* itu menandakan bahwa telah terjadi pergeseran kultural dari nilai-nilai *hasimalungunon* ke nilai-nilai Barat dalam hal berpakaian formal pada kelas bangsawan.



Gambar 7. Penampilan Bosar Sumalam Dasuha dari Panei, 1935
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Foto pada gambar 7 ini diambil pada tahun 1935 di halaman rumah Bolon di Pamatang Panei. Pria pada foto ini tampil dengan pakaian berupa kemeja yang berwarna gelap serta terdapat bros dan memakai kopiah yang disebut *pasomim*. Pada bagian bawah mereka menggunakan sarung dan sepatu. Ada pula beberapa pria lain yang tampil dengan kemeja tanpa kerah, bros serta rantai busana. Pada bagian bawahnya mengenakan celana hitam dan putih serta sepatu. Mereka merupakan para bangsawan dan keseluruhan mereka mengenakan *pasomim*. Dari foto ini terlihat bahwa pakaian yang dipakai merupakan hasil perpaduan ciri tradisional dan *coro londo*.

Pakaian yang mereka gunakan menandakan bahwa mereka adalah bangsawan lokal yang memiliki pengaruh. Bangsawan yang berada di dalam foto tersebut adalah Tuan Sumayan, Tuan Riahata Damanik (Tuan Sidamanik), Tuan Jadiumat (Raja Panei), Tuan Jintar Sinaga (Raja Tanah Jawa), Tuan Sawadim Damanik (Raja Bandar). Dengan penafsiran analisis foto tersebut dapat diartikan berfoto dalam sebuah pertemuan para *zelfbesturder*.



Gambar 8. Penampilan Rahalim Pakpak dari Purba, 1914
Sumber: kitlv.nl

Foto bertahun 1914 ini menunjukkan gaya berpakaian dari raja Purba bersama dengan panglimanya yang menggunakan pakaian berupa kemeja putih lengan panjang yang merupakan komodifikasi dari pakaian *coro londo*. Hanya saja mereka tampil dengan menggunakan sarung dan tanpa alas kaki. Beberapa panglima terlihat memakai pakaian berupa kemeja hitam yang memiliki kancing bros, serta penutup kepala yang memiliki motif-motif khusus. Beberapa dari mereka juga menggunakan kopiah atau *pasomim* yang mirip dengan yang dipakai oleh bangsawan Makassar. Gaya berpakaian ini dinilai sudah memiliki kemajuan dan perubahan dari penampilan sebelumnya yaitu *tanjarmahei* Purba dengan tempo tahun 1910. Gambar 8 ini menunjukkan foto Rahalim Pakpak yang merupakan seorang *zelfbestuur* dan Raja Dologsilou di depan halaman rumah Bolon. Rahalim Pakpak diperlihatkan berdiri di tengah mengenakan kemeja berwarna gelap dan menggunakan *hiou ragi panei* pengganti celana serta mengenakan suri-suri di bahu kiri serta penutup (Damanik, 2019).

SIMPULAN

Pria di Sumatera Timur pada periode awal hingga pertengahan abad ke-20 mengalami beberapa perubahan dalam gaya berpakaian. Hal ini disebabkan adanya pengaruh dari bangsa Barat terutama Belanda dan Jerman. Perubahan penggunaan pakaian tersebut terlihat dari beberapa penampilan yang menunjukkan pria lokal menggunakan pakaian kemeja, jas, celana, aksesoris yang dikenal sebagai pakaian *coro londo*. Penggunaan pakaian-pakaian itu tidak terlepas dari posisi dan kelas sosial penggunanya pada era kolonial. Pria bangsawan yang tampil dengan *hiou* terhadap *tolugbalanga* dan soja serta sejumlah milineris dan aksesoris, para pria pegawai kolonial biasa tampil dengan busana

coro londo. Para pria dari kaum intelektual atau kaum terdidik mereka biasa menggunakan pakaian *coro londo* dan jubah, pria lokal yang beragama Kristen biasanya menggunakan pakaian kemeja putih dengan bawahan celana, serta pria yang beragama Islam biasanya tampil dengan pakaian kemeja kurung. Pakaian-pakaian baru tersebut menjadi gambaran bahwa hal tersebut merupakan bagian dari usaha bangsa Barat mengenalkan tatanan baru peradaban modern. Hal ini sejalan dengan misi bangsa kolonial pada saat itu dengan adanya pembangunan perusahaan-perusahaan tembakau hingga teh yang bekerja sama dengan para kaum pribumi dari jajaran bangsawan daerah hingga pemanfaatan masyarakat biasa yang ada di Sumatera Timur. Sehingga pengaruh bangsa Barat tersebut menjadikan modernisasi terhadap tatanan kehidupan masyarakat Sumatera Timur baik aspek sosial, ekonomi dan budaya mereka sehingga perubahan-perubahan tersebut dapat dilihat dan dirasakan sampai dengan masa sekarang.

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Local Wisdom: Tourism Object Owner's Strategy during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Karo Land

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Local Wisdom: Tourism Object Owner's Strategy during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Karo Land

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Abstract

The impact of the COVID-19 outbreak on the managers or owners of tourism objects in Karo land has an impact on all aspects of the community's economic life, one of the sectors most affected by the global pandemic in the tourism service sector. Almost all areas in North Sumatra that develop the tourism sector have experienced a decline in income and the closure of all access roads leading to tourist attractions. One of the tourism areas that have felt the impact of the pandemic is Tanah Karo. The essence presented in this article is how local wisdom can be used and developed as a strategy by the owner of tourism objects in Tanah Karo for the sustainability of his business in the tourism sector by utilizing technological sophistication, namely by promoting the marketing of tourism products based on local wisdom through online media. This type of qualitative research is used with a descriptive approach. Data is collected by interviewing the owner or manager of a tourist attraction, the government and workers in the tourism sector, document review, and observation of the location of a tourist attraction. The strategy of the owner of a tourism object business for business sustainability in the Karo land tourism sector by utilizing local wisdom of the Karo land community in the form of natural beauty, cultural customs, arts, agricultural products in the form of flower plants, picking their own fruit, which are packaged in an attractive and promoted manner market by utilizing digital technology in virtual and other forms. Local wisdom developed by business owners of tourism objects in Karo lands also has an economic impact on tourism sector workers, local communities, thereby reducing unemployment caused by the closure of tourist attractions in Karo lands.

Keywords

local wisdom; owner of tourist attraction; Covid-19 pandemic; karo land



I. Introduction

Tourism is one of the important Repeated Word sectors that play a very important Repeated Word role in the process of regional Repeated Word or regional Repeated Word development that contributes to regional economic income. Tourism objects for Karo Regency and Serdang Bedagai Regency support and play a role in district development, which can be seen from three aspects, namely in terms of economy (sources of foreign exchange and taxes), social aspect (creating job opportunities), and cultural aspect (introducing culture to residents). If observed in its development, the tourism object sector has become an industry that shows consistent growth from year to year. This situation is also accelerated by the process of globalization and technological advances at this time.

Tourism objects developed by the North Sumatra provincial government at this time include Karo district. Each region has unique characteristics of natural beauty so that it has a selling value to foreign and domestic tourists.

The COVID-19 pandemic is the greatest challenge to health systems worldwide today. The Covid-19 pandemic caused everyone to behave beyond normal limits as usual (Sihombing and Nasib, 2020). The world health agency (WHO) has also announced that the corona virus, also called COVID-19, is a global threat worldwide (Ningrum et al., 2020). The arrival of Corona Virus Disease 19 in the beginning of 2020 in Indonesia in March had an impact on the tourism industry sector which was faced with the problem of declining demand and the arrival of foreign and domestic tourists visiting tourist attractions in Karo district. It's not doubt be felt throughout the chain. Tourism activities, such as small and medium enterprises engaged in the tourism object sector.

The imposition of various travel restrictions by many countries trying to stem from the spread and transmission of the corona-19 virus can be fatal. Since the regional government issued a circular regarding the temporary closure of the operational activities of the tourism industry in an effort to be vigilant against the transmission of the Corona Virus Disease (*Covid-19*) infection. This policy was carried out by the local government by closing access roads to all tourist attractions in North Sumatra, including tourism objects in Tanak Karo.

This is done to prevent the spread of the virus carried by people who are going on vacation trips to tourist attractions. Many domestic and foreign tourists cancel their trips to tourist attractions in Karo Regency. This has an impact of the closure of all businesses in tourist attractions such as travel agencies, hotels, restaurants, selling souvenirs and others.

During these pandemic, entrepreneurs who have businesses in the tourism sector are closed as a result they cannot pay salaries for their workers. Business owners of tourism objects during this pandemic have certainly switched businesses for the sake of continuing their lives. They are starting to look forward to opening businesses that take advantage of the condition of natural resources, as well as local wisdom around to be processed for the sustainability of their business. Tourist object business owners who experience business closures are starting to switch to businesses in their area or place of residence by conducting business innovations, such as those who open businesses in Karo district, starting to open businesses by utilizing technology such as online networks in utilizing local wisdom in the area, namely natural beauty, cultural uniqueness, traditional ceremonies, arts, the use of herbal plants that have been processed for the benefit of securing the spread of the virus in tourist attractions from each district.

In addition, there are also some owners who have the capital trying to improve, add innovation and creativity to the tourism objects they manage, namely the fields of cleanliness, service, security, environment and facilities. So that business owners do not have to lay off all their workers during the pandemic. Likewise, workers who work at the tourism object sector turn to looking for other jobs around their place of residence or local wisdom to meet the needs of life for their families.

The potential of local wisdom possessed by each district is different so that it can be managed as well as possible. The strategy carried out by business owners is to utilize natural resources, local culture so that existing local wisdom can be developed. Local wisdom in general can be associated with the pattern of life of the local community or community in establishing relationships between individuals and themselves, individuals with others as social beings, individuals with nature. Local wisdom that can be developed in the tourism sector by tourism actors can easily communicate by providing information and introducing destinations and targeted areas such as culture, culinary arts, crafts through *virtual tourism, video calls, call centers*.

II. Review of Literature

This article examines local wisdom that is used as a strategy for tourism object owners who are experiencing a crisis during the Covid-19 pandemic. In this article, the author describes the previous studies, and the literature study which is the basis for analyzing the data found in the field. The literature studies studied are:

2.1 Local Wisdom in the Implementation of Tourism Objects

The study of local wisdom presented in this literature study is the identity of the culture of a tribe, ethnicity, nation that is able to absorb, cultivate culture derived from ethnic characteristics, ethnic origin and make it independent. Identity certainly adjusts to the way of life of the tribe, ethnicity that is in a surrounding community and maintains that identity so as not to experience a shift in values due to technological advances and globalization. Local wisdom is also a bridge in cultivating culture, defending oneself from foreign cultures that are not good.

Local wisdom as a local policy (regional) or local knowledge Local knowledge and local intelligence is also interpreted as local genius so that local wisdom can be used by local communities with various life strategies in the form of local community activities in answering various problems to fulfill their life needs (Singsomboon : 2014).

Local wisdom that has traditionally been carried out by a group of tribes, ethnicities from generation to generation is still maintained by certain indigenous people (tribes, ethnicities). Conceptual ideas that live in tribes, ethnicities or communities grow and develop continuously in people's consciousness from the sacred to the profane related to everyday life (Vitasurya: 2016).

Binding forms of local wisdom such as culture are based on existence, created or created by local actors through an iterative process through internalization and interpretation of cultural teachings that are socialized by values, norms that exist in everyday life in local communities. Efforts to develop local wisdom into tourist destinations must have attractions such as natural beauty, unique culture, culinary delights, interesting souvenirs, tourist attractions that distinguish them from other places, which can be done and seen virtually.

The offer of unique local culture and customs can be used as a tourism destination by tourism object managers. Destinations of local culture and customs can be mixed, packaged and served to be promoted virtually, video calls to tourists so that they are interested in visiting to see tourist objects virtually.

Local Wisdom in Karo District

Creating sustainable tourism during the pandemic so that it can provide business and job opportunities for local communities in Karo district, *ecotourism/virtual* ecotourism can be developed, namely a form of tourism that promotes learning experiences and respect for the natural environment in the context of culture, traditions related to local wisdom in every area district. The advantages of ecotourism in the practice of environmental preservation of natural, social, cultural resources from the destinations to be promoted. (Weaver: 2001) This is supported by Permenparbud No.33 of 2009 on guidelines for ecotourism development that ecotourism development must provide benefits to local communities and become the driving force of the local community's economy.

Sustainable tourism destinations in Karo district are closely related to the economic, ecological and socio-cultural activities of the local community which are expected to

provide income and income for the community both from the tourism sector, ecological concerns so that local communities preserve their own nature and culture.

Owners or entrepreneurs of tourism objects must see the opportunities and potential of local wisdom in the Karo area which can be used as tourism destinations to be offered and accessible through technology to foreign and domestic tourists. Local wisdom that can be developed and packaged, namely, *Aron, Ngumbung Juma, Wari Sitelu Puluh*. Bangunan adanya *Siwaluh Jabu, Jambur, Sapo Ganjang*. The object of cultural heritage is Lesung. While local wisdom that is not tangible, namely: *Endi Enta, and Mangkok Lawes, Mangkok Reh*.

2.2. The Tourism Object Owner's Survival Strategy

A survival strategy is a method used by business owners to maintain the continuity of their business to meet the needs of life in managing and utilizing natural resource assets and capital owned by managers/owners through activities in the tourism sector. The survival strategy is built by the owner of the attraction for the purpose of obtaining stability and resilience to survive in business when the activities carried out need continuation for its existence. Strategic actions taken by the owner of a tourist attraction can increase income through the use of other sources in the form of utilization of local wisdom that exists in the surrounding community. There are three strategies that need to be carried out by business actors/owners, including: 1) optimizing digital platforms (optimizing digital platforms) to increase product distribution, business actors using digital platforms such as social media need to be utilized optimally during this pandemic. Today, there is a consumer's expectation to get what they need through the platform. So, product marketing through social media is what should be the biggest marketing in the current situation. 2) Product bundling, namely making or combining several products in one package, sold at a discount, for example a tour package to several tourist objects combined with a hotel. Campaigns or promotions of tour packages are carried out to attract foreign and domestic tourists. 3) Utilizing local wisdom for business development and sustainability in the tourism sector (Wood 2002).

The tourism object management strategy must always be in synergy with local wisdom that functions so that the strategies prepared can be implemented effectively. Strategy is a tool used by someone to achieve goals, so that the efforts that have been prepared and planned are achieved.

There are three levels of management strategy that must be developed, namely: 1) corporate strategy, a strategy that reflects the overall direction of the company, with the aim of creating growth for the company, 2) business strategy, a strategy that occurs at the product level in business units or services in the market industry sector certain. This business strategy consists of a) cost advantage strategy, b) differentiation strategy and 3) focus strategy. Basic business strategy of coordinated and sustained effort to achieve goals (Wheelen dan David: 2008).

III. Research Methods

A qualitative descriptive approach is used in this study, because the descriptive approach refers to the problem and pays attention to the object to be studied. Qualitative to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, holistically, by utilizing various natural methods. The research location is in the existing tourist attraction Tanah Karo. Data collection techniques were carried out by observing at tourist attraction points in order to obtain more in-depth data about culture

and local wisdom in the Karo land, interviews were conducted to find data on the problems studied, data obtained from interviews with informants, namely tourism object business owners, workers In tourism objects, traditional leaders and the government are data on how the business conditions of tourism objects are during the pandemic, what strategies are carried out by managers or business owners for the sustainability of their business, what tourist objects can be sold during a pandemic and what managers do during the pandemic. during the covid-19 pandemic. Source documents become supporting data to analyze policies issued by the government in the tourism sector. The process of analyzing data in qualitative research with a case study approach is carried out during data collection, and after completion of data collection within a certain period. At the time of the interview, the researcher had analyzed the answers of the interviewees. Denzin stated that activities in qualitative data analysis are interactive and take place continuously until they are completed, so that the data is already saturated. After the data is collected from the results of observations and interviews, then data analysis is carried out by organizing, sorting the data into patterns, categories, and units of description so that themes are found to be formulated, the authors take the following steps: namely data reduction, data presentation, verification.

IV. Results and Discussion

The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak has had a tremendous impact on almost all aspects of Indonesian people's lives, including in North Sumatra Province. The policy taken by the government on March 20, 2020 was the issuance of a circular letter from the Governor of North Sumatra Number 440/2666/2020 and the Mayor of Medan. Number 440/2582 related to the anticipation of preventing the corona virus in the city of Medan. To prevent the spread of the corona virus in North Sumatra, many areas have closed tourist attractions. This closure was carried out following up on the governor's letter regarding the closure of all tourist objects in the tourism area, this is supported by data from the BPS North Sumatra regarding the number of foreign tourists visiting North Sumatra through 4 (four) entrances in January 2020 reaching 20,539 visits, decreased by 14.82 percent compared to those who came in December 2019 reaching 24,113 visits. Similarly, when compared to the same month in 2019, the number of foreign tourists in January 2020 increased by 17.57 percent, from 17,470 visits in January 2019 to 20,539 visits. In the January 2020 period, the number of foreign tourists from Malaysia and Singapore visiting North Sumatra increased by 17.57 percent compared to the same period in 2019, from 17,470 visits in 2019 to 20,539 visits in 2020 (BPS SU 2020).

With the closure of tourism object locations in March, of course there will be a decrease in the number of foreign and domestic tourist arrivals reaching 82.89 percent to tourism objects in Karo land, the decline in the tourism sector has an impact on small and medium businesses and jobs. Many owners/managers of tourist attraction businesses closed and went bankrupt and laid off all their workers.

4.1 Karo Land Tourist Attraction in the Midst of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the New Normal

Karo land is one of the areas in North Sumatra. This place has a cool and beautiful climate, no wonder if the land of Karo is known as Berastagi which is one of the producers of fruits and vegetables, the results are sold abroad such as Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong. Karo land has the potential as a tourist attraction that can be developed as nature tourism, cultural tourism, culinary tourism and agricultural tourism, so that the local

government then aggressively promotes its territory. This is a form of promotion to attract domestic and foreign tourists to be able to visit the land of Karo, it does not stop there, the process of maturation of the creative economy also makes actors, tourism activists more innovative and creative. Not only struggling in processing existing natural products, but then creating new things based on local wisdom to be able to bring in tourists and become an attraction and become a tourist attraction in tourism activities. Tanah Karo which has great potential and has its own charm related to activities in several tourist attractions. Below are the mainstays of tourism objects in Karo land which are used as tourist attractions:

Table 1. List of Tourist Attractions Managed by the Community in Karo Land

No	Tourist Attraction Name	Manager	No	Tourist Attraction Name	Manager
1	Lodging Bukit Kubu	Private	9	Panatapan	Private
2	Taman Pelangi Sapo Juma	Private	10	Gundaling Farm	Public
3	Siosar Negeri Diatas Awan	Private	11	Honey Garden Efi	Private
4	Fruit Market	Public	12	Waterfall Sikulikap	Public
5	Village Peceren	Public	13	Kebun raya tongkoh	Public
6	Nature Park Lumbini	Private	14	Waterfall sipiso-piso	Public
7	Hot Water Bath Lausidebuk	Public	15	Museum Pusaka karo	Government
8	Funland Mickey Holiday	Private	16	Gundaling Hill	Government

From the table above, there are 16 tourist attractions in Tanah Karo that experienced closure during the pandemic, of which 12.5 percent of tourism objects were managed by the government, which was managed by individuals or entrepreneurs by 43.75 percent, the same as those managed by the community local in Karo land. This data shows that tourism objects managed by the authorities or individuals as capital owners of tourism objects are the same as those managed by the community during the pandemic and the new normal, of course, need grant assistance from the government to keep the tourism object business afloat during the pandemic with a tourist attraction managed by the government, of course, has a budget for maintenance costs, paying employee salaries.

Efforts made by the government through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy have prepared a number of mitigation measures in dealing with the tourism crisis in Indonesia. There are at least three stages of tourism crisis mitigation management. First, the emergency response stage which has been carried out from March to the end of June 2020. Second, the post-covid-19 recovery stage is predicted in the second half of this year from July to December 2020. Third, the normalization stage is predicted to take place in January to December 2021. Then for people affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the government provides capital assistance to open a business in the tourism sector with a total budget of around 500 - 750 thousand rupiah / quarter. The aid funds are used to open businesses and trade around tourist objects during the new normal period.

Based on the three stages of mitigation issued by the government, those carried out by the private sector/owners/entrepreneurs of tourist objects in Berastagi or Karo land, which incidentally have natural beauty, soil fertility and abundant natural products as well as unique culture are possible to promote innovative, creative with the use of technology

based on local wisdom. Karo land is a tourism area that is quite unique because the multicultural society, coupled with the beauty, abundant natural products is a blessing for the people who live in the Karo land.

At the emergency response mitigation stage, the community and tourism object business owners strive to maintain business in the tourism object sector by carrying out traditional cultural activities, culinary tourism, agricultural tourism packaged using digital technology in virtual form, so that promotions of tourism objects based on local wisdom can be implemented, developed for domestic and foreign tourists.

4.2 Strategies Carried Out by the Owner of the Tourism Object

Karo land as a cool tourist city with mountainous nature and characterized by a fruit and vegetable area with the beauty of Mount Sibayak which is still wise, where Sibayak is interpreted as Raja, meaning that Mount Sibayak is the King Mountain where the ancestors of the Karo tribe lived. come to the province of North Sumatra, don't forget to stop at Karo land or Brastagi to see the potential for natural attractions (mountains, forests, waterfalls, lakes, natural hot springs and caves), all natural attractions before the pandemic became tourism icons in Indonesia. Karo land. The tourism sector is the prima donna to be developed and used as a generic income for the government and investors.

The arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak in Karo land had an impact on the tourism sector, a large decline in foreign tourist arrivals was seen from the massive cancellation of tourist trips, while for domestic tourists the reluctance of the public to travel was worried about the transmission of covid-19. The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) recorded that the cumulative number of foreign tourist arrivals to North Sumatra from January to February 2020, the number of foreign tourist arrivals reaching 125-293 tourists compared to the number of foreign tourist arrivals in the same period the previous year when the pandemic outbreak came, amounting to 571-773 tourists. /month (only for tourists from Asia).

The closure of tourist objects has an impact on losses on economic income, not only for the owner of the tourist attraction business, but also for the workforce, the provision of accommodation, food and drink providers and so on in the tourism sector. Sustainability in maintaining the tourism sector must continue during the pandemic and new normal, so that the owner/manager of tourism objects in Karo land must be integrated with various variables of environmentally friendly area development and local wisdom to be managed and empowered to have strategic value for increasing regional income.

The government plays a role in protecting, maintaining, being responsible for the management of tourism objects by making regulations regarding the implementation, opening, and tourism objects during the pandemic and new normal.

The management strategy carried out in managing natural tourism objects in Tanah Karo during the COVID-19 pandemic and the new normal by doing and changing the way from marketing through offline visits to tourist objects to marketing tourist attraction products through online media in the form of virtual, Facebook, Instagram, website based on local wisdom, these efforts will succeed in attracting tourists to join in visiting the sites/websites of the managers/owners of tourist objects.

Appropriate and comprehensive planning must be supported by a professional business handling strategy, responsibility among tourism businesses and local governments, so that tourism business managers survive in the midst of a pandemic. Innovation of tourist attraction products has unique values so that tourists are interested in buying tourism products offered by the manager, then provide promos for the products

offered. The tourism object products offered must also be oriented to the values of local wisdom in the community such as customs and culture.

Managers/owners of tourist objects also make movements or breakthroughs by providing promotions and offering products/forms of natural tourist destinations, culinary tourism, cultural heritage tourism in Karo land through social media that has a rural feel to attract foreign and domestic tourists.

The owner/manager of the efi honey tourist attraction located in the hills of Puncak Siosar has a land of 28 ha carrying the concept of agro tourism and education, visitors can enjoy various activities, such as camping and seeing bee farms with various beautiful views, during the pandemic Mr. Felix carried out a strategy of offering various products destinations in various forms such as camping with family, seeing honey farms, cattle and horse farms, picking citrus fruits, all destination products are promoted through digital networks such as the efi honey web.

Tongkoh botanical garden tourism object which is managed by the community, the strategy carried out during the pandemic is the care and planting of citrus plants, strawberries, plants with various types of flowers, the owner of the tongkoh botanical garden surnamed Ginting assisted by workers and their children to package tourist destination products by offering holidays while learning to plant, the destination is picking oranges and strawberries based on local wisdom, the marketing of tourist attraction destinations is done by tourists who come to visit and vacation at the tongkoh botanical garden object, photos of tourists are uploaded through social media, promotions are also carried out by the press media through the Channel link that can work together to help promote all tourism objects they manage.

The Bukit Kubu tourist attraction is managed by the descendants of the Ginting clan, activities carried out during the pandemic are taking care of lodging rooms, taking care of spots for playgrounds, adding innovation to tourist spots to take photos, promotions are carried out by tourists who come on vacation to Bukit Kubu and upload vacation photos via Facebook, , visitors' Instagram, and the Karo land district government.

Promotion of local wisdom-based tourist objects that are designed and packaged through digital networks during the pandemic can only be enjoyed by tourists from virtual visits, after the Covid-19 pandemic has decreased, of course tourists will come to visit to witness firsthand local wisdom-based attractions on the ground. Karo by implementing health protocols (prokes) in all tourism objects in Karo land and complying with them. Visitors must wear masks, wash their hands before and after entering tourist attractions, keep their distance, have their body temperature measured, have received vaccines and limit the number of visitors according to the available capacity.

4.3 Local Wisdom developed during the Pandemic and New Normal as Objects Tour

Local wisdom is made by the Karo tribe based on social values, and cultural values are raised from a social order and the cultural order of the local community as a guide, regulator and direction to act in daily life activities. The concept of local wisdom in tourism sector activities is how the community in managing the natural environment with traditional ecosystems can be utilized for the welfare of the community. Local wisdom includes various mechanisms and methods for behaving, acting as outlined in the social order, knowledge, skills, and culture of the community.

The Karo people uphold, maintain culture and customs, the indigenous people who inhabit the Karo land area are known as the Karo ethnic group, consisting of 5 *merga*, *tutursiwalu*, *rakut sitelu*, *merga silima*. *Merga silima* yakni: *Karo-karo*, *Ginting*, *Sembiring*, *Tarigan*, *Perangin-angin*. Sub-sub Merga and five *merga* The kinship pattern

is arranged in the Karo language called *rakut sitelu, tutur siwaluh dan perkade-kaden sepuluh dua tambah sada*. On the cultural system *rakut sitelu* ethnic Karo group *senina /sembuyak, kalimbubu, anak baru*.

The implementation of the Karo community in developing all aspects of daily life including the development of tourism objects based on local wisdom culture, they hold strongly to noble customs as capital for the use of the Karo land development process. The life of the Karo people dreams and hopes (*sura-sura pusuh peraten*) realized for achievement *tuah, sangap and mejuah-juah*. *Tuah* means receiving blessings from God, having offspring, many relatives/friends, intelligent, persistent, disciplined and preserving the natural resources of the environment for future generations. *Sangap* is interpreted to get fortune, prosperity, *mejuah-juah* means healthy physically and spiritually, safe, peaceful, balance and harmony between humans and humans, humans and the environment, and humans and God, all three (*tuah, sangap, mejuah-juah*) is a unified whole that cannot be separated from the life of the Karo tribe in carrying out their daily activities.

In Law No. 10 of 2009 concerning tourism, it is stated that "Tourism destination areas, hereinafter referred to as Tourism Destinations, are geographical areas located within one or more administrative areas in which there are tourist attractions, public facilities, tourism facilities, accessibility, and people who interrelated and complement the realization of tourism." An area that has a local landscape, culture and uniqueness that can have supporting facilities in providing access to the area can be declared a Tourism Destination. Based on the law above, the potential for nature, culture, public facilities, tourist facilities can be managed by the community to serve as tourist destinations. The community has access to promote natural tourism objects, culinary tourism, cultural tourism, cultural heritage tourism and agricultural tourism as part of their livelihood activities in the tourism sector.

Traditional ceremonies containing local wisdom so far have not been touched to be developed as virtual tourism objects such as *Erpangir Kulau* interpreted as a bathing ceremony aimed at unmarried girls who want to get married, sick to expel evil spirits or purify themselves from the influence of evil spirits, this ceremony is carried out in a river that flows water by giving offerings to evil spirits. Then there is the ceremony *mengket rumah dan cawir metua*, this ceremony is carried out to enter a new house and *cawir metua* is carried out this ceremony for parents who die at an old age where all of their children are married.



Figure 1. *Erpangir Kulau and mengket rumah cawir metua*

Local wisdom that can be developed further *Erdemu Bayu* This is a wedding party that involves many people, both from the bride and groom, such as *Kalimbubu, Anak Beru and Sembuyak*, the Karo people also know the *Ngampeken Tulan-Tulan ceremony*. This ceremony is carried out by taking the skull bones and skeletons of the ancestors to be placed. on the graveyard.



Figure 2. Ngampeken Tulan-Tulan ceremony

In addition to developing cultural tourism, farming communities in Karo land can use their agricultural land for agro-tourism development which is the mainstay of tourism potential in Karo land, as an opportunity to be developed into a tourist attraction. Agro-tourism based on local wisdom, can be developed in the field of vegetable farming, flower cultivation, and citrus plants, is an agricultural sector that can be exposed as an attractive tourist attraction, this can be done to expand knowledge, recreational experience of local culture in make use of the land.

Agrotourism activities are a series of tourist travel activities that utilize the agricultural sector, from the cultivation process to producing agricultural products. The object of efi honey farming, tongkoh botanical garden is a form of agro-tourism developed based on local wisdom in the Karo land. Where visitors or tourists can expand their knowledge, understanding, experience about various kinds of flower, fruit, and honey cultivation. Activities carried out by tourists are planting flowers, picking fruit, and taking photos at tourist attraction spots around agro-tourism. Integrated and coordinated agro-tourism development programs for tourism and agriculture can be linked to environmental conservation and improving the welfare of farming communities

V. Conclusion

The tourism sector is an asset that contributes to regional income, sustainable development is a key strategy carried out by the private sector and the community in collaboration with the local government of Tanah Karo. The potential of Karo land as a tourism icon that develops tourism objects based on local wisdom plays an important role for the progress of tourism in the region. Owners/managers of tourism objects cooperate with the government to maintain business sustainability in the tourism object sector.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, it is hoped that tourist destination managers have prepared themselves to face the opening of tourist destinations in the new normal, by improving, making innovations in public facilities, tourism facilities, accessibility,

interrelated community participation to complement the realization of sustainable tourism by maintaining protocols strict health regulations, restrictions on operating hours, and restrictions on visitor capacity.

The strategy carried out by managers/owners/actors of tourism objects in Karo land, can utilize local wisdom for the development of potential that exists in the area, to be an attraction for foreign tourists. Tourist objects that have been packaged with the use of digital technology can be marketed for tourism products through virtual, online media (facebook, instagram, web). Then there are efforts to influence the decision to visit tourists. The tourism development strategy is also carried out for the development of all tourist attractions in Karo land, this strategy is also used so that the income of tourism object owners is better in the future.

The development of tourism during the pandemic and new normal has an impact on all aspects of human life, both social, cultural and economic aspects. Tourism contains important elements, such as attractions and tourists. Another element that determines the development of tourism is tourist attraction. This means that a tourist attraction must have an attraction, so that it can attract the attention of tourists to visit tourist areas, this is as stated in a statement submitted by the tourism ministry, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy has compiled a CHS (Cleanliness, Health and Safety) program as a recovery strategy tourist destinations in the new normal order by involving tourism industry players and the creative economy which later is expected to be productive and safe tourism from covid-19.

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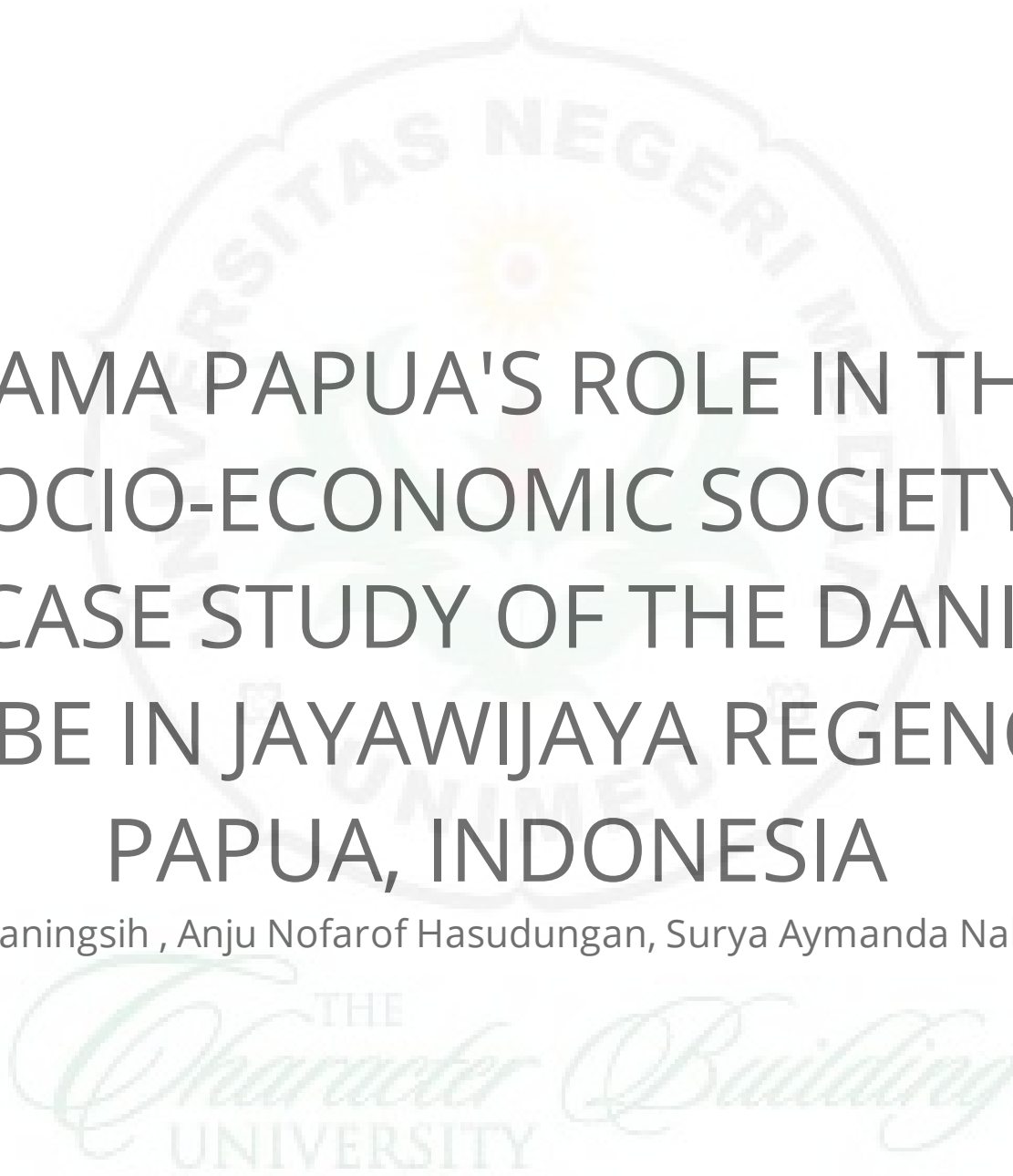
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ESTUDO DE CASO DA TRIBO *DANI* NA REGÊNCIA DE JAYAWIJAYA, PAPUA,
INDONÉSIA**

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ABSTRACT: This study aims to mainstream the figure of the Papuan *mama* (mother) and its role in socio-economic conditions, especially in the *Dani* tribe in Jayawijaya Regency, Papua, which has so far received little attention. In addition, this research is to enrich the treasures of women in socio-economic history. The existence of the Papuan *mama* can survive the deplorable economic conditions and the shackled traditional social structure. The ethnographic method used in this research is Naturalistic. The purpose of the naturalistic ethno is to illustrate that the ethnographic research carried out aims to capture the natural character of the Papuan *mama* and is obtained through direct contact, not through intervention or conditioning. Data collection techniques used by observation, literature review, and documentation. The results show that Papuan *mama* is the central figure in the household, loved by her children, a symbol of struggle, and a source of inspiration for today's women, especially in Papua.

KEYWORDS: Papuan Mama; *Dani* Tribe; Women's Emancipation; Indonesia

RESUMO: Este estudo visa integrar a figura da *mama* papua (mãe) e seu papel nas condições socioeconômicas, especialmente na tribo *Dani* na regência Jayawijaya, Papua, que até agora recebeu pouca atenção. Além disso, esta pesquisa é para

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enriquecer os tesouros das mulheres na história socioeconômica. A existência da mama papua pode sobreviver às condições econômicas deploráveis e à estrutura social tradicional algemada. O método etnográfico utilizado nesta pesquisa é o Naturalista. O objetivo do etno naturalista é ilustrar que a pesquisa etnográfica realizada visa capturar o caráter natural da mama papua e é obtida por contato direto, não por intervenção ou condicionamento. Técnicas de coleta de dados utilizadas por observação, revisão de literatura e documentação. Os resultados mostram que a mãe papua é a figura central da casa, amada por seus filhos, símbolo de luta e fonte de inspiração para as mulheres de hoje, especialmente em Papua.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Mamãe Papua; Tribo *Dani*; Emancipação da Mulher; Indonésia

1 INTRODUCTION

There have been many studies that explain how important the figure of women and mothers is, even beyond the boundaries of state, religion, culture and race. In Indonesia, there are very famous quotes that describe the importance of women and mothers, namely "women are the pillars of the country, if the woman is good then the country is good and if the woman is damaged then the country is also damaged" (NURLINA, 2019; MUSTAQIM; TAMAM; RAHMAN, 2021). However, the narrative of great women and mothers is still dominated by women and mothers who come from urban community groups. The mother figure from the interior tribe is often missed in the narrative of women's emancipation in Indonesia. Even though Indonesia is one of the countries in the world that is very multicultural both in terms of race, ethnicity, religion and culture (MALIHAN, 2015; NOOR; SUGITO, 2019; ZAMRONI et al., 2021). One of the causes is the lack of research and publications on the emancipation or role of mothers from rural tribes, in fact there are many stories about the important role of mothers in the structure of tribal society.

At a time when there are still restrictions on indigenous tribal customs, mainstreaming the narrative of the mother figure from the hinterland must be an important agenda in fulfilling sustainable development and strengthening current gender mainstreaming. This means that the narrative of the greatness of women and mothers should not only be dominated by women and mothers from urban communities with all adequate facilities and wide opportunities to develop their



potential. It is different with women and mothers from remote tribal communities who are very limited and underdeveloped, both in terms of competitive opportunities, developing self-potential, job training, health and education.

Researchers are interested in studying the mother figure of the Dani tribe in Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Province, Indonesia, when the researcher served as a teacher at *Niniki* State Elementary School, Pyramid District, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua through the Undergraduate Education Program in Frontier, Outermost, Disadvantaged Regions (SM-3T) by the Ministry of Research and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti) in Batch V, period August 2015-August 2016. The figure of the Papuan mother in the socio-economic life of the indigenous Papuan people is one of the researchers' concerns, apart from children, education, and nationalism in Papua. Not only being a teacher, the researcher is also the Head of the Education Division of SM-3T in Jayawijaya and chair of the Jayawijaya Papua Golden Generation Week in 2015-2016. This is an opportunity for researchers to get to know the figure of *mama* in the *Dani* community in the Baliem valley, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua.

Leny (2014) explained that the Baliem Valley was discovered by chance on June 23, 1938 (before Indonesia's independence) by a researcher from the United States, Richard Archbold, while flying over the valley with his PBY Catalina 2 seaplane named Guba II at the time carried out a vegetation research expedition for vegetation above an altitude of more than 4000 meters on the northern side of the Nassau Mountains (now the Jayawijaya Mountains) in the central mountains between the Baliem Valley. On December 4, 1921, after a strenuous 90-kilometer journey through high mountains, the Wilhelmina peak was finally conquered by Overste Kremer, Dr. Hubrecht, Captain van Arkel, Lieutenant Drost, a pilot from Ambon named Mairuku. Paul Wirz's writings and also through his photography, a cultural anthropologist who was one of the participants in the expedition led by Kremer, about the life of the Papuan people in the high mountain valleys is the first study of the culture of the Central Highlands of Papua (Numbery, 2018; Crawford House Publishing Australia, 2022).

THE REGION OF PAPUA



Figure 1: Map of Papua and where the *Dani* live (red circle).
Source: (AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL INDONESIA, 2018).

In the interactions and dynamics of life that the researcher experienced with the *Dani* tribe, the figure of the Papuan *mama* became the inspiration for researchers to describe the central figure in the socio-economic family and community. So far, outsiders think that only the tribal chief is the central figure in *Dani* tribal society. The absence of research on the role of Papuan *mama* is because not many have written about this topic, even though if we look in more detail, Papuan *mama* have a very big role in the socio-economic conditions of the *Dani* tribe. So, this is a reflection to remember the figure of women among the feminism, emancipation and gender equality movements.

The visit of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo to Papua, expressed his opinion that mothers in Papua or popularly called '*mama*' are symbols of the struggle of mothers (KUWADO, 2017). The statement made by the president, which is questionable, is no longer true or not. However, how did the number one person in Indonesia know about it? According to the researcher, there are two possible answers, namely, from research or own experience. While the researchers experienced it themselves and lived with Papuan *mama* in 2015-2016.

The reality regarding Papuan *mama* is that Papuan *mama* work in the garden, sell in district or city markets, do housework, experience domestic violence (KDRT),

cut their fingers when their husband dies, called *Iki Palek* (a form of loyalty) (Zonggonau, 2017; Putro, 2019). Indeed, the mother is the central figure in the family even in the country. The role of Papuan *mama* has not been written much. People outside Papua have only known the authority of tribal chiefs (males) in Papuan society (Tarima et al., 2016; Enembe et al., 2018; Sitorus, 2019). The figure of *mama* Papua is an inspiration for every woman who will become a mother. This is the background for researchers to study more deeply about *mama* Papua and its role in the Socio-Economic Society of the *Dani* Tribe, Papua.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a qualitative research method with an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic research is a form of qualitative research method in which researchers observe and interact with the subjects studied in their real-life environments which are often used in the fields of anthropology and various other social sciences. Van Maanen (2015) explaining that ethnographic research is carried out when used as a method, ethnography usually refers to fieldwork (alternative-participant-observation) carried out by a single researcher who lives with and lives like the people being studied, usually carried out in approximately one year or more. Therefore, the researcher observed and interacted with Papuan *mama* in the *Dani* Tribe community, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Province in 2015-2016. The ethnographic method used in this research is Naturalism. The purpose of ethno naturalistic is to illustrate that the ethnographic research carried out aims to capture a character that appears naturally and is obtained through direct contact, not through intervention or experimental engineering (MOSCHKOVICH, 2019). Lee et al., (2011) explained that there are four stages in conducting data analysis in ethnographic research, namely as follows:

a. Domain Analysis

Domain analysis was carried out on data obtained from participating observations or interviews and descriptive observations contained in field notes. Descriptive observation means conducting a thorough observation of the Papuan mother and the culture of the *Dani* people in the research setting. In

conducting this domain analysis, the data obtained has gone through re-checking first so that there are no repetitions in the analysis.

b. Taxonomy Analysis

After completing the domain analysis, observations and focused interviews were conducted on the figure of the Papuan *mama* in the *Dani* tribal community, Papua. This analysis has entered the preparation of the research matrix. The data from the selected interviews are contained in the field notes contained in the appendix book.

c. Component Analysis

This analysis is carried out after the taxonomic analysis has been completed correctly. In this analysis, the researcher conducted selected interviews or observations with Papuan *mama*, teachers, village heads and religious leaders to deepen the data that had been found by asking a number of contrasting questions. The data from the selected interviews are contained in the field notes contained in the appendix book.

d. Theme Analysis

The theme analysis is a set of procedures to holistically understand the landscape being studied, namely, the role of Papuan *mama* in the *Dani* tribal community, Papua.

Triangulation is an analytical technique that combines and compares several methods with the aim of providing a deeper and holistic understanding of the Papuan *mama* and its socio-economic role in the *Dani* tribe community, Papua. Triangulation is not only an important way for ethnography to establish methodological rigor/quality, but the use of triangulation is also an important aspect of data synthesis to build contextually rich and representative articulations of what is being studied (REEVES et al., 2013). Because the scope of ethnographic research based on culture and observation and conducting interviews is the basic standard in ethnographic research, it is necessary to develop several assumptions that form the basis of the main researcher before conducting research. In addition, literature studies are also needed to support these assumptions.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In several studies on nuclear families that have been carried out, it was revealed that in the family and household, women basically often have multiple roles. This is firstly reflected by her role as a housewife, who does housework, takes care of and guides children, takes care of her husband, a productive job that does not directly generate income because it allows other family members to earn income directly. The second role is as a breadwinner, either the main or additional breadwinner (IHROMI, 1990).

The women's movement in Indonesia grew in the early 20th century when modern schools were established by the Dutch colonial government, and modern organizations were founded by "kaoem bumiputera" (Yanti, 2020; Abdullah, 2020). The personal experience of the pioneer of the women's emancipation movement, Raden Ajeng Kartini (a hero of the Republic of Indonesia), who felt not free to make choices, even felt that she had no choice at all because she was born as a woman (Taylor, 1976; Mahy, 2012; Wahid, 2021). Kartini felt that she was always treated differently from her male relatives and friends, as well as feelings of jealousy with the freedom of Dutch women, eventually growing the desire and determination in her heart to change these bad habits (HARTUTIK, 2015). At that time, Raden Ajeng Kartini who was born in Jepara, Central Java on April 21, 1879, actually really wanted to get a higher education, but as was customary at that time he was not allowed by his parents. Until now, for almost a century, the struggle has had its ups and downs. Even the so-called achievements of "Women's Rights" today, in principle, have not been able to answer the problem of oppression experienced by women themselves. In the context of the social structure of the *Dani* tribe, Papuan women (*mama Papua*) are relatively untouched by the achievement of women's rights in question.

Women and men engage in different roles and activities, and occupy separate social and physical spaces (BRIMACOMBE et al., 2017). Papuan society adheres to a patriarchal system. In this case, initially the patriarchal system was intended to protect women who tend to be weak, but in fact this system is often used arbitrarily by men even from their own people to satisfy their egos, oppress and even limit the movement

of women. The patriarchal culture that continues to grow and survive in Papuan society to this day causes women to be at the forefront of fighting for family survival (RANSTA, 2018). Papuan women are defined by many characteristics. In local customs, Papuan women usually do not have the right to speak, but on the other hand, Papuan women currently play a very active role, and are able to contribute to Papua in their respective fields. In fact, taking children to school is a daily struggle for *Dani* Lembah Baliem women (MUNRO, 2013).



Figure 2: Researcher and *Mama*.
Source: Private Collection.

In Papua, structural constraints are often related to issues of education, social status, economy, and employment. Women's work is still often identified with "second class" work which is difficult to balance with men (FALINDA; WINARNI, 2015). Meanwhile, cultural constraints are related to cultural factors in society that place women as housewives in charge of taking care of all the work in the household. Physically, women are placed as companions in biological fulfillment. On the other hand, the consequences of physical meaning place women as weak people. Women can appear and express themselves with their abilities. Women are very actively involved in selling in the market and forming the *mama-mama* Market organization.

Papua Special Autonomy Law No. 21 of 2001 has provided opportunities for the protection and empowerment of Papuan women. However, in its implementation the policies for the protection and empowerment of Papuan women have not been maximized and synergistic. In fact, the special autonomy fund allocated for women's empowerment is only 6%, it has not been felt directly in increasing women's participation in development. Village Law No. 6 of 2014 provides opportunities for

increasing women's participation in development in the village (FANZIKRI, 2019). Funds allocated for village development are very open to women's empowerment. Interaction with the community and especially Papuan women so far implies that:

1. The role of Papuan women is highly dependent on education and skills.
2. The role of Papuan women also depends on the personal character of women.
3. The role of Papuan women depends on the access given to women for creativity and expression. Access that is wide open and can be an entry point is through participation in church organizations, and in community organizations.

Dani women are required to be able to do everything for their families and even take responsibility for supporting their families. So loud was the news about the oppression of *Dani* women, that a novel entitled "*Sali: The Story of a Dani Woman*" was created, which became a hot topic of discussion among writers and culturalists, and even became the subject of various scientific studies. The novel tells of the oppression that must be experienced by a *Dani* woman named *Liwa*. She experienced such severe oppression from her father, and after she married the oppression was carried out by her husband. But as a woman she could not do anything until she finally decided to end her life and leave *Sali*, the last dress she wore before her death (KOGOYA, 2021).



Figure 3: *Mama's* activities in customs.
Source: Private Collection.

Papuan *mama's* enthusiasm in the economy can be seen in the pig farming business, considering that pigs are the most expensive livestock in Papua, the price can be up to Rp. 40 million rupiah per head (estimated \$2,858 US dollars). Fr.

Ferdinand Pr was the Pastor, when he asked the residents to raise pigs again, but by holding them in captivity. This step has received a good response from the residents, especially Papuan women (KOMPAS, 2008). This shows how Papuan mothers really want a decent life for their families by increasing the family's economic income through pig farming, because pigs are very expensive in Papua. So far, *mama* only sells in the market.

Table 1
The Role of Women Based on Customary Territory (FALINDA; WINARNI, 2015)

No	Tribe	Role
1	<i>Maybrat</i> (West Papua)	1. Women as a man's investment to become Weight/nobility. For the people of <i>Maybrat</i> , it is better to have a daughter than a son. 2. Women open traditional political channels.
2	<i>Dani</i> (Jayawijaya Regency)	1. Women as the foundation of family economic life, women as a symbol of the glory of a man (tribal chief).
3	<i>Asmat</i> (East Papua)	1. Women are the head of the family (to provide for) because they have more roles than their husbands.

The table above explains that the role of Papuan *mama* in social and economic terms is very significant and tends to be exploited. In this paper, the researcher examines the role of Papuan *mama* in the *Dani* tribal community.

3.1 THE *IKI PALEK* (CUTTING FINGER)

The *Iki Palek* (cutting finger) tradition as a form of wife's loyalty to her husband and customs. Not only in the economic field, in the social structure of the *Dani* tribe, there is a tradition of finger cutting or called *Iki Palek* which is still carried out in the *Dani* tribe (HASMKA; SUHENDRO, 2021). Generally, those who carry out this tradition are Papuan *mama* who have been abandoned by their relatives, children, to their beloved husband. The more fingers that are cut, the sign of the number of relatives who died or the amount of grief.

3.2 TRYING FATE IN FRONT OF SHOPS AND MARKETS

The term market is actually not like most markets in other regions in Indonesia. The market in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua is just an open backdrop, with no rain-roofed buildings. If it rains heavily, the traders disperse. If it's only drizzling rain, traders use umbrellas. The market spilled on the asphalt splinter along the protocol road. According to Jack Morin, Head of the Anthropology Laboratory of Cendrawasih University, not only do mothers sell, they also have a desire to meet and observe the world, while waiting for their merchandise. Relationships between friends are very important, because Papuan *mama* considers friendship as a social investment (KOMPAS, 2008).



Figure 4: *Mama's* Activities at Traditional Market.
Source: Private Collection.

Crocker (2014) saying that there has been a marginalization of *mama-mama* as Papuan traders, they were evicted on the grounds of cleanliness, tidiness and regularity by the local government. Because of this action, *mama* formed an organization called SOLPAP (Solidarity of Papuan Authentic Traders). After struggling at the city and provincial level, in December 2010, they were given a temporary place in a roofed market, but the equipment was inadequate (no water, no garbage collection, no security, and no toilet). *Mama* sells several products in the market such as processed or grown products, they also resell some products that have been

purchased from other sellers in the hope of making a profit. It could be difficult for the government to eradicate poverty in Papua because the role of *mama* is still not fully involved, further studies are needed to examine this. Not that there is a saying that the progress or failure of a country or region depends on the woman.

4 CONCLUSION

In the history of this republic, women have played a very important role in nation building and even women's movements and congress have been carried out long before the country's independence. According to President Soekarno in his book "Sarinah" he said that women are a matter of society, because women are closely related to generations. Social welfare in Indonesia will be realized if ⁵there is no gap between men and women in fighting, ⁴there is no gap where men and women struggle alone. Like other women, the role of Papuan *mama* in the socio-economic status of the *Dani* tribe is very significant, but Papuan mothers still experience acts of domestic violence and injustice in fulfilling their rights. A holistic policy is needed to overcome this. Yohana Susana Yembise was chosen as the first Papuan woman to become the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia in the Working Cabinet of President Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla in the 2014-2019 period. Previously, Yohana was the first female Papuan professor, so that Yohana's achievements can be an inspiration for Papuan women to get out of the crush of Papuan culture which tends not to side with women, Papuan women must dare to realize their dreams. This motivation and reflection is very relevant to remember the report from Jim Elmslie in his writing entitled West Papuan Demographic Transition and The 2010 Indonesian Census, Sydney University, February 2011 that there has been a decline in the demographics of indigenous Papuans, one of which is the high maternal and child mortality rate.

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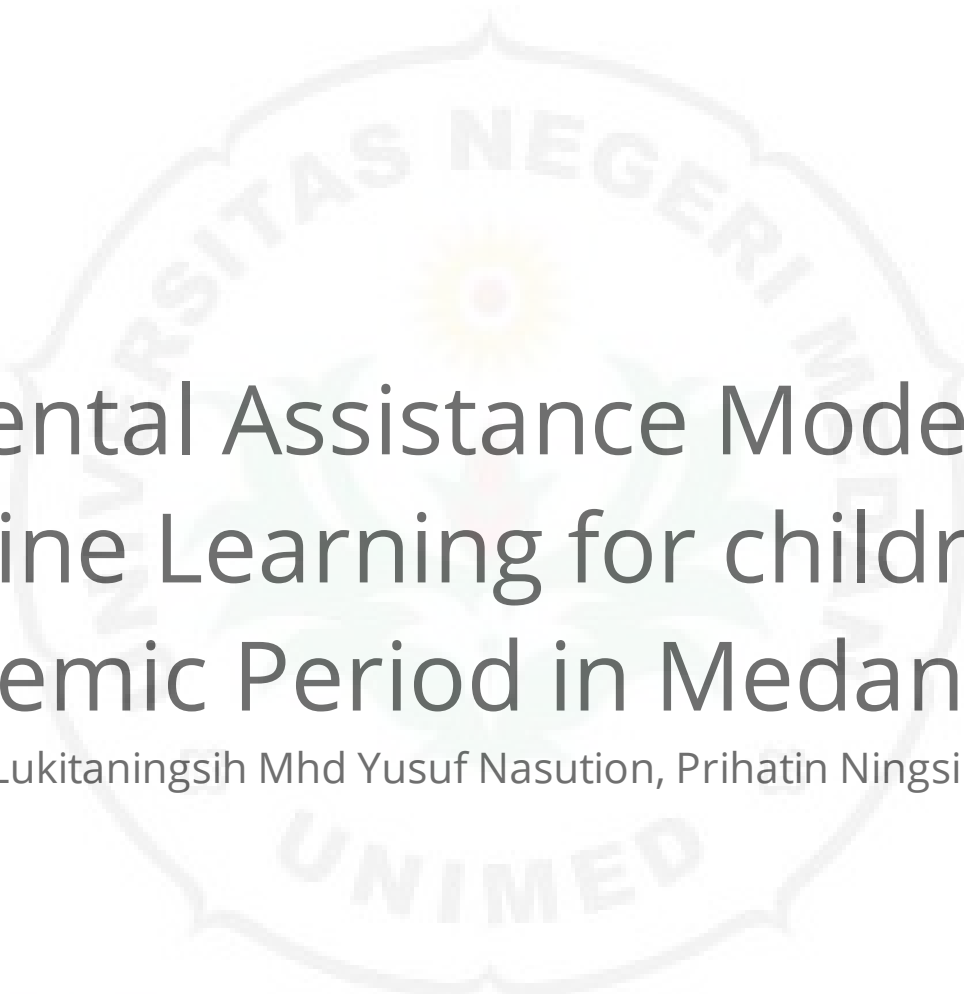
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Parental Assistance Model in Online Learning for children Pandemic Period in Medan City

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Parental Assistance Model in Online Learning for children Pandemic Period in Medan City

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Abstract.

This study aims to find a pattern or model of mentoring carried out by parents during online learning for children during the pandemic in the city of Medan, and to describe the barriers to parents when mentoring online learning for their children. The method used is qualitative with a descriptive approach to see the activities that occur to parents during learning assistance during the pandemic. Data collection techniques were carried out by interviewing teachers, school children and parents, observations were carried out at home while children were studying. The sample of this study was in 5 sub-districts where each sub-district was taken 1 urban village with 1 teacher, 10 parents, 10 school children/urban village. The results of the study, namely the first pattern or model carried out by parents, there are four categories of models, namely 1) the inactive participation model category means that parents do not at all accompany their children to study, children study independently, or study groups of friends, children's initiative to learn is needed if there is any questions or materials that are not understood by children waiting and expecting the presence of the teacher when they come to visit which is done twice a month in study groups. 2). the category of active parent model means that parents actively supervise, motivate children to learn when doing assignments from the teacher according to the parents' free time, 3) quite active, meaning that parents accompany their children to learn online, ask the teacher for assignments if the child or other person parents do not understand the material, and help their children learn by using old mobile phones 4) very active, meaning parents lend and buy, facilitate their children's learning facilities such as cellphones to maximize learning, do their children's assignments at the office, send them to school and send assignments via WA in to the teacher. The results of the second study are the obstacles experienced by parents when assisting children in learning, namely not having time because parents work, do not master their children's subject matter, do not have internet facilities, cellphones due to economic factors.

Keywords: Mentoring model, online learning, elementary school children, the covid-19 pandemic.

I. INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought changes to the learning process in schools, this is also supported by the issuance of circular letter No. 4 of 2020 from the Minister of Education, Culture, Technology and Research regarding the implementation of online learning. Changes in the application of online learning will certainly have an impact on parents, teachers, students, ready or not, all devices (teachers, students, parents) must learn, master materials, technology and prepare to learn, teach online. The application of online learning guides students or school children to learn independently, and involves parents to supervise their children learning online at home. The role of parents and teachers is very important, where each has different discretionary responsibilities (Dewi, 2020). The teacher is responsible for the implementation, the running of the curriculum program as outlined in the RPP can run well and material is conveyed to students or elementary school children, while parents are responsible for supervising, guiding and directing elementary school children to learn and do the tasks assigned by the teacher. teacher, then handed over to the school. Online learning carried

out by school children certainly requires facilities at home or where the child is studying, the facilities provided so that online learning runs such as cellphones, laptops, packages, internet, books and others. Online learning is learning that uses the internet network with accessibility, connectivity, flexibility, and the ability to bring up various types of learning interactions. At the implementation level, online learning requires the support of devices such as smartphones, laptops, computers, and others that can be used to access information anytime and anywhere (Firman & Sari, 2020). During a pandemic with online learning models or distance learning, the role of parents is needed to support the success of the learning process of school children.

For a child, learning from home has changed the study habits and management of children's tutoring. This is a very important problem for children and parents, because parents must adjust their time to take care of household chores in accompanying children to study, what time they have to study and what quota they have, whether parents master applications for online learning and master children's school subject matter. The existence of learning that uses the internet (network) creates a special dilemma for parents, especially for parents who have more than one school child, meaning that the mentoring process when children study must be divided in time and must have special strategies, not infrequently many parents complain and feel overwhelmed by online learning, in this case children certainly need assistance in learning, they have to carry out various kinds of tasks that must be collected within the allotted time. Online learning that is carried out individually by children with teachers, friends and parents will build a microsystem. A two-way relationship occurs when the microsystem occurs and is reciprocal. Where children influence parents and parents influence children.

The process affects each other because children still have an unstable nature and parents must also follow the child's wishes in learning or the child's learning style. According to Woolfolk (2009) Mesosystem is a number of interactions and relationships among all elements of the microsystem, family members interact with each other with the teacher. Considering the current pandemic period, where the government issues a policy of learning from home, it is necessary to coordinate the roles of parents and children in order to achieve learning objectives. Specifically, the coordination has the following objectives: (1) mutually assist and complement each other, by accepting the shortcomings and weaknesses of students, parents are expected to assist in the learning process. 2) provide financial assistance in the form of quotas, cellphones for online learning, 3) together make lesson plans for children during online learning. Based on the explanation above, the purpose of the research is to find a pattern or model of assistance that parents do when online learning is carried out for school children during the Pandemic, as well as to describe the obstacles experienced by parents, because not all parents have the same abilities such as economic ability, the ability to understand material, good operational skills, and take the time to help, guide their children who are in elementary school.

Theory

Parents are the first and foremost people who are able, and have the right to help and educate their children, this is the role of parents very influential in the family to create a safe atmosphere at home so that the home is a place for children to return, be an example for their children, provide discipline and improve children's behavior, and create communication between the two. Supervision and guidance of parents at home is absolutely necessary. So that they can be supervised, knowing all the shortcomings and difficulties of children in the learning process (Akbar 2011).

There are several aspects of the parental assistance model in the child's learning process, including:

1. Providing online learning facilities, the facilities in question are internet quota, stationery, cellphones, laptops, learning package books and other facilities to facilitate children in the learning process
2. Supervise children's online learning activities at home, parents need to supervise online learning activities at home because by supervising children's online learning activities, parents can find out whether their children have studied well or not. homework from the teacher.

3. Supervise the use of children's study time at home, parents need to supervise children's learning activities at home, whether children have used their study time well or not. Parents can help their child develop an online study schedule.
4. Supervise the difficulties faced by children in learning. Parents need to know or know the difficulties faced by children in online learning, because by knowing these difficulties, parents are able to help solve them. If parents do not recognize the difficulties faced by children in online learning, the child's learning process will be hampered.
5. Helping children in overcoming difficulties in learning. To assist in the learning process, parents participate in the learning process, including knowing the methods used to help children learn. The more knowledge parents have, the more material will be given to their children. Increased parental knowledge will also make it easier for children to find the answer to each question. Parental mastery of materials and technology is needed so that children will be helped in the learning process at home.

II. METHOD

A qualitative method with a descriptive approach was used in this study, data collection was carried out by interviewing a sample of 10 parents from each /sub-district in Medan City, and 10 children attending school/urban village with the classification of elementary, junior high and middle school children. above according to need or random research, for parents categorized based on education, income/month, occupation, besides that researchers took supporting data through observation, literature related to the research study of Cresswell (2016).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Changes in learning in schools occurred because of government's efforts to break the chain of the spread of the Covid-19 corona virus in Indonesia, including in the city of Medan in North Sumatra Province. This situation forces and changes the learning habits of school children from face-to-face to online learning (learning through networks) which has been carried out for 1.5 years. Online learning makes parents more involved in assisting children's learning. Government policies on learning from home programs are carried out independently in their respective homes, the existence of these policies makes parents again strengthen their role to become the first and main educators for children. The family as an informal educational institution is protected in Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (Sisdiknas, 2003).

The online learning process carried out by schools or teachers certainly involves the role of parents of students during the learning process as well as when the teacher gives school assignments to students, so that parents cannot ignore their children's learning, the role of special parents who have children in elementary school is of course more attention, compared to children who are already in high school, this is bound to happen to take over the role of teachers as mentors and teachers to their children at home (Purwanto, 2020). Not all parents are able to meet the needs of online learning for their children, based on the results of research data 50% of parents are not able to facilitate online learning, so their children are told to study online with their friends, at a friend's house that has facilities, some parents tell their children to study waiting for the teacher's visit to come provide and teach materials at home in groups, only a small number of parents are able to provide facilities for online learning, some children learn online using their cellphones or their parents' age after their parents return from work. For parents who have never accompanied their children and are unable to provide facilities learning by using the network is grouped on:

1. Inactive or uncaring parenting model

The model of mentoring parents who are not active or do not care about children's online learning, are parents whose education is high school, vocational high school and their income is below 1 million, they work to meet their daily food needs, they think online learning only adds to the cost of household expenses, just to eat they have to work until the night. To assist their children in learning online, they do not have the ability to buy

Android phones, internet packages and others. Parents expect teachers who will come to visit and teach their children, so that when their children are in elementary school studying, they get the same knowledge as other friends, apart from their children's teachers they also learn from other sources such as textbooks lent by teachers from schools. Then for their children who are in high school, parents suggest group study or independent study, parents only supervise their children's learning.

2. A very active parenting model.

Parents who are very active in accompanying, supervising and helping with assignments are those whose mothers or fathers have a bachelor's education, well-established economy, who know how important education is, so they try to take the time to accompany, supervise and teach their children and try to master the material. their children's lessons (Wiwin, 2021). If they do not have time to teach their children, private teachers are brought in or their children learn from the teacher's room program, this aims to help understand, do the material or homework given by the teacher. If they have children who are in elementary school then the role of the mother or parents help in doing and delivering assignments to school, while for their children who are in high school, parents facilitate online learning such as laptops, cellphones, internet packages, Wifi installation, and supervising, motivating their children.

3. Active parenting model.

Parents who are grouped on the active mentoring model based on the findings in the field, who carry out the online learning mentoring process for children, where the existing facilities are used together, when parents do not use such as the use of Android cellphones, the role of parents continues like watching their children learn, guiding and teaching, sometimes parents also ask for help from their brother or sister to help their younger siblings in learning, the use of packages continues to be controlled by parents, because the android phones used have parents, so parents can supervise the online learning process carried out at home (Diadha, 2015).

Table 2. Data of parental informants based on education, occupation, income in every village in the city of Medan.

urban village	informant name	level of education	profession	monthly income	number of children who are still in primary school
Helvetia	1.Adi Sutiman	SMK	Mocok-mocok	1.000.000	1 org
	2. Suryati	D3	Perawat	3.500.000	2 org
	3. Sutono	SMA	Jualan sayur	2.000.000	3 org
	4. Afit	SMA	Tukang Beca	700.000	2 org
	5. Sudarmi	SMA	Jualan lontong	500.000	2 org
	6. Suyono	SMA	Mocok-mocok	1.000.000	2 org
	7. Ucok	S1	Swasta	2.000.000	2 org
	8. Andri	D3	Wirausaha	2.000.000	3 org
	9. Amat	S1	Swasta	2.500.000	2 org
	10.Badin	SMA	Gojek	1.000.000	2 org
Glugur Kota	1 Suyatmi	SMA	Pedagang	1.500.000	2 org
	2. Hadirat	S1	Guru honor	1.000.000	3 org
	3. abeng	S1	Pedagang KK	1.000.000	2 org
	4. Sarno	SMP	Tukang Beca	700.000	2 org
	5. Yanti	SMA	Mie balap	1.000.000	2 org
	6. Darno	STM	mocok-mocok	700.000	2 org
	7. Sutiono	SMA	PNS	2.500.000	3 org
	8. Dupi	S1	Wirausaha	2.000.000	2 org
	9. Heri	S1	Swasta	2.500000	2 org
	10. Andrawati	S1	PNS	3.500000	3 org

Amplas	1.Sukiman	D3	Peg swasta	2.500.000	2 org
	2. Cerdas karo	D3	Peg.swata	2.500000	3 org
	3. Sembiring	SMA	Kelontong	1.500000	2 org
	4. anto	SMP	Tukang Beca	700000	2 org
	5. Ajo	SMA	Pedagang sate	700000	2 org
	6. bonar	SMA	Pemulung	500000	2 org
	7. Ahmad	S1	Swasta	2.500000	3 org
	8. sander	SMA	Pemulung	400000	2 org
	9. Yunas	S1	Swasta	2.500000	2 org
	10. Sunter	STM	mocok-mocok	1.000000	3 org
Pasar Baru	1.Ucok	SMA	Pemulung	700000	2 org
	2. Bidara	S1	Bidan	3.000000	3 org
	3. Doni	S1	Padagang KK	1.500000	2 org
	4. Dani	SMA	Tukang Beca	700000	2 org
	5. Hasnah	SMK	Jualan ikan	1.000000	2 org
	6. Jenny	S1	PNS	3.500000	2 org
	7. Hasril	S1	Swasta	2.500000	3 org
	8. Sandi	S1	Gojek	1.000.000	2 org
	9. Barrul	S1	Swasta	2.500000	2 org
	10.Parna	SMA	Pemulung	700000	3 org
MedanDenai	1.Tri andi	STM	Mocok-mocok	700000	2 org
	2.Dwi Anto	STM	Tukang becak	800000	3 org
	3.Irgo	SMA	Pedagang KK	1.500000	2 org
	4.Angga	SMA	Tukang Beca	700000	2 org
	5.Sumini	SMA	Jualan sarapan	800000	2 org
	6.Syaipul	S1	PNS	3.500000	2 org
	7. batoka	SMA	Pemulung	700000	3 org
	8. matona	SMA	Pemulung	600000	2 org
	9.Damar	S1	Swasta	2.500000	2 org
	10. Sahat	SMA	Gojek	1.000000	3 org

Source of data on the results of research in the field September 2021

Another obstacle faced by parents is the economy, where they still pay school fees (for private schools) but the teacher's duties are delegated to parents, psychologically for parents who are barely able to eat food, of course, they are often angry with their children when accompanying learning, even if not parents who do all their children's housework to avoid anger, parental beatings to their children because of the economy and fatigue after working all day. Then the obstacles for parents in mastering and understanding their children's subject matter, especially in the fields of language, science, mathematics. This dilemma should be the government's attention, even though the government helps provide internet packages, but it is for parents who have Android phones. Parents also have to divide their time between taking care of the household, working to earn a living, accompanying their elementary school children to study online at home.

IV. CONCLUSION

The involvement of parents in assisting children during learning from home shows that not all parents provide learning assistance for their children at home, especially for parents who do not understand the importance of the role of parents in accompanying their children to study on the grounds of being tired and more for the need to live or eat everyday, they still expect the child's education in school by the teacher, the teacher is the one who is obliged to provide learning for their children to be smart. Mentoring carried out by some parents who understand how important parental education is, providing assistance by helping children do their work, as a

place for children to learn, providing learning facilities needed by children, explaining and providing explanations about the material being studied, giving a good response to learning at home and responsive in the tasks given by the teacher to do for their children.

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PENINDASAN PADA BURUH PEREMPUAN INDUSTRI DI KOTA MEDAN PERSPEKTIF SPIVAK

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PENINDASAN PADA BURUH PEREMPUAN INDUSTRI DI KOTA MEDAN PERSPEKTIF SPIVAK

Oleh:
Lukitaningsih

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mengkaji penindasan buruh perempuan dari perspektif budaya patriarki. Dalam konteks ini dikaji diamnya buruh perempuan Industri disebabkan budaya *patriarki* dan ketimpangan gender, dan pengalamannya dalam memaknai penindasan. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada perusahaan industri yang ada di kota Medan, dengan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan etnografi feminis. Melalui metode ini diperoleh data dan informasi tentang pengalaman buruh perempuan yang mengalami penindasan. Hasil penelitian bahwa buruh perempuan mengalami penindasan disebabkan, *pertama*, budaya *patriarki*, meletakkan perempuan terdominasi dan ter subordinasi dalam lingkup industri, struktur *patriarki* menempatkan laki-laki sebagai penguasa (dominan) di sektor industri. Bentuk patriarki yang dialami buruh perempuan di Industri Kota Medan adalah pelecehan seksual, perbedaan upah. *Kedua*, buruh perempuan mengalami penindasan disebabkan ketimpangan gender. Bentuk ketimpangan gender yang dialami seperti, tidak ada jaminan keselamatan saat bekerja, tidak mendapat tunjangan, tidak ada jenjang karir, status pekerjaan. Menurut Spivak perempuan yang mengalami penindasan di masyarakat tidak akan pernah mampu bersuara apalagi mendapatkan hak-hak sebagai warga negara pada masa kolonial. Penelitian ini menunjukkan keadaan yang sedikit berbeda dengan teori Spivak, jika dalam penelitian Spivak perempuan India diam menerima penindasan yang dialami, perempuan buruh industri dapat bersuara atau menegosiasikan penindasan yang dialaminya.

Kata Kunci: *penindasan, patriarki, ketimpangan gender, industri*

I. PENDAHULUAN

Studi ini membahas tentang para buruh perempuan di sektor industri yang mengalami penindasan. Budaya patriarki dan ketimpangan gender menjadi penyebab dalam menjelaskan keadaan mereka. Selain itu, pengalaman yang mereka alami juga akan diungkapkan. Studi ini menjelaskan hubungan dominasi terhadap pihak yang ter-subordinasi dalam struktur kolonial tentang perbedaan kelas, antara penguasa dan yang dikuasai. Dalam kaitannya dengan struktur kolonial di sektor industri, maka pengusaha sebagai pihak dominan dan buruh perempuan sebagai pihak yang ter-subordinasi. Di mana pengusaha membangun suatu mekanisme dan sistem patriarki dalam menjalankan keberlangsungan perusahaannya. Sehingga buruh perempuan harus patuh pada aturan yang diberlakukan oleh perusahaan.

Di Indonesia, kasus penindasan kaum buruh perempuan kerap dilakukan oleh oknum pemilik modal. Adapun penindasan antara lain seperti pelanggaran hak *maternitas*, upah, sistem rekrutmen, pelecehan seksual, jam kerja, pemecatan setelah cuti melahirkan hingga keguguran di tempat kerja. Hal ini biasanya dialami oleh buruh perempuan yang bekerja di sektor industri. Pengusaha melakukan *penindasan* terhadap buruh perempuan dalam bentuk beban kerja yang berat, jam kerja yang panjang, pekerjaan yang penuh dengan resiko kecelakaan, tidak adanya perlindungan reproduksi bagi buruh perempuan saat bekerja di pabrik, bekerja selama 7 jam dengan posisi berdiri, di sisilain buruh perempuan juga mengalami tindakan pelecehan seksual, dibedakannya upah buruh perempuan dengan buruh laki-laki, tidak tersedianya ruang *laktasi*, pelanggaran hak *maternitas*, pemecatan setelah cuti melahirkan hingga keguguran di tempat kerja.

Konsep dasar penindasan menurut Spivak (2010:78), melihat bagaimana hubungan dominasi terhadap pihak yang disubordinasikan dalam beberapa masyarakat bekas kolonial tentang persoalan perbedaan gender dan tekanan penguasa dalam kehidupan perempuan. Kondisi seperti ini menunjukkan bahwa mereka yang berposisi dominan (pengusaha) memperlihatkan kekuatannya pada pihak lain (buruh perempuan), dan memelihara serta memperkuat ikatan emosional para penindasan

(buruh perempuan) agar mematuhi aturan yang ada. Spivak mengkaji penindasan dari apa yang dilakukan oleh elite terhadap perempuan dari perspektif sosio-budaya, agama dan kebijakan publik.

Studi ini, bermaksud untuk mengkaji dan menganalisis buruh perempuan di sektor industri yang mengalami penindasan pada saat bekerja, dengan menggunakan teori feminis poskolonial konsep penindasan Gayatri Spivak. Studi tentang penindasan ini penting untuk dilakukan, karena tidak semata-mata mengkaji tentang buruh perempuan yang mengalami penindasan, di area domestik dan industri. Apabila konsepsi penindasan dimaknai sebagai upaya menghadirkan pemaksaan melalui mekanismenya, maka mereka mengalami berbagai bentuk penindasan. Mekanisme ini berjalan secara halus dalam proses produksi sehingga yang didominasi tidak sadar, patuh dan menerima begitu saja.

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah : a) Mendeskripsi penindasan buruh perempuan di industri kota Medan disebabkan budaya patriarki dan ketimpangan gender. b) Memahami makna penindasan yang dialami oleh buruh perempuan di sektor industri dari perspektif Gayatri Spivak.

Untuk mencabar buruh perempuan di Industri digunakan teori feminis poskolonial dengan konsepnya penindasan dari Spivak. Teori feminis poskolonial, merupakan studi pertemuan antara feminis dan poskolonial. Studi poskolonial mencabar imperialis dan subjektivitas sedangkan studi feminis mencabar patriarki yang ada pada liberal dan imperialis dengan identitas, subjektivitas, agency. Studi feminis poskolonial berbicara mengenai kondisi suatu kaum yang tertindas oleh kaum yang dominan dalam lingkungannya dari sudut pandang Spivak. Ia lebih memberikan porsi pembahasannya tentang penindasan. Kajian Spivak tentang penindasan mencoba untuk membuka wacana terhadap perjuangan perempuan yang dijajah. Dalam konteks perjuangan politik dan perjuangan untuk mencapai keadilan merupakan sebuah penindasan yang dilakukan oleh kelompok yang mempunyai kekuasaan, kemudian kelompok ini bersatu untuk melawan kolonial atau penguasa.

Menurut Gayatri Spivak penindasan adalah subjek yang tertekan, dan memiliki dua karakteristik: *pertama* adanya penekanan dan di dalamnya bekerja suatu mekanisme pendiskriminasi. Artinya bahwa penindasan tidak bisa memahami keberadaan dan tidak mampu untuk menyuarakan aspirasinya. *Kedua* penindasan tidak memiliki ruang untuk menyuarakan kondisinya, sehingga perlu kaum intelektual sebagai “wakil” mereka.

Proposisi yang dicabangkan oleh Gayatri Spivak adalah, (1) kondisi dari suatu kaum yang tertindas oleh kaum yang dominan dalam lingkungannya, (2) penindasan dan penciptaan atas dunia ketiga oleh negara kolonial, (3) masyarakat bekas jajahan sebagai dunia ketiga yang dieksploitasi tetapi memiliki warisan-warisan yang ditinggalkannya, (4) tidak ada ruang subyek penindasan untuk berbicara (5) menantang warisan kolonialisme dan budaya patriarki pada masyarakat di India pada waktu itu.

Studi *subaltern* yang dikembangkan oleh Spivak memiliki kelebihan sekaligus kontribusi yang sangat penting terutama terletak pada pendekatan dekonstruksi historiografi, yang menawarkan politik gender riset historis kajian *subaltern*, penemuan Spivak yang fenomenal tentang teori feminis poskolonial berasal dari kesadarannya akan posisi perempuan Hindu yang mengalami penindasan sebagai jenis kelamin *liyan*. Pemikiran Spivak memberi wacana bahwa perempuan mengalami penindasan, bahkan Spivak mengkritik orang yang tidak mampu berbicara merupakan orang bungkam dan mengatakan apabila seseorang tidak bisa berbicara dikategorikan sebagai orang yang mati. Menurut Spivak pembisuan menunjukkan pada penindasan, terhadap semua perempuan di India. Wacana poskolonial Spivak untuk menyampaikan kebisuan disebutnya sebagai orang yang di tindas.

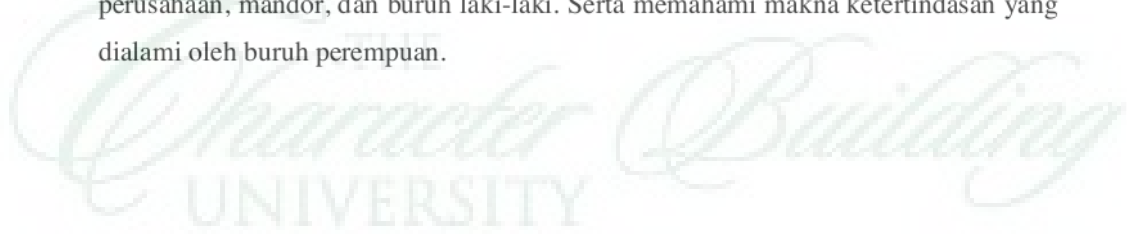
Bagi Spivak, bagaimana agar para *subaltern* bisa berbicara?. Suara dari para kaum tertindas tidak akan dapat dicari karena para kaum tertindas tidak bisa bicara. Kelompok-kelompok yang tertindas memang tidak bisa berbicara. Karena itu seorang intelektual tidak mungkin bisa mengklaim dan meromantisir kemampuan mereka untuk menggali dan mencari suara kelompok-kelompok tertindas. Klaim-klaim semacam ini justru bersifat kolonial, karena ia menyamaratakan (menghomogenkan) keberagaman

kelompok-kelompok tertindas, dan pada akhirnya ia merupakan sebuah “*kekerasan epistemologis*” terhadap kelompok-kelompok tertindas.

Relasi yang tercipta antara korporasi (perusahaan) dengan kelompok (buruh perempuan) itu seperti relasi “tuan-hamba”. perusahaan datang bukan buat mencari buruh perempuan, melainkan hadir sebagai penguasa atas kelompok-kelompok yang tertindas. Spivak menyarankan kaum intelektual seharusnya lebih banyak bertindak secara nyata untuk memperjuangkan kelompok-kelompok tertindas dari pada hanya berfikir atau berbicara saja. Teori ini juga melihat *penindasan* adalah istilah untuk kelompok tertentu di masyarakat yang berada di posisi paling rendah. Ia merupakan kelompok inferior, dan menjadi subjek hegemoni kelas-kelas yang berkuasa.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif, dan pendekatan etnografi feminis. pendekatan etnografi feminis mengisi kesempurnaan sketsa fenomena sosial dengan cara menggali peristiwa-peristiwa hidup perempuan, bukan hanya impian dan harapan tetapi juga ketakutan, stress, kelelahan dan pengetahuan lainnya. Pengalaman hidup buruh perempuan yang menjadi subyek dalam penelitian menjadi dasar konstruksi pengetahuan. Situasi emosi tidak perlu diingkari dalam pembentukan pengetahuan, dan pengalaman sebab dinamika relasi antara peneliti dan subyek turut menjadi momentum penting bagi pengembangan pengetahuan peneliti. Pendekatan ini memfokuskan pada pengalaman buruh perempuan sebagai subjek yang mengalami ketertindasan.

Lokasi penelitian dilakukan di industri, yang berada Kelurahan Tanjung Mulia Kecamatan Medan Deli Kota Medan. Tulisan ini akan menjelaskan buruh perempuan yang mengalami penindasan di karenakan budaya patriarki dan ketimpangan gender pada sektor domestik oleh suami dan sektor industri atau publik, yang dilakukan oleh perusahaan, mandor, dan buruh laki-laki. Serta memahami makna ketertindasan yang dialami oleh buruh perempuan.



II. PEMBAHASAN

Perusahaan Terbatas industri karet yang disebut dengan Deliwork didirikan pada tahun 1956 oleh badan usaha modal asing milik perusahaan Jepang. Perusahaan ini pada awalnya bergerak dalam industri peralatan rumah tangga yang bahan bakunya terbuat dari karet, seperti sarung tangan, sepatu, alas kaki, dan sebagainya. Dalam perkembangannya perusahaan industri karet tidak saja memproduksi kebutuhan rumah tangga tetapi sudah memproduksi jenis ban untuk kebutuhan kendaraan bermotor (seperti ban dalam, ban luar). Pengurangan peran negara terhadap perusahaan – perusahaan swasta dilakukan melalui *privatisasi* (penguasaan oleh swasta/asing) atas sektor publik, hal ini terjadi karena seluruh perusahaan swasta sudah mengalami neoliberalisme. Neoliberalisme sesungguhnya merupakan upaya pengurangan peran negara, artinya pengelolaan negara dikendalikan oleh korporat, (perusahaan swasta/asing). Akibat dari keputusan-keputusan politik tidak dibuat untuk kepentingan rakyat, tetapi untuk kepentingan perusahaan swasta baik domestik maupun asing.

Disisi lain, gelombang neoliberalis di segala bidang pasca reformasi, telah memberikan kesempatan kepada kekuatan kapitalis global untuk makin menancapkan pengaruhnya di Indonesia. Dengan bantuan dana dari investor asing dan swasta, mereka banyak mendapat kemudahan dalam kebijakan, peraturan perundangan yang sangat liberal di pengaruhi oleh kepentingan pihak swasta. Neo-liberalis menganjurkan penghapusan campur tangan pemerintah dalam urusan ekonomi. Tidak ada pembatasan untuk produksi pabrik, tidak ada pembatasan atas perdagangan bebas, tidak ada cukai. Penerapan usaha individual mendorong munculnya usaha bebas, persaingan bebas, yang berarti bebas bagi pemilik modal untuk mendapatkan keuntungan sebesar-besarnya.

Buruh perempuan yang bekerja di sektor industri mengalami penindasan disebabkan relasi patriarki. Sistem patriarki meletakkan perempuan ter subordinasi dalam lingkup keluarga dan pekerjaan di sektor industri dengan menempatkan laki-laki sebagai penguasa. Sistem patriarki sebagai salah satu kajian alternatif terhadap relasi kuasa patriarki dalam kehidupan sosial, dalam bentuk : (i). Relasi patriarki produksi

dalam level ekonomi, (ii) Relasi patriarki dalam pekerjaan ber-upah, (iii) Relasi patriarki dalam perusahaan (iv) relasi patriarki dalam pelechan seksual.

Relasi patriarki pada produksi level ekonomi di rumah tangga, bentuk yang sangat mendasar adalah relasi di mana dalam kerja ‘diperlihatkan’ kewajiban untuk bekerja. Kerja yang dilakukan oleh perempuan bisa disusun mulai dari memasak, mencuci, mengurus suami serta menjaga anak-anak. Perempuan sebagai istri melakukan pekerjaan tersebut untuk suaminya, istri tidak memperoleh upah dari pekerjaannya tersebut karena semua itu merupakan konsekuensi dari ikatan pernikahan. Suami bisa mengendalikan istri karena memiliki sifat maskulinitas yaitu kekuasaan atas istri mereka.

Pada level ekonomi dalam pekerjaan ber-upah, relasi patriarki dalam pekerjaan ber-upah, terlihat pada pemberlakuan dibedakannya penerimaan upah yang tidak setara, tidak adanya jenjang karier, tidak ada fasilitas reproduksi bagi buruh perempuan. Padahal jika dilihat pada aspek jam kerja, dan beban kerja keduanya memiliki durasi yang sama. Selain itu, ketimpangan ini tampak dari adanya pemusatan tenaga kerja perempuan pada bahagian produksi yang menempatkannya pada bidang-bidang yang lebih mengandalkan sisi tenaga yang besar, juga ketelitian, ketekunan buruh perempuan. Sektor ini dianggap oleh kebanyakan perusahaan sebagai pekerjaan yang mudah sehingga mereka dibayar dengan upah murah dibandingkan upah buruh laki-laki.

Pengaruh dari sistem patriarki adanya pembagian kerja berdasarkan jenis kelamin di mana pada masyarakat patriarki sektor publik dikaitkan laki-laki dan sektor domestik atau rumah tangga dikaitkan dengan perempuan. Dalam sistem masyarakat industrial dan kapitalis, segala sesuatu dinilai menurut nilai tukarnya di pasar, berdasarkan permintaan dan penawaran atau menjadi komoditi, termasuk manusia (laki-laki dan perempuan). Di sisi lain, dalam menekuni sektor publik dengan bekerja di industri karet deli memberikan konsekuensi tersendiri bagi perempuan. Disamping mendapatkan upah tentunya mereka juga harus memikul peran ganda (domestik dan publik) dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Keadaan ini dapat menimbulkan eksploitasi bagi

buruh perempuan. Di sisi lain kaum laki-laki sebagai orang yang bertanggung jawab mencari nafkah umumnya belum secara suka rela membantu istri melakukan pekerjaan rumah. Kultur patriarki mempengaruhi konstruksi sosial pada masyarakat. Perbedaan gender telah melahirkan berbagai ketimpangan, bagi perempuan, dalam bentuk *subordinasi*, *marginalisasi*, *stereotipe*, dan beban ganda. Bentuk-bentuk ketimpangan tersebut merupakan sumber utama terjadinya eksploitasi dan diskriminasi terhadap perempuan.

Penindasan pada buruh perempuan disebabkan oleh ketimpangan gender, ketimpangan gender adalah kondisi di mana terdapat ketidaksetaraan antara laki-laki dan perempuan dalam sektor publik. Bentuk ketimpangan gender yang dialami buruh perempuan di sektor industri dalam bentuk *subordinasi*, adalah buruh perempuan tidak bisa menduduki posisi sebagai kepala regu, mandor, kepala *shif*, dengan alasan buruh perempuan lemah, irasional, emosional, dan tidak terampil. Kemudian mereka juga mengalami marginalisasi, dalam perbedaan upah dengan buruh laki-laki, ketidaksamaan akses keuntungan, dan tidak adanya fasilitas reproduksi bagi buruh perempuan dalam bekerja. Selanjut nya mereka mengalami *penindasan* karena *stereotipe*, beban ganda.

Selain itu, buruh perempuan mengalami pelecehan seksual di tempat kerja, terjadi pada saat bekerja malam, siang, atau jam istirahat, bentuk pelecehan seksual yang diterimanya dalam bentuk gurauan-gurauan porno, menyentuh paha, buah dada, memberi komentar mengenai penampilan fisik, memeluk, memegang pinggang dan lainnya.

Meskipun demikian, para buruh perempuan tetap bekerja dan bertahan sebagai buruh di pabrik di sektor industri. Meskipun mereka dihadapkan pada persoalan marginalisasi, subordinasi, pelecehan seksual, diskriminasi, *stereotipe*, beban ganda dan ketidakadilan dalam pekerjaannya. Bahkan tidak sedikit diantara perempuan yang bekerja tersebut berstatus sebagai orang tua tunggal (*single parent*) yang berarti bahwa mereka berperan sebagai kepala keluarga. Pada kenyataannya dunia kerja seperti sektor

industri justru menjadi wadah dimana terdapat kasus-kasus bersifat ketimpangan gender. Bagaimana tidak, perempuan banyak dibutuhkan tenaganya pada sektor industri selain dinilai mempunyai keuletan dan ketekunan melebihi laki-laki juga dinilai sebagai tenaga kerja kelas dua (*second class*). Perempuan dipandang lebih pasif karena bersedia menerima otoritas dan bersedia diberi upah sedikit.

Dalam *can the subaltern Speak?*, Spivak mengemukakan bahwa tidak mungkin bagi kita untuk menggali kembali suara subaltern atau subjek yang tertindas. Penindasan bagi Spivak berdasar pada biologis (perempuan), tidak ada ruang bagi mereka untuk bisa bersuara. Spivak melihat kepada pola perdebatan kolonial tentang bakar diri janda di India untuk melihat bagaimana pandangan bahwa gabungan cara-cara kerja kolonialisme dengan patriarki dalam kenyataannya menjadikan sulit bagi penindasan (dalam hal ini janda India yang dibakar hidup-hidup dalam api unggun pembakaran suaminya) untuk mengartikulasikan pandangannya. Perempuan-perempuan India, dalam hal ini janda India, yang harus ikut mati dalam pembakaran suaminya yang meninggal ini tidak memiliki suara untuk menolak. Ia juga menulis kisah tentang bunuh diri Bhuvanewari disebabkan tak mampu melakukan pembunuhan politik yang dipercayakan dalam kelompok perjuangan bersenjata.

Spivak juga mengemukakan pendapat bahwa gerakan feminis poskolonial yang memperjuangkan kesetaraan gender antara laki-laki dan perempuan telah melahirkan konsep-konsep tentang ketidakseimbangan hubungan antara laki-laki dan perempuan. Pada sistem ini laki-laki berperan menentukan apa yang boleh dan apa yang tidak boleh dilakukan kaum perempuan.

Pemikiran Spivak memberi wacana bahwa perempuan India mengalami penindasan dalam budaya, agama, politik. Bahkan Spivak mengkritik orang yang tidak mampu berbicara merupakan orang bungkam dan dikategorikan sebagai orang yang mati. Dalam hal ini Spivak melihat bahwa perempuan India tidak bersuara dikarenakan mengalami penindasan yang dilakukan oleh kelompok dominan seperti kaum brahmana, penguasa kolonial maupun penguasa lokal.

Pada studi penindasan ini, buruh perempuan yang bekerja di sektor industri mengalami ketertindasan di pabrik. Bentuk penindasan yang dialami menjadikannya sebagai pendorong untuk berani bernegosiasi, dan melakukan perlawanan kepada mandor, kepala regu dan buruh laki-laki sebagai perpanjangan tangan perusahaan. Di sisi lain perusahaan juga memberikan ruang bagi buruh perempuan untuk melakukan negosiasi dengan perusahaan, mandor, ketua regu, dalam bentuk tulisan (surat), lisan.

Menurut Spivak bahwa perempuan sebagai sosok tertindas dalam masyarakat tak akan pernah mampu bersuara apalagi mendapatkan hak-hak yang selayaknya sebagai manusia. Sebagai perempuan yang di subordinasikan secara kultural, agama, politik dan tidak dapat bertindak apalagi bersuara. Pada penelitian ini buruh perempuan yang mengalami subordinasi, marginalisasi, beban ganda, dan pelecehan seksual terkonstruksi sosial karena maskulinitas dan feminitas yang berlaku pada sektor industri.

Studi ini juga mengkritisi pemikiran Spivak yang memberi wacana bahwa perempuan diam dan tidak bersuara dikarenakan ketidakmampuannya melawan budaya patriarki yang melekat pada sistem budaya, agama, dan politik masa kolonial di India, Ia hanya melihat perempuan di India secara homogen mengalami penindasan dalam kehidupannya. Sedangkan pada studi ini buruh perempuan di sektor industri mengalami penindasan karena perlakuan dan tindakan dari perusahaan yang dilakukan oleh mandor, buruh laki-laki sebagai perpanjangan tangan perusahaan. Perlakuan dan tindakan penindasan yang diterima berupa perbedaan upah, kesejahteraan, fasilitas, pelecehan seksual, jenjang karier, sistem kontrak kerja. Di sisi lainnya perusahaan juga memberikan ruang bagi buruh perempuan untuk melakukan negosiasi bila tidak berkenan dengan apa yang mereka alami, ruang negosiasi diberikan dalam bentuk penyediaan kotak saran, bernegosiasi dengan perwakilan sarikat buruh Indonesia, yang ada di perusahaan.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan keadaan yang sedikit berbeda dengan teori Spivak, jika dalam penelitian Spivak perempuan India diam menerima penindasan yang dialami, sedangkan buruh perempuan yang bekerja di sektor industri dapat bersuara

atau menegosiasikan penindasan yang dialaminya. penindasan dapat diakhiri dengan membongkar konstruksi sosial tentang feminitas dan maskulinitas.

III. PENUTUP

Seiring dengan semakin berkembangnya sektor industri, buruh yang dibutuhkan juga bertambah banyak, sehingga mereka merekrut perempuan sebagai buruh. Kehadiran buruh perempuan sangat mewarnai dan sebagai urat nadi bagi industri karena jumlah buruh perempuan lebih banyak di bandingkan buruh laki-laki. Keadaan ekonomi yang sebenarnya menjadikan perempuan bekerja mencari nafkah. Sayangnya posisi tawar buruh perempuan rendah, meskipun begitu mereka tetap menekuni pekerjaan, selain tidak ada pilihan lain juga karena faktor sosial budaya yang ikut membatasi gerakannya. Bagi perempuan yang belum menikah/berkeluarga, bekerja adalah untuk membantu orang tua, sedangkan bagi yang sudah berkeluarga bekerja ini merupakan suatu kegiatan penting untuk memenuhi kebutuhan hidup sehari-hari.

Pengaruh dari budaya patriarki adanya pembagian kerja berdasarkan jenis kelamin di mana pada masyarakat patriarki sektor publik dikaitkan laki-laki dan sektor domestik atau rumah tangga dikaitkan dengan perempuan. Dalam sistem masyarakat industrial dan kapitalis, segala sesuatu dinilai menurut nilai tukarnya di pasar, berdasarkan permintaan dan penawaran atau menjadi komoditi, termasuk manusia (laki-laki dan perempuan). Di sisi lain, dalam menekuni sektor publik dengan bekerja di sektor industri memberikan konsekuensi tersendiri bagi mereka. Disamping mendapatkan upah, tentunya mereka juga harus memikul peran ganda (domestik dan publik) dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Keadaan ini menimbulkan masalah pada ketimpangan gender, karena kaum laki-laki sebagai orang yang bertanggung jawab mencari nafkah umumnya belum secara suka rela membantu istri melakukan pekerjaan rumah. Sistem patriarki sebagai salah satu kajian alternatif terhadap relasi kuasa patriarki dalam kehidupan sosial.

Relasi patriarki produksi merupakan satu dari dua struktur patriarki yang berlangsung pada level ekonomi. Buruh perempuan dikendalikan oleh suami mereka dalam ikatan pernikahan dan hubungan rumah tangga. Bentuk yang sangat mendasar adalah relasi produksi di mana di dalamnya kerja ‘diperlihatkan’ dari pada kewajiban yang menggantikan kerja tersebut. Kerja yang dilakukan oleh perempuan bisa disusun mulai dari memasak dan mencuci untuk suami serta menjaga anak-anak. Perempuan sebagai istri melakukan pekerjaan tersebut untuk suaminya (dalam lingkungan tertentu, sebagai anak perempuan untuk ayahnya), istri tidak memperoleh upah dari pekerjaannya tersebut karena itu semua merupakan konsekuensi dari ikatan pernikahan.

Struktur patriarki kedua pada level ekonomi adalah relasi patriarki dalam pekerjaan dengan upah, relasi patriarki dalam pekerjaan ber-upah adalah penutupan akses oleh laki-laki untuk perempuan. Hal itu melibatkan dijauhkannya perempuan dari pekerjaan ber-upah atau pemisahan kerja-kerja perempuan di dalamnya. Kondisi itu menyebabkan rendah upah kerja bagi perempuan dibandingkan buruh laki-laki. Diskriminasi gender dalam pembagian kerja di luar konteks rumah tangga menyentuh hampir semua kerja produktif ekonomis yang dilakukan perempuan. Dalam sektor industri, perempuan lebih dominan dipekerjakan sebagai buruh. Hal ini merupakan salah satu aspek dari pembagian kerja nasional yang sedang berubah, menuju pada aktivitas ekonomi perempuan yang ber-upah. Keterlibatan perempuan dalam kegiatan ekonomi di luar rumah mendekati perempuan pada penindasan, eksploitasi, diskriminasi yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki atau pengusaha.

Perusahaan melakukan patriarki sekaligus kapitalis. Sebagai arena perjuangan dan bukan sebagai entitas monolitik, perusahaan memiliki bias sistematis terhadap kepentingan patriarki seperti tampak dalam kebijakan-kebijakan dan tindakan-tindakannya yang berhubungan dengan kehidupan buruh di sektor industri. Relasi patriarki negara terhadap buruh perempuan di sektor industri adalah dikeluarkannya UU No.13 tahun 2003, dengan dikeluarkannya UU tersebut menguntungkan kalangan industriawan dimana sistem *outsourcing*, sub-kontrak merupakan suatu strategi

manajemen yang sangat ampuh untuk mendapatkan keuntungan yang maksimal. Mekanisme *outsourcing* telah menjadi sebuah sistem perburuhan yang mengingkari hak-hak buruh khususnya buruh perempuan. Praktek sistem kerja kontrak semakin meluas dan hampir semua perusahaan atau industri saat ini memberlakukan kontrak kerja yang pendek dan *outsourcing* bagi sebahagian tenaga kerjanya.

Struktur patriarki dalam pelecehan seksual, adalah heteroseksualitas, Selain itu, buruh perempuan mengalami pelecehan seksual di tempat kerja, terjadi pada saat bekerja malam, siang, atau jam istirahat, di mana mandor, kepala regu dan buruh laki-laki menunjukkan sikap maskulinitas terhadap buruh perempuan. Tindakan maskulinitas dalam pelecehan seksual menempatkan sisi laki-laki yang sangat dominan menciptakan identitas perempuan menjadi makhluk kelas dua. Ini salah satu contoh relasi patriarki dalam pelecehan seksual yang dialami oleh perempuan, hal ini tidak lepas dari konsep nilai yang melihat bahwa perempuan itu sebagai feminis yang layak untuk mendapat godaan, dalam bentuk: pelecehan fisik, lisan, isyarat dan pelecehan seksual tertulis. seperti gurauan-gurauan porno, menyentuh paha, buah dada, memberi komentar mengenai penampilan fisik, memeluk, memegang pinggang dan lainnya.

Budaya patriarki menyebabkan terjadinya ketimpangan gender antara buruh laki-laki dan buruh perempuan dalam sektor industri, terutama mengenai penerimaan uang kesejateraan yang berbeda dengan buruh laki-laki, jenjang karier, fasilitas reproduksi bagi buruh perempuan. Padahal jika dilihat pada aspek jam kerja, keduanya memiliki durasi yang sama. Bentuk diskriminasi dan subordinasi yang diterima buruh perempuan adalah tidak ada jenjang karier, mereka tidak boleh menjadi mandor, kepala regu atau kepala *shif*, hal ini disebabkan karena konstruksi sosial peran maskulinitas dan peran feminitas. Jenjang karier hanya bisa diberikan kepada laki-laki karena lebih utama sedang perempuan menjadi kelas nomer dua. Sehingga perusahaan memandang bahwa pekerjaan yang berat sebagai mandor, kepala regu, dan kepala *shif* hanya dapat dikerjakan oleh buruh laki-laki yang mempunyai kekuatan, waktu yang banyak untuk bekerja di pabrik. Kemudian buruh perempuan juga mengalami marginalisasi dengan

tidak adanya fasilitas reproduksi yang tersedia di tempat kerja atau pabrik seperti ruang laktasi dan hak maternitas bagi mereka. Masyarakat dan laki-laki mengungkapkan bahwa perempuan hanyalah pencari nafkah tambahan bagi keluarga, sehingga walau beban menjadi buruh pabrik sangatlah berat, dan upah yang sedikit, hal itu dianggap wajar bagi laki-laki.

Semua bentuk ketimpangan gender berpangkal pada suatu kekeliruan tentang *stereotype* gender laki-laki dan perempuan. Pemberian citra yang salah terhadap perempuan digunakan oleh kelompok maskulinitas sebagai alasan untuk membenarkan situasi suatu tindakan dari laki-laki kepada perempuan. Buruh perempuan karena konstruksi gender menyebabkan mereka harus berperan ganda. Beban pekerjaan yang diterima pada sektor domestik dan publik mengharuskan mereka mempunyai tenaga yang kuat. Walaupun mereka sudah bekerja di sektor publik atau industri tetapi mereka masih punya tanggung jawab di sektor domestik atau rumah tangga. Konstruksi maskulinitas dan feminitas pada buruh perempuan untuk beban kerja yang ganda harus dimiliki oleh buruh perempuan.

Makna penindasan yang dialami buruh perempuan karena ketimpangan gender antara lain, a) diterima dan ditolak karena ketidakadilan yang diciptakan dunia kerja khusus sektor industri. Bagaimana tidak, perempuan yang banyak dibutuhkan tenaganya pada sektor industri selain dinilai mempunyai keuletan dan ketekunan melebihi laki-laki juga dinilai sebagai tenaga kerja kelas dua (*second class*). Perempuan dipandang lebih pasif karena bersedia menerima otoritas dan bersedia diberi upah sedikit. Konstruksi gender menyebabkan buruh perempuan tetap bekerja untuk menghidupi keluarganya meskipun mereka dihadapkan pada persoalan marginalisasi, subordinasi, pelecehan seksual, diskriminasi, *stereotype*, beban ganda dan ketidakadilan dalam pekerjaannya. Bahkan tidak sedikit diantara perempuan yang bekerja tersebut berstatus sebagai orang tua tunggal (*single parent*) yang berarti bahwa mereka berperan sebagai kepala keluarga. b) mereka ingin melawan bentuk penindasan tersebut tetapi di sisi lain konstruksi feminitas yang melekat pada diri perempuan menyebabkan mereka tidak dapat berbuat banyak atau menerima, hal ini dilakukan

karena mereka butuh uang untuk menghidupi keluarganya. Tidak saja berperan ganda, akan tetapi memiliki *triple role* ; yaitu peran reproduksi, yaitu peran yang berhubungan dengan peran tradisional disektor domestik (mengandung, melahirkan dan merawat anak), peran produktif, yaitu peran ekonomis disektor publik, domestik, dan peran sosial, yaitu sebagai warga masyarakat.

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Policy Model Corporate Social Responsibility during the Covid-19 Pandemic: (Empirical Finding of State Own Enterprises in North Sumatra Province, Indonesia)

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**Policy Model Corporate Social Responsibility during
the Covid-19 Pandemic: (Empirical Finding of
State Own Enterprises in North Sumatra
Province, Indonesia)**

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Abstract:

This study aims to examine the company's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) fund management policy model, namely both internal factors and external factors. The test was carried out on State Owned Enterprise in North Sumatra Province, Indonesia during the Covid 19 pandemic so that it could be seen what CSR policies were taken by companies in helping the government funding with the Covid 19 pandemic in Indonesian. The sample are 48 state-owned enterprise in this province. The data collection technique is distributing questionnaires through google form, email and other social media. Based on stakeholder theory and corporate social responsibility concept, two variables that influence the company's CSR policies are tested, namely Internal factors with indicators of planning strategies and human corporate culture while External factors support government and public pressure. The novelty of this research is disaster contingency as part of variable Which have effect to CSR Policy. Its means disaster contingency can become important thing to support CSR policy. The results of hypothesis testing with multiple regression indicate that CSR policies are significantly influenced by both internal and external variables. The limitation of the study is that the sample is only one province with small amount of sample and is recommended for a wider research area. The implication of the research is that the government should issue regulations to regulate CSR activities, especially those oriented to handling Covid 19 so that CSR can be more useful.

Keywords:

policy; CSR, disaster; internal, external

I. Introduction

CSR poli⁷ is very important to implementation because according to Mapfre (2018) its definition of social responsibility as a "voluntary and strategic commitment that entails trying to achieve business targets while complying strictly with its legal and contractual obligations, applying criteria of equity and stability to relationships with its stakeholders, thus contributing to meeting the current and future needs of society. Rumambi (2018) state that company's CSR policy is very important to to implementation in various implementation activities. Ambani (2018) said CSR policies in the field of disasters can be carried out by companies. Susanto (2007) explains that 375 companies in Jakarta show that 209 or 55.75% of CSR is in the form of various funding, religion (50 companies), internal families (116 companies), social institutions (39 companies), and communities (4 companies) and 166 or 44.25% of companies stated that there was no CSR program. Azizul, Nasirwan, and Ramdhansyah (2017) regarding the CSR program of domestic Investment Companies has not been implemented optimally due to the company's internal factors even though it is very potential in North Sumatra Province. To optimize the potential for CSR in the province of

North Sumatra, it is necessary to know what factors actually encourage companies to make CSR policies that can be implemented so that they can become ¹³ model for making CSR funding assistance decisions for local governments. The condition of the Covid 19 Pandemic as a social disaster, and the limited local government budget to handle disaster, so it is necessary to develop a CSR fund management policy model by the Company which analyzing the important factors that affect the company's CSR policy, both internal and external variabel. ¹³ of the roles of CSR is to help fund disasters, especially in the current Covid-19 pandemic. The World Health Organization (WHO) officially declared Covid-19 a global pandemic on March 11, 2020 (Switzerland, 2011). Then the Indonesian government also declared the pandemic to be a national disaster by issuing Government Regulation at. 21 of 2020. Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management regulates the level of disaster problems in stages. The results of the research by the National Disaster Management Agency (2012) illustrate that the constraints in disaster management are due to the limited budget. Syahril and Ayub (2019), the number of fatalities was due to logistical shortages. Specifically for the handling of Covid-19, the North Sumatra Provincial local Government reserves the costs for medical and non-medical aspects of the 2020 North Sumatra regional budget refocus. As shown in Table 1 (one) below:

Table 1. North Sumatra Province Government Funded for Covid-19

Implementing Agency	Number of	Information
Regional Disaster Management Agency	IDR. 32 billion	non-medical
Provincial Government Health office	IDR. 199 Billion	medical
Total	IDR. 231 Billion	

Source: Information and communication Division of, North Sumatra 2020

Ismael (2020) detailed that the stages of using the budget were a total of IDR 270 billion. Plus, food assistance of around IDR 30 billion, so the total amount is IDR. 300 billion. According to Azizul (2020), limited funds for disaster management can be overcome from company CSR funds, such as maximum utilization of SOE or local SOE CSR funds. The potential of corporate CSR funds in North Sumatra Province is very potential with the number above 55 companies. The potential to reach IDR 500 billion annually. The development of fund management for CSR activities in Indonesia is very good, but there are still a small number of companies running the program.

1.1 Research Gap and Aim of the Study

Kalyar (2012) explains that the internal drivers ⁶ CSR policies are corporate strategy and corporate culture. According to Siegel (2006) the implementation of CSR is also influenced by external factors such as government support and community pressure. Research conducted by Amran and Devi in the implementation of CSR in Malaysia, (2008) many factors determine the company's internal and external factors. One of them is dependence on the government. If you read the findings of Henrique and Sadosrky (1999) on 750 companies in Canada, external factors are closely related to stakeholders. Research conducted by Azizul, Ade and Azhar (2014) explains that CSR programs are influenced by internal and external factors of the company.

Regarding disasters, referring to Syahril Ayub, et al (2019) which was carried out after the disaster, stated that the number of fatalities in a disaster that occurred was one of them due to a lack of budget. In addition, the problem of implementing the CSR budget management model of SOEs for optimizing disaster management is very necessary to be investigated, because with this research, a policy model for managing CSR funds for SOE companies can be made to be more coordinated effectively, on target, not overlapping, efficient in use and be optimized. For this reason, this study will examine internal and external factors that influence the company's CSR policies which include aspects of government regulation, public pressure, corporate strategy, corporate human culture and also disaster contingency factors, as a combination of Kalyar (2012), Siegel (2006) and Ambani (2018) models.

The novelty of this research is the disaster contingency factor which is considered as an external factor in strengthening CSR policies. This study will combine all internal factors and external factors that have not been tested with contingency situations, namely the existence of a disaster problem in this case what is meant is the Covid 19 pandemic. tested by several previous researchers. So the main aim of this study to examine the company's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) fund management policy model, namely both internal and external factors based on Kalyar (2012), Siegel (2006) and Ambani (2018).

II. Review of Literatures

2.1 Stakeholder Theory

Stakeholder theory is explained by Freeman and Philips (2002) for parties who are directly or indirectly involved in influencing an entity. This theory explains that for the purpose of sustainability and going concern the organization/entity requires stakeholder involvement as an external factor for the company so that business goals can be achieved. Freeman and Philips (2002) also stated that Stakeholder theory is a basic concept and grand theory for CSR Model. CSR is a corporate social responsibility which is a mission carried out by carrying out three main missions, namely economic, environmental and social. Definition of CSR in the International Finance Corporation (IFC), 2000: "A business commitment to sustainable economic development through partnerships. Azizul (2018) revealed that CSR is part of the company's social performance. CSR policy can be a company strategy in building business competition. This policy is important and must be put forward by the company.

2.2 Indonesia's CSR Policy

Some of Indonesia's most important CSR regulations are the Decree of the Minister of SOEs under number 05/MBU/2007 concerning the Community Development Partnership Program. In detail, it can be seen in table 2 below:

Table 2. CSR Regulations Act in Indonesia

Regulation	Year	Remarks
Limited Liability Company Law Number 40 of 2007	2007	article 74
Law on Foreign Investment in Indonesia Number 25 of 2007.	2007	Article 15 (b) and article 34
of the Law on companies in the field of Oil and Gas Number 22 of 2001	2001	Article 13

4 of Law Number 13 of 2011 concerning the Handling of the Poor, neglected children for welfare	2011	Article 36 and article 42
10 Minister of SOEs Per-05/MBU/2007 concerning the Community Development Partnership Program	2007	-
Government Regulation (PP) Number 47 of 2012 which regulates Social and Environmental Responsibility	2012	-
4 Regulation of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 13 of 2012 concerning Forum for the responsibility of the business world in the implementation of Social Welfare.	2012	-

Source: www.rahmatullah.net, 2020

2.3 Antecedent Factors for CSR Policy Implementations

a. Internal Factors: Strategic Planning

Formally, corporate strategy becomes an important part of the organization's role (Andersen, 2000). Carroll (1999) and Frederick (1994) also explain that a strategy with good and systematic planning supports the implementation of CSR that is actualized by the company. Meanwhile (Slater et al., 2006) further describes the importance of internal and external factors related to the environment that are directly related to corporate CSR. This is in line with the environmental uncertainty that must be anticipated by the Company (Isabella and Waddock, 1994). Thus it can be concluded that the company's strategy plays an important role in the implementation of CSR as one of the internal factors.

b. Internal Factors: Corporate Humanities Culture

Siegel's (2006) Generally describes that human culture is a good value that exists in a company so that it can be one of the indicators. This can reflect a good company, disrupted organization, healthy or not. Of course, a company must pay attention to the existence of value as the main aspect because it is very important. However, the activity of carrying out and giving birth to these corporate cultural values to all human resources in the company's organization is relatively not easy. A cultural value must be a behavior, part of work, integrity, habit, and even become a corporate culture commitment in achieving the goals. According Kristesson, Beng, et.al (2012) Only the humanities can put the global economy back on Track and Then Heilman (2012), the human factor occupies a pivotal role, as man has become a being that relates to and assumes responsibility for a number of 'external' factors: be it the surrounding environment, objects, extensions of himself or other human beings.

c. External Factors: Government Support

Government support is very important because of the lack of government support in the form of regulations to encourage companies to implement CSR. Moreover, for the context in Indonesia, government regulations and support are made in a layered legal umbrella starting from government regulations, to regional regulations. This is proof that government support in the form of regulation is needed. Social regulation (eg norms), co-regulation and the market. Azizul, Ade Fatma's and Azhar Maksum (2018), state Government support to CSR a positive and significant to Corporate social Performance. P Adamek (2013) describe that the role of CSR in government policy have relevance to a particular CSR sector. Understanding the potential of role of government policy is important to the design of regulation. At one level it interfaces with ideas of self-regulation and co-regulation, and at another it challenges the basis of the modern liberal market economy.

d. External Factors: Communities Pressure

Oe & Yamaoka (2020) discussed how to enhance sustainability goals implementation in business behaviour, with a focus on relationships and partnerships with community and other social stakeholders. Azizul, Ade Fatma's and Azhar Maksun (2018) explains that there is a relationship between community pressure to the company's CSR policies, this is because companies must pay attention to the environment around it and existing communities. Fandy (2003) said that community pressure is a development process in which the community takes the initiative to start the process of social activities to improve their own situation and condition. Community pressure can only happen if its citizens participate. P Adamek (2013) the contemporary CSR agenda is founded on the premise that businesses are part of society, their relationship with society is interdependent, and they have the potential to make a positive contribution to societal goals and aspirations.

e. CSR Policy: Top Management Support

Takemoto et al. (2021) also discussed that relationships within firms is critical with a clear top management message in supporting business sustainability. The idea that top managers can be drivers for corporate social responsibility came from the business sector itself. Specifically, the roots to this literature can be traced to the 1950s when corporate leaders in the United States, followed by academics at pedigreed universities, called for business to act as a trustee of social wellbeing. According to Frederick (2006), one of the first such calls came in 1951 from Frank Abrams (Abrams, 1951), chairman of the board of directors of Standard Oil of Jersey and the author of a seminal statement about the duties executives have to society. Later, in 1971, the Committee for Economic Development (CED, 1971), composed mainly of top-level corporate executives, encouraged business to adopt a broader more humane view of its function in society. The fact that Joseph Wharton founded the first business school in the states as a vehicle for social enterprise knowledge reflected these early calls for business responsibility. Hence, the popularly-held myth in some circles that corporate social responsibility advocates and business representatives are in opposing camps is not well founded, given that business practitioners helped shape ideas about the social role of business. Furthermore, in many cases corporations have adopted tenets of social responsibility as standard practices for responding to public interests (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2006; Frederick, 2006). When they do, top managers are pivotal to the process.

f. CSR policy: Disaster Contingency

Theory Contingency explains that the dependence between one variable and objective conditions causes policy and decision making to be in accordance with these conditions. The contingency flexibility of this theory is applied in various fields including disaster. According to Webex, (2020) contingency theory is in line with the accuracy of the goals of an organization and can be used when dynamic changes occur. According to Marvin and Delaine (2012) the theoretical aspects of disaster and stakeholder linkages, one of the environmental causes is the Covid-19 disaster as part of a health disaster. Conceptual Framework for Disasters. CSR.

g. Development of Hypotheses and Analytical Model

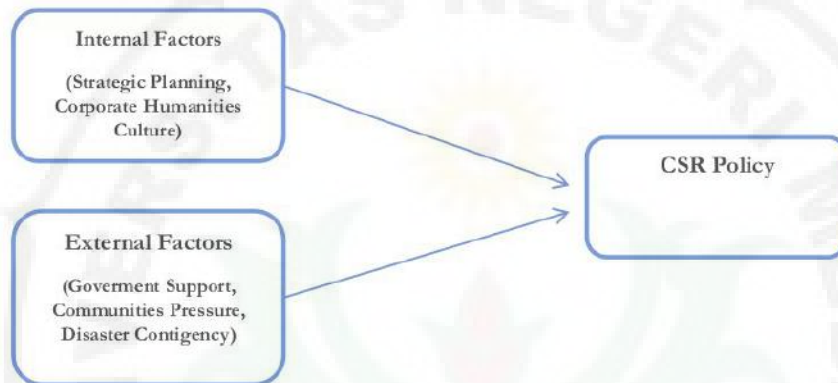
Study by Azhar Maksun (2003), on the variables of community pressure (Community Pressure) and government regulation variables (Government Regulation), empirically proven to have a very significant relationship. Both variables are external factors. Stephenson (2004) tested a factor of environmental information (environmental information) sebagai one internal factor. Hackston & Milne (1999), Retno (2006) CSR objectives on consumers will have an impact on other external factors and are expected to provide information on social

responsibility so as to improve the company's image. Based on the above framework, the hypotheses of this research are:

H1: Internal factors have a positive effect on CSR policies

H2: External factors have a positive effect on CSR policies

The conceptual framework of the research model can be described as follows:



III. Research Methods

⁶ This research was conducted in the province of North Sumatra, Indonesia. This research is the second stage of research, The schedule from October to November 2020 as a follow-up to the CSR fund management model research conducted from June to August 2020. The number of companies that became respondents were 48 companies. Data collection was carried out using various online/online applications and the use of social media, namely Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. The research questionnaire and answered was distributed using the application Google form.

Table 3. Characteristics of the Sample are

Business categorized	Companies sample
Service	5
Bank	7
Trading	10
Manufacturing	8
Others	18
Amount	48

Table 4. Variables and Indicators

Indicator	Variables	Item of Questions
-----------	-----------	-------------------

Planning Strategy	Internal Factors	3
Humanitarian Culture		3
Government Support	External Factors	3
Public Pressure		3
Disaster Contingency		3
Top Management Support	CSR Policy	3

Table 5. Testing of Internal and External Factor Indicators

item	r calculate value	r-table df = n-2 = 30-2 = 28	Description
Strategic Planning	0.619		Valid
Humanity Cultural	0.716		Valid
Government Support	0.709		Valid
Community pressure	0.768	0.3510 = 0.352	Valid
Disaster Contingencies	0.677		Valid

Table 6. Reliability Test of Variables

Variabel	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Internal Factors	.734	6
External Factor	.682	9
CSR Policy	.711	3

Table 7. The Results of the Normality Test of the Data with the Analysis of One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

		Unstandardized Residual
N		48
Normal Parameters ^{a,b}	Mean	0E-7
	Std. Deviation	5.10955745

	Absolute	.060
Most Extreme Differences	Positive Negative	.060
		-.036
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z		.520
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.857

- a. Test distribution is Normal.
b. Calculated from data.

The data analysis technique in this study is the multiple regression technique referring to Ghozali (2017). Multiple linear regression equation as follows:

$$\text{CSR Policy} = a + b_1\text{INT} + b_2\text{EKT} + e$$

Description:

- Y = CSR Policy
INT = Internal Factors
EKT = External Factors
a = constant
b1 = regression coefficient
b2 = regression coefficient
e = error

Testing with test equipment T test in research in order to obtain test results whether there is an influence of the independent variables X1 and X2 individually/partially on the Y (bound) variable. The formula using the t-test is:

$$t = \frac{r\sqrt{n-2}}{1-r^2}$$

- t = t count
r = regression coefficient
n = number of respondents

IV. Discussion

By using the multiple regression analysis technique, it can be seen how much influence the independent variables, namely Internal and Factors External Factors have on the dependent variable, namely CSR Policy. The results of the calculation of multiple linear regression analysis using SPSS Version 20, can be seen as follows:

Table 8. Summary of the Multiple Linear Regression Calculation Model
Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	31,984	4.783		6,178	.000
	Internal factors	.047	.553	.377	7,121	.000
	External factors	.054	.410 6,494		.310	.000

12

a. Dependent Variable: CSR Policy

Based on the results described above, the regression model formed is as follows:

$$\text{CSR Policy} = 31.984 + 0.377\text{INT} + 0.310\text{EKT}$$

Based on the equation obtained above, it can be interpreted as follows:

a. Constant As for

The constant value obtained at 31, 984 it means that by not being influenced by the independent variables, namely Internal Factors and External Factors , the CSR policy is 31,984. for the variable Internal factors obtained coefficient value of 0.377, which means that if variable this increased by 1 percent, the CSR policy will be increased by 0.377 points on condition that other independent variables remain valuable. The regression model above illustrates that if the Internal Support is more positive or better, then the CSR policy will increase.

Table 9. Proof of Partial Research

Hypothesis Tested	Table	tcount	Sig.	Conclusion
Ha1: there is a positive influence of Internal factors on CSR policy	1,983	8,126Ha1	0,000	Accepted
Ha2: there is a positive influence External factors on CSR policy	1,983	5,854	0,000	Accepted

Table 10. Illustrates the Calculation of the Coefficient of Determination (R²)
Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.632 ^a	.611	.625	5.370

a. Predictors: (Constant), INT and EKT

Based on the table above, the Adjusted R Square value obtained is 0.625. This means that the influence given by the independent variables INT and EKT on the dependent variable, namely CSR policy is 62.5%, while the remaining 37.5% is influenced by other factors that are not discussed as variables in this study.

The results of this study prove that CSR (policies Corporate Social Responsibility) originating from state-owned companies are mostly allocated for handling disasters such as the covid-19 pandemic. It is the obligation of every company to implement Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and include its budget for disaster management. As for the amount of the budget and the form of its activities, it is the right of each company. Since the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises has instructed every state-owned company to focus their CSR funds on handling COVID-19.

According to Rumambi (2018), there are several things that must be considered by every company, including BUMN companies in implementing CSR, namely, the existence of motivation in the form of willingness or compliance to carry out CSR programs or wanting to have a positive image in the community. This motivation encourages companies to conceptualize their CSR. The company prepares a strategic plan as a breakthrough in its CSR program. CSR programs such as social, community, sports and others. These programs can be carried out routinely or non-routinely in short-term and long-term programs. Fourth, to run the program, the company determines the funds for CSR activities. Funding for these activities needs to be budgeted based on their internal policies. Fifth, all CSR activities are reported to CSR activity reports, financial reports and annual reports. The results of this study are also in line with Azizul and Ade Fatma (2018) that government support and public pressure need attention. This study further strengthens the stakeholder theory which states that all parties involved must be considered by the company both internally and externally.

V. Conclusion

The results of hypothesis testing with multiple regression indicate that CSR policies are significantly influenced by both internal and external variables. The limitation of the study is that the sample is only one province and is recommended for a wider research area. The research implication is that the government should issue regulations to regulate CSR activities, especially those oriented to handling Covid 19 so that CSR can be more useful

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The Opression of Female Workers in Industrial Sector from Gayatri Spivak Prespective

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Abstract: This study examines the oppression of female workers from Gayatri Spivak perspective, especially on the silence of female workers due to the patriarchal culture and the gender imbalances, and understands the meaning of oppression experienced by female workers. This research was conducted in the industry of Medan City, with feminist ethnography method, focuses on subjects experience (views, behavioral expressions, actions) about the oppression object of female workers. In order to obtain the data and information about the meaning of oppression, there are 16 subjects were directly involved in experiencing the oppression and 5 informants who have knowledge about workers on the oppression experienced by female factory workers. The result of the study was the silence of female workers is due to patriarchal culture, puts the women dominated and subordinated within the scope of family and society, the patriarchal structure which places the men as the dominant in the family. The influence of the patriarchy is the division of work by sex in the industrial sector. Female workers experience oppression due to the gender inequality. The differences of men and women caused by patriarchy have produced the gender inequalities in the industrial sector in the form of subordination, violence, discrimination, stereotype, marginal double burden. The oppression is interpreted by female workers as a compulsion to play a role in helping the economy of the family and increasing the production output to the company. This study finds that socio-economic factors cause female workers experience oppression in the domestic and public sectors; there is a gap for female workers to negotiate with husbands, companies, supervisors, team leaders, in written, verbal and insurgent forms through body language. In Spivak's theory, the subaltern is experiencing oppression in the culture, religion and power. Meanwhile in this study it reveals the economic influence in the domestic and public sectors that causes the female workers to speak out.

Keywords: *oppression, female worker, Gayatri Spivak; prespective*

I. INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia the cases of oppressed female workers by the employers in industrial sector are much conducted as happened in Medan. Industrial companies exploited and repressed the female workers in the form of heavy workloads, long working hours, work that full of accident risk, no reproductive protection for female workers while working in factories, working for 7 hours in standing position. On the other hand female workers also experience marginalization and subordination actions by companies such as differentiating female workers' wages with male workers, Chinese ethnic female workers, unavailability of lactation rooms, violations of maternity rights, recruitment systems, dismissal after maternity leave to miscarriage at work, they also experience sexual harassment committed by the foreman, male workers. The existence of asymmetrical relationship which is committed by the company that the entrepreneur can do anything to the female workers, so that the choice is keep on working but obey the rules, or disobey the rules with the consequences of termination of employment. When the female workers take on rallies or strikes to keep on work and earn a living, the entrepreneur almost never comes to meet the male and female workers. At that time the entrepreneur shows his strength and knows that job opportunities are very limited, while the job seekers or labor are many. The phenomenon of female's struggle against industrial entrepreneurs on the arbitrary acts to female factory workers is an empirical portrait of the discourse of subaltern group struggle introduced by Spivak, or "silent" group.

The basic concept of subaltern according to Spivak (2010: 78) is seeing how the relationship of domination to the subordinate in some the society former colonial on the issue of gender differences and the pressure of the ruler in the life of women. In relation to this study the relationship between female and the rulers, or women labors and other laborers, there are certainly a number of people who are entrusted by employers to work overseeing the female workers while working, so that it produces a maximum production. This condition shows that those with dominant positions (the rulers) show their strength to other parties (female workers), and maintain as well as strengthen the emotional ties of subalterns (female workers) in order to obey the rules. Spivak reviews the subaltern from what elites do to women from perspectives of socio-cultural, religious and public policy.

This study intends to examine and understand the female workers who work in the industry sector undergoing subalterns at work by using postcolonial feminist theory of subaltern concept which is developed by Gayatri Spivak. Spivak tries to explain the women's ideas and actions based on the experiences of third-world women. Spivak tries to discuss the subject of female subaltern groups in the third-world colonial period. Spivak stresses that female subaltern groups cannot speak out against colonial rule. Meanwhile, when discussing the subject of female subaltern, at PT Industri Karet Deli, they (female workers) experience oppressions in the workplace, but they are silent in accepting it. Spivak notes that "either as objects of colonialist historiography or as the subject of rebellion, gender ideological construct retains the male as dominant parties. If in the context of subaltern colonial formation there has no place to play a role in the economy and they cannot speak.

The study of this subaltern is important to perform, because it does not merely examine the female workers who experience the subaltern, in the domestic and public areas of the industrial sector, but this study describes the meaning of subaltern experienced by female workers viewed from the perspective of Gayatri Spivak postcolonial feminism. If the subaltern conception is interpreted as an attempt to present the coercion as a mechanism, the subalterns can occur in various forms of oppression. This mechanism runs smoothly so that the causes of the dominated ones are unconscious, obedient and accept it. This study also discusses the oppressions experienced by female workers due to patriarchal culture and gender imbalances and reveals, examines as well as understands the meaning of subaltern experienced by female workers in the industrial sector. The purpose of this research is: a) describing the subaltern experienced by the female workers of PT Industri Karet Deli due to patriarchal culture and gender imbalance. b) understanding the meaning of subaltern experienced by female laborers from Gayatri Spivak perspectives in PT Industri Karet Deli.

This study uses feminist ethnography method with qualitative approach. The feminist ethnographic method used in this study is to focus on the diverse situation of problematic women and the institutions that frame the situation, in which the researcher reveals and deconstructs the experience of female workers who experience oppression in their workplace due to patriarchy and inequality gender, besides that it enables the researcher to know exactly who suppressed the female workers when female workers experience oppression in their workplace and develop as well as confirm what identity and what process the oppression takes place (Reinhartz, 2005: 67). The research location is in Medan City with industrial object or factory that employs 68% female. The data collection is conducted by observation, interview, and supported by documents. The research subject is female and male workers. This study explains that the domination relationship to the subordinate party in some former colonial societies about the issue of gender difference and the pressure of the ruler in the life of women. The relationship between female workers and the entrepreneur, or female workers with other workers, there are certainly some people who are entrusted by employers to oversee the female workers while working, so that it produces maximum production.

II. METHODOLOGY

This condition shows that those with dominant positions (the rulers) show their strength to other parties (female workers), and maintain as well as strengthen the emotional ties of subalterns (female workers) in order to obey the rules. The phenomenon of female's struggle against industrial entrepreneurs on the arbitrary acts to female factory workers is an empirical portrait of the discourse of subaltern group struggle introduced by Spivak, or "silent" group. In Indonesia there are many oppressed female workers cases conducted by the entrepreneur in the industrial sector that mostly committed violations of maternity rights, wages, recruitment systems, sexual harassment, working hours, dismissal after maternity leave to miscarriage at work. On the other hand, the increasing number of female workers in the industrial sector provides an opportunity for women to participate in the public sector with various reasons such as to improve the economic income of the family, or a change in the pattern of women's views if they work in public sector which is considered higher than domestic work. This situation is used by the company to recruit female as laborers in his company. Women who work in the industrial sector experience an increasingly more competitive economic subaltern, because of their low wages compared to male labor. This is due to the company imposes the patriarchal relations in the production process in the company.

III. DISCUSSION

The study of patriarchal culture originally was used to refer to a type of family controlled by men or a power relationship with what men possess women, a pattern of patriarchal cultural relationships that emerged in the society to differentiate between men and women in power relationship where the patriarchal system puts the dominated women and subordinated within the scope of patriarchal society by placing men as dominant in the family. This system is alive from the lower, middle and even up to the high class (Juliet, 2000: 54). The above occurs because of the belief that the woman's nature is weak and her position is under man, to serve and not as the head of the household. The difference between men and women is due to patriarchy that has resulted an imbalance in the form of subordination, domination, discrimination, marginalization, stereotype. The imbalance

forms are the main source of exploitation on women. The patriarchy perspective exploration is always addressed to the women.

According to Juliet (2000: 87) patriarchal cultural factors that cause the occurrence of subaltern on women are as follows:

(i) the relationship of patriarchal in the family where a woman is controlled by her husband. The relationship of production patriarchal is one of two patriarchal structures that takes place at the economic level. Women are controlled by their husbands in marriage bonds and domestic relationships. Women as wives do such work for their husbands and in certain environments, without getting any wages from such work because it is the consequence of the marriage bond.

(ii) Patriarchal relationship in waged employment, means that women are kept away from waged employment. This condition causes a work devaluation of women and low wages for them. This has become a social fact with determinant effects, not only for women in the work environment, but also in other areas including domestic space as well as other aspects in gender relationship. The concrete aspect of patriarchal relationship is the division of work. The division of work has several forms either vertically or horizontally and between full-time and part-time.

In the level of vertical and horizontal hierarchy, for example, women are often categorized as 'less skilled' than men. The distinction between full-time and part-time work makes the difference in the number of legal protection given to female workers. The presence of female workers in the industrial sector makes clear the difference in wage conditions with male workers.

The work separation can differentiate wages received by women. The women's work is classified into what economists say the secondary labor market, with low wages, high job instability, and little benefit. Wage which becomes one of the essences of work agreement is important factor that determines the presence or absence of a working relationship. In addition, wage is also one of the controversial issues, since wage has always been the starting point of conflict between female workers and employers.

(iii) The patriarchal relationship in the state/company, state and company has a systematic bias against patriarchal interests as seen in its policies and actions. Its influence on gender relationship is not a consequence of being a capitalist state, but from the patriarchal origin of the state. Women are kept away from access to the state and power resources as part of the patriarchal system. The state patriarchal relationship to female workers in the industrial sector is the issuance of Law No.13 year 2003 about labor regulations. With the issuance of the law it is beneficial for the industrialists where the outsourcing system, subcontracting is a very powerful management strategy to gain maximum profit. The outsourcing mechanism has become a labor system that denies labor rights. The working contract system is getting widespread and almost all companies or industries currently have shorter contracts and outsourcing for some of their workforce, this is very detrimental to female and male workers.

The position of female workers is weakened by the implementation of contracted and outsourced labor systems in the companies. The companies employ female workers as contracted and outsourced workers who do not have the same normative rights as permanent workers. Due to the status of contracted workers, they are vulnerable to experience various rights violation issues, such as employment dismissal (PHK) unilaterally without apparent reason, low wages, unlimited hours, prohibition of freedom in association, uncomfortable working conditions and facilities, prohibition of miscarriage and pregnancy. Although it is the rights of female workers to get maternity leave, but their wages are cut and not paid during the leave because they are considered unproductive by the company.

(iv) Patriarchal relationship in sexual harassment is the male side which is very dominant in creating the female's identity into a second-class, so that men can act in their own way, thus, sexual harassment affects other aspects of gender relations. Sexual harassment is any unwelcome sexual act, request for sexual acts, oral or physical acts or sexual gestures, or any other sexual behaviors that make a person feels offended, embarrassed and/or intimidated. The sexual harassment toward the female workers is not separated from the value concept that sees a woman as a feminist who deserves to get the temptation. This does not occur toward the male workers who are considered to be the ones who perform the harassment and temptation, at work.

IV. CONCLUSION

Female workers who work in the industrial sector are due to the family economic factors, although they still pursue the work. Besides there is no other choice, it is because of social-cultural factors that restrict their movements. For women who are not married, working is to help parents, while for those who have a family working is an important activity to meet the needs of everyday life. The influence of the patriarchal culture is the division of work by gender in which the public-sector patriarchal society is linked to male and the domestic or household sector is associated with female. In the system of industrial society and capitalist, everything is valued according to its exchange rate on the market, demand and the supply or becomes the commodities, including human (men and women). On the other hand, in pursuing the public sector by working in the Deli

Rubber Industry provides the consequences for them. Besides getting wages, of course, they also have to bear the dual role (domestic and public) in everyday life. This situation creates problems in gender inequality, because men who are responsible to earn a living generally are not volunteered to help their wives do their housework. The patriarchal culture influences the people's mindset. The gender differences have created various inequities for women. The difference of men and women is due to patriarchy has turned out to create inequality in the form of subordination, oppression, discrimination, marginalization, stereotype, double burden. These inequality forms are the main source of women exploitation. In the perspective of patriarchy, exploration is always addressed to the women.

The subalterns that occur in female workers make the female workers to speak and to reject the treatment of gender inequality and the patriarchal culture conducted by the company, in the form of writing conveyed through the extension of representatives of Indonesian trade unions in PT Industri Kare: Deli, the foreman, or included in the suggestion box. Besides that, a deep thought about the reality of marginalized female workers in which there are oppressions that involve the "insiders" are included new, although they are not really new.

The depth of Gayatri Spivak's study according to the researcher is inseparable from his background who involves across the boundaries of the study. Subaltern is just one of the many ideas he has developed and strived for. Those who are marginalized are not able to speak but not because they cannot but because too many people who speak on their behalf. The author believes in certain limits they can shout.

In spite of this figure of ours it is very worthy and liable for us to make her as reference and examples in some ways. The services she contributed cannot be counted in the progress of social science and the struggle to defend those who are marginalized. Spivak's thought gives the discourse that women experience oppression, even she criticizes the people who cannot speak is the silent people. She says when a person cannot speak it is categorized as a dead person. According to her the silence shows on oppression against all women in India. Spivak's postcolonial discourse to convey the silence is called the subaltern (Morton, 2008: 184).

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Warung Kopi sebagai Ruang Publik dari Masa Ke Masa Di Kota Medan

by Lukitaningsih & Devi Juliani



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Warung Kopi sebagai Ruang Publik dari Masa Ke Masa Di Kota Medan

Coffee Shop from Time to Time as a Public Sphere in Medan

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui latar belakang munculnya warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan, perkembangan warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan, dan kontribusi warung kopi modern sebagai ruang publik terhadap masyarakat kota Medan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode Deskriptif Kualitatif. Dimana penelitian ini dilakukan secara deskriptif dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan yaitu penelitian lapangan (*field research*) dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui pengamatan langsung pada 6 warung kopi modern dan 1 warung kopi tradisional yang ada di kota Medan, wawancara terhadap 38 informan dan studi literatur. Hasil dari penelitian menunjukkan bahwa munculnya warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan tidak terlepas dari pengaruh hadirnya gerai kopi Starbucks, pengaruh kopi *sachet*, gaya hidup masyarakat perkotaan dan semakin terkenalnya kopi hasil produksi lokal seperti kopi Aceh dan kopi khas Sumatera Utara. Perkembangan jumlah warung kopi modern di kota Medan sejak tahun 2013 setiap tahunnya menunjukkan peningkatan yang signifikan. Hingga tahun 2019 tercatat sedikitnya terdapat 282 warung kopi modern di kota Medan. Dewasa ini, warung kopi modern berkontribusi sebagai tempat bagi pengunjung untuk melakukan beberapa aktivitas, seperti tempat ngopi, tempat mengerjakan tugas, tempat rapat, tempat nongkrong, tempat acara perayaan, atau tempat untuk sekedar bertemu teman.

Kata Kunci: Warung Kopi, Ruang Publik, Starbucks.

Abstract

This study aims to determine the background of the emergence of modern coffee shops in the city of Medan, the development of modern coffee shops in the city of Medan, and the contribution of modern coffee shops as a public space for the people of Medan. This research uses the Heuristic method with a qualitative approach. The type of research used is field research with data collection techniques through direct observation of 7 modern coffee shops and 1 traditional coffee shop in the city of Medan, interviews with 38 informants and literature studies. The results of the study showed that the emergence of modern coffee shops in Medan could not be separated from the influence of the presence of Starbucks coffee outlets, the influence of sachet coffee, urban lifestyle and the growing popularity of locally produced coffee such as Aceh coffee and North Sumatra specialty coffee. The development of the number of modern coffee shops in the city of Medan since 2013 every year shows a significant increase. Until 2019 there were at least 282 modern coffee shops in the city of Medan. Nowadays, modern coffee shops contribute as a place for visitors to do some activities, such as a coffee shop, a place to work on assignments, a meeting place, a place to hang out, a place for celebrations, or a place to simply meet friends.

Keywords: Coffee Shops, Public Sphere, Starbucks.

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PENDAHULUAN

Penikmat kopi dari waktu ke waktu tidak dapat dipungkiri terus bertambah seiring dengan perubahan zaman yang semakin maju. Perkembangan usaha warung kopi dan perubahan gaya hidup menyebabkan masyarakat membutuhkan sebuah ruang dengan nuansa baru. Ruang di mana semua kalangan dapat tergabung didalamnya namun tetap ada kopi yang menjadi pemersatunya. Penikmat kopi dari zaman ke zaman pun mulai mengalami perubahan. Pada masa dahulu dapat dilihat bahwa penikmat kopi di warung-warung kopi tradisional terbatas hanya bapak-bapak dan kakek-kakek, yang lebih identik dengan kaum lelaki saja. Namun berbeda jauh dengan yang terjadi pada masa kini. Penikmat kopi tidak hanya dari kalangan lelaki, tetapi juga sudah merambah kepada kalangan wanita baik remaja, orang dewasa maupun orang tua.

Hal ini dapat dilihat dari maraknya fenomena kemunculan warung-warung kopi modern, atau yang akrab di telinga kita yang biasa disebut kafe. Kini orang pergi ke warung kopi tidak hanya untuk sekedar mencicipi kopi khas warung kopi itu saja, melainkan untuk nongkrong, kumpul dengan keluarga dan bersantai dengan kelompoknya. Tak jarang kini di Medan banyak terdapat warung kopi dengan konsep yang berbeda dari warung kopi biasanya, mulai bermunculan layaknya jamur dimusim hujan. Konsep yang lebih modern dilengkapi dengan nuansa anak muda masa kini merupakan ciri khas dari warung-warung kopi tersebut. Perubahan warung kopi dari tradisional hingga menjadi warung kopi modern seperti yang ada saat ini terjadi bukan tanpa alasan. Demi kepuasan konsumen yang datang, perkembangan zaman dan pastinya untuk mendapatkan keuntungan atau margin atas usaha yang dijalankan menjadi beberapa alasan terjadinya perubahan tersebut.

Maraknya kemunculan warung kopi modern saat ini tidak terlepas dari pengaruh gaya hidup kota besar yang

menyuguhkan banyak kesenangan bagi para pencari hiburan dan menjadi tempat "nongkrong" favorit bagi kalangan anak muda di area kampus, pusat perbelanjaan dan perkantoran di Medan. Hadirnya inovasi baru dalam pembuatan dan pengemasan kopi menjadi salah satu alasan semakin banyaknya pecandu kopi di dunia ini (Majalah Swasembada, 1995. "Galeria di Yogyakarta", Edisi No. 1).

Lahirnya warung kopi modern dipelopori oleh adanya warung kopi Starbucks sebagai salah satu fenomena di dalam industri kopi. Starbucks membuka gerai pertamanya di Seattle Amerika Serikat pada 1971. Dan sejak itu Starbucks terus berkembang dan melebarkan diri hingga ke 8.000 gerai di seluruh dunia (Hati, 2017).

Hadirnya gerai kopi Starbucks pertama kali di wilayah Sumatera pada tahun 2004 tepatnya di pusat perbelanjaan Sun Plaza Kota Medan semakin menambah daftar warung kopi modern di kota Medan. Konsumen yang mendatangi Starbucks tidak hanya semata-mata ingin minum kopi saja, melainkan karena ada sentuhan emosi yang dihadirkan gerainya. Entah itu perasaan bangga, gengsi, atau kehangatan.

Fenomena hadirnya tren baru dalam minum kopi dewasa ini sebenarnya tidak jauh berbeda dengan minum kopi di warung kopi tradisional. Sebab sudah lama masyarakat Indonesia suka minum kopi, begadang, dan membahas banyak hal di warung kopi. Kompas Cyber Media (2005) menyatakan bahwa yang berubah sesuai zaman adalah lokasi ngopi, desain tempat, fasilitas, konsumen, dan kemasan kopi yang diciptakan "wah" serta lebih menarik.

Tujuan dari penelitian ini yaitu untuk melihat latar belakang munculnya warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan, perkembangan warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan, dan kontribusi menjamurnya warung kopi modern di kota Medan terhadap pengunjung.

Penelitian ini menggunakan Teori Ruang Publik yang dikemukakan oleh

Jürgen Habermas. Menurut teori ini, ruang publik adalah sebuah ruang atau tempat yang dapat diakses oleh masyarakat luas secara bebas. Dimana tujuan daripada ruang publik adalah menyatukan orang-orang dalam berbagai kepentingan pada suatu tempat yang dapat diakses semua orang baik dari ekonomi menengah kebawah, maupun mereka yang berasal dari ekonomi menengah keatas. Sehingga dalam ruang publik ini tidak ditemukan adanya tingkatan kelas, karena ketika sudah tergabung dalam ruang publik, maka semua orang memiliki kedudukan yang sama.

METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Metode deskriptif merupakan suatu metode dalam meneliti status sekelompok manusia, suatu objek, suatu kondisi, suatu sistem pemikiran ataupun suatu kelas peristiwa pada masa sekarang (Nazir, 1998). Jenis penelitian yang digunakan yaitu penelitian lapangan (*field research*) dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui observasi, wawancara, dan studi pustaka.

Pada penelitian ini jumlah informan sebanyak 38 orang yang terdiri atas pengunjung, pemilik, supervisor, karyawan dan manager warung kopi. Teknik untuk pengambilan informan dilakukan dengan teknik *random sampling* menggunakan *snow ball*.

Warung kopi modern yang dijadikan sebagai objek observasi yaitu Pos Kopi, Kopi Toast Cafe, Jumpa Kawan Cafe, Me & Coffee Works, Starbucks dan The Coffee Crowd. Selain keenam warung kopi modern tersebut, terdapat juga satu warung kopi tradisional yakni Kedai Kopi Apek.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Latar Belakang Hadirnya Warung Kopi

Warung kopi adalah sebuah kios yang menyediakan menu berupa minuman kopi sebagai menu utama dan makanan ringan sebagai menu pendamping yang sering

dikunjungi oleh masyarakat dengan berbagai latar belakang sosial budaya yang berbeda untuk sekedar berkumpul, berdiskusi, ngobrol santai, menghilangkan penat, wawancara, dan minum bersama untuk mendapatkan suatu informasi yang bermanfaat.

Hadirnya warung kopi ditengah-tengah masyarakat tidak terlepas dari budaya minum kopi. Sebab, salah satu faktor berkembangnya warung kopi selaras dengan perkembangan budaya minum kopi itu sendiri di kalangan masyarakat khususnya di wilayah Sumatera Utara.

Di Indonesia, budaya minum kopi sudah menjadi kebiasaan masyarakat sejak zaman dahulu kala. Sebab, Indonesia menjadi salah satu negara penghasil biji kopi terbaik di dunia. Beberapa daerah yang terkenal dengan produksi biji kopinya yaitu Aceh, Lampung, Sumatera Utara, Jawa, Ternate, Sulawesi dan Flores. Bahkan, biji-biji kopi terbaik yang berasal dari daerah tersebut banyak diekspor ke luar negeri.

Budaya minum kopi berkembang sejak pertama kali Sistem Tanam Paksa diberlakukan oleh Pemerintah Belanda, mulanya minum kopi merupakan kebiasaan yang dilakukan oleh pemerintah Belanda, namun seiring perkembangannya masyarakat Indonesia pun mulai gemar minum kopi. Baik dengan menyeduhkannya sendiri dirumah ataupun dengan mendatangi warung-warung kopi.

Budaya minum kopi pada zaman dahulu dengan budaya minum kopi pada masa sekarang telah mengalami banyak perubahan. Pada awalnya minum kopi biasanya hanya dilakukan oleh orang dewasa hingga usia lanjut dan biasanya didominasi oleh kaum pria akan tetapi dengan perkembangan zaman, saat ini kopi tidak lagi dikonsumsi oleh orang-orang dewasa. Kini hampir semua usia menjadi penikmat kopi, mulai dari remaja hingga orang dewasa bahkan manula. Bagi mereka, kopi adalah konsumsi harian dan

merupakan bagian makanan dan minuman sehari-hari.

Warung kopi tradisional adalah warung kopi yang masih utuh berjalan dari tahun 90-an hingga sekarang. Namun dekorasi tempatnya masih seperti biasa bahkan tidak mewah sama sekali dibandingkan dengan warung kopi modern seperti sekarang (Fikri, 2018). Biasanya warung kopi ini banyak ditemukan di daerah perkampungan atau pedesaan. Namun bukan berarti di daerah perkotaan tidak ditemukan. Di daerah perkotaan warung kopi tradisional juga ada, namun jumlahnya tidak sebanyak warung kopi yang sudah mendapat pengaruh modernisasi. Dan biasanya untuk di daerah perkotaan, letak warung kopi tradisional berada di pinggiran kota. Warung kopi tradisional ini pun tidak terlalu eksis dibandingkan dengan warung kopi modern yang banyak menjamur saat ini (Melni, Hasibuan, & Suharyanto, 2019).

Berbicara mengenai sejarah warung kopi tradisional di kota Medan, maka tidak terlepas dari beberapa kedai kopi legendaris yang ada di kota Medan yakni kedai kopi Apek, Kopi Tiam Ong, Kedai Kopi Kurnia, dan Kedai Kopi Baba. Keempat warung kopi tradisional ini memiliki daya tarik dan ciri khas tersendiri di hati masyarakat, sehingga masih tetap memiliki banyak pengunjung sampai saat ini.



Gambar 1. Suasana Warung Kopi Tradisional



Gambar 2. Suasana Warung Kopi Modern

Warung kopi modern di kota Medan mulai muncul sejak tahun 2000-an dan terus berkembang hingga saat ini. Sedikitnya terdapat 4 faktor yang melatarbelakangi hadirnya warung kopi modern di kota Medan, yaitu: **Pengaruh Kopi Instan**. Kopi instan mulai muncul sejak akhir abad ke-19 yang ditandai dengan munculnya berbagai produk kopi kemasan dalam bentuk sachet ataupun dalam bentuk kaleng. Sidewalk (2019) mengatakan bahwa kopi instan pada awal-awal kemunculannya memiliki *image* dimana warnanya hitam dan bercita rasa *strong* serta *bitter*. Salah satu merk kopi instan yang terkenal pada awal-awal munculnya trend ini yaitu seperti Nescafe dan Kopi Kapal Api. Kepraktisan dalam penyajiannya, menjadikan kopi instan sebagai jembatan pertama untuk orang-orang yang awalnya tidak menyukai kopi mulai mau mencoba minum kopi. Namun lambat laun masyarakat mulai menyadari akan kualitas kopi instan.

Hadirnya Gerai Kopi Starbucks. Starbucks Corporation adalah sebuah perusahaan kopi dan jaringan kedai kopi global asal Amerika Serikat yang didirikan pada tahun 1971 dan berkantor pusat di Seattle, Washington. Pada awalnya, Starbucks didirikan oleh tiga rekanan yaitu Jerry Baldwin seorang guru bahasa Inggris, Zev Siegl seorang guru sejarah dan Gordon Bowker seorang penulis. Saat ini Starbucks adalah perusahaan kedai kopi terbesar di dunia. Inovasi-inovasi terus dilakukan oleh Starbucks untuk memenuhi kepuasan para pelanggannya.

Ngomongin kopi memang tidak terlepas dari hadirnya gerai kopi Starbucks, sebuah *brand* internasional dari Seattle, Amerika Serikat yang dapat dikatakan hingga saat ini menjadi salah satu perusahaan *chain coffee shop* terbesar di dunia. Suka atau tidak suka, dianggap enak atau tidak, faktanya Starbucks Coffee telah memberi pengaruh besar pada dunia kopi Indonesia khususnya kota Medan dan tetap memiliki penggemar dari berbagai kalangan hingga saat ini. Tentu saja dengan hadirnya Starbucks telah mengubah *image* kopi menjadi simbol gaya hidup di dunia modern.

Apabila dibandingkan antara warung kopi tradisional dengan gerai kopi Starbucks yang merupakan gerai kopi modern, maka akan ditemukan banyak sekali perbedaannya. Perbedaan inilah yang pada akhirnya menjadi daya tarik pada masyarakat sehingga merasa nyaman dan senang berlama-lama di warung kopi modern, salah satunya Starbucks. Warung kopi tradisional tidak menyediakan fasilitas yang ada di warung kopi modern. Menu pendamping di warung kopi tradisional tidak bermacam-macam dan cara penyajian kopi yang sangat berbeda (Harahap, and Absah, 2020; Harahap and Absah, 2019).

Nikmatnya Kopi Aceh dan Kopi Khas Sumatera Utara

Kopi lokal Indonesia tak kalah kualitasnya dengan kopi dari negara lain. Bahkan, sudah diakui posisinya sebagai salah satu penghasil kopi terbaik dan terenak di dunia. Hal tersebut tidak terlepas dari peranan tiap daerah yang menjadi sentra perkebunan kopi. Salah satunya yaitu Aceh dan Sumatera Utara. Kedua provinsi ini bahkan memiliki kopi yang sudah mendunia karena cita rasanya.

Untuk kopi Aceh sendiri yang terkenal yaitu kopi Gayo yang berasal dari dataran tinggi Gayo. Sedangkan dari Sumatera Utara sedikitnya ada 4 kopi yang sangat diminati, yakni kopi Lintong yang berasal dari Tapanuli Utara, kopi Mandailing yang berasal dari Mandailing, kopi Sidikalang dan kopi Sipirok. Ternyata dengan menduniannya kopi-kopi yang telah disebutkan di atas memberikan pengaruh terhadap hadir dan berkembangnya warung-warung kopi modern dewasa ini. Rasa penasaran masyarakat terhadap jenis-jenis kopi tersebut kerap kali menjadikannya selalu dicari dan diincar para pecinta dan juga penikmat kopi. Tidak terkecuali para generasi millennial saat ini.

Tabel 1. Daerah-daerah Penghasil Kopi di Wilayah Sumatera Utara

No	Kabupaten	Kecamatan	Jenis Kopi
1	Tapanuli Utara	Pangaribuan	A
		Siborongborong	A
		Pahae	A
		Adiankoting	A
		Balige	A
2	Toba Samosir	Laguboti	A
		Silaen	A
		Lumban Julu	A
3	Samosir	Simanindo	A
		Pangururan	A
		Ronggur ni Huta	A
4	Humbang Hasundutan	Lintong ni Huta	A
		Dolok Sanggul	A
		Saribu Dolok	A
		Tiga lingga	A
5	Simalungun	Simalungun	A
		Dolok Pardamean	A
		Dolok Pangribuan	A
		Paneitonga	A

		Pintu Angin	A
		Girsang Sipangan Bolon	A / R
		Sidikalang	A / R
		Sumbul	A / R
6	Dairi	Buntu Raja	A / R
		Parbuluan	A / R
		Sitinjo	A / R
		Tiga Binangah	A / R
7	Karo	Merek	A / R
		Penyabungan	A
8	Mandailing Natal	Muara Sipangi	A
		Pakantari	A
9	Tapanuli Selatan	Sipangimbar	A
		Mardugu	A
10	Pakpak Bharat	Kerajaan	A

(Sumber: Panggabean, 2019)

Keterangan: A = Arabika R = Robusta

Berdasarkan data tabel 1, diketahui bahwa terdapat 34 kecamatan yang menjadi sentra penghasil kopi di Sumatera Utara. 34 kecamatan tersebut berasal dari 10 kabupaten. 75% dari seluruh sentra penghasil kopi di Sumatera Utara membudidayakan jenis kopi Arabika. Sedangkan sisanya membudidayakan jenis kopi Arabika dan Robusta.

Dengan semakin terkenal dan menduniannya kopi hasil produksi Aceh dan Sumatera Utara ini, penulis melihatnya sebagai salah satu faktor berkembangnya warung-warung kopi modern yang ada di kota Medan. Banyak pengusaha yang kemudian menjadikan kesempatan ini menjadi sebuah peluang usaha. Dimana masyarakat sudah begitu mengenal jenis kopi tersebut dan bahkan tak jarang yang menjadikan kopi sebagai candu. Lalu hadirlah para pengusaha kopi yang memberikan kemudahan kepada para pecinta dan penikmat kopi untuk lebih mudah dalam menikmati secangkir kopi yang diinginkan dengan cara membuka warung, gerai ataupun kedai kopi dengan konsep yang unik dan pastinya dibubuhi dengan nuansa modern.

Gaya Hidup Masyarakat Kota

Hadirnya gaya hidup modern pada masyarakat perkotaan telah melahirkan

kebiasaan-kebiasaan baru dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, salah satu contohnya yaitu budaya *nongkrong*. Ketertarikan kaum muda terhadap fenomena budaya *nongkrong* saat ini menjadi salah satu faktor munculnya warung-warung kopi modern di kota Medan. selain itu hadirnya warung-warung kopi bernuansa modern di kota-kota besar lainnya atau bahkan diluar negeri, juga berimbas kepada kuantitas warung kopi modern di kota Medan. Hal ini tidak terlepas dari peran media sosial, internet dan televisi dalam mempromosikan budaya *nongkrong* di warung kopi kepada masyarakat luas. Akhirnya tren ini pun semakin merebak dan banyak diikuti oleh masyarakat luas khususnya masyarakat yang hidup didaerah perkotaan.

Karena itu tidak heran jikalau saat ini banyak kita temukan orang pergi ke warung kopi tetapi bukan untuk minum kopi. Karena konsep warung kopi modern saat ini juga sudah di desain sedemikian rupa agar lebih kekinian dan banyak di minati oleh semua kalangan tidak hanya oleh para pecinta kopi saja (Harahap, and Absah, 2020; Harahap and Absah, 2019). Warung kopi modern bahkan kini telah menjadi tempat ketiga bagi kaum muda untuk menghabiskan waktunya, sebab telah dianggap sebagai tempat yang

mempunyai kelas tersendiri dengan menawarkan suasana yang nyaman, santai, mewah, adanya wi-fi dan fasilitas lainnya yang dapat membuat kaum muda betah berlama-lama di tempat itu.

Perkembangan Warung Kopi Modern di Kota Medan

Sejak tahun 2000-an keatas, warung-warung kopi modern mulai hadir di kota Medan dan terus mengalami perkembangan hingga saat ini.



Grafik 1. Jumlah Warung Kopi Modern di Kota Medan Setiap Tahunnya. (Sumber: Badan Pengelola Pajak dan Retribusi Daerah Kota Medan, 2019)

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara dengan seorang barista sekaligus seorang founder beberapa *coffee shop* di kota Medan diketahui bahwa perkembangan warung-warung kopi modern di Indonesia

khususnya di kota Medan terus mengalami peningkatan setiap tahunnya.

Hasil wawancara tersebut didukung oleh data yang diperoleh dari Badan Pengelola Pajak dan Retribusi Daerah Kota Medan pada tahun 2019. Berdasarkan data yang diperoleh diketahui bahwa terdapat 282 warung kopi modern di kota Medan yang terdata memiliki NPWP saat ini.

Berdasarkan grafik 1, terlihat jumlah pertumbuhan warung kopi modern cenderung mengalami kenaikan dan penurunan di tahun 2006-2013. Pada tahun 2009 sama sekali tidak ada dibuka warung kopi modern baru. Sedangkan dari tahun 2013 hingga tahun 2019 terus mengalami kenaikan yang cukup signifikan. Dan pertumbuhan warung kopi modern di kota Medan terbanyak terjadi pada tahun 2019 dengan jumlah 83.

Pergeseran budaya dalam menikmati kopi ini merupakan hal yang wajar. Dan dapat kita lihat bahwa perkembangan fenomena hadirnya warung-warung kopi modern ini cukup menarik. Dulu, orang menikmati kopi dengan cara yang sederhana, yakni hanya dengan menyeduh kopi bubuk dengan air panas, dan hal ini dapat dilakukan sendiri dirumah. Lalu muncul kebiasaan menikmati kopi sambil berkengkrama bersama teman di warung kopi. Dan saat ini kebiasaan tersebut telah naik tingkat, yakni menikmati secangkir kopi yang diracik langsung oleh para barista profesional di *Coffee shop, cafe* ataupun warung kopi modern dengan pelengkap berupa makanan pendamping dan tempat yang lebih modern.

Tabel 2. Persebaran Jumlah Warung Kopi Modern pada Tiap Kecamatan di Kota Medan

No	Kecamatan	Jumlah Warung Kopi
1	Medan Baru	26
2	Medan Area	15
3	Medan Timur	20
4	Medan Barat	25
5	Medan Polonia	26
6	Medan Sunggal	28
7	Medan Kota	30
8	Medan Marelan	5
9	Medan Petisah	43

10	Medan Johor	14
11	Medan Maimun	15
12	Medan Selayang	20
13	Medan Helvetia	7
14	Medan Deli	2
15	Medan Perjuangan	1
16	Medan Denai	2
17	Medan Tuntungan	1
18	Medan Tembung	1
19	Medan Belawan	1
	Total	282

(Sumber: Badan Pengelola Pajak dan Retribusi Daerah Kota Medan, 2019)

Berdasarkan observasi yang dilakukan, dari 282 warung kopi modern yang ada di kota Medan sebenarnya dapat diklasifikasikan ke dalam beberapa jenis yakni mulai dari warung kopi pinggiran, kelas menengah, sampai menengah atas yang sering dijadikan pengusah hingga pejabat sebagai tempat berkumpul sambil menikmati secangkir kopi lengkap dengan sajian menu pendampingnya. Walaupun warung kopi modern yang ada dapat diklasifikasikan kedalam beberapa jenis, namun tidak ada klasifikasi kelas bagi pengunjung warung kopi tersebut. Yang menjadi pembeda hanya dari segi tempat, kenyamanan, harga menu yang disediakan dan fasilitas yang ada. Semua orang atau semua kalangan memiliki hak yang sama untuk menjadi pengguna warung kopi selama ia sanggup membayar sebesar dengan yang ia beli dari warung kopi tersebut.

Kontribusi Warung Kopi modern Sebagai Ruang Publik di Kota Medan

Ruang publik membuktikan bahwa pertukaran informasi oleh para individu penting dan peran ruang publik sebagai wadah atau tempat untuk berinteraksi dan berkomunikasi dengan sesama individu mampu menciptakan karakteristik kehidupan sosial individu.

Konsep tentang ruang publik menurut Jürgen Habermas terdapat dalam karyanya yang berjudul *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Perubahan Struktural Ruang Publik:

Sebuah Kajian Tentang Kategori Masyarakat Borjuis). Ia menyelidiki akar sosiologis dan historis terbentuknya apa yang saat ini kita kenal dengan *Offentlichkeit* atau ruang publik. Ruang publik baginya adalah suatu ruang yang menjembatani antara negara dengan masyarakat sipil. Ruang ini adalah ruang universal, dimana orang-orang berkumpul untuk mendiskusikan apa saja yang perlu didiskusikan (Habermas, 2012).

Habermas mendefinisikan ruang publik sebagai tempat berkumpulnya orang-orang untuk berdiskusi berdasarkan rasionalitas. Ruang publik besar peranannya dalam sebuah demokrasi, sebab di dalamnya rakyat bebas menyatakan argumen dan sikapnya tanpa ada batasan dan perbedaan apa pun. Habermas juga menambahkan bahwa ruang publik tersebut harus bebas dari intervensi dan ketidaktransparan serta terbebas dari unsur politik dan "permintaan pasar" (Monalusia, 2014).

Berdasarkan teori ruang publik dari Jürgen Habermas di atas yang menjelaskan mengenai konsep ruang publik yaitu sebuah ruang tempat berdiskusi yang mandiri dan tidak terikat oleh negara ataupun pasar, hal ini sejalan dengan interaksi yang terjadi pada warung kopi modern. Dimana tidak terdapat dominasi kelas terhadap interaksi dan diskusi yang terjadi di warung kopi modern. Setiap orang dengan latar belakang yang berbeda-beda memiliki hak yang sama untuk datang dan berdiskusi di warung kopi modern selama ia mampu membayar sesuatu yang

ia konsumsi di warung kopi tersebut. Negara juga tidak ikut campur dengan diskusi-diskusi yang terjalin di setiap warung kopi modern. Artinya setiap orang bebas berdiskusi, bercerita dan mengeluarkan pendapat.

Berdasarkan sumber literatur, hasil wawancara diatas, dan observasi yang telah dilakukan, sedikitnya ada 6 kontribusi hadirnya warung kopi modern sebagai ruang publik terhadap masyarakat di kota Medan.

Tempat Ngopi. Menikmati secangkir kopi saat ini tidak hanya sekedar sebagai penambah semangat dan pengusir rasa kantuk, menikmati kopi kini sudah menjadi budaya di beberapa kalangan masyarakat. Terutama untuk mereka para pecinta kopi. Dalam pemilihan tempat untuk *ngopi* biasanya mereka akan mempertimbangkan dari segi citarasa kopi yang disediakan.

Tempat Bertemu Teman Relasi Bisnis. Tidak jarang para pelaku bisnis melakukan pertemuan dengan para klien mereka di warung kopi. Sehingga banyak pertemuan-pertemuan yang terjadi di warung kopi modern yang menghasilkan kesepakatan bisnis. Suasana yang tidak terlalu formal, santai, nyaman, serta adanya pelayanan dari para pegawai ataupun para barista, menjadi alasan dipilihnya warung kopi modern sebagai ajang pertemuan bisnis yang sedang mereka perbincangkan. Biasanya jenis warung kopi yang sering dijadikan tempat untuk bertemu teman bisnis adalah warung kopi yang lebih high class, tempatnya yang lebih nyaman, mewah, santai dan tidak terlalu berisik, contohnya seperti Starbucks Coffee.

Tempat Ngerjakan Tugas. Akan banyak kita temukan warung-warung kopi bernuansa modern di daerah sekitar kampus di kota Medan. contoh kecilnya saja di sekitaran kampus Universitas Sumatera Utara dan Universitas Negeri Medan. Berjejer warung kopi hadir dan letaknya saling berdekatan bahkan beberapa ada yang tetangga dengan nama yang berbeda-beda. Warung kopi yang ada di

sekitaran kampus ini menjadi sebuah alternatif untuk para mahasiswa. Dimana dapat menjadi tempat meluangkan waktu dari rutinitas yang padat dan tak jarang menjenuhkan ketika di dalam kampus. Dan yang lebih populer, warung kopi sering dijadikan tempat diskusi dalam mengerjakan tugas-tugas ataupun skripsi. Dengan berdiskusi di warung kopi sambil menyeruput secangkir pekat ini dapat menghadirkan sebuah inspirasi tersendiri.

Tempat Rapat. Beberapa warung kopi kini sudah banyak tersebar kesejumlah tempat di kota Medan, seperti di pusat perbelanjaan, sekitaran perkantoran, sekitaran kampus, pusat kota, dan pinggiran kota. Sehingga saat ini sangat mudah untuk menemukannya dan menjadikannya tempat rapat, baik itu sesama pengusaha, para pegawai kantoran, mahasiswa bahkan khalayak umum.

Tempat Perayaan. Seiring dengan perkembangan zaman, semakin banyak manusia yang tertarik pada hal-hal yang bersifat praktis. Bukan hal yang baru lagi warung kopi modern dijadikan sebagai tempat merayakan suatu acara perayaan. Seperti, acara ulang tahun, anniversary, syukuran selesai wisuda, dan acara perayaan-perayaan lainnya.

Tempat Nongkrong. *Nongkrong* adalah istilah yang digunakan untuk berkumpul bersama teman-teman di suatu tempat. Melibatkan pembicaraan berbagai macam hal, mulai dari hal yang sepele sampai dengan pembicaraan yang serius.

Seiring dengan perkembangan kota yang semakin pesat, menjadikan masyarakat membutuhkan tempat sekedar untuk melepas kepenatan dalam rutinitas. Hadirnya warung kopi menjawab kebutuhan akan sebuah ruang yang bisa digunakan untuk bertemu kawan berdiskusi atau memperbincangkan berbagai hal dengan cukup ditemani secangkir minuman favorit dalam suasana yang nyaman.

SIMPULAN

Hadirnya warung kopi modern di kota Medan tidak dilatar belakangi hanya dari satu faktor. Sedikitnya ada 4 faktor yang melatar belakangi, yakni pengaruh kopi sachet, menduniannya gerai kopi starbucks, nikmatnya cita rasa kopi khas Sumatera Utara dan Aceh, dan pengaruh gaya hidup masyarakat kota. Sejak tahun 2000-an, warung kopi modern terus berkembang dan mengalami peningkatan jumlah yang signifikan di kota Medan. Hadirnya warung kopi modern juga memberikan kontribusi yang lebih untuk penggunaannya, yakni sebagai tempat ngopi, rapat, bertemu teman bisnis, tempat mengerjakan tugas, tempat perayaan dan sebagai tempat nongkrong.

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