

CULTURAL LITERACY BASED ON ECOFEMINISM: WOMEN'S SUBSISTENCE IN TRADITIONAL FOLKLORE OF NORTH SUMATERA

Literasi Budaya Berbasis Ekofeminisme: Subsistensi Perempuan dalam Cerita Rakyat Tradisional Sumatera Utara

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyze the representation, roles, and forms of women's subsistence in traditional folklore of North Sumatra through an ecofeminist approach. This study employs a qualitative method using a library research approach. The formal object of the study is literary ecofeminism, which is applied to identify forms of women's subsistence in sustaining life and adapting to a highly patriarchal social system. The material object consists of 44 folktales from eight indigenous ethnic groups in North Sumatra, namely Batak Toba, Karo, Pakpak, Dairi, Simalungun, Mandailing, Angkola, and Nias. Data were collected through library research by examining primary and secondary sources containing folklore from each ethnic group. The data were analyzed using a dialogical method to integrate various cultural and ecological voices within the texts and to uncover the representation of women's subsistence in their social and environmental contexts. The results reveal that women in North Sumatran folklore are portrayed as figures shaped by nature, family, and society to sustain their own lives and those around them. Women's subsistence practices include activities such as agriculture, weaving, livestock raising, fishing, trading, and preparing traditional medicines. These activities symbolize women's resilience and their contribution to environmental and cultural sustainability. In addition, women are depicted as guardians of moral values and social harmony within their communities.

Keywords: ecofeminism, folklore, subsistence, women

Abstrak

Tujuan artikel ini adalah untuk menganalisis representasi keberadaan, peran, dan bentuk-bentuk subsistensi perempuan dalam cerita rakyat tradisional di Sumatera Utara melalui pendekatan ekofeminisme. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan kepustakaan (library research). Objek formal penelitian adalah ekofeminisme sastra yang digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi bentuk-bentuk subsistensi perempuan dalam mempertahankan kehidupan dan beradaptasi dengan sistem sosial yang sangat patrilineal. Objek material berupa 44 cerita rakyat dari delapan etnis asli di Sumatera Utara, yaitu Batak Toba, Karo, Pakpak, Dairi, Simalungun, Mandailing, Angkola, dan Nias. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui studi pustaka dengan menelusuri berbagai sumber primer dan sekunder yang memuat cerita rakyat dari masing-masing etnis. Data dianalisis menggunakan metode dialogis untuk menggabungkan berbagai suara budaya dan ekologis dalam teks serta menemukan makna representasi subsistensi perempuan dalam konteks sosial dan lingkungan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perempuan dalam cerita rakyat Sumatera Utara digambarkan sebagai sosok yang dibentuk oleh alam, keluarga, dan masyarakat untuk mempertahankan kehidupan mereka sendiri serta kehidupan orang lain di sekitarnya. Bentuk subsistensi yang dilakukan perempuan mencakup kegiatan pertanian, menenun, memelihara ternak, memancing, berdagang, hingga meramu obat-obatan tradisional. Aktivitas tersebut menjadi simbol ketahanan hidup perempuan dan kontribusinya terhadap keberlanjutan lingkungan dan budaya. Selain itu, perempuan juga digambarkan sebagai penjaga nilai-nilai moral dan keharmonisan sosial dalam masyarakat.

Kata-kata kunci: cerita rakyat, ekofeminisme, perempuan, subsistensi

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INTRODUCTION

Cultural literacy serves as a foundational element within the education system, acting as a catalyst for strengthening identity and preserving local wisdom, especially in a diverse society like Indonesia. In North Sumatra in particular, folklore plays a vital role in transmitting cultural values and ancestral wisdom to younger generations. This rich body of folklore is often woven with narratives that encapsulate life experiences and social roles within the community, particularly concerning the roles of women in these stories. However, despite its cultural significance, the potential of folklore in formal education remains largely underexplored, especially in relation to women's roles and through the lens of ecofeminist theory.

In recent years, the issue of gender representation in Indonesian folklore has attracted increasing attention due to the persistence of patriarchal values in local narratives. According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Women's Empowerment (2023), women in rural and traditional communities continue to face limitations in access to education and economic opportunities, reflecting the unequal gender constructions that are often perpetuated in cultural texts such as folklore. This condition inspired the author to investigate how traditional stories can both preserve and challenge the dominant patriarchal system through the lens of ecofeminism.

A critical review of women's roles in folklore reveals their significant contributions to cultural heritage and ecological knowledge. Studies indicate that women act as custodians of knowledge and traditions closely linked to efforts in natural and environmental conservation (Sukmawan & Setyowati, 2021). In the Batak Toba community's folklore, women are depicted as guardians of traditional frankincense forests, underscoring their essential role in preserving both cultural and environmental legacies (Baiduri et al., 2025). Furthermore, female identities in folklore often reflect broader societal narratives, either reinforcing or challenging traditional gender roles. Wiyatmi (2023) also discusses how female characters in Indonesian folktales frequently embody strength and intelligence, explicitly opposing the patriarchal representations commonly found in many stories. These findings are supported by feminist perspectives, which argue that folklore not only reflects societal values but also actively participates (Agung et al., 2024) in shaping gender relations (Maluleke et al., 2022; Kusumaningsih et al., 2024).

The portrayal of women in literary works often reflects their socially constructed "natural" roles such as pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding (Carli, 2020; Molarius & Metsini, 2021) which are then expanded into various domestic responsibilities, including caring for children, preparing meals, attending to husbands, and managing household needs. These duties frequently extend beyond the home, encompassing activities such as fetching water, gathering firewood, vegetables, and medicinal plants (Oliveira et al., 2023; Saputra et al, 2024).

In the context of folklore, these roles reveal the persistent influence of patriarchal values that shape the representation of women's identities and social positions. Women are depicted in diverse statuses ranging from farmers and merchants to princesses and celestial (Nugroho et al., 2021) yet their identities are often confined within cultural expectations of obedience, beauty, and domestic virtue (Harahap & Hamka, 2023; Simanungkalit et al., 2025).

This pattern forms the central problem of the present study: how women's roles and survival strategies are represented in traditional folklore of North Sumatra within the framework of ecofeminism. By employing ecofeminist theory, this research seeks to examine the interconnectedness between women, nature, and culture, and to explain how these narratives construct women's subsistence as both an ecological and cultural form of resistance to patriarchal systems (Agung et al., 2024).

Moreover, the depiction of women in folklore reveals a complex interaction between female identity and patriarchal cultural pressures. Previous studies have shown that women are often portrayed dichotomously as "good" or "bad" figures which reinforces traditional gender constructions and limits the recognition of women's agency (Rubab et al., 2025). However, such interpretations rarely explore how these portrayals intersect with local ecological wisdom and women's subsistence practices in specific cultural contexts.

The novelty of this research lies in its effort to bridge this gap by analyzing how women's resilience and survival strategies are represented in traditional folklore of North Sumatra through an ecofeminist perspective. The research is motivated by the lack of studies connecting gender representation in folklore with ecological and cultural dimensions. This study specifically asks: (1) How are women's roles and forms of subsistence represented in the folklore of North Sumatra? (2) How does the ecofeminist perspective reveal the interrelation between women, nature, and cultural survival in a patriarchal society?

Through this approach, the research contributes to enriching the discourse on gender, ecology, and local wisdom in Indonesian literary studies. Ecofeminism provides the main theoretical foundation for this research. As an interdisciplinary approach linking ecology, feminism, and literary criticism, ecofeminism critiques dominant systems of thought that place men above women and humans above nature (Foster, 2021; Brownhill & Turner, 2020; Jumrah & Karim, 2022; Njoh & Ayuk-Etang, 2021). It emphasizes that environmental sustainability depends on gender equality and mutual care. Within this framework, women are not only seen as victims of patriarchal domination but also as key agents in environmental preservation.

Complementing this, the concept of subsistence introduced by Mies in Shiva, V. & Mies (1993) focuses on life-sustaining activities rather than market-oriented production. This concept, feminine in character, values cooperation, ecological harmony, and basic human needs. In traditional societies, women's subsistence practices such as farming, weaving, and herbal medicine reflect both cultural wisdom and ecological resilience. By integrating ecofeminism and the subsistence perspective, this study seeks to interpret how women's survival strategies and relationships with nature are represented in North Sumatran folklore.

This study aims to explore the roots of women's subsistence as reflected in the folklore of North Sumatra. Additionally, it seeks to examine how past societies represented the ways in which women survived and maintained their livelihoods while simultaneously fulfilling the demands of patriarchal customs and traditions. Folklore that emerges and develops within various ethnic groups is also shaped by the local geographical conditions, as Sikana (2009) stated that literary works are fundamentally inseparable from the influence of their geographical environment.

The main gap in previous research lies in the limited exploration of how cultural narratives in North Sumatra represent women's resilience and agency within patriarchal societies (Chingiz, 2024). While earlier studies (Jaago, 2010; Michalopoulos & Xue, 2021) have highlighted the influence of gender narratives on social positions, they have yet to specifically link these narratives to the geographical context and local cultural practices of North Sumatra.

This study enriches the existing literature by analyzing how folklore serves as a medium for expressing women's life experiences while revealing resilience practices rooted in local

wisdom, as also reflected in research on disaster mitigation within folklore (Sukmawan & Setyowati, 2021). Methodologically, the qualitative ethnographic approach employed aligns with Douglass et al. (2023), but with a focused integration of ecofeminism in the study of traditional folklore. Thus, this research offers a novel contribution by combining ecofeminist theory and local narratives to uncover the dynamics of gender and cultural-ecological preservation in North Sumatra, a region that has received limited attention in similar studies.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyze the representation, roles, and forms of women's subsistence in North Sumatran folklore through the lens of ecofeminism, aiming to uncover how these narratives reflect women's adaptation, resilience, and ecological wisdom within a patriarchal cultural framework.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative method through library research, integrating two complementary analytical approaches the feminist approach and the dialogic approach to examine the representation of women and their relationship with nature in the folktales of North Sumatra. The selection of this qualitative approach is based on the nature of the data and the research objectives, which aim to analyze the representation, roles, and forms of women's subsistence in traditional folklore through an ecofeminist lens. Because the data consist of narrative and textual materials derived from oral and written folklore, the qualitative library research approach is the most suitable to enable a deep interpretation of meanings, contexts, and ideologies embedded in the stories. The feminist and dialogic methods were selected to ensure that the analysis could authentically reveal women's experiences and their dialogical relationships with nature, culture, and patriarchal systems as reflected in the texts.

The feminist method is employed because it aligns with the study's focus on uncovering women's lived experiences and forms of agency that have often been marginalized in cultural narratives. Referring to DeVault (1991), the feminist approach aims to uncover and represent women's voices and experiences that are frequently silenced or subordinated within dominant discourses. In line with this, Susan et. al. (2008) emphasize that research focusing on women's experiences should employ a feminist approach to achieve a more authentic and holistic understanding. Therefore, the feminist method in this study is used to analyze women's active participation in production and subsistence activities, as well as their relationships with nature and the social environment, as represented in the selected folktales. To complement this perspective, the dialogic method is adopted to deepen the interpretation of the texts. Soure (1996) explains that in literary ecofeminism studies, the dialogic approach enables an open reading that embraces the multiplicity of perspectives within the text. This method positions literary texts as dialogic spaces that contain diverse and interacting voices including those of characters, authors, cultures, and ideologies. Furthermore, Manshur (2017) emphasizes that dialogism prioritizes social and historical contexts in understanding the dynamics of voices within texts, which is crucial for examining the representation of women and nature. Hence, the dialogic method in this study is employed to identify and engage with the voices of women, cultural voices, and ecological voices, and to analyze how these voices interact and resist patriarchal values in the stories based on ecofeminist principles.

The research object consists of 44 folktales originating from eight ethnic groups in the North Sumatra region: Batak Toba, Karo, Pakpak, Dairi, Simalungun, Mandailing, Angkola, and Nias. The selection of these folktales was guided by two criteria. First, the stories must come from ethnic groups that are still extant in North Sumatra and continue to maintain oral traditions. Second, the folktales must feature female characters who are actively engaged beyond domestic spaces, especially in subsistence, productive, or ecological activities that reflect their agency and resilience. Data collection was conducted systematically through

several stages. The first stage was the identification of sources by collecting relevant primary and secondary materials from libraries, folklore anthologies, ethnographic records, and academic databases. The second stage involved the selection of 44 folktales that fulfilled the established criteria. The third stage was the classification and documentation of the folktales according to ethnic origin, type of female character, and form of subsistence activity described. This systematic process ensures that the data corpus is comprehensive, verifiable, and replicable by future researchers.

The data analysis was carried out through several operational steps to ensure a transparent and rigorous interpretive process. The first stage involved thematic structural analysis using Goldmann's concept of thematic structure Faruk (2015) to identify relationships among characters and between characters and their natural surroundings, revealing central themes of survival, ecology, and gender. The second stage consisted of dialogical reading, in which each text was analyzed interactively with ecofeminist concepts to identify the dialogic relationships between women, culture, and nature. The third stage was interpretive correlation, in which thematic findings were compared and linked to key ecofeminist theories from Mies and Shiva (1993) and Foster (2021) to uncover patterns of women's subsistence and ecological wisdom. The fourth and final stage involved contextual interpretation, connecting the textual findings to the broader socio-cultural and environmental contexts of the North Sumatran ethnic communities to draw comprehensive conclusions.

This multi-step qualitative procedure ensures methodological coherence between the research aims, theoretical framework, and interpretive analysis. The integration of feminist and dialogic approaches allows this study to reveal not only the representation of women's resilience and ecological roles but also to provide a deeper understanding of the cultural and environmental values embedded in North Sumatran folklore. This methodological design also ensures that the research process is systematic, transparent, and replicable by other scholars who wish to extend ecofeminist analysis to similar literary and cultural contexts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the folk tales originating from the ethnic groups in North Sumatra, the representation of women is generally depicted through three main roles: as mothers, wives, and unmarried young women of marriageable age. Among these three roles, the figure of the unmarried young woman is the most dominant in the narratives. This suggests that female characters are often positioned within life stages related to marriage and reproduction. The analyzed folk tales in this study are presented in the following table.

Table 1. North Sumatran Folk Tales Featuring Female Characters Engaged in Work Outside the Home and Earning Income

No.	Ethnicity	Folklore Title	Number of Stories
1	Toba Batak Ethnicity	<i>The Story of Si Boru Natumandi Hutabarat, The Tale of Batu Gantung, The Story of Danau Si Losung and Danau Si Pinggan, Legend of Si Boru Tumbaga, Si Boru Sangkar Sodalahi, The Story of Aek Sipangolu, Gua Liang Sipage, Dolok Simanuk-Manuk, Legenda Harimau yang Menjadi Ompung Bagi Orang Batak, dan Legenda Ompu Guru Tatea Bulan dan Sepuluh Anaknya, Boru Deang Pangujar, dan Asal Mula Danau Toba</i>	12
2	Simalungun Ethnicity	<i>Asal Mula Bagot, Asal Mula Nama Simalungun, Berimbang di Intai Mawas, Dewi Areni, Raja Omas, dan Cerita Parboniaga Sipunjang.</i>	6
3	Mandailing Ethnicity	<i>Legenda Si Baroar, Si Kantan, Legenda Danau Marsabut, dan Batu Nadua.</i>	4
4	Karo Ethnicity	<i>Asal Usul Bukit Gundaling, Asal Mula Padi, Beru Ginting Sope Ambelin, Legenda Lau Kawar, Desa Jaranguda, Meriam Puntung Desa Sukanalu, and Cerita Rakyat Umang.</i>	7

5	Nias Ethnicity	<i>Putri Buruti Siraso and Kisah Dewi Bibit</i>	2
6	Pakpak/Dairi Ethnicity	<i>Muasal Lae Une, Puteri Raja dan Burung Sigurba Gurba Berkepala Tujuh, Sejarah Marga Gurning, Asal Mula Pulut, Legenda Simbuyak-buyak, and Keramat Kubah Pandan Perdagangan.</i>	6
7	Etnis Batak Pesisir	<i>Legenda Bukit Batara</i> "dan <i>Aek Busuk</i> , "Asal Mula Desa Asahan", "Asal Mula Desa Kongsiyanam", dan "Asal Mula Kampung Selawan", <i>Putri Lopian</i> " dan "Legenda Raja dan Burung Dendang Buto".	7
Total Cerita			44

*Two stories originating from Nias are not discussed in detail here because they have already been presented in seminars and published in proceedings.

Women in the Folklore of the Batak Toba Ethnic Group

Based on the analysis of folklore from the Batak Toba ethnic group regarding how women survive as an indication of grassroots subsistence, their activities include weaving ulos, working in the fields, farming, gathering medicinal herbs, and even surviving in caves and forests. Women working as weavers appear in stories titled "*Si Boru Natumandi*," "*The Story of Si Boru Sangkar Sodalahi*," "*Boru Deang Pangujar*," and "*The Legend of Ompu Guru Tatea Bulan and 10 anaknya*". These four stories share a common feature: the female characters are portrayed as young women skilled in spinning thread and weaving. These narratives seem to legitimize weaving as an essential skill that women must possess. In fact, the families of these women provide special places for them to carry out this work. The skill of women as spinners and weavers is more prominently highlighted in the Batak Toba ethnic group compared to other ethnic groups.

Women who possess skills as farmers, whether working in fields or rice paddies, can be found across all ethnic groups in North Sumatra. This is understandable when related to Sikana's (2009) view, explained earlier, that geographical location influences the stories that develop within a community. Geographically, North Sumatra is located between 1°0' to 4°0' N latitude and 98° to 100° E longitude. Its northern border is the Aceh Province and the Strait of Malacca, the western border adjoins West Sumatra and Riau provinces, while the eastern border is bounded by the Strait of Malacca. The terrain of North Sumatra consists of coastal areas and lowlands in the east and west of the province, as well as highlands found in the Karo, Toba, and Humbang regions. The mountains include Sibayak, Sinabung, Martimbang, Sorik Marapi, among others. The main rivers include the Wampu River and the Batang Serangan River (BPKP Provinsi Sumut, 2021). This topography of North Sumatra is the reason for the emergence of women's activities and skills in farming and cultivating rice paddies.

This topographical landscape of North Sumatra is what contributes to the emergence of women's expertise in farming and cultivating rice paddies, as reflected in various folktales such as "*The Story of Batu Gantung*," "*The Legend of Si Boru Tumbaga*," "*The Story of Aek Sipangolu*," "*Gua Liang Sipage*," and "*The Legend of Harimau yang Menjadi Ompung Orang Batak*". In these stories, the female characters demonstrate agricultural skills that include selecting seeds, planting, and processing the harvest showcasing their comprehensive involvement in the subsistence cycle.

In the story "*The Legend of Si Boru Tumbaga*," there is a unique element not commonly found in folktales from other ethnic groups. The characters *Si Boru Tumbaga* and her sister *Si Boru Buntulan* are forced to leave their home and live in a cave deep in the forest. These two young women are cast out by their *Tulang* (paternal uncle) due to a dispute over the inheritance of their deceased parents, who left no male heir. The story portrays the sisters as unmarried and surviving by farming in the forest. After a long period of isolation, they eventually meet two young men and later marry them.

Women's ability to prepare traditional herbal medicines is also found in the stories "*Danau Si Losung and Si Pinggan*" and "*Asal Mula Danau Toba*". Although the narratives do not describe the types of herbal concoctions in detail, both stories implicitly show that women possess skills in traditional healing practices. In "*Danau Si Losung and Si Pinggan*," it is told that the parents of the two main characters are known for their mystical abilities in curing various illnesses. Meanwhile, in "*The Origin of Lake Toba*," the woman who transforms from a fish into a human is depicted as being skilled in selecting crop seeds and foraging for spices in the forest skills closely linked to traditional ecological knowledge.

Similar representations of women's subsistence and ecological knowledge have also been identified in other regional studies. Sukmawan and Setyowati (2021) found that in Javanese and Balinese folklore, women's agricultural and medicinal skills are portrayed as central to sustaining village life, reflecting a deep ecological consciousness comparable to that in Batak Toba narratives. Wiyatmi (2023) and Harahap & Hamka (2023) argue that Indonesian folktales consistently position women as both cultural preservers and ecological stewards, although their contributions are often overshadowed by patriarchal storytelling traditions. Compared to these studies, the current research provides a localized perspective by demonstrating that the women in Batak Toba folklore not only act as sustainers of life through productive work but also embody resistance to patriarchal exclusion through their control over subsistence resources such as land, crops, and healing knowledge.

Therefore, this study strengthens the understanding that North Sumatran folklore represents women as active and capable agents of survival within their ecological and cultural environments. This finding aligns with ecofeminist arguments that women's connection to nature is both practical and ideological rooted in daily acts of subsistence and ecological care (Mies & Shiva, 1993; Foster, 2021). The Batak Toba folktales thus contribute to the broader discourse on gender and ecology in Indonesian literature by revealing how women's traditional knowledge sustains life and culture in harmony with nature.

These findings reveal that the folktales from North Sumatra represent women as active figures in subsistence through productive work in agriculture, handicrafts, traditional healthcare, and adaptation to harsh natural environments. This representation not only highlights the economic roles of women but also underscores the close connection between women, local culture, and ecology within the framework of ecofeminism.

Women in the Folklore of the Batak Karo Ethnic Group

In general, the women depicted in Karo ethnic folktales possess expertise in agriculture and farming. They are directly involved in rice cultivation and the processing of harvested crops. The Karo stories that portray women with agricultural and farming skills can be found in the following narratives: "*Asal Usul Bukit Gundaling*", "*Cerita Rakyat Umang*", "*Legenda Lau Kawar*" dan "*Asal Usul Padi*", "*Meriam Puntung Desa Sukanalu*", dan "*Desa Jaranguda*".

Among the various stories originating from the Karo ethnic group, there are also narratives that portray women as housewives. Additionally, some stories depict male characters working as shamans and having a gambling habit. Meanwhile, in the tale of Jaranguda Village, although women are implicitly portrayed as housewives, there is a sentence that explicitly describes a female character as capable of cooperating and working alongside men. The woman is depicted as having the ability to participate in clearing the forest to create a habitable and comfortable village. The sentence reads:

"Together with his wife, he cleared the forest to make it a comfortable place to live..."

Women's ability to sustain and preserve life is not only depicted through their active involvement in farming and working in the fields, but also through their expertise in planting

and processing rice. Stories that clearly narrate the connection between women and activities such as seed selection, planting, and processing rice (drying, storing, and pounding) are found in “*Beru Ginting Sope Ambelin*”, “*Asal Mula Padi*”. Thus, Karo ethnic folklore does not merely portray women as supporters of family life, but also as active agents in natural resource management and social development.

Women in the Folktales of the Pakpak and Dairi Ethnic Groups

Women’s survival skills within the Pakpak and Dairi ethnic communities are depicted with considerable diversity. In the folktales from these two ethnic groups, women are portrayed as possessing expertise in various fields, such as gathering taro leaves, farming, cultivating fields, planting rice, animal husbandry, and even serving as traditional healers (*dukun*). Compared to folktales from other ethnic groups in North Sumatra, the stories from the Pakpak and Dairi stand out in their unique portrayal of women’s roles. This distinctiveness is evident in narratives highlighting women’s skills in livestock management, activities by the riverside, and their roles as storytellers or community leaders (*penghulu*).

Women working as farmers and cultivators are depicted in the story “*Muasal Lae Une*”, while women’s expertise in animal husbandry and utilization of river resources appears in the tales “*Sejarah Marga Gurning*” and “*Puteri Raja dan Burung Sigurba Gurba Berkepala Tujuh*”. Additionally, women serving as storytellers and community leaders (*penghulu*) can be found in the narrative “*Keramat Kubah Pandan Perdagangan*”. The representation of women as homemakers emerges in the story “*Legenda Simbuyak Buyak*”. Collectively, these portrayals demonstrate that women in the Pakpak and Dairi cultures play active roles not only within the domestic sphere but also in productive, social, and cultural activities essential for sustaining their communities.

Women in the Folktales of the Simalungun Ethnic Group

The Simalungun ethnic community exhibits a distinct uniqueness in representing women’s survival skills, particularly through fishing. While fishing is nowadays often associated as a male hobby, in Simalungun folktales, it is portrayed as one of women’s skills. Similar to women in the Batak Toba ethnic group who are known for their weaving abilities, and women in the Pakpak and Dairi groups who are depicted as skilled in animal husbandry, Simalungun women also demonstrate a high level of adaptability to their natural environment.

Women who work as farmers and cultivate fields are depicted in the story “*Asal Mula Bagot*”, where farming activities are carried out by utilizing the forest shrubland as fields to meet their livelihood needs. Additionally, in the tale “*Berimbang Diintai Mawas*”, women are portrayed as farmers and gardeners. The agricultural skills of women, combined with livestock farming, are evident in the stories “*Dewi Areni*” and “*Asal Mula Nama Simalungun*”. Women’s fishing abilities in rivers are clearly illustrated in the story “*Raja Omas*”, while their roles in trade are portrayed in the narrative “*Cerita Parboniaga Sipunjang*”. All of these demonstrate the significant and active roles women hold in various sectors of Simalungun life, including agriculture, fisheries, and the economy.

Women in the Folklore of the Mandailing Ethnic Group

In Mandailing folklore, women are frequently represented through their ability to utilize natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. One prominent activity depicted is the gathering of firewood, both for household needs and commercial purposes. This skill reflects the Mandailing women’s adaptation to their natural environment and underscores their crucial role in supporting the family economy. This practice is illustrated in the story of “*Si Kantan*,” where the female protagonist is portrayed as a firewood collector in the forest.

Furthermore, women's involvement in the agrarian sector is also quite prominent. In several stories, women are portrayed as actively engaged in farming and cultivating rice fields, as depicted in the legends "*Si Baroar*," "*Legenda Danau Marsabut*," and "*Batu Nadua*." Through these narratives, women are shown not only performing domestic duties but also playing vital roles in food production and land management. Their agricultural activities reflect the resilience and strategic importance of women within the socio-economic structure of Mandailing society, while also highlighting the close relationship between women, the land, and the sustainability of the community's livelihood.

This representation demonstrates that within the Mandailing cultural construct, women are regarded as vital agents in sustaining community life through the utilization of natural resources, both in traditional forestry sectors and subsistence agricultural practices. These narratives reflect an appreciation of women's roles as custodians of family economic continuity as well as stewards of the local environment.

Women in the Folk Tales of the Malay Ethnic Group

In Malay ethnic folk tales, women are represented as capable figures who manage natural resources and actively participate in sustaining community life. Their skills in utilizing natural products, particularly through the collection of firewood for cooking and commercial purposes, emerge as a prominent theme. This representation is evident in stories such as "*Batu Belah Batu Betangkup*" and "*Batang Tuaka*," which depict women as both domestic economic agents and stewards of forest resources.

The role of women in the agrarian sector is also strongly reflected, particularly in farming and cultivation activities, as depicted in stories such as "*Pak Ande Bertemu Gergasi*," "*Sutan Nan Garang Jo Si Rantai Omeh*," and "*Buaya Danau Kari*." The presence of women in food production activities highlights their significant contribution to the sustainability of the Malay agrarian-based economy. Additionally, narratives portraying women as homemakers in the story "*Lancang Kuning*" reinforce the position of women within traditional social structures that prioritize domestic roles as the foundation of family stability.

The uniqueness of Malay folklore lies in the diverse specific skills attributed to female characters. Women's ability to prepare betel leaves, as depicted in the story "*Busuk Kepala Labu*," reflects traditional knowledge of medicinal plants and cultural practices rich in symbolic meaning. Additionally, women's fishing skills, illustrated in "*Awang Merah dan Silang Juna*" and "*Asal Mula Nama Pangkalan Dodek*," demonstrate their adaptation to aquatic ecosystems and expand their economic roles beyond the land.

Furthermore, the story "*Legenda Mariam Gondo Sorang*" depicts women engaging in ascetic practices, highlighting the spiritual dimension and inner strength of women within Malay tradition. Meanwhile, in "*Asal Usul Kampung Guntung*," women are even represented as village chiefs—a leadership position historically dominated by men. This reflects a cultural acknowledgment of women's capacity to lead and make important decisions in communal life.

Thus, Malay folk tales portray women as multifunctional figures—producers, cultural guardians, spiritual agents, and community leaders. This representation reflects the egalitarian values embedded in traditional Malay society, where women are not merely supplementary, but active agents in sustaining both local culture and the economy.

Folk tales from various ethnic groups in North Sumatra, such as Batak Toba, Karo, Pakpak-Dairi, Simalungun, and Mandailing, depict women as key figures in the preservation and utilization of natural resources, as well as in ensuring community survival. In these narratives, women are portrayed not only as domestic managers but also as active economic and cultural agents.

In Batak Toba society, women are portrayed as skilled weavers and farmers, reflecting their crucial role in the family economy. Similarly, among the Karo ethnic group, women are not only involved in agriculture and farming but also actively participate in forest clearing and the development of settlements. The Pakpak-Dairi ethnic communities demonstrate a diverse range of women's roles, including engagement in farming, animal husbandry, and social functions such as serving as village leaders or storytellers, highlighting the flexibility and multifaceted contributions of women within their social structures.

In Simalungun society, women are depicted as possessing skills across multiple sectors, including agriculture, trade, and fisheries, demonstrating their adaptive use of surrounding natural resources. Meanwhile, in Mandailing folklore, women's roles are closely tied to the utilization of forest products to meet daily needs, reflecting their resilience and independence in facing ecological challenges.

Overall, the representation of women in these folk tales reveals a strong connection between women, natural resources, and environmental sustainability. This analysis shows that the folk narratives of North Sumatra portray women not only as guardians of tradition but also as vital pillars of socio-economic resilience and ecological sustainability within their communities. The ecofeminist approach is relevant for understanding the interrelationship between women's roles, the utilization of natural resources, and environmental conservation in local cultures.

This study found that the representation of women in folk tales from various ethnic groups in North Sumatra generally falls into three main roles: as mothers, wives, and predominantly as young unmarried women of marriageable age. Among these roles, the figure of the young unmarried woman is the most dominant, highlighting the narrative focus on females in transition to adulthood and their reproductive roles.

In the 12 analyzed folktales from the Batak Toba ethnic group, women are represented in various significant roles, including as ulos weavers, farmers, traditional medicine makers, and even as cave dwellers for survival. Stories such as "*Si Boru Natumandi and Boru Deang Parujar*" highlight weaving skills as an integral part of the cultural identity of Batak Toba women. Additionally, female characters are depicted as actively engaged in agricultural activities, from selecting seeds to processing the harvest. Some tales, such as "*Danau Si Losung dan Si Pinggan*", feature women who possess knowledge of traditional medicine. These findings demonstrate a close integration between women's roles, local culture, and ecological knowledge, reinforcing the narrative of women within the framework of ecofeminism.

These findings align with the study by Gabriel et al. (2020) on indigenous women in forest conservation, though they differ in the form of contribution. While Gabriel et al. emphasize direct ecological actions, this study highlights a symbolic role through cultural narratives. Similarities are also found with the research by Tremblay et al. (2023) regarding the connection between indigenous women and cultural identity, although this study focuses more on cultural heritage rather than a holistic policy approach. A notable difference appears when compared to Jacobs (2022), who highlights gender deconstruction in urban indigenous communities, whereas Batak Toba narratives maintain traditional structures. Consistent with Gogoi (2024), this research confirms the function of folktales as a medium for cultural and ecological preservation, albeit with a more symbolic approach.

In seven stories from the Karo ethnic group, women are depicted as actively working in the fields and rice paddies, from planting to pounding rice, as seen in "*Asal Usul Padi*" and "*Beru Ginting Sope Ambelin*." Additionally, women also appear as managers of forests and living spaces, such as in the story "*Desa Jaranguda*," where they are portrayed clearing forests alongside men. Although some women are depicted as housewives, their involvement in

productive activities positions them as central figures in sustaining the life of their families and communities.

The findings of this study align with various research on gender roles in indigenous communities, which show that women often have dual roles, both as workers and as managers of natural resources. However, this perspective differs from the findings of Brahmana (2018), which indicate that despite the positive portrayals of women's roles in folklore, patriarchal culture in the Karo community still restricts women's roles in daily life. Although folklore celebrates the active participation of women in productive activities, in reality, women often face social barriers that limit their visibility and contributions.

Furthermore, the study by Aritonang et al. (2024) on Karo traditional medicine demonstrates how women play a crucial role in preserving local medicinal knowledge, which is also linked to their function in maintaining cultural sustainability and community health. Their roles in agriculture, health, and ecology highlight women's integral contributions to sustaining community resilience.

On the other hand, the study by Nugroho et al. (2021) on the cultural identity of Batak Toba women through weaving activities highlights a different aspect of women's roles, where they are more valued in the context of art and culture. While Karo women's narratives emphasize their economic contributions in agriculture, Batak Toba women's stories portray them more as cultural guardians through their handicrafts.

Although the narratives of the Karo and Batak Toba peoples both depict active roles of women in their cultures, they have different focal points. Karo stories emphasize women's roles in agriculture and ecology, while Batak Toba stories highlight weaving as an art form integral to cultural identity. This difference shows that while there is a shared appreciation for women, the ways they are valued and the roles they play can vary significantly depending on their respective cultures.

Six folk tales from the Pakpak and Dairi Batak ethnic groups depict women with various skills such as gathering cassava leaves, farming, cultivating fields, planting rice, raising livestock, and even serving as traditional healers. This diversity of skills shows that women in this region not only play roles in domestic affairs but also master aspects of production and traditional medicine. Folk tales from these ethnic groups highlight the wide range of women's abilities and affirm their important position as active agents in adapting to nature and sustaining a subsistence economy.

One prominent aspect in the folk tales of the Batak Pakpak and Dairi is the emphasis on women's roles in subsistence activities, such as farming and gathering cassava leaves. This aligns with the active participation of women in traditional healing practices throughout Indonesia, as explained by Karmilah (2024), who discusses various traditional healing methods, including herbal medicine and spiritual treatments used by diverse communities. Both studies highlight the important contributions of women to community health and nutrition, demonstrating their role as vital bearers of traditional knowledge. However, while the Pakpak and Dairi folk tales present various agricultural efforts, Karmilah's research focuses more specifically on traditional healing practices.

Furthermore, narratives from the Batak Pakpak and Dairi groups highlight women's participation in agricultural management alongside men, depicted through their joint efforts in farming and resource clearing. This collaborative involvement contrasts with other literature, including the study by Sitinjak & Harianja (2022), which notes that traditional narratives often reflect patriarchal structures that limit women's authority in certain tasks. Thus, while both studies acknowledge the fundamental role of women, the Pakpak and Dairi folk tales suggest a more egalitarian framework or one that supports women's participation, portraying them as co-managers rather than being constrained by social norms.

Findings from Silalahi et al. (2024) also emphasize the development of gender equality in Batak Toba society, with a particular focus on how changes in inheritance law affect the roles and rights of women. As inheritance laws begin to recognize women's rights, folk tales from the Pakpak and Dairi ethnic groups reflect a rich cultural narrative that demonstrates women's active and significant participation in the cultural economy, which can enrich the dialogue on gender equality in the future.

From the six stories analyzed in the Batak Simalungun ethnic group, women are often portrayed as figures of moral balance, with agricultural activities serving as the backdrop of daily life. Although the exploration of practical skills is not as prominent as in the Batak Toba and Karo ethnic groups, stories like "*Dewi Areni*" depict women as figures possessing spiritual power as well as being agents of social and cultural dynamics.

The exploration of women's roles in six Batak Simalungun folk tales reveals a portrayal of women as moral balancing figures within the context of agriculture, accompanied by a strong spiritual dimension. This contrasts with stories from the Batak Toba and Karo groups, where women are also involved in agriculture but their roles are more emphasized in practical skills such as weaving and traditional medicine. Research by Simanjuntak et al. (2022) reveals that although Batak women participate in agricultural productivity, they also serve as cultural guardians and moral figures within their communities.

This difference can be understood through the lens of gender equality, as explained by Silalahi et al. (2024), who noted the evolving practices of inheritance and women's rights in Batak society. In the context of Simalungun, the representation of women as moral guardians reflects a traditional construction that acknowledges their role in cultural preservation but limits recognition of their practical contributions, unlike the roles of women in Toba and Karo stories which focus more on agricultural skills. Aini & Akmal (2022) emphasize the importance of understanding local wisdom in Batak culture, which influences community dynamics and the spiritual empowerment of women.

The narratives in the folklore of the Simalungun ethnic group show that although women hold an important moral role, their contributions to economic production are not recognized to the same extent as found in the Batak Karo culture, where women's roles are more directly related to agriculture. This difference highlights how cultural narratives shape social values and women's empowerment in various contexts. This contrasts with the Batak Karo narratives, which emphasize the active participation of women in subsistence activities such as farming and livestock raising Nauly et al. (2018), indicating variations in the representation of economic roles across Batak ethnic groups.

These findings also intersect with the research by Naibaho et al. (2024) on Batak Toba women, which shows that although they exhibit leadership in social and ritual spheres, they still face limitations in the economic domain. Thus, a general pattern emerges where women's agency in Batak communities is more often understood in moral and spiritual terms rather than in productive-economic terms.

The involvement of Simalungun women in the arts, as also demonstrated by Hertami et al. (2022) through their research on dance, affirms a form of cultural empowerment that is collective and symbolic, differing from the functional representation of women in Karo narratives. Similarly, Gultom (2025) highlights this in Batak Toba literature, noting that women's struggle for personal autonomy is more prominent in the symbolic realm than in economic recognition.

In four stories from the Batak Mandailing ethnic group, such as "*Legenda Si Baroar*" and "*Danau Marsabut*," women tend to be represented in tragic and romantic narratives, with little emphasis on practical skills. However, women are still portrayed as important actors in

family dynamics and lineage continuation, reflecting the persistence of strong patriarchal values.

These findings align with Conroy et al. (2020), who highlight ambivalence toward women's roles in education and leadership within sexual and reproductive health narratives. The pattern of female subordination is further reinforced by Barsigian et al. (2025), who reveal the dominance of traditional gender narratives in shaping LGBTQ+ youth identities, similar to the Mandailing narratives that limit women's agency through themes of tragedy and romance.

Research conducted by Rajagukguk et al. (2022) also emphasizes the importance of narratives in cultural preservation, including gender roles, which in the Batak community tend to reinforce patriarchal structures through the construction of conservative images of women. Meanwhile, Hifsa (2024) explains the social pressure on women to express their identities through the concept of testimonial smothering, which is also reflected in Mandailing narratives that limit women's roles within rigid cultural frameworks. These findings confirm that the portrayal of women in Mandailing folklore not only reflects local cultural values but also reconstructs gender roles conservatively, highlighting the tension between preserving tradition and the need to redefine gender roles in the modern era.

In seven folktales from coastal regions, women are portrayed as guardians of cultural values, bearers of family fate, and mediators of spiritual connections. Stories such as "*Legenda Raja dan Burung Dendang Buto*" and "*Putri Lopian*" depict women as key figures in shaping the destiny of their communities, although their practical labor roles are less elaborated. These findings affirm that women in these seven coastal folktales are positioned as cultural custodians, family fate bearers, and spiritual intermediaries, yet their economic contributions tend to be overlooked. This aligns with Hapsarani (2018), who highlights the symbolic representation of women as cultural guardians in Indonesian folktales, albeit within limited roles. Similarly, Haidawati et al. (2023) demonstrate women's active involvement in coastal community empowerment, though their practical participation remains constrained by social norms.

A contrasting perspective is also evident in the study by Kantamaneni et al. (2022), which reveals subordinate representations of women in other cultures. This indicates that women's agency in folklore is contextual and not universal. Furthermore, research by Asiimwe et al. (2024) shows that geographical factors influence women's access to services and social participation, highlighting the gap between symbolic roles and actual empowerment.

The assertion that cultural norms restrict women's economic mobility is also reflected in the study by Reed et al. (2010), which aligns with the finding that female figures in coastal folklore, despite being positioned as agents of change, remain confined within traditional role frameworks. Thus, there is a duality between the glorification of women's roles in cultural narratives and the neglect of their practical contributions, a tension also revealed by various studies across regions and cultural contexts.

The results of this study indicate that folk tales from various ethnic groups in North Sumatra not only serve as a medium for cultural preservation but also as an important means of shaping and reproducing social constructions regarding the roles of women. The representation of women as active figures in agriculture, weaving, traditional medicine, and natural resource management suggests that women contribute significantly both ecologically and culturally. Therefore, the implication is the need for educational approaches and cultural policies that elevate these local narratives as a basis for women's empowerment, environmental conservation, and the strengthening of ethnic cultural identity. Additionally, these findings enrich the discourse of ecofeminism in Indonesia by emphasizing the symbolic and practical roles of indigenous women in community sustainability.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that women in the folklore of North Sumatran ethnic groups are represented as active agents of subsistence who sustain life through their productive, cultural, and ecological roles. Through activities such as farming, weaving, traditional healing, and trading, women demonstrate resilience, independence, and adaptability within a patriarchal environment. These representations affirm the ecofeminist perspective that women's connection with nature reflects both their survival strategies and their contribution to maintaining ecological and social balance. Folklore thus serves not only as a cultural narrative but also as a medium that highlights women's agency and wisdom in preserving life and environment. However, this study is limited to textual analysis of documented folklore and does not include data from living traditions or community practices. Future research should therefore combine textual and ethnographic approaches to capture how these stories are interpreted and transmitted in contemporary contexts. Comparative studies across regions or between traditional and modern narratives are also recommended to deepen the understanding of women's ecological and cultural roles in Indonesia's diverse societies.

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