

New Hubula Male Model of the Dani Tribe After Cultural Acculturation in Jayawijaya District, Papua

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Abstract

This study aims to evaluate the change in the perspective of new men on gender relations between men and women in the Hubula Dani tribe after cultural acculturation occurred. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with a case study approach to the Hubula Dani community in Aso Lokobal District, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua. The research data consisted of primary data obtained directly from the field through field observations, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGD), and secondary data obtained from various documents related to the research topic. Data were analyzed by descriptive qualitative technique. The results showed that the new pro-feminist and egalitarian men in the Hubula Dani community began to be more modern and open to progress as a positive impact of cultural acculturation through the influence of the Catholic church, local government, and educational institutions. They have authority as husbands who are responsible for the family as breadwinners in the nuclear family. They want to share or help the wife's role at home; give the wife access and control over resources; willing to help his wife take care of the children; respecting the wife's abilities and giving her the opportunity to work outside the home; avoid violence against wives but if violence does occur they do not overdo it and resolve the issue amicably; begin to be critical of non-egalitarian customs; willing to have many children as a joint decision; and provide equal opportunities for boys and girls to achieve higher levels of education.

Keywords

gender perspective; new men; cultural acculturation; traditional Hubula society of dani tribe



I. Introduction

The Hubula Dani community in the Baliem Valley, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua, has been undergoing a cultural transformation from a traditional society to a modern one. Since the 1950s this traditional society began to relate to the cultural values of modern society, in this case Western society through the presence of the Dutch East Indies government. Over time, they began to come into contact with political values and democratic governance, gender equality, women's participation in development, and the egalitarian interaction of men and women. The touch of these values occurs through the influence of the Catholic church, local government, and education, both formal schools (elementary, junior high, high school, college) and non-formal schools under the auspices of the Catholic church. According to Astuti et al (2019) Education is an obligation of every human being that must be pursued to hold responsibilities and try to produce progress in knowledge and experience for the lives of every individual.

The interaction of the Hubula Dani community with modern cultural values is responded to differently between closed and open social groups. Closed social groups are still traditional and reluctant to interact intensively, while open social groups are more

receptive to modern culture and interact intensively. The first social group is reluctant to interact intensively and chooses to maintain local cultural values, behave and act traditional, and is isolated from progress. They preserve patriarchal traditions, gender inequality, and the dominant position of men in patriarchy. They failed to transform themselves into new men in cultural acculturation. Meanwhile, the second social group interacts intensively with the rational values of modern society's culture.

Men have just transformed into men who want to take part in doing household chores, which previously became the main domain of women's gender roles in family life. He prioritizes love and relationships over ambition and personal promotion, avoiding egoism, greed, and his companions in order to love and share with his chosen life partner in the household. New men are closer to the family (Chapman, in Chapman and Rutherford, 2014). The new male has an image of being affectionate, ready to take on a more feminist role, and seeks to encourage men to open up to their emotions and adopt the female subject position, which in turn can help bring about the feminization of men.

Lyonette (2015) explains that if husbands are willing to help their wives through sharing domestic burdens and roles by carrying out more domestic roles, women's lives usually improve, which allows her to take on more responsibilities at work and be able to compete on a more equal footing with men. As argued by Rudman et al. (2012), men are egalitarian and really care about gender equality is very important for the progress of women, both in the family and society. Men are just realizing that what women do is just as important as what men do, and men must begin to accept new, more feminist roles, both in the household and in society.

Through cultural acculturation, the adoption of these egalitarian values, beliefs and attitudes, men and women begin to accept new social positions and roles, both at home and in society. For women, these new responsibilities may involve greater participation in paid work and a greater role in providing for the financial needs of the family (Riley, 2003). As a result, their obligatory involvement in maintaining the home and raising children is reduced, unlike traditional obligations in patriarchal societies. As egalitarian values and attitudes increase in acculturation, men play more roles in carrying out household tasks and raising children. Cultural acculturation forms an egalitarian pattern in carrying out the duties of men and women, both at home and outside the home.

II. Research Method

This research was conducted using a descriptive qualitative method with a case study approach. This research was conducted between November 2017 and April 2018 among the Hubula Dani tribe (known as the Dani tribe) who live in Megapura Village, Aso Tapo, Weima, Hesatun, and Hepuba, Aso Lokobal District, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Province. In collecting data, the research instrument is the researcher himself. The research sample was taken by purposive sampling technique (purposive sampling) in accordance with the research objectives. The selection of key informants is determined using the snowball effect technique, namely when meeting key informants who are knowledgeable and have rich experience about the object of research, It is the key informants who will provide further information about other key informants who are also knowledgeable and have rich experience about the object of research. The data in the study consisted of primary data obtained directly from the field through direct field observations, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGD), and secondary data obtained with documentation techniques from various documents related to the research topic.

In-depth interviews were conducted on gender perspectives as reflected in the relationship between men and women and the relation of patriarchal domination, practices of gender injustice, and violence perpetrated by men against women in the Hubula Dani tribe. In in-depth interviews, the researcher poses a list of previously prepared questions, assesses the answers, asks for explanations, discusses the answers to questions according to the answers given by the informants (paraphrases), and explores more in-depth information. The collected data were analyzed using descriptive qualitative techniques. Referring to the opinion of Miles and Huberman (2009), qualitative analysis is carried out through three activities simultaneously: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions, each according to the research objectives.

III. Results and Discussion

The Hubula Dani community has been in contact with other open communities in Jayawijaya Regency in particular and in Papua Province in general, especially since the 1960s to 1970s. This cultural contact with other communities is recognized or not having an impact on the existence of the cultural values of the Dani tribe. If the community's response is negative, a conflict arises where the Hubula Dani community becomes more closed and isolated. However, if the community's response is positive, cultural acculturation emerges where the Hubula Dani community adopts other cultural values that are beneficial without losing the cultural identity of the Hubula Dani tribe itself. At a deeper level of interaction,

3.1 Acculturation of the Dani Hubula Community with New Culture

For hundreds or even thousands of years, the Hubula Dani people have lived and lived isolated in the Balim Valley area. The historical record of the Dani people has only been known since the late 1950s with the discovery of this tribal community by Richard's expedition during the Dutch government era. This means that for hundreds or even thousands of years, the Hubula Dani culture is closed and not recorded in history. However, when it was discovered, the Hubula Dani people became accustomed to interacting with other people from outside the community, even with foreign community groups under the authority of the Protestant or Catholic church, or under the authority of the Dutch government. There are residents of the Hubula Dani community who accept and many residents do not want to accept the arrival of these foreign social groups.

Cultural changes in the Hubula Dani community are influenced by their openness to touch or interaction with other communities that they view as more advanced. The more open the Dani Hubula community to other more advanced cultural values, the higher the possibility that they will experience change through cultural acculturation. So far, some social groups from the Hubula Dani community actually want to be open to other communities that are considered more advanced. However, not all citizens are able to respond positively to cultural acculturation given the low competence in living life in a more rational and modern society. In gender relations between men and women, changes also occur, which are marked by the increasing awareness of women about the basic rights they have. Unfortunately, this awareness is not accompanied by an increase in the competence of men to adopt gender values that are more respectful of women's rights and share roles with each other with the principle of gender equality. As a result, women's awareness of their basic rights has not been able to break the structure of patriarchal domination, let alone reduce acts of gender injustice and violence by men against women, especially in the household.

One of the impacts of cultural acculturation on the change in the perspective of new men regarding gender relations between men and women in the Hubula Dani community is the strengthening of men's awareness of the importance of women's roles in the public sphere and the strengthening of awareness about the importance of men's involvement in handle the various heavy tasks of women in the domestic space. The impact of this acculturation occurred gradually along with the strengthening of the influence of social change agents in the Hubula Dani community. The most strategic change agents playing the role of cultural acculturation, in particular the change in the perspective of new men on gender relations between men and women, in the Hubula Dani community are the Catholic church, local government, and educational institutions.

In fact, the Hubula Dani people have long been in touch with modern civilization through this institution. The presence of this modern institution carries cultural values that are perceived as foreign by the community, but ultimately affect the relationship between men and women of the Dani tribe. Judging from the preservation of traditional culture, modern cultural values have so far been seen to have a negative impact, namely the fading of community commitment to good life values based on local wisdom in regulating the life of the Dani people of the Hubula Tribe in general. The good life values of the Hubula Dani people, which have provided value guidelines, tend to change, are forgotten or do not receive adequate attention from the local community. Tribal chief, local community elders or Baliem intellectuals are concerned about whether the next generation will be able to understand the cultural values of the Dani Hubula after the current parents have died. With the weakening of commitment to the cultural values of the Dani Hubula, it is feared that these cultural values can no longer survive if the old people are no longer around.

3.2 Impact of Church Presence on Cultural Acculturation

If studied more deeply, the touch of the Hubula Dani community with modern cultural values through the church turns out to have a positive impact, especially in the relationship between men and women. In the past, women had to be involved in helping their husbands in taking care of the garden, men dominated decision-making in the household, while women had to always follow their husband's words. In that context, the church is present to provide evangelism and continuous awareness that men and women have the same dignity, so that what men decide must involve women's opinions. Involvement of women in this decision-making needs to be done, so that women should not be ignored. So, whatever decisions men make, women must be involved in making them.

The presence of the church also has a positive impact with the increasing number of women from the Dani tribe being involved in social charity activities within the church. With guidance from the church, (through formal and non-formal education), women who were initially unable to do anything in social activities were finally able to be involved with church tasks, especially being actively involved as evangelists. In the Hubula Dani community, the presence of the Catholic church is very important and has a big influence, such as respecting people and Balinese culture (very different from the fundamentalist church which values it negatively on culture), especially in growing the understanding that there is no difference between men and women. After the church gave an understanding, more and more members of the community understood that women were the same as men.

3.3 Impact of Local Government on Cultural Acculturation

The influence of religion on changes in people's attitudes is very much felt compared to the influence of the government. However, in modern local government as it is today, especially in the era of Special Autonomy for Papua Province, there is a very large structural influence, especially through various kinds of development programs implemented by the Jayawijaya Regency Government. The government's role refers to the prevailing laws and regulations in Jayawijaya Regency, which supports the implementation of regional development in various districts and villages. This is a sign of various structural changes in the lives of the Hubula Dani people in the Baliem Valley area.

The influence of government is different from that of the church on society. The church usually sees first, then speaks and proclaims things that can, are good, or should be done by the community. The government applies laws and regulations to support regional development programs without thinking about whether the program can help the community or not. The funds allocated for regional development are very large, but the program is not implemented even without conducting a feasibility study in all regions, including in the Baliem valley area, Jayawijaya Regency.

The Jayawijaya District Government clearly plays an important role in changing the perspective of the Hubula Dani community regarding traditional leaders and leadership from the Hubula Dani community. In the Hubula Dani community, formerly the leader or tribal chief was determined based on wisdom, namely he had a wise soul by presenting himself as a leader with the ability to lead the community without discrimination and not prioritizing one group over other groups. However, the tribal character and tendencies for revenge caused the different groups to often go to war. With the presence of the local government, the village head began to play many important roles in managing the community. Through expansion, there are several villages that are undergoing division and leaders are appointed by appointment without election who has ever taken part in the success team at the time of the Pilkada. Currently, political leaders have begun to be based on what the community likes and in accordance with good values according to custom, even through the electoral system in the Pilkada.

3.4 Impact of Educational Institutions on Cultural Acculturation

By attending modern education (elementary, junior high, high school, and college), some of the women of the Dani tribe have developed and are able to carry out broader tasks beyond the boundaries of traditional women's duties in the past. With modern education followed, there are women from the Dani tribe who become village secretaries, nurses/midwives in hospitals, doctors, sub-district heads, and so on. They can play a role like now, a role that previously could only be held by the male Hubula Dani tribe. This phenomenon shows that the influence of modern education in the Hubula Dani community has a positive impact on increasing the capacity of women in carrying out tasks which in the past were only dominated by men.

These agents of social change have a strategic role in instilling new values regarding the importance of women's basic rights and the great potential of women's empowerment in an effort to build a more equal society in the relationship between men and women. In practice, women are increasingly aware of their basic rights, but without the support of pro-feminist social structures, this awareness does not have a widespread impact on new male perspectives on more equal gender relations between men and women. Only a few Hubula Dani men experienced a change in perspective to become more masculine in accordance with the cultural values of the Dani Hubula, but more feminist in sharing roles with women in the domestic sphere with the principle of egalitarian equality.

Among social groups that are open to change, social and cultural transformation does occur gradually, but usually it doesn't occur until there is a perfect mix between the cultural values of the Dani people of the Hubula Tribe and the new cultural values of modern society. The acculturation process in the Hubula Dani community arises because there are social groups of the Hubula Dani tribe who feel the contextual benefits of new cultural values so that these values are gradually accepted and processed into the culture of the Hubula Dani community itself without causing loss of local cultural personality.

In the Hubula Dani community, the process of cultural acculturation has not been openly involved in direct interactions between the Hubula Dani community and other larger or equally large cultural communities. Cultural acculturation mainly occurs in the relationship between individuals and the church, local government, and education. In that traditional society, the social group that most opposes cultural acculturation is the social group that is in power and does not want to lose power, control, and prestige in front of traditional society. Meanwhile, the social groups that most support cultural acculturation are those who understand and feel that they no longer need male domination over women based on the Hubula custom because actually men and women are the same.

3.5 New Boys: Pro-Feminist and Egalitarian

In the Hubula community, men with traditional gender attitudes generally believe that men and women ideally fulfill different and complementary roles. Men must act as providers to provide food, clothing, and other necessities for the family, and women as housekeepers. The gender roles of men outside the home complement the gender roles of women in the home. Such characteristics are also seen very clearly in the traditional community of the Dani tribe Hubula.

As the Dani Hubula community opens up to egalitarian Western cultural values, it turns out that most traditional men choose not to work traditionally or continue to work but by going to the city or away from traditional society. Because their life skills are low, many Hubula Dani men are unable to compete in working in the city, so that their function as breadwinners in the city cannot be carried out properly. When they have to return to their traditional environment, they have to open gardens, even tend the gardens and raise pigs with their wives. It's just that, with a high sense of prestige, a man like this turns out to be reluctant, lazy, and no longer passionate about going to open the garden. They don't want to be involved in tending the old garden, they don't want to raise pigs with their wives, and do not want to be involved in taking care of the household. They want to maintain power and control over women and get the best service from their wives, even though they fail to carry out their main function as breadwinners. As a result, the wife's respect for her husband is reduced. This is the beginning of his wife's courage to start to dare to rebel against him if he demands too much in the midst of the failure of his main function as a breadwinner.

In its development, there are some men who are willing to take on or help their wives' roles, such as bathing and looking after children, taking care of pigs, and taking care of the garden, and are ready to take on the role of wives. Such men develop into new, egalitarian men born from cultural acculturation over the years. They are not oriented out of the local community and look for money to the city, but prefer to pursue bureaucratic career jobs in accordance with the education they have received so far, are more active and religious in the church. In addition to being employees in local government, Puskesmas or being teachers, they are ready to open gardens, help their wives take care of the gardens, and raise livestock. In essence, they return to their original work environment in gardens and livestock, according to the traditional philosophy of life as members of the Dani tribe

Hubula. In the latest trend, New men who are egalitarian as a result of cultural acculturation are easier to accept the role of their wives working outside the home and are more ready to help their wives take care of the garden, raise livestock, and take care of the household. They prioritize togetherness between husband and wife rather than male domination over women.

In an established family, the husband respects the wife if the wife's work supports the welfare of the family. On the other hand, the wife also becomes very respectful of her husband if with his power over income, the husband does not dominate the wife and commit violence against her. In a nuclear family in a healthy home that is separated from the honai, husband and wife relationships become more equal and egalitarian, and they become better able to discuss, interact, and make decisions together. The new male character has developed and accepts his wife as a weak creature and must be protected, so that the husband as a new man as a result of the cultural acculturation process is increasingly humbling to want to share his role with his wife in taking care of the household, especially when the wife has to work outside House. In that context,

The interaction of the Hubula Dani community with modern culture was responded to differently between closed and open social groups. Closed social groups tend to be traditional and reluctant to interact intensively, while open social groups prefer to accept modern cultural values and are willing to interact intensively. This social group that is ready to be involved in cultural acculturation is what gives birth to what in this study is referred to as the new man in the Dani tribe Hubula community.

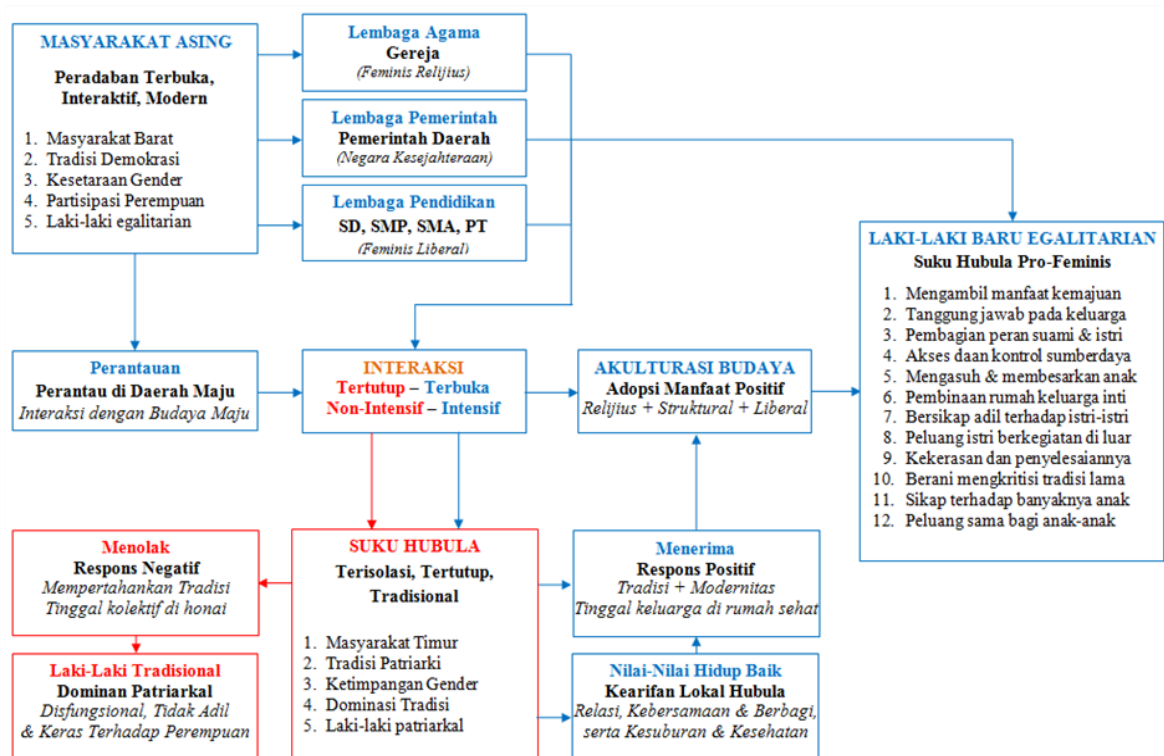


Figure 1. The Impact of Cultural Acculturation on Changes in New Male Perspectives Regarding Gender Relations Between Men and Women of the Hubula Tribe

Table 1. New Men's Perspectives on Relationships between Men and Women in the Hubula of the Dani Tribe

No.	Indicator	Old Man (Authoritarian)	New Men (Egalitarian)
1.	<u>Taking advantage of progress</u> Outlook & attitude towards the outside world & willingness to benefit from education, church, government & development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Close yourself to a more advanced outside world - Disrespect for the church & stick with customs - Lack of concern for children's education & family - Less involved in governance & development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open yourself to useful cultural values - Respect the church, active in church, less active in honai - Prioritizing children's schools so that they are smart - Happy to be a civil servant & active in development
2.	<u>Responsibilities to family</u> Views & attitudes towards leadership and concern for wife & children and family in general	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Men are customary-based dominant leaders - Men take care of war & fertility in honai - It's customary rules, the wife has to raise children - The wife has to take care of the garden & livestock so that she can eat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husband is a leader & must take care of family - The wife is the husband's responsibility, so the wife is taken care of - The child is part of the nuclear family & educated well - Husband works hard to provide for the family
3.	<u>Sharing the roles of husband & wife</u> Views & attitudes towards the division of husband & wife roles and willingness to share or help the wife's role at home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husband doesn't need to listen to wife - Husband doesn't need to help wife's work - Husband only takes care of customs, war, making beds - Wife takes care of the garden, livestock, household & children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husbands need to pay attention to their wives with dual roles - The husband must help the wife's work if the wife is tired - Husband not only takes care of customs, but also helps his wife - Husband wants to be involved in garden, livestock, house & children matters.
4.	<u>Resource access & control</u> Views & attitudes towards access & control over resources & willingness to open access or share resources with wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wife has to take care of the garden & livestock without help - The use of all garden & livestock products is regulated by the husband - The husband has the right to use his wife's business savings - The decision is made by the husband, the wife must follow it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husbands need to help their wives take care of the garden & livestock - The use of garden and livestock products is discussed together - The husband provides a living, the wife's business results as a reserve - Resource decisions are made with husband & wife
5.	<u>Parenting & raising children</u> Views & attitudes towards the role of parenting & willingness to help wife raise & raise children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husbands don't need to take care of children before initiation - Husbands only train boys for war - Daughter is a wife's business, not husband - Husband doesn't think about children's school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Husband takes care of the children while the wife takes care of the garden & livestock - Children don't need to be trained in customs & war - You also need to take care of your daughter - Children must be raised with a good education
6.	<u>Nuclear family home construction</u> Views & attitudes towards the nuclear family's healthy home & willingness to share with the wife in managing the welfare of the family together	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Live in Honai & stick to traditional traditions - Stay home healthy, but maintain patriarchy - The house is not used as a place to share husband and wife - Leave all household matters to the wife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Already living at home healthy with wife, not in honai - Building an egalitarian tradition, caring for your wife & family - Home is a place for sharing, willing to listen to the wife - Ready to help the wife take care of the family at home healthy
7.	<u>Be fair to wives</u> Views & attitudes towards justice between wives & willingness to share wealth fairly among existing wives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wives have no right to speak against their husbands - Husband has the right to decide what he wants - If you have a lot of pigs, your husband is free to remarry - How to divide the property is up to the husband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wives can speak according to the order - Husbands need to listen to their wives before deciding - Even if you have a lot of pigs, your husband doesn't have to remarry - Assets are divided fairly according to their share
8.	<u>Opportunity for wife to be active outside</u> Views & attitudes towards the wife's ability to work & willingness to give her the opportunity to work outside the home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The wife's job is only to take care of the garden, livestock, house & children - Wife can't work outside because it's easy to cheat - If you work outside, the wife can't be late home - Wife may work outside, but the money is for husband 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If able & educated, wife can work outside - Gardens, livestock, homes & children are taken care of outside of working hours - Wife can work outside according to office rules - The money earned is saved for children's education

9.	<u>Violence & Solutions</u> Views & attitudes towards violence against wives & ability to solve problems of violence against wives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Violence against the wife is normal, the wife has been bought by the husband - Wife must be harsh if it is not according to the husband's wishes - Violence becomes a tool of husband's control over his wife - Let violence happen, wife can be redeemed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Violence doesn't need to happen, dowry is not buying a wife - The wife needs to be talked to if it's not according to her husband's wishes - Violence must be done if the wife neglects family duties - Talk together so that the wife does not return to her parents' house
10.	<u>Dare to criticize old traditions</u> Views & attitudes towards old Hubula traditions & courage to criticize traditions for the sake of the nuclear family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indigenous traditions must be respected & adhered to - Dowry according to custom is a way to buy a wife - After marriage, the husband is free to do anything to his wife - Pig donations must be made because it's customary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traditions are respected but not everything has to be followed - The dowry is given but it doesn't mean the husband buys the wife - Husbands can't do what they want because wives are human too - Donations must be reduced & selected for the sake of the family
11.	<u>Attitude towards many children</u> Views & attitudes towards children & readiness to have many children as a joint decision between husband & wife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to sex urges, not the intention to have children - Don't want to know, the wife wants to have children or not - Not caring/responsible for childcare - Don't care about children's needs, especially girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wife accepts sex drive, wife is ready to have many children - Discussion together about readiness to have another child - Care or take responsibility for childcare - Caring for the needs of children, both boys and girls
12.	<u>Equal opportunities for children</u> Views & attitudes towards the equality of boys & girls & willingness to provide equal opportunities for them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boys should be trained in war, no need for school - Girls should be trained to work in the garden - Boys & girls don't need school - Girls must marry young 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children must go to school, both boys and girls - Children are trained to work in the garden outside of school hours - If they can afford it, children can go to college, even if it's a girl - Girls don't have to marry young

Source: Primary data processed (2018)

The new Hubula Dani men have become more egalitarian and have become men who are willing to take part in doing various household chores, which were previously the main domain of the wife's gender role in traditional family life. Instead of overemphasizing anger and violence, the new man prioritizes love in the husband and wife relationship, avoids egoism, becomes more concerned with family matters, and in essence he becomes more able to love and share with his wife as the life partner of choice in the household. New men in the Hubula Dani community are becoming more egalitarian and closer to their families. The husband as a new man is more commonly found in healthy houses that are separated from the traditional honai, and generally they have an image of being affectionate and ready to take on a more feminist role than the wife in various household matters. With the wife's involvement outside the home and the income supporting the family's welfare, the new egalitarian man is willing to listen and accompany his wife in taking care of the household. In essence, the new man does not become the dominant husband, because he realizes that whatever women do is as important as what men do, and men must begin to accept new, more feminist roles, both in the household and in society.

IV. Conclusion

The new pro-feminist and egalitarian men in the Hubula Dani society are modern and open to progress as a positive effect of cultural acculturation. They generally have authority as husbands who are responsible as breadwinners and care for their wives. They accept and respond positively while maintaining tradition and adopting modernity with the following characteristics: (1) Seeing the positive value of, being open to, and being active in taking advantage of progress as the influence of the Catholic church, local government, and education; (2) Responsible for the family as the breadwinner for his wife and children in the nuclear family; (3) Ready to share or help the wife's role at home; (4) Giving the wife access to and control over resources; (5) Willing to help wife in raising children; (6) Husbands and wives live as nuclear families in healthy homes and it is easier to share in managing the family; (7) Men with many wives are able to be fair to their wives as a reflection of the capacity to absorb the meaning of local wisdom; (8) The husband respects his wife's ability to work and gives her the opportunity to work outside the home; (9) Husbands avoid violence against their wives, but if violence occurs, they do not overdo it and resolve it peacefully; (10) The husband is critical of the old tradition that oppresses women and is not egalitarian, and limits the tradition of donating livestock so that the wife can raise pigs for the welfare of the family; (11) Husbands are ready to have many children as a joint decision. (12) Husbands provide equal opportunities for boys and girls to achieve higher levels of education.

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