

Nguplik: Women's Strategy Leaving the Domestic Sphere

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Abstract

This paper highlights the strategies and efforts of Paciran women in the productive sphere. Even though women have played an important role in the economic life of the household, in fact, they still bear double burdens, they are still burdened and given household responsibilities. This is of course caused by the domination of patriarchal culture which is rooted in society. Women are considered as others who have boundaries, norms, and subordination of women to men in their environment. As a result, the strategy for selecting women's jobs that places the house as the main place is a real effort to reduce the domination of patriarchal culture. This research was conducted on women who work in Nguplik in a village in Paciran District, Lamongan Regency, East Java. Nguplik is the work of separating the shells or skins of cooked crabs from the meat to be sold and processed into food and cosmetics. Nguplik is carried out by individuals and or groups of women. This study uses a qualitative method with a gender anthropological approach, with the data collection process using in-depth interviews and observations. The finding of this study is the acceptance of women as workers.

Keywords: *working women, nguplik, patriarchal culture, double burden, gender anthropology*

INTRODUCTION

Domestic activities are two words that are not easily separated from women's bodies even though the world is changing so fast (Mahmuda, 2015; Thung, 2015). The attachment is caused by traditions and culture that place women as the other. Simon de Beauvoir (1989) in his monumental book entitled *The Second Sex*, reveals the reason why women are always considered the other. For de Beauvoir, this thought departs from the notion that women are wombs. Women have ovaries and uterus. From it emerges a specificity that results in the imprisonment of women into their subjectivity.

This “others” makes women always positioned in a “different place” from men. Becoming another raises the separation between the female self and the other self (male) in any case. This separation is like a labyrinth that traps women in compartmentalized perceptions and justifications. This separation has unfortunately given rise to divisions, boundaries, norms, roles, and subordination of women to men, which become concepts: production-reproduction, public-domestic, and nature-culture (Newberry, 2006); Ortner, 1972; Rosaldo et al., 1976).

The subordinate then does not only occur in the biological or physiological realm but also has an impact on the cultural realm, where most women also tend to be placed in subordinate relationships (Ortner, 1972; Rosaldo et al., 1976; Weist et al., 1974). The existence of women in most cultures also places women as other, and often only as objects of ritual.

Comaroff (1985) in his book *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance The Culture and History of a South African People*, writes about how the Tshidi community in South Africa treats women in an initiation ritual or *bojale*. The initiation is considered essential for knowledge reproduction in the importance of social order. However, in this ritual women experience a lot of suffering when undergoing the ritual.

As in Tshidi culture in South Africa, in Javanese culture women also tend to be placed in subordinate relationships. Some ancient texts describe women as weak, submissive, and helpless. In the *Serat Panitisastra*, women are even described as *....kaparawolujanmèstri, kabisaningsakalir. Graita wivekanipun para woluning lanang* (women are only one-eighth compared to men in terms of intelligence, strength, and wisdom) (Al Marie, n.d., pp. 196–197).

In Javanese family life, the position or position of husband and wife is also different. The husband has a higher and important position and has greater power. In addition, as a man, the husband is conceptualized as working outside the home (public area) which has a bigger challenge because he has to deal with fierce nature or fellow humans who do not hesitate to kill each other with the interests of their lives. On the other hand, women are conceptualized as working in fields related to domestic affairs (domestic areas) that do not contain much risk/danger (Sukri & Sofwan, 2001, pp. 1–2).

Women in the context of Javanese culture are also often referred to as *konco wingking* (friends in the back), which is a Javanese tradition that considers women to be only in the kitchen. The concept of *swarga nunut, neraka katut* (go to heaven, go to hell too) which tends to be attached to women also illustrates the position of Javanese women who are weak and have no freedom as a wife (Handayani & Novianto, 2011, p. xi).

The strong patriarchal tradition and culture that places women as "homes", also still occurs in the Paciran community, the north coast of East Java. This can be seen from the division of roles and positioning of women who tend to be placed in domestic affairs. The attachment of the typology of the kitchen, mattress, well or *macak, masak, manak* to the Paciran woman's body, for example, has proven that women's subordination is still very strong today.

The typology is basically a patriarchal concept that is formally present in the division of roles between men and women. This typology shows that women are not in the front equal to men, but behind. The implication of the unequal positioning has been the force in the separation of the sectors of men's and women's lives into the "domestic" sphere and the "public" sphere, where women are considered people who take part in the domestic sphere while men are placed in the public sphere. Worse, this kind of ideology has been endorsed by various social institutions and institutions, which later becomes a social fact about the image, status, and role played by women (Abdullah, 1997).

The phenomenon of gender-biased status, image, and role, is still quite strong in Paciran society even though the developments and dynamics of the times have changed. This is due, among other things, to the socialization factor and the internalization of patriarchal values, which have been going on for quite a long time. The socialization is not only carried out by parents but also by the community, and also by religious leaders (Sukri & Sofwan, 2001, p. 63). In addition, knowledge of status, image, and role take place in close relation to the group or society (Shils in Sztompka, 2010). Therefore, the status, image, and role are understood as knowledge in which there are norms, rules, values, behaviors that distinguish them from others (*outsiders*) (Du Gay & Hall, 2011; Turner, 2017). Geertz in Koentjaraningrat (1962) in his study of the Javanese family, revealed that in the process of socialization, individuals will recognize the demands of behaving in accordance with social values or norms prevailing in society. Gradually he will adjust to the behavior and demands

of life in the existing cultural environment. Thus the individual's way of thinking and living habits will be formed. This socialization process has instilled values in accordance with the prevailing traditions in society. In addition, according to Parson in (Morgan, 2016) that the purpose of socialization, one of which is for cultural inheritance.

Nevertheless, the strength of patriarchal traditions and culture did not dampen the efforts of women in Paciran to get out of the domestic stereotypes they had held for so long. The exit of women from the domestic sphere to work has shown their struggle with patriarchal traditions and culture that have been shackled to them and deserve to be appreciated. Even though women who choose to work must still do two things at once, be productive by working in the public sphere and still be burdened with domestic responsibilities such as raising children, taking care of the house, cooking, preparing for family needs, and so on. As did the women working *Nguplik* in Paciran.

Nguplik is work carried out by individuals and or groups of women. *Nguplik* usually consists of eight to eleven members who work to separate the shell or skin of the cooked crab from the meat for later sale and processing into food and cosmetics.

The choice of *Nguplik* by women in Paciran is certainly not without reason, apart from the flexible work, of course, because the mental concept of working women in Paciran cannot be separated from the tradition and culture that places the house as predominantly women, therefore the choice of the workplace also affects the mobility of women in the family (Permanadeli, 2015, pp. 292–93). Women can enjoy full freedom of work opportunities, but many women still show boundaries and think that women must maintain existing traditions and culture. This is, of course, because women in Paciran do not want to be seen as *njawani*, the loss of their communal identity (as “I am Javanese”) is caused by their disobedience to existing values and traditions.

However, the limitation and assumption that women must maintain tradition and culture is not a resignation. Rather, it is an effort to build a strategy and women's social relations in Paciran as an effort to reduce the hegemony of the patriarchal culture that surrounds them (Maulana, 2020).

Konco wingking as a tradition is a cultural capital for women to be able to re-position their position in the current modern era. We know that every woman still continues to live and care for local life (tradition), but in a different context and space and time (modern).

The more modern transformation of place, space, and time does not simply eliminate the behavior or lives of women who rely on previous traditions (Maulana, 2020).

Therefore, for women in Paciran, job selection is very important. Thus, women are able to maintain their traditions and identity as Javanese women who start to go out of the house to *mergawe* (work) but still put the house as the main thing.

They can do this through *Nguplik* work, with a relatively flexible time, women in Paciran can actualize themselves in the public sphere without leaving the traditions attached to them. In the end, *Nguplik* becomes a bridge in women's efforts to connect between public and domestic spaces, between home and social reality.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Leaving the House: A Positioning

The strong hegemony of tradition and patriarchal culture that places women as domestic, in fact does not discourage women in Paciran from leaving the house. The increasing complexity of the Paciran community, which is one of the causes of modernization, has created a new awareness about the position of women in society, which directly or indirectly also affects the structure of the Paciran community with patterns of interaction which of course also changes. This change in the end also has an impact on the mindset of society in viewing women.

Modernization has broadly influenced ethnic behavior (society) caused by the flow of information that is no longer one-way (local), but also multi-directional (global). These behavioral changes in the end also affect the cultural changes of an ethnic group (Giddens, 2020).

Modernization provides new knowledge about women who are imaged by modernity not only in the domestic sphere, but also in the public sphere. Modernization has presented a new image and role for women. This is, of course, different from the knowledge of the previous society which assumed that the role of women was solely in the domestic sphere.

This shift in the way women perceive women, in the end also has an impact on the shift in the understanding of women in Paciran about *konco wingking*. This can be seen from how women in Paciran practice *konco wingking* in a different “place” from what they used

to understand. Modernization has provided a new practice of *konco wingking* which is not only in the domestic space, but also in the public sphere.

In the modern era like today, *konco wingking* is no longer only practiced as the back, with areas around the kitchen, mattress, well. For women in Paciran, *konco wingking* has a different practice from *konco wingking* which is usually interpreted as a passive and dogmatic domestic which is reduced to the 3 M typology: *macak, masak, manak*. *Konco wingking* for Paciran women is the concept of being a “good wife”, this is certainly dynamic and active, not something that is given and passive. Mrs. Riya (2018), an informant revealed that “*Wong wedok kan ora mung nek pawon terus mas saiki. Biyen iyo, saiki wesorangono, opo-opo larang mas.*” (Women are not only in the kitchen now, mas. It used to be, now it's not like that, everything is expensive).

This phenomenon can also be seen as a process of socio-cultural change that relies on the process of traditional invention in the form of tradition renewal carried out by Javanese women in the *konco wingking* tradition. The conception of traditional invention is a dialogue between tradition in its old context, with the present context, thus allowing the emergence of a face of tradition that is different from its old form (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012).

This change in tradition can be seen from women's efforts to review existing traditions (at different times) and make changes to these traditions according to the times without losing the main value of existing traditions. The change in the *konco wingking* tradition requires women (as agents) to change the form/practice of *konco wingking* by having a dialogue with their position as both at home and outside. Women (agents) must be able to parse their position through a process of going back and forth between the subject and realizing herself as an object, and vice versa (Bourdieu, 1998; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Kabeer, 2005).

Seeing the changing practice of *konco wingking* means seeing the construction that was built from the accumulation of realities that existed at that time, which was in dialogue with other realities at different times. In the modern world, *konco wingking* can no longer be interpreted as "the one behind" with its domestic role; *macak, masak, manak* as static “memory imprints”, which are represented by the position of women always being in the house. Rather, it must be interpreted as a place of return, because of social reality;

community and family. For Javanese women, *konco wingking* is activated through various actions, one of which is work. In the end, the presentation of *konco wingking* was not only seen in the relationship between the position and role of women and the house, but also in the relationship between the position and role of women and the public sphere (Kabeer, 2005; Maulana, 2020; Permanadeli, 2015).

Therefore, as a culture or tradition that is continuously reproduced by women, *konco wingking* can manifest by the underlying reality. This means that the form of *konco wingking* is not only in the domestic sphere, the household space, as only being friends in the back; kitchen, mattress and well, but can manifest differently according to the social conditions of the underlying household. In Paciran, for example, the manifestation of *konco wingking* can be in the form of women's participation in improving the family economy through Nguplik.

The leaving of women in Paciran to work is a new practice, which of course cannot be separated from self-awareness or active consent as agents (Bourdieu, 2020). Therefore, what women in Paciran do by leaving the house is the result of the dialectic between agents and the structure of “*the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of the internality.*” Agents receive influence from the structure (internalization) and through their practice reinforce the structure itself (externalization). In the process, agents articulate and appreciate the cultural values contained in the structure as strategic actions in certain social contexts, so that a continuous reciprocal process between praxis and structure can result in both change and continuity (Bourdieu, 2020).

Through the practice of Nguplik, the women in Paciran try to internalize external influences (modernization) and externalize structures (traditions) with new practices. At this stage women in Paciran have tried to do positioning, meaning that what they do is always seen as a result of the dialogical relationship between structure and agency.

This presents an open choice of various activities that determine the position of women, both inside and outside the home. Women be outside as well as be inside, but women must be able to determine their priorities to determine which space they should occupy and at what time they should be in that space (Maulana, 2020).

Nguplik: An Arena Against the Shackles of Culture

The presence of women in the public sphere marked by their entry into the world of work has provided a new perspective on the knowledge of *konco wingking* which is not only simplified through 3M: macak, cooking, manak, or kitchen, mattress, well but also *mergawe* (work). The actions of women in Paciran by *Nguplik* are part of the new face of women's practice in Paciran in today's modern era. This change in interaction patterns can also be seen as a result of women's efforts to minimize the dominance of patriarchal culture and traditions in this modern era.

Modernization is therefore not described as an alienation, as stated by Giddens (2020). Modernization is defined as the meeting of the local and the global. So that we can see the meeting between “local” and “global” that does not present a division, domination, or opposition, because the appropriation that occurs locally and globally through the practice of women working is presented as an event to emphasize how the continuity of the position of women in meetings with the new era.

As a tradition or culture, knowledge of *konco wingking* becomes the basic capital in self-identification of Paciran women as part of the (Javanese) community, on the other hand women in Paciran use the practice of going out of their homes to interact with others as a modern legitimacy. So it can be seen that the phenomenon of work is a representation of a cultural movement that is used to show the meeting between tradition and modernity (Du Gay & Hall, 2011; Giddens, 2020; Maulana, 2020). Therefore, these new women's practices are needed as a cultural communication tool that allows the Paciran community to absorb modernity and insert it into the Javanese world, whose presence has social meaning (Permanadeli, 2015). Through new practices, *konco wingking* is reproduced through jobs, one of which is *nguplik*. The spirit of modernization is in line with women's efforts to get equal opportunities in public spaces. This can be seen from the number of women's participation in the world of work which is increasing from year to year.

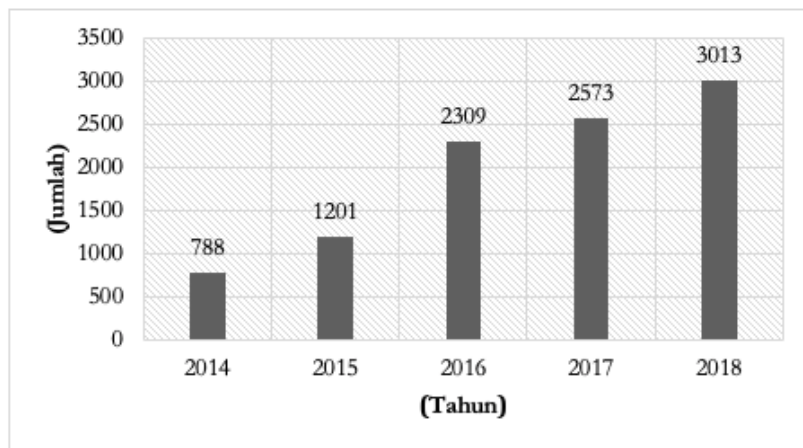


Figure 1. Participation Rate of Paciran Women in the World of Work
(Source: Paciran Village Monograph Data, 2018)

The increasing number of women in Paciran who work, is also a sign that they exist and are accepted as part of a community that is also worthy of being taken into account in the household economy, the country and even the world. They also began to prove the view that women can move from place to place (home) to another place (public) without leaving their place of origin (community) as their identity (Maulana, 2021, p. 126).

Nguplik is a picture of women's awareness of their position which has "changed place" from the ideal norm of *konco wingking*. However, "moving places" also does not mean shifting oneself from the "place" of origin (society). The shifting of places for women to implement that *konco wingking* which has been overshadowing the bodies of Paciran women, can be reproduced or even resisted into a new practice that does not only place women behind (domestic).

The acceptance of women in the world of work, once again, has also overthrown the shackles of human culture and civilization that stems from the way of thinking of men (patriarchal). We know that in the patriarchal way of thinking, women seem to have been designed in such a way; menstruation, pregnancy and lactation (De Beauvoir, 1989). This slogan is then repeated over and over again to gain hegemonic acceptance: the role played by women is only in the domestic sphere.

It is this construction that perpetuates the male line of thought; the stigma that is always sought after and enjoyed for localize women into the most "intimate" areas, then stabilized through social roles into a dichotomy between the domestic and the public,

nature and culture, the immanence and the transcendence – between the “limited” and “the free” (De Beauvoir, 1989; Firestone, 1979; Ortner, 1972).

Table 1. List of Jobs Performed by Women

No.	Title
1	Farmer/Farm Laborer
2	Civil Servants
3	Merchants
4	Tailor
5	Private Employees
6	Master
7	Industrial Workers
8	Veil Border

(Source: Paciran Village monograph data, 2016)

By taking advantage of the dynamics of changing times that are so fast and complex, women in Paciran make an effort to fight against the shackles of patriarchal culture and traditions by going out of the house to work. Domestication that has been attached to his body, trying to be released. Women cannot only be considered as second sex or others. By working, women in Paciran try to get out of the stigma and stereotype that women are prisoners in their rooms – bodies that are reduced to mere reproductive organs (De Beauvoir, 1989; Firestone, 1979; Rosaldo et al., 1976).

As agents, women in Paciran have a conscious thought in taking actions according to what they want (Bourdieu, 2020; Kabeer, 2005). Their presence in the world of work is a manifestation of their conscious mind: they identify themselves as the most understanding, understanding, and practicing *konco wingking* in everyday life. *Konco wingking* as a tradition is a set of social relations that have endowed Paciran women with –capital – position, status, and resources (Bourdieu, 1998).

By activating this capital, the roles of women in Paciran eventually changed. Women are not only placed in a special room called home, but also in other spaces outside the home, such as where they work. The transformation of women, basically involves the existence of agency within women. Women as agents have succeeded in increasing their capacity by empowering themselves in spaces they had never previously occupied (Kabeer,

2005). This is indicated by the many types of work that women do in Paciran, from home-based to office work, as shown in the table above.

Forming a New Identity

What the women in Paciran do by leaving the house has formed a new identity from their old identity; domestic roles. This old identity has long been constructed through a system of representation. This means that when we talk about women, we also indirectly present discussions about the house (Giles & Middleton, 2008). This illustrates the representation of women as something close to or even integrated with the house. This is due to all the activities of women that cannot be separated from the home, for example the roles that have been the main task of women as *konco wingking* also place them in the home (Newberry, 2006; Permanadeli, 2015).

The use of houses or other domestic things as women's identities in Paciran will be easy to find from the languages used by both men and women themselves in describing the existence, nature, and role of women. Grandma Nab, my informant, for example, used *omah* (house) as a label for women with the qualities that a wife should have, namely loving, warm, protective, willing to sacrifice as the meaning of home. Grandma Nab said, “*Wong wedok iku omah, gon mulebe bojo karo anak. Dadi wong wedok iku gak oleh mikir enak e awake dene. Wong wedok iku yo mesti kudu pengerten.*” (Women are home, where their husbands and children come home. So, a woman should not think about herself. A woman must be understanding).

The use of *omah* (house) as stated by Grandma Nab above, by Giles & Middleton (2008) is referred to as to speak or act on behalf of. The house becomes the identity of women's representation. Through representation, a meaning is produced and exchanged. So it can be said that representation in a nutshell is one way to produce a new identity (Du Gay & Hall, 2011).

Another example, namely the use of *pawon* (kitchen) spoken by Mr. Kim, “*...wong lanang kok mikir pawon, yo iku tugase wong wedok to mas...*” (...men think about the kitchen, it is the wife's duty, isn't it...) and the use of the market, as stated by Mr. Mad the following “*Neng pasar iku yo tugase wong wedok...*” (It's a woman's job to go to the market...). The use of *pawon* (kitchen) or market which is always attached to women is part of identity formation through a representation system known as to stand in for (Giles & Middleton, 2008).

Indicates the presence of women in the place, that women can never be separated from the *pawon* (kitchen) and market affairs.

In this case the use of 3M typology, *macak, masak, manak* which are often labeled for women. Giles & Middleton (2008) refer to it as to re-present, it is part of an effort to create women's self-identity through events that represent memories related to household work, and what women do will always be related to it.

The depiction of women through the home or other domestic matters has created an identity for women. This means that it is as if the house (domestication) is an unbroken and inseparable space from women's practices, which is why the house – and the domestic roles in it – are always identified with women.

However, for Woodward (1997) identity has a dynamic meaning, referring to the relationship between one party (the self) and another party (the others). The existence of the self and the others are formed and influence each other through social interaction. Therefore, a person's identity is not passive but can always be reproduced, in the process throughout his life.

With the acceptance of women as workers, in the end, society's view of women's identity has been changed. In fact, women can not only be positioned in a special room called *omah, pawon* and market. But also other spaces outside the home: the public arena.

Dual Roles: Strategy Redefining Tradition

The new identity that has been successfully created by women in Paciran does not necessarily remove the values from the old identity, but instead creates a dialogue between the old values and the new values. For example, women leaving their homes for *nguplik* have created a new identity for women who are not only considered “domestic”. However, women's exit to *nguplik* does not eliminate their identity as housewives with the norms they continue to work on, such as cooking for the family, cleaning the house, and so on. Therefore, women prefer jobs that do not interfere with their “time” as housewives, as expressed by Mrs. Nur, one of the following informants: “...*nguplik bae mas, nek kerjo seng liyane, engko malah gak keurus omah...*” (...just keep *nguplik*, if you have another job, you won't even take care of the house...).

In the end, this new identity also gave rise to a new response for women in Paciran regarding the situation they were in. In this case, women in Paciran experience a dual role,

they must be able to divide their time as a housewife with their status as a working mother. In this case, women's participation concerns the role of tradition and transition. Rosaldo (1976) states that the dual role is mentioned by the concept of cultural dualism, namely the concept of the domestic sphere and the public sphere. The double burden is all forms of women's involvement regarding the role of tradition and transition. The role of tradition is all women's activities that cover the domestic sphere, namely the role of women as wives, mothers and household managers. Meanwhile, the transitional role includes women's activities in the public sphere, namely the role of women as workers and members of the community. In this transitional role, the involvement of women is not only as a workforce who is actively involved in economic activities (earning a living), but also becomes a part of human development, social and cultural change (Rosaldo et al., 1976; Wibowo, 2011).

The concept of women's dual role comes from the same paradigm, namely the dichotomous distinction between domestic and public spaces. The concept of dual roles, which was originally expected to empower women in their journey, often creates many problems. Because the dichotomous paradigm will consider public and domestic spaces to be diametrically separate. If in the end the involvement of women in various sectors is divided into the category of multiple roles, this may give birth to a dichotomous mentality. This sorting will give birth to a split personality and of course it will be a big problem (Wibowo, 2011).

The freedom of women's entry into the world of work, such as *nguplik* in Paciran, is not able to liberate women from the dichotomous paradigm: public and household affairs. That is why, even though women are already working, they will still be connoted as human domestic workers (homemakers) who are considered unable to contribute actively outside the home so that their role is no more than a complement. We can see how women are actively involved in working in all lines, from the economic, social, political to religious fields. All lines have been able to rely on women as productive and reliable human resources. However, many things still shackle women in their work in the productive realm. Many strategic positions are difficult for women to access. Women are considered unable to lead in their work because they are considered to rely too much on emotions and feelings so that it is difficult to make good and wise decisions. Women are also considered weak and less powerful in hard jobs that rely on muscles or physically (Ortner, 1972;

Permanadeli, 2015). The strong influence of these cultural values on women in the end also underlies the emergence of dual roles for women workers (Maulana, 2020; Permanadeli, 2015; Zuhdi, 2019).

Dual roles are still a problem for working women today. The same applies to women working in Paciran. They must be able to divide their time between the domestic sphere and the public sphere. As stated by Mrs. Silva, the following:

“Nek isukbiasane aku tangidisikan, jam limoisuk. Terus neng pasar, belanjogawe sarapan. Mari ngono masak, nyetrikaknosseragame anak gawe sekolah. Nyambi masak, aku yongedusi anak. Mari ngonongeter anak sekolah sampek jam songo, terus budal neng gudang, nguplik.”

(Every morning I usually wake up first, at five in the morning. After that I go to the market, shop for breakfast. After that I cook, iron the children's school uniforms. While cooking, I bathe the children. After that take the children to school until nine o'clock n, after that go to the warehouse, *nguplik*).

However, for women who work as *nguplik* workers in Paciran, dual roles are not an excuse for them not to leave the house. The dual role is a consequence of the awareness of the changing practices taking place at present, which she chooses. This kind of consequence focuses the discussion on a comprehensive and integral understanding of the areas of the role itself. If women concentrate themselves in domestic roles, it does not mean that they have to leave their public roles, and vice versa. That means, when women change the form/practice of *konco wingking*, they also carry out a dialogue process or dialogue about their position as both at home and outside. Women (as agents) must be able to parse their position through a process of going back and forth between subjects and realize themselves as objects of society, and vice versa (Arivia, 2003; De Beauvoir, 1989).

It also explains the process of traditional inventions carried out by women in Paciran. Women must be able to display the *konco wingking* tradition, while still placing their original form (identity as being) as the main value displayed with different performances (identity as becoming) in the modern era (Du Gay & Hall, 2011; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2003). 2012).

They take this kind of process because it is an effort to get out of the traditions and culture that they have been unable to completely leave their bodies behind. A woman working in Paciran, revealed that if you can't get something in its entirety, it doesn't mean

you leave it altogether. This means that the positioning of women is important, not to erase tradition, but rather a strategy to reinterpret tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012).

With this understanding, the dual role is not made a burden for women *nguplik* workers. Rather, it is the strategy of women in Paciran to get out of the house and be able to compete in the public sphere. As stated by Mrs. Silva, the following:

“Zaman saiki wong wedok kudu giat, ora mung terimo opo anane, ora mung dadi konco wingking, tapi yo kudu iso dadi konco urip. Orang mung nadahjalukebojo, tapi yo kudu iso bantu bojo bareng-bareng.”

(Nowadays women must be active, not only accept what is, not only become *konco wingking*, but also become a *konco urip*. Not only waiting for their husbands, but must be able to help their husbands together).

Looking at the opinion of the informant above, that women can't just stay silent, and resign themselves to being sidekicks. He must be able to become a *konco urip* (life partner) who can contribute to the family. These changes, in addition to the existence of agency in women, as agents, they have also succeeded in increasing individual capacity by empowering themselves in spaces they have never previously occupied. Women have dominance, power or the ability to make the desired choices (Kabeer, 2005).

So it is not surprising if Geertz (1973), considers that in most Javanese society, women dominate in all walks of life. For Geertz, the effect is due to the “women-dominated network”. Women connect their hidden power so that the network is so strong and even its dominance extends to the public sphere.

This can be seen from the important role of women as indicated by the fact that in most households, it is women who are responsible for managing household income and expenditure. In addition, women also play an important role in the decision-making process that occurs in the household. The decision-making process can be seen from how women dominate the choice of places where their children have to go to school, recite the Koran, tutoring and so on (Geertz, 1973; Maulana, 2021; Permanadeli, 2015).

This transformation was eventually followed by a change in gender relations (husband and wife) in the family. This shift in relations is reflected in the partnership between men and women: that men (husbands) are not the only actors who are responsible for public work but have become a shared responsibility with women (wives). The shift in

family values is reflected in the increase in gender partnerships in carrying out the family's economic function which is indicated by mutual support in generating family income (Rahmawati, 2015).

Relationships that are built in the family become more equal, where men and women (husband and wife) are placed on an equal footing in household relations, without anyone dominating. This is of course in line with the conception of women in Paciran about being *konco urip*, a manifestation of the actions of agents in their subjective consciousness (Bourdieu, 2020).

Therefore, *konco urip* provides social awareness about gender relations (husband and wife) in which there is a reciprocal relationship, which cannot be distinguished and separated. Husband and wife complement each other, by showing the similarity of the relationship between home and social space where the two are not separated from each other and are always related to create a better situation (Permanadeli, 2015; Rahmawati, 2015). In addition, in the concept of *konco urip*, the house becomes a symbol of the ongoing husband-wife relationship. It is impossible for men and women to find the meaning of happiness in the world until they find the meaning of happiness at home. Happiness at home has always been a measure of the success of gender relations. That's why the most important thing for a man (husband) and woman (wife) is not to know where he should spend the most time and concentration. However, it is precisely the extent to which both of them have a high dedication to the good and happiness of the house and its contents, and further expand that devotion beyond the physical boundaries of the home, a worldwide service (Newberry, 2006; Permanadeli, 2015).

Therefore, the concept of *konco urip* is not just “being a wife”, a woman who controls and regulates all domestic activities in the household. But also women who can provide life and maintain the sustainability of homes and other social spaces (Maulana, 2021; Newberry, 2006). That way, the transformation of *konco wingking* into *konco urip* is part of the result of reinterpreting tradition, by understanding the world of Javanese households (tradition), women must also be able to understand how to act when faced with changes, because that is how women make their homes – and themselves. - able to get out of trouble, and naturally he is present in social spaces (Geertz in Koentjaraningrat, 1962). This fact shows

that the role and social awareness of women begins through the household space to a wider social space.

CONCLUSION

This paper is intended to look at the cultural logic of the Javanese society – in Paciran – which has changed in responding to working women, starting to accept and even support women who choose to leave the house to work. Even though this is not in line with the *konco wingking* tradition that is attached to women. Using the theoretical framework of traditional invention from Hobsbawm (2012), the description of the cultural logic of Javanese women will be able to explain the relationship between women in seeing themselves (the self) and society (the other).

This can be seen from the findings of this study, that the strong dominance of the patriarchal culture that is rooted in the Paciran community, is in fact unable to stem the changes that occur, one of which is the way women view women which can no longer be placed in one domestic space. These changes are used by women in Paciran to explore themselves – including the values or traditions inherent in their bodies. The tradition – in this case, the *konco wingking* – is used by women in Paciran as cultural capital, which is able to explain their presence in the community. Therefore, *konco wingking*, requires a discussion on the identity and position of women in the structure of society from the past until now. Identity in this context includes self-identity as well as socio-cultural. It deals with personal and social matters. The linkage is inevitable because women's identity begins to be formed in the internal structure (the house) and out at the social level (the world).

In addition, the concept of the household for the Paciran community is also important to be seen as a trigger for women to leave the house to work. The household is seen as a place of origin as well as a place of return. This means that the happiness and goodness of the household above all else. This ultimately leads to the logic that the most important thing for men (husbands) and women (wives) is not knowing where to spend the most time and concentration. However, it is precisely the extent to which both of them have high devotion for the good and happiness of the house and its contents.

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