Women's Autonomy in Batik Workers “Divorce Decision-Making”

Ali Muhtarom
UIN K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, Pekalongan Indonesia
ali.muhtarom@uingusdur.ac.id

Kurnia Muhajarah
UIN Walisongo, Semarang Indonesia
kurniamuhajarah@walisongo.ac.id

Alif Faza Dli’fain
Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan
fazatongcin@gmail.com

Abstract
Women today continue to face inferiority. The patriarchal culture prevalent in society generally positions women in a marginalized social status, rendering them vulnerable to violence and exploitation. This results in women lacking control within the household and the absence of autonomous rights. This issue is further exacerbated in the context of divorce cases. This research aims to reveal women's autonomy and the dynamics between husbands and wives in terms of work division and decision-making within the family. This study is a field research that employs a qualitative approach. Collected data were processed and analyzed using an interrelation model. The findings of this study are as follows: First, women's autonomy and power can be realized through access opportunities for women, supported by the existing environmental conditions. Second, in divorce cases, women's autonomy can be assessed through six factors: the absence of spousal responsibility, economic instability, gender awareness, social conditions, ego, and the husband’s lack of motivation to work. Third, the relationship between spouses in work division tends to reflect an equal partnership. Family decision-making, as identified in this study, is characterized by wife-dominant and syncratic decision-making types.

Keywords: Women's Autonomy, Decision-Making, Spousal Relations

Introduction
Autonomy is understood as a choice or decision made by women based on their own needs and aspirations, resulting from the social representation of women that is inseparable from their interactions with the society in which they reside (Hidayati, 2019).
The manifestation of women's autonomy within the family can be observed in the extent to which women hold power in various family activities. For instance, this includes matters such as child restriction (Utami et al., 2020), the use of contraceptives (Paramita & Thohirun, 2017), wearing the hijab (Sabara & M.I.M.I.K.R.I., 2019), remarrying after divorce (Mayangsari et al., 2022), employment (Syamsul, 2019), and other related aspects.

The existing legal frameworks, both in Indonesia and at the international level, encompass legislative regulations that recognize the principle of equality between men and women. However, in the practical implementation within the state, discrimination and arbitrary treatment against women persist (Kania, 2015). As reported by the United Nations, nearly half of the women in 57 countries lack the freedom to make decisions regarding their bodies, including matters of sex, contraception, and healthcare (Reuters, 2021). Furthermore, the 2021 Situation World Population (SWOOPs) report indicates that almost half of the women and girls in 57 developing countries claim they do not have rights to gender equality and bodily autonomy. They also face inhumane practices such as child marriage, impunity for rape, forced marriage, forced sterilization, coerced contraception, and marital rape (Putra, 2021). Additionally, data presented by the 'KUMPUL' community during an event titled "Shaping the Future for Indonesian Women Leaders" revealed that Indonesia’s Gender Equality Index for 2021 dropped from 85th in 2020 to 101st (Sanjiwani, 2021).

Women are consistently left behind and marginalized, as evidenced by the data presented. They struggle even to assert their own rights and autonomy. In patriarchal societies, men typically hold dominant power, which inevitably undermines the roles and presence of women, particularly within Javanese culture. The shift in the ideal image of Javanese women extends beyond the domestic sphere into the public domain, touching on areas deemed taboo by many Javanese people, such as divorce (Anik F, 2007). Similarly, Geertz noted that divorce is considered taboo among the Javanese community (Geertz, 1985).

BPS-Statistics Indonesia has released statistical data for Indonesia in 2022. Among the various datasets, one notable entry is the divorce statistics in Indonesia. According to the report, BPS recorded 447,743 divorces in Indonesia in 2021, comprising 110,400 divorces initiated by husband (talaq) and 337,343 initiated by wife (khul'). Quantitatively, this figure is higher than the previous two years, with 291,677 divorces in 2020 and 493,002 in 2019 (BPS Release, 2022). The province of Central Java ranks third with a total of 75,509 divorces, following East Java with 88,235 and West Java with 98,088. The data indicates that divorces initiated by wife (khul') significantly outnumber those initiated by husband (talaq).

The phenomenon of the high divorce rate is intriguing to study, especially when linked to women's autonomy. The elevated number of divorces indicates that the personalities of Javanese women may have evolved, potentially due to family economic factors, low morality, the influence of globalization (Leksono, 2009), and the emergence of women's emancipation, thus fostering women's autonomy over themselves. The aforementioned reasons underscore the significance of this research, particularly as each divorce invariably leaves various issues unresolved. Based on the above exposition, this article examines the emergence of women's autonomy within Javanese Muslim families and women's autonomy in divorce petitions, as well as the relational dynamics between spouses in terms of the division of labor and decision-making processes.
Research on women’s autonomy and husband-wife relationships is not a novel topic, encompassing diverse areas of study. Roikan explored the autonomy of women in coastal Madura. The findings of this research reveal that women are not merely companions to men, reliant solely on reproductive roles, but also possess a cultural role in socialization that shapes the personalities of future generations (Roikan, 2014).

Aliffiati (2020) found that the Tengger Tradition positions women within family life, society, and rituals. This tradition views men and women as equals, with both playing equivalent roles in family and societal contexts. Gender equality within the Tengger Tradition shapes individuals’ actions and behaviors to fulfill their roles and statuses within both family and society. The *Setya Laksana* teachings revolve around living with the principle of panca setia, which is the way of life for the Tengger people. The responsibilities of wives and husbands are balanced, involving domestic duties as well as public responsibilities. Women play a crucial role in performing events and executing rituals. Through activities such as biodo or bethek and societal rituals, women not only assert their presence but also indirectly socialize and shape class structures among women.

Tatik Hidayati explores Kiwama’s concept of the representation and autonomy of salt workers. Specifically, the representation and autonomy of women within the household establish patterns of mutual respect and flexibility, both in decision-making and the division of labor. This means that women's autonomy operates within contextual and cultural frameworks (Hidayati, 2019).

Syamsul successfully illustrates that women possess the capacity to participate in strengthening the economic power of their families without relinquishing their identity as women or mothers. Participation in employment is a manifestation of independence, characterized by a rhythm and social values that define personal and familial identity. Moreover, it can also create opportunities for their children, enabling them to navigate the challenges of life with greater resilience (Syamsul, 2019).

Wabilia Husnah asserts that the autonomy inherent in the decision-making process for women to become order brides represents a form of relational autonomy. This study finds that a particular woman possesses a strong intersectionality of various factors that make her more susceptible to becoming a victim of an order bride. However, the reasons behind the decision-making cannot be separated from social norms, cultural practices, and social relationships (Husnah et al., 2021). Windha Widyastuti examines the low decision-making capacity within families and its tendency to affect the utilization of Antenatal Care (ANC). This finding highlights the importance of decision-making power for women, especially within the family context during pregnancy, which is also influenced by the husband and other family members residing in the same household (Widyastuti, 2017). This statement regarding women’s autonomy is recommended for use in marriage counseling for adolescents and families.

This study encompasses, firstly, the autonomy of women within Javanese Muslim families; secondly, the autonomy of women in divorce cases; and thirdly, the dynamics between spouses regarding the division of labor and decision-making. The research is field-based, characterized by a qualitative, phenomenological, descriptive-analytical approach. The research locus is Pekalongan, serving as a representation of the Javanese Muslim coastal community. The objective of this study is to describe the causes of female autonomy within Javanese Muslim families, to examine its manifestations, and to analyze spousal relations from a gender perspective. Data
collection methods include observation, documentation, and interviews. The collected data is processed and analyzed through a model of interrelational understanding from three sources: the community, theory, and the researcher.

**Discussion**

Examining the occurrence of female autonomy within the family is complex, particularly given that the position of women in the eyes of certain segments of society often remains inferior. This encompasses the division of labor and relational patterns between husband and wife, necessitating the application of an appropriate theoretical framework.

In this context, the theoretical frameworks employed include:

*Firstly*, female autonomy, defined as the ability to act according to one’s own will, engage in activities, and make decisions independently, free from directives or coercion by others (Ihromi, 1999). In this study, autonomy is conceptualized as a woman’s capacity to make decisions and act independently, without direction or force from others. Decisions are categorized into three groups: those made solely by the wife, decisions made jointly by husband and wife, and decisions made solely by the husband (Sajogyo, 1983).

*Secondly*, the relational dynamics between husband and wife are examined. Letha D. Scanzoni and J. Scanzoni classify marital relationships into four relational patterns: 'owner-property,' 'head-complement,' 'senior partner,' and 'equal partner.' These patterns are further classified into two types: traditional and modern marriages. Traditional marriages encompass the 'owner-property' and 'head-complement' patterns, whereas modern marriages include the 'senior partner' and 'equal partner' patterns (Ihromi, 1999).

*Thirdly*, the theory of Decision Making is considered. Decision making involves selecting policies or making choices based on specific criteria. Broadly, Davis and Rigaux identify four types of family decision-making structures: 1) Wife-dominated decisions, where decisions are primarily influenced by the wife rather than other family members. 2) Husband-dominated decisions, where decisions are predominantly shaped by the husband’s influence over other family members. 3) Syncratic decisions, which result from mutual agreement between husband and wife, balancing the influence of both genders. 4) Autonomic decisions, occurring when each spouse makes decisions independently based on their traditional values (Davis & B.P., 1974).

1. **Pekalongan and the Strategic Position of Women**

Pekalongan has long been known as the City of Batik. This designation extends beyond mere labeling, as the batik industry has become a vital aspect of the community's livelihood, giving rise to batik entrepreneurs across various scales—small, medium, and large (Disperindagkop, 2023). These businesses are distributed throughout nearly every sub-district of Pekalongan City. On the other hand, the batik industry has also led a significant portion of Pekalongan's population to depend on this sector for their livelihoods, working as laborers or employees.

According to the 2021 statistical data for the city of Pekalongan, as detailed above, the sex ratio, or the proportion of male to female residents, in Pekalongan is nearly equal. In the sub-districts of Pekalongan Barat and Pekalongan Selatan, the number of male residents exceeds that of female residents. Conversely, in the sub-districts of Pekalongan Utara and Pekalongan Timur, the female population is greater than the male population.
This demographic distribution impacts the strategic position of women, particularly in Pekalongan, where many batik industries employ female workers.

Formally, the number of female batik employers dispersed throughout nearly all sub-districts of Pekalongan City—particularly in batik industry pockets and impoverished/slum residential areas—is not recorded by the BPS—Statistics Office (BPS) and the Social, Manpower, and Transmigration Agency (Dinsosakertrans). This is due to their status as informal workers (Dinsoskertrans, 2023). Nevertheless, in practice, the number of female batik employers in Pekalongan City is substantial, even exceeding the number of male batik employers in the same sector. This is evidenced by field data identification, which shows that out of 15 (fifteen) batik employers in Pekalongan City, all employ female labor, with an average of 80% female workers and only 20% male workers (Triana Shofiani, 2012).

The depiction above illustrates the strategic position of women in the batik industry, as well as in other informal sectors such as trade. For instance, a visit to traditional markets in Pekalongan, such as Pasar Patiunus (the relocation of the former Banjarsari market), reveals that the majority of market activities are carried out by women. According to Zumaroh (2023),

*Kie mas o., los batik nek pasar iki hampir roto seng ngurus perempuan, paling bapak e ngontrol utowo melu nglayani* (Zumaroh, 2023)

"In the batik market at Banjarsari, almost all of the management is handled by women, with men primarily overseeing product availability or assisting with customer service."

Thus, it can be asserted that women in Pekalongan hold a strategic role as key drivers of the local economy. Statistical data from 2021 shows that women working in the trade sector number 22,196, while those in the industrial sector number 20,841. This indicates that trade is a significant employment sector for women.

### 2. The Emergence of Women's Autonomy within the Family

Studying the relationship between men and women is an appropriate approach to better understand the position of women within specific cultures (Sajogyo, 1983). This necessitates the development of two types of relational patterns: 1) the relationship between men and women can be examined in terms of power distribution, measuring the extent to which each gender controls valuable resources such as land, food, money, as well as knowledge in 'ritual' skills, information, and so forth, according to respective cultural norms. 2) Conceptually, the relationship between men and women, or the nature of differentiation between them, can be studied by analyzing the presence or absence of differentiation in behavior and ideology.

Therefore, while the first approach emphasizes 'power,' whether economic or otherwise, the second focuses more on behavior and ideology. It is plausible that by employing the first method, a woman who dominates the economic sector or possesses significant material strength will exert full control over her family, including her husband. Consequently, it is not surprising that one of the factors contributing to divorce initiated by women is economic reasons. Specifically, when the husband lacks economic strength, while the wife possesses greater financial resources than her spouse.

Formally, the number of female batik artisans dispersed across almost all districts in Pekalongan city, particularly in batik industry hubs and slum/residential pockets, is not
recorded by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) and the Department of Social and Manpower. Employers prefer female workers because they demand lower wages, require no specialized skills, and are well-suited to batik-making, which predominantly relies on female hands and does not require significant physical strength. Additionally, female workers tend to be less likely to protest, except for tasks that necessitate male labor (Triana Shofiani, 2012). The description above highlights the strategic position of women in the batik business sector, not to mention their role in other informal sectors, such as trade. For instance, a visit to traditional markets in Pekalongan city, such as Banjarsari Market, reveals that women dominate the market activities.

*Kie mas o, los batik nek pasar iki hampir roto seng ngurus perempuan, paling bapak e ngontrol utowo melu nglayani* (Zumaroh, 2023) *(The batik vendors at Banjarsari market in Pekalongan are predominantly managed by women, with men primarily involved in overseeing product availability or assisting customers.)*

Consequently, women in Pekalongan city can be considered to hold a strategic position as key drivers of the economy.

For women who have their own income, on one hand, they can utilize and develop their potential, and on the other hand, they can earn their own income. Thus, women can meet their needs and even contribute their earnings to support the family's economic needs, gaining economic independence. Women involved in the trade sector (public role) generally have a higher bargaining position compared to those only involved in the domestic sector (domestic role). Working women with their own sources of income not only have autonomy in managing their personal expenses but also contribute more significantly to household needs. This illustrates women's autonomy within the family, which should be reflected in the extent to which women have power in various family activities. In the above case, if women have access to (power in) various sectors, this becomes a capital for women to hold 'power' within the household.

Power is measured by the number (frequency) of decisions made by women within a given period. The types of decisions are categorized into three groups: decisions made solely by the wife, joint decisions by the husband and wife, and decisions made solely by the husband (Sajogyo, 1983). This study on women's autonomy aims to explore the background of Javanese women's autonomy, its forms, and to provide an in-depth analysis that can accurately depict the models or patterns of Javanese women's autonomy. The emergence of women's autonomy in this study is attributed to the access available to women and the support from their surrounding environment. The environmental conditions include the imbalance in the couple's or husband's position, poor family religiosity, and factors related to each partner's family background. Therefore, it can be concluded that the broader and more accessible the opportunities available to women, the stronger their autonomy will be.

3. **The Relationship Between Husband and Wife in the Division of Labor and Decision-Making in Divorce Cases**
   a. **Husband-Wife Relationship**

   Within a family, the relationship between husband and wife leads to a relational structure (Jalaluddin Rahmat, 1994). A married couple typically reflects
three structural models: first, the Complementary Structure, often referred to as the traditional family model. In this structure, both parties perform distinct roles, emphasizing their differences. Each party cannot function without the presence of the other. For instance, the husband typically serves as the breadwinner, working outside the home, while the wife maintains the household, handling domestic affairs such as cooking, cleaning, serving, and caring for and educating the children. This type of structure tends to be stable, as the wife relies on the husband, and vice versa. However, it is acknowledged that this structure is not without criticism. One significant critique is the imbalance of power, where one party holds more power than the other, resulting in an unequal power relationship.

Secondly, the symmetrical structure, often referred to as the modern family structure, is characterized by an equal distribution of power between husband and wife. Both partners possess equal authority and the right to make decisions, with each enjoying independence in their own capacities. Consequently, in this structure, the element of autonomy tends to be more dominant than relational aspects. The relationship between husband and wife appears to be bound primarily by a contractual agreement known as marriage. This symmetrical structure is generally less stable and often fails to withstand the challenges that arise in domestic life.

Thirdly, parallel structure is a combination of complementary and symmetric structures. To illustrate, in a complementary relationship between husband and wife, both parties are interdependent and mutually supportive, yet they also possess certain aspects of their familial roles that are independent. This results in each individual managing distinct, autonomous parts of their roles, typically through negotiation (Jalaluddin Rahmat, 1994). For instance, the wife may have the freedom to act independently in certain matters, while other issues require mutual agreement. In other words, aspects of the relationship exhibit complementary characteristics, while others display symmetric traits.

b. Division of labor

The division of labor between husband and wife is based on spatial or geographical scope. Regarding domestic affairs, such as managing the household, caring for children, cooking, and preparing household necessities, these responsibilities typically fall under the purview of the wife. Conversely, responsibilities pertaining to external affairs, such as earning a livelihood or working to meet family needs, typically fall under the purview of the husband. This division mirrors normative concepts of gender roles, where the husband acts as the breadwinner to fulfill family or household needs, thus serving as the provider (Nye, 1976). In other words, these roles are enacted in the public sphere. Meanwhile, the wife’s role as homemaker involves organizing the family, including preparing meals, cooking, washing, and other tasks carried out within the domestic sphere (Nye, 1976).

The patterns of spousal relationships and the division of labor described above are closely related to women’s autonomy in divorce decision-making. The high divorce rate in Pekalongan indicates that divorce has become a significant aspect of the lives of the Muslim community in Pekalongan. Based on interviews with informants, the following points can be mapped:
First, women's autonomy is evident in cases of divorce initiated by women due to the husband's failure to fulfill his responsibilities. As the head of the household, the husband does not fully meet his obligations, which include both financial support and emotional and physical care. Both aspects are essential and must be properly addressed.

Second, women's autonomy is observed in cases of divorce initiated by women due to economic instability. This instability arises from the husband's uncertain employment status or lack of employment altogether, leading to insufficient income to support the family.

Third, gender awareness plays a role. Gender generally refers to social and cultural differences between men and women, unlike sex, which identifies differences based on biological sex (Umar, 1999). Women are increasingly aware of the stereotype that women are nurturing, diligent, and unsuitable as heads of households. This stereotype results in an accumulation of domestic work burdens on wives. With this awareness, women resist these roles, asserting that they can participate in public roles and even surpass their husbands in certain aspects. Thus, it can be argued that familial role dominance is not determined by gender but by one's role within the social and economic sectors.

Fourth, social conditions are also a factor. Women or wives now have greater access to social interactions outside the home, a consequence of advancements in information technology.

Fifth, ego plays a role in marital disputes. Each partner's reluctance to concede arises from a belief in their own correctness, fueled by individual 'power,' which includes economic control, influence, and possibly status.

Sixth, the husband's reluctance to work affects the family dynamic. As the head of the household, the husband is expected to be a good leader, role model, and provider for his wife and children. Additionally, as a protector, he should shield his family from economic, emotional, and physical deficiencies.

4. Decision in Divorce Cases

This section outlines the findings from primary informants, comprising 10 couples who have gone through divorce proceedings. The reasons cited for divorce among these couples include economic conditions, lack of communication, infidelity, alcohol abuse, gambling, domestic violence, and parental interference.

Based on interviews and analysis of informant documents, the findings are summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Reason for Divorce</th>
<th>Duration of Marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aa and YS</td>
<td>West Pekalongan</td>
<td>P: Carrefour Employee; L: Odd Jobs</td>
<td>Economic Issues</td>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dy and Sus</td>
<td>West Pekalongan</td>
<td>P: Hospital Midwife; L: Employee at PT</td>
<td>Financial Constraints</td>
<td>More than 5 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In relation to the informants in this study and the aforementioned obligations of a husband, the data can be organized as follows:

### Table 2

#### Violated Obligations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violated Husband's Obligation</th>
<th>Husband-Wife Pair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Support</td>
<td>Ana dan Yusli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musniah dan Hendri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dyah dan Sus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Elly dan Bowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kasmiyati dan Yanto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Conduct</td>
<td>Enah dan Mito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halal Relations</td>
<td>Nur dan Awan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sri dan Sanusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imam dan Zahrul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inah dan Sadlali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the dominance of the decision-making process within the family in the context of divorce cases can be described through the theoretical framework of Davis and Rigaux (1974). According to their theory, family decision-making structures include *Wife-dominant decisions*, where decisions are predominantly influenced by the wife rather than other family members, and *Syncratic decisions*, which are decisions reached
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through mutual agreement between the husband and wife. This form of decision-making balances the influence of both men and women.

1) **Wife-dominant decision**

Several empirical data support the assertion that gender consciousness transformation (Tong, 2009) among women is a significant factor in initiating divorce proceedings. This is particularly intriguing as it appears contradictory; the women participating in this study have economic access and independence, with some even serving as the primary breadwinners for their families. Despite this, they cite arguments of household injustice, efforts to reject domestic violence, and frustration with their roles and functions being perceived as subordinate within the family structure.

For example, in the case of Ana and Yusli, Ana feels "Bongko" (displeased, hurt) because, despite her hard work to meet the family’s needs, Yusli remains unresponsive and lacks understanding. Similarly, in the case of Mus and Hendri, Mus feels that she works fully and can fulfill any needs independently. Her expression, 'bisoreno renenggoduwe' (I go everywhere using my own money), highlights the perceived injustice within the family dynamic.

The arguments presented by the informants provide insights and represent the transformation in the understanding and awareness of gender among those seeking divorce. Themes of injustice, violence, and the subordination of women within family structures remain issues actively advocated for by women's movements. The evolution of information flow and access to education has made the issue of gender equality more accessible to women, fundamentally altering their moral and intellectual quality and ultimately fostering women's independence in making decisions to file for divorce.

Some informants understand the gender-based division of labor as a normative aspect of contemporary life. Although the information shared was not explicitly detailed, they no longer adhere to the conventional division of labor within households, where women are confined solely to domestic roles. Instead, women are engaged in other types of work, particularly in the public sphere, encompassing both formal, skill-based, and intellectual domains. However, the understanding among women regarding their equal access to education, social, economic, and public sector employment does not correspond with efforts to encourage men to enhance their personal qualities in domestic work.

Explicitly, the involvement of women in the workforce has not been accompanied by a serious effort to encourage men to participate in household duties. This has consequently resulted in a double burden for women. Women's quality of life continues to improve in line with their economic, moral, and intellectual independence. Conversely, the personal quality of men (specifically the roles of the husbands of the informants) has been declining due to their failure to engage in formal employment or economic activities, and simultaneously, their inability to develop creativity in household work. This situation is exemplified by Yusli and Hendri, with Hendri often being financially supported by his wife, sometimes to the extent that "he doesn’t even buy his own cigarettes or other necessities," as mentioned in the above case. This kind of situation perpetuates domestic injustice, ultimately leading to divorce as a means to end these unequal relationships.

The trend of changing divorce patterns, as discussed in the previous sections, highlights significant shifts in societal structures and awareness concerning women's positions in divorce. In conventional divorce practices, women were often seen as objects—if not outright victims—of divorce. However, this position is now shifting from object to subject, meaning that the majority of women are now playing the role of actors
or subjects who control the decision to divorce. This shift from object to subject is likely related to the substantial social and economic access women have gained. Additionally, women's awareness of the purpose and function of the family also plays a significant role in triggering divorces.

2) Syncratic-decision

Divorce cases often arise from the emotional instability of both husband and wife in addressing and resolving family issues. They tend to prioritize their egos rather than tackling problems with a cool head. This factor makes it challenging for couples to find the best solution to preserve their marriage and achieve the family they dream of. Consequently, they reach a deadlock, leading to the mutual decision to divorce.

It is undeniable that family life is not free from conflict. Conflicts occur when the desires of one or more family members, in this case, the husband and wife, are not aligned or unmet. Typically, these conflicts involve behaviors that hurt each other. Conflict itself represents a state of incompatibility between values or goals to be achieved, both within the individual and in relationships with others.

The term "marital conflict" is often used to describe conflicts that occur between married couples (Muryatinah M. Handayani, 2008). Intense marital conflicts frequently trigger complex problems, potentially leading couples to decide on divorce. Divorce is the worst possible outcome resulting from conflicts in marital life.

From the above explanation, it can be seen that the emergence of women's autonomy in the family can be viewed from two aspects: power and the division of labor. The power aspect refers to the authority to make choices and decisions, including the decision to divorce or file for divorce. The ability to make decisions significantly impacts family life. The division of labor aspect indicates the dominance of women's roles over men's, making women central to family work, as seen in the cases of Ana and Yusli, and Musniah and Hendri. These two aspects give rise to strength and dominance in family decision-making, including decisions related to divorce.

Based on the above facts, Engels' view that women can only free themselves from patriarchal power if they play a significant economic role holds true. If a woman's role in the family's economy is more significant than the husband's, she will have power, influence, strength, good bargaining position, and equal freedom with her husband. Although slightly different, Koentjoroningrat also emphasizes the role of wives in managing household income and expenditures, thus making women equal to men in this regard (Novianto, 2011).

Similarly, Geertz notes the dominance of Javanese women in domestic affairs. For Geertz, the effect of women's dominance can extend into society, forming a network of women's dominance. Women connect their power with other women or with others related to them, strengthening this network and expanding women's dominance to a form of real power. In this context, Roger adds that male dominance over women ultimately remains an ideology that, when faced with reality, becomes a myth. In contrast, women's dominance is practical and real, displaying living power (Novianto, 2011).

Conclusion

Traditionally, Javanese society often perceives the role of women within the family as one of subjugation. From a feminist perspective, Javanese culture is seen as not providing equal status for men and women. In contrast, modern Western culture, despite
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occasional feminist critiques, is considered more tolerant and offers a better position for women. However, the findings of this study reveal that the autonomy and authority of women in Javanese Muslim families can indeed occur due to access provided to women and supported by the existing environmental conditions. These environmental conditions include the unequal position of spouses, the family's level of religious observance, and the background of each partner.

Women's autonomy in divorce cases can be observed through six aspects: first, the husband's lack of responsibility towards his wife; second, economic instability; third, gender awareness; fourth, social conditions; fifth, ego; and sixth, the husband's reluctance to work. The relationship between husband and wife in the division of work areas tends to be that of equal partners, where neither is considered superior or inferior. In this relational pattern, the wife receives equal rights and obligations to fully develop herself. This relational pattern subsequently forms a complementary structure within the family, indicating an imbalanced power relationship where one party holds more power than the other. The decision-making process within the family, as observed in this study, falls into two categories: wife-dominant decisions, where decisions are primarily influenced by the wife, and syncratic decisions, which are the result of mutual agreement between husband and wife.

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