

Gender stereotypes in a modern Javanese nuclear family in film *Mudik* (2020)

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Abstract

The characters of a Javanese husband and wife in films are often presented with gender stereotypes, such as *Angayani* (Providing for Family) for husbands and *Manak* (Giving and Caring for Children) for wives. This article aims to show the gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife in a modern Javanese nuclear family in film *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo. Gender stereotypes are established values that have been socialized through the concepts of *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) and *Durung Tutug, Jowo*, or *Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) in Javanese society. Those who successfully meet these values will be included in *Dadi Wong* category, but if they are not able to, they will be classified in *Durung Tutug, Jowo*, or *Rampung* category. This study uses narratology as an analytical method which is elaborated with the theory of gender performativity and power relations. The results of this study indicate that the representation of the husband in this film is considered unable to fulfill *Dadi Wong* conception due to the absence of children and financial instability. Meanwhile, the representation of the wife is unable to reach the qualifications of *Dadi Wong* due to her infertility condition and role in the public sphere.

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INTRODUCTION

Fardhani (2015) asserts that Javanese society recognizes the concept of *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) which shows that men and women must meet certain criteria to achieve a total success in life. This contains very comprehensive aspects, such as ethics, religion, economics, and so on, with a foundation on socio-cultural aspects. In addition, the criteria shown mostly discussed male and female gender stereotypes, especially for those who are married and have children as a condition that needed to be met first.

The image of the ideal married Javanese men is shown through the philosophy of *Lelanang Jagad* which is taken from the characteristics of the puppet character Arjuna who

is handsome, powerful, and has many wives (Sakti, 2021). In addition, Hanani and Reza (2019) reveal that the conceptions of *Turonggo* (Vehicle), *Bondo* (Wealth), *Griyo* (Palace), *Pusoko* (Weapon or Magic), and *Kukilo* (Bird or Pet) are also associated with the ideal Javanese male representation, and this makes them always cover up his weaknesses (Hanani & Reza, 2019). Javanese men also have to take on responsibilities consisting of *Angomahi* (Owning a House), *Angayomi* (Guiding Families), *Angayani* (Providing a Living), *Angayemi* (Taking Care of the Family), and *Angamatjani* (Having Descendants) (Arvianti, 2011).

Meanwhile, the representation of ideal married Javanese women is associated with the symbol of the mother where they have to put the mother figure as the main model in their mental

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structure (Permanadeli, 2015). Suryakusumah (2011) continues that the concept of mother is continuously constructed by the state and accepted as an ideal ideology in society. This conception is defined as the ideal and perfect representation of women depicted through domestic roles in the household or *Kanca Wingking* (Permatasari & Widisanti, 2018). This domestic role is described in *Serat Cendrarini* which consists of *Macak* (Good at Dressing Up), *Manak* (Having Descendants), and *Masak* (Good at Cooking) (Sakti, 2021).

If a man or woman has not been able to fulfill the previous requirements, so they will be labeled as *Durung Jowo*, *Durung Tutug*, or *Durung Rampung* which means that they are not complete yet in their Javanese way of living (Fardhani, 2015). This will be understood as the inability of men or women to achieve success in life in accordance with the expectations of Javanese patriarchal society (Permanadeli, 2015). They will be referred as someone whose Javanese status is incomplete or whose duties and responsibilities as a Javanese have not been completed yet. This happens because individuals or subjects cannot freely form their own subjectivity outside of discourse because they are present in certain developed ideologies and discourses (Barker, 2003).

Eagleton (1991) shows that ideology is identified as a concept or idea that is owned by a particular group. In relation to ideology, *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) is a concept that is passed down intergenerationally and is owned by the Javanese people (Sakti, 2021). This concept is also interpreted as an original Javanese ideology attached to the institution of marriage. Ideology can also be interpreted as an attempt to give meaning to something to maintain the power of a certain tribe, ethnicity, or social group (Barker, 2003). This indicates that the institution of marriage in Javanese society is associated as an arena of ideological battles where *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) and *Durung Tutug* (Being an unsuccessful person) are debated through gender stereotypes of men and women (Permanadeli, 2015).

The debate between *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) and *Durung Tutug* (Being an unsuccessful person) in Javanese marriage institutions is depicted in film *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo. This film tells the story of a Javanese husband and wife named Aida and Firman. They live in Jakarta which is far from their hometown because they have jobs there. Firman and Aida are described as having conflicts caused by the absence of children and financial instability in their family. They decided to go back to their hometown in Yogyakarta to reconcile. In this film, Firman and Aida are identified as ideological subjects of the institution of marriage in Javanese patriarchal society.

Film as a product of popular culture cannot be separated from the dominant ideology in it (Permatasari & Widisanti, 2018). In other words, Al-anbiya *et al* (2018) contend that film is basically a medium that can disseminate ideology and distort reality resulting from the influence and power of a group. Other films with Javanese family themes include a film entitled *Opera Jawa* (2006) by Garin Nugroho which depicts the wife as someone who is *Nerimo* or surrendering to the her life condition (Mustikawati & Twikromo, 2019). This representation is also the same as what is shown in film *Puteri Gunung Ledang* (2004) by Saw Teong Him which shows a picture of a wife who is passive, silent, and obedient to her husband (Ilhamsyah, 2016).

However, different from the two previous studies, the film *Nyai Ahmad Dahlan* (2017) by Dyah Kalsitorini represents the wife as a strong and independent figure (Wulandari & Rahmawati, 2020). A wife's becoming tough and independent can also be found in film *Siti* (2014) by Eddie Cahyono, but Siti's figure is still shown as a weak and steadfast wife dominantly (Wibowo, 2019). Meanwhile, the representation of husbands in films set in Javanese culture can be found in film *Kartini* (2017) by Hanung Bramantyo which features the figure of R.M. Adipati Ario Sosroningrat and the practice of polygamy in a Javanese aristocratic family. The rejection of the concept of *Bonggol* (sexual virility) occurred because R.M. Adipati Ario Sosroningrat did not

want polygamy, but tradition made him do so (Marsya & Faladhin, 2019).

This study examines how the gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife in a modern Javanese nuclear family are represented in film *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo. This film was chosen to be analyzed since it has several advantages. First, this film has won various awards from the national to the international levels, such as the Macau International Film Festival and the CinemaAsia Film Festival. In fact, this film was awarded as the film with the best original screenplay by Adriyanto Dewo at the 2020 Indonesian Film Festival (FFI) (Aditia, 2020). Second, this film was watched by as many as 55,000 viewers through the Mola TV application in just two weeks (Rantung, 2020). Third, this film carries the theme of a Javanese in Yogyakarta which raises the issue of infertility, financial instability in the family, and gender roles.

In addition to the advantages mentioned earlier, this film was chosen as the research corpus because it presents the subject of a husband and a wife in a modern Javanese nuclear family who is not able to meet the ideal construction criteria in Javanese patriarchal society. The husband in this film is shown as someone who feels afraid and anxious about the condition of his family who does not have children and is financially unstable. Similar to the representation of the husband, the wife is also shown to experience anxiety due to infertility condition, and she is excluded due to taking part in public sphere by society. Both of these are criteria that they have not been able to fulfill so that they cannot be classified as ideal or *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) categories in society. As a result, they are grouped as a category that is not yet ideal or *Durung Tutug* (Being an unsuccessful person).

METHODS

This study uses the theory of narratology by (Chatman, 1978) as an analytical method which is elaborated with the theory of gender performativity and power relations to reveal how the gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife in a modern

Javanese nuclear family are represented in film *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo. This depiction is seen through the kernel and satellites shown in the film. Chatman (1978) explains that the kernel is an important event that is the center of the story, while satellites are minor plots that exist in a story and their existence can be removed because they do not break the logic of the narrative structure.

First, the scenes were categorized into kernel and satellites as elaborated by Chatman (1978). After classifying them, the scenes were analyzed using gender performativity by Butler (1990) in order to show the gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife within a Javanese nuclear family. Butler (1990) reveals that sex and gender are socially and culturally constructed, and gender is also performative which means that a person's gender identity is determined based on actions taken and associated with a particular gender.

After revealing the gender stereotypes in the film, the theory of power relation by Foucault (1997) was used to explain the social category of a husband and a wife in a Javanese nuclear family whether or not they meet the ideal criteria of the society. Permatasari and Widisanti (2018) reveal that subjects are required to be included in social categories that have been shaped by discourse and constructed by the ideology of the existing dominant group. Barker (2000) explains that the ideology is false consciousness, which makes the dominant group construct false values in its society. In other words, the consumption of values that have been constructed by the ruling group affects how the subject can interpret his or her life in society (Permatasari & Widisanti, 2018).

Furthermore, the existence of discourse puts humans in a position as subjects who must discipline themselves to be able to fit into certain social categories (Barker, 2000). The social category emphasized in film *Mudik* (2020) is *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) which have gender stereotypes that need to be met by social subjects in Javanese patriarchal society. When social subjects are not able to fit into the category of *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person), then they will be grouped into the classification of *Durung*

Tutug (Being an unsuccessful person) (Permanadeli, 2015).

Ultimately, referring to the characters Firman and Aida as a married couple in film *Mudik* (2020), the analysis revealed the gender stereotypes of Firman and Aida in the film along with their social category in Javanese society through the selections of kernel and satellites. Gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife are perpetuated as a consciousness that is present in society. The previous theories were used to answer the question of how the gender stereotypes of a husband and a wife in a modern Javanese nuclear family are represented in film *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The representation of an unsuccessful husband in Javanese society

The character that will be discussed in this section is Firman who is the husband character in film *Mudik* (2020). In the film, he is narrated to have a conflict with his wife and decides to temporarily get separated in order to do some introspection. Firman covered his affair from Aida, his wife, but Aida was able to sniff out Firman's infidelity. With an existing conflict, Firman and Aida agreed to do homecoming to their hometown in Yogyakarta in order to reconcile their relationship. The conflict is suspected to be the result of the absence of children as illustrated in the following quote from Kernel M.1 (Figure 1),

M.1 Exterior, on the road, at Night (01:13:01 – 01:15:08)

“Firman confessed to Aida that Firman had an affair. His illicit relationship was approved by his family. This happened because Aida could not give birth. This confession caused Firman and Aida to have a very big disagreement and an argument ensued. In the end, Aida left Firman and walked alone into the forest. Meanwhile Firman got back into the car feeling annoyed and angry and drove the car alone,

Aida : (While crying) *kenapa kamu harus bohong sama aku?*

Firman : *Bohong apa?*

Aida : *Astrid!*

Firman : *Kamu gak usah mikir macem-*

macem, aku gak ada apa-apa sama dia.

Aida : *Ada di handphone.*

Firman : *Handphone apa?*

Aida : *Handphone yang bunyi terus-terusan. Handphone yang langsung kamu angkat begitu aja, gak peduli ada aku apa gak.*

Firman : *Sekarang aku tanya sama kamu, yang ninggalin siapa? Yang keluar dari rumah siapa?*

Aida : *Aku, aku ninggalin kamu karena kamu berubah. Kamu berubah setelah kamu tau kalau aku gak bisa punya anak.*

Firman : *Itu lagi.*

Aida : *Kok itu lagi, kamu pikir masalah kita itu kecil, masalah kita itu Firman. Aku pergi tuh biar punya waktu untuk mikir apa aku gak bisa bahagiain kamu. Aku juga pergi supaya kamu bisa mikir kalau aku layak apa gak kamu perlakuan kaya gini. Kenapa harus ada orang lain? Jawab!, Jawab! Liat aku.*

Firman : *Keluargaku, mereka udah kasih izin kalau aku boleh punya istri lagi”*

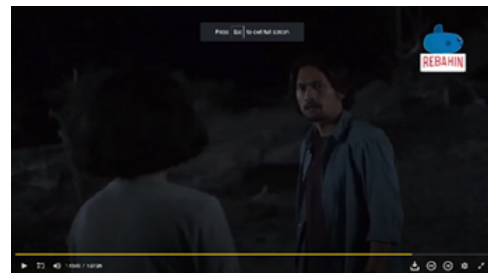


Figure 1. Aida and Firman are fighting

The scene in the quoted Kernel above (Figure 1) explains that Firman has an affair because he has obtained approval from his family as a result of him not having children from his marriage to Aida. This quote is also supported by Retrospective Satellite M.2 (Figure 2) which shows that Firman is calling a woman who is his mistress,

M.2 Exterior, in front of the Mosque, at Night (01:02:11 – 01:03:32)

“Firman is receiving a call from a woman. He stays away from Aida and carries out his activities in front of the mosque terrace where he was resting on his homecoming journey

Firman : *Aku masih di jalan. Udah-udah gak usah marah. Aku mau lebaran dulu sama keluarga. Biar aku yang ngehubungin kamu. Udah dulu ya, aku harus jalan lagi.”*

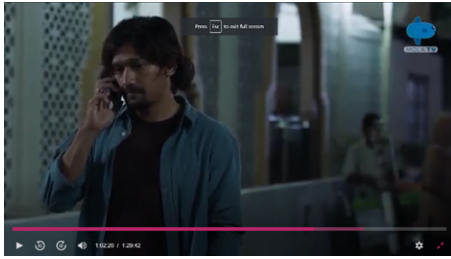


Figure 2. Firman is receiving a phone call from a woman

The two quotes above (Figures 1 and 2) are evidence that the reason Firman cheated on Aida is because he has not been blessed with children, and Firman's family has agreed that he may have another wife. Because the institution of marriage in Indonesia is procreative (Suryakusumah, 2011), Firman must be able to meet the demands of having children in his marriage. Arvianti (2011) explains that Javanese husbands have a responsibility called *Angamatjani* or having children. Sakti (2021) explicates that the child will be the successor of the family where the original Javanese conception will be passed down mainly from the male line.

In addition, Butler (1990) reveals that sex and gender are socially and culturally constructed, and gender is also performative which means that a person's gender identity is determined based on the actions taken and these actions are associated with a particular gender, or called gender stereotypes. *Angamatjani* is one of the male gender stereotypes in Javanese families whose role Firman must play in order to become a perfect and total husband in his Javanese way (Arvianti, 2011). Because he can not perform the role, he gets alienated, and his parents let him marry another woman in order to make him perform the role successfully.

Furthermore, Firman is also represented in the film as a husband who is experiencing financial instability. When he is asked for a sum of money as compensation for Sugeng's death as much as Rp. 30,000,000, he cannot afford to pay because he does not have that much money. The villagers are furious and questioned this because Firman owns a car which is a symbol of having a lot of wealth according to the villagers. This is illustrated in the following M.3 Kernel (Figure 3),

M.3 Interior, in the Village Hall, at Night (00:34:12 – 00:37:10)

"When the night comes, Firman invites Aida to attend the villagers' meeting. They were tried by family representatives and the village head who demand them to pay compensation of thirty million rupiah. Firman and Aida do not have that much money for compensation. However, Agus does not believe them because people who own cars and come from cities must have a lot of money.

Firman : *Gak bisa Pak, 30 juta itu banyak.*

Sapto : *Mas, Mbak, kalau melihat kampung kita kan gak ada apa-apa. Jadi kalau kepala keluarganya gak ada keluarga yang ditinggal bisa apa?*

Agus : *Pokoknya gini aja Mas. Mas masih mau ngelanjutin perjalanan kan? Masih mau mudik kan? Pokoknya Mas harus selesaikan dulu urusan ini kalau gak, Mas gak bisa keluar dari kampung ini.*

Firman : *Gak usah ngancem, Mas.*

Agus : *Ya makanya selesaikan.*

Firman : *Ya saya mau nyelesaiin.*

Agus : *Kan bawa mobil, masa gak punya duit."*



Figure 3. Firman and Aida are attending villagers' meeting

The quote above shows that Firman and Aida who are asked for a sum of money to compensate for Sugeng's accident at the village hall explain that they do not have that much money (Figure 3). Even the villagers do not believe it because they have clearly come with a car which they consider it to be their property. The kernel is also supported by an excerpt from Retrospective Satellite M.4 (Figure 4) which shows the Village Head and community representatives who collect the funeral costs and compensation for Sugeng's death, as follows,

M.4 Exterior, in front of Sugeng's House, Afternoon (00:30:47 – 00:33:00)

“Firman is asked for a large sum of money as compensation for car and motorcycle accidents. He is called to leave the victim's house first by relatives and the village head. Firman shakes hands with representatives of the family and village officials. Then, Firman is informed to attend the residents' meeting at night.

Village Head: *Oh iya Mas, saya ingin bertanya, kira-kira untuk biaya pemakamannya bagaimana ya, Mas? Soalnya tadi sudah ada beberapa warga yang bantu sebelum Mas dan Mbak datang ke sini.*

Firman : *Aku ada sedikit.”*



Figure 4. Firman, the Village Head, and Villagers are talking

The previous two quotes (Figures 3 and 4) are evidence that someone who brings a car and comes from the city is considered to have a lot of wealth and earn a lot of money, especially men. Firman who says that he does not have much money is not trusted by the residents at the meeting because he comes from the city by car. The reason is, Arvianti (2011) revealed that husbands in Javanese families are juxtaposed with the *Angayani* stereotype which provides a living. This conception also coincides with the concept of *Mapan* or having good financial capital and being able to help others (Permanadeli, 2015). One of the symbols of success is the ownership of *Turronngo* or vehicle (Hanani & Reza, 2019). Therefore, the residents do not believe that Firman does not have the requested amount of money as compensation for Sugeng's death. This indicates that Firman does not have sufficient or unstable financial capital.

Butler (2011) argues that social construction affects people's perceptions of gender itself because there is a pattern of repetition of actions that perpetuates certain conceptions of gender. In the film, the villagers perceive Firman as the head of the family and a husband who earns a lot of money and can pay compensation for accidents. This

stereotype has been socialized for a long time to husbands in the village as quoted in Kernel M.3 which explains that if the head of the family in the village is no longer there, the wives cannot do anything. Hence, the stereotype of the head of the family is the husband figure who earns a living and fulfills the needs of his family. As explained by Beauvoir (1949) that financial security is associated with men because they have a role in procuring money or earning a living in a normative family.

Based on the discussion of the representation of the husband in the modern Javanese nuclear family above, Firman is represented as a husband who cannot be classified in the social category of *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person). This is because the social category that has been idealized by the Javanese community contains gender stereotypes of Javanese husbands which are represented in two concepts, namely *Angamatjani* (Having decendants) and *Angayani* (Providing a living and earning a large income) (Arvianti, 2011). Barker (2000) states that the discourse of the ruling group makes people discipline themselves to fit into certain social categories. In fact, Firman cannot meet these criteria, and he is included in the category of *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) (Table 1). This means that as a social subject, Firman is unable to fit into the construction expected by the Javanese patriarchal society in his environment.

Table 1. Firman's Social Category

<i>Dadi Wong</i> (Being a successful person) the Ideal Category for a Javanese Husband	<i>Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung</i> (Being an unsuccessful person) (Firman)
<i>Angamatjani</i> (Having decendants)	Does not have decendants.
<i>Angayani</i> (Providing a living and earning a lot of money)	Does not have sufficient financial capital to pay for the compensation of Sugeng's death

The Representation of an Unsuccessful Wife in Javanese society

The character that will be discussed in this section is Aida who is the wife character in the film *Mudik* (2020). Aida is said to have an unstable psychological condition because of her quarrel

with her husband, Firman. It is the quarrel that makes them get separated in different houses for a while. The conflict occurs allegedly as a result of the absence of descendants in their marriage and the infertility experienced by Aida as quoted in Kernel M.5 (Figures 5 and 6) below,

M.5 Interior, Rest Area Restaurant, Afternoon (00:05:43 – 00:07:32)

“Aida and Firman are fighting with each other. Aida asks if Firman has informed his family or not about Aida's infertility condition. Firman feels that he does not understand Aida's situation, who often keeps silent. He occasionally asks what happened to Aida, who always keeps her problems to herself without explicitly telling Firman. In addition, Aida is annoyed with herself for not being able to do anything and only keeping problems for herself. He finally gets up from her seat and walks to the toilet. In the toilet, she washes her face while looking at herself in the mirror.

- Firman : *Mau sampai kapan kita begini?*
 Aida : *Kamu gak mau gitu cari orang yang bisa menuhin keinginan kamu?*
 Firman : *Kok kamu ngomongnya gitu sih?*
 Aida : *(Sighing) Temen kantor kamu?*
 Firman : *Temen kantor apa Da? Aku gak ada siapa-siapa.*
 Aida : *Kata orang, puasa gak boleh bohong.*
 Firman : *(With an annoyed tone) Bohong apa sih Da? Sekarang aku tanya sama kamu, yang minta waktu sendiri siapa? Kamu!. Aku gak ada siapa-siapa Da, jadi kamu gak usah mikir yang macem-macem.*
 Aida : *Kamu gak bilang aja ke keluarga kamu aku kenapa?*
 Firman : *Ya gak mungkin lah Da!*
 Aida : *(Dayreaming and thinking of something)*
 Firman : *Gak mau ya maafin aku?*
 Aida : *(Getting up and going to the toilet)”*

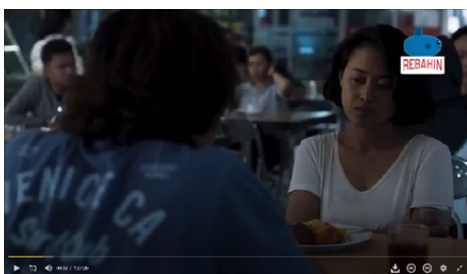


Figure 5. Firman and Aida are fighting



Figure 6. Aida is caling herself in the toilet

The quote above shows a fight between Aida and Firman which discusses the issue of Firman's affair which Aida has suspected (Figure 5). Aida's condition of not being able to give children to Firman makes her sad and mourn her fate (Figure 6). The kernel is also supported by the appearance of Retrospective Satellite M.6 (Figure 7) which depicts Aida looking at many families resting and playing with their children as follows,

M.6 Exterior, in front of Supermarket, Night (00:04:36 – 00:05:00)

“Aida and Firman are resting at the toll road rest area. Firman is seen calling someone in front of the supermarket. Aida looks at a family who is playing with their child. He walks past several families in the area looking sad and heading for the supermarket.”



Figure 7. Aida is looking at a family who is playin; with their child

The previous two quotes (Figures 5, 6, and 7) are evidence of Aida's anxiety that she cannot give birth due to her infertility condition. The representation of the wife in the institution of marriage in Indonesia is presented along with an ideal picture of the mother figure who has a role in the domestic sphere to have offspring and take good care of them (Suryakusumah, 2011). Aida is required to be able to give birth to children in her marriage in accordance with the expectations of the Javanese patriarchal society as elaborated by Sakti (2021) that the wife's gender stereotype in

Javanese society is one of which is *Manak* (Having descendants) as stated in *Serat Cendrarini*. She is also shown as someone who has a sense of *Nerimo* and *Semeleh* or suppresses her own problems and remains surrendering to her family condition (Mustikawati & Twikromo, 2019).

Beauvoir (1949) emphasizes that the constructs that are present in society regarding women encompass marriage and having children. This is because women normatively bind their bodies to procreative marriages (Beauvoir, 1949). In this film, Aida is depicted unable to give birth due to her infertility condition, and she desperately wants children in her marriage. This, as shown in Satellite M.6, highlights Aida seeing many families playing with their children (Figure 7). Gender stereotypes for a Javanese wife represented by the conception of *Manak* (Having children) (Sakti, 2021) makes Aida feel disappointed with herself and blames herself as a result of Firman's affair with other women as quoted in Kernel M.5 where Aida talks about other women who can fulfill the will of Firman.

Furthermore, Aida is also depicted in this film as a working wife. When Firman refuses to pay the compensation for Sugeng's death, Aida appears with a brown envelope containing some money, and she hands it over to the village head. She also says that if the money is not enough, she still has some money in the ATM. However, the working wife is not considered significant because in the community meeting, Aida is not included, and only Firman asks her to attend. This is shown in the following M.7 Kernel (Figure 8),

M.7 Interior, in the Village Hall, Afternoon (00:52:30 – 00:53:40)

“Firman and Aida attend a community meeting at the village hall to discuss Sugeng's death as a result of being hit by Aida. Sugeng leaves a wife named Santi and a daughter. Firman and Aida are asked to be held responsible for compensation for the accident. However, Firman has no money left. Then, Aida gives some money to the village head and tells him that she still has money in the ATM.

Aida : *Pak, Pak. Tolong diterima aja.*

Kepala Desa : (Opening a brown envelop which contains money) *Lah ini setengahnya aja gak ada.*

Firman : *Makanya, nyari duit tuh yang halal Pak, Mas.*

Warga : *Eh Mas, jangan kurang hajar ya kalo ngomong. Pak, tak hajar wae yo Pak.* (The villagers want to hit Firman)

Aida : *Sudah, Pak tolong ini diterima aja. Entar sisanya saya ambil lagi di ATM nanti.*

Kepala Desa : *Saya tunggu sampai sore nanti.* (The village head and the villagers leave the village hall)”



Figure 8. Aida is giving an envelope which contains money to the village head

The previous quote shows that Aida gives some money to the village head in a brown envelope. Firman says that he has no money left to pay the compensation, but Aida forces her way into the village meeting with a brown envelope containing some money and gives it to the village head (Figure 8). The Kernel quote is also supported by Retrospective Satellite M.8 (Figure 9) which shows the scene of Aida's packing up and putting some money on the bed as follows,

M.8 Interior, in Aida Flat Room, Afternoon (00:00:45 – 00:01:00)

“Aida is packing her clothes and putting them in the suitcase on the bed. Aida also puts a small bag beside the suitcase she is tidying up. Some money is also placed next to the suitcase in preparation for doing homecoming with Firman.”



Figure 9. Aida is packing to prepare for homecoming

The two quotes above (Figures 8 and 9) are evidence that women are not involved in the public sphere because female gender stereotypes represent women in the domestic sphere (Arvianti, 2011). Aida who is not involved in the community forum discussing the compensation money for Sugeng's death is the representation of women as *Kanca Wingking* (Husband's friend in domestic affairs) in Javanese society (Hermawati, 2007). It is also clarified that Aida gives an envelope containing money to the village head which means that a wife helps her husband financially, and this condition is considered insignificant in society due to the conception of *wong lanang nang ngarep, wong wedok nang mburi* (Men are positioned in front, and women are in the back) (Permanadeli, 2015).

Butler (1990) states that gender is socially constructed and is performative which is displayed through certain actions. Prabasmoro (2006) argues that being a housewife is an ideal cultural construction for women in a patriarchal society. Aida is represented as working and earning money as shown in the Satellite M.8 (Figure 9). In fact, this is not considered significant because although Aida helps Firman financially, she is not involved in the community forum. The community meeting only involves men, and women are outside the room.

Based on the discussion of the representation of the wife in the previous modern Javanese nuclear family, Aida is described as a wife who cannot be included in the social category of *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person). This happens because the ideal social category for a Javanese wife contains gender stereotypes which include *Manak* (Having children) (Sakti, 2021) and *Kanca Wingking* (husband's friend in domestic affairs) (Hermawati, 2007). Barker (2000) explains that discourse is constructed by dominant groups as values, and these values fall into certain social categories that will influence social subjects in interpreting their lives in society. In fact, Aida is not able to fulfill these values which makes her grouped in the category of *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) by the surrounding community (Table 2). This means that as a social subject, Aida cannot be classified in the

social category expected by the Javanese patriarchal society in her environment.

Table 2. Aida's Social Category

<i>Dadi Wong</i> (Being a successful person) the Ideal Category for a Javanese Husband	<i>Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung</i> (Being an unsuccessful person) (Aida)
<i>Manak</i> (Having descendants)	Does not have descendants due to the infertility condition.
<i>Kanca Wingking</i> (Domestic affairs)	Working and earning money (Public sphere)

CONCLUSION

The film titled *Mudik* (2020) by Adriyanto Dewo is a family film set in Javanese culture. In describing the husband-and-wife characters in the film, the gender stereotype that is determined as the criteria for *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) is shown through the narrative structure. *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) itself is an ideology of Javanese society that contains certain criteria regarding the totality of life of Javanese men and women (Permanadeli, 2015). On the other hand, Permanadeli (2015) adds that subjects who are unable to meet these criteria will be included in the social category of *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person). Referring to these two concepts, the institution of marriage becomes an ideological arena where *Dadi Wong* (Being a successful person) and *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) are debated. In fact, the main requirement is to be married (Permanadeli, 2015).

The representation of the husband in the modern Javanese nuclear family is shown in the character Firman, who is told to have no children and experience financial instability. Not having children is shown through Kernel M.1 and Satellite M.2 quotes which illustrate that Firman chooses to have an affair according to his family's advice because he has not had children yet from his marriage with Aida. Meanwhile, not having financial stability is shown through Kernel M.3 and Satellite M.4 quotes which show that Firman cannot provide compensation for Sugeng's death because he does not have as much money as requested. This means that Firman cannot fulfill

his responsibilities as a husband which is idealized as *Angamatjani* (Having descendants) and *Angayani* (Providing a living and earning much money). Therefore, he is included in the social category of *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) which means that he is not able to meet the criteria expected by the Javanese community in his environment.

Meanwhile, the representation of the wife in the modern Javanese nuclear family is shown in the character Aida, who is told that she has no children and works. Having no children is illustrated through the Kernel M.5 and Satellite M.6 quotes which show that Aida has an infertility condition. Meanwhile, a working woman is featured in Kernel M.7 and Satellite M.8 quotes which show that Aida helps Firman financially to pay compensation for Sugeng's death, but she is not involved in the community forum. This indicates that Aida cannot fulfill the values that have been idealized in her environment, such as *Manak* (Having Children) and *Kanca Wingking* (Friend of Husband in Domestic Affairs). Therefore, Aida is included in the social category of *Durung Tutug, Jowo, or Rampung* (Being an unsuccessful person) which means that she has not been able to meet the expectations of the people in her community.

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