WOMEN'S RESILIENCE REGARDING OTANG TENGKA TRADITION IN BESUKI VILLAGE, EAST JAVA

Faridatur Riskiyah, Alifiulahtin Utaminingsih, Siti Kholifah
Universitas Brawijaya
friskiyah@student.ub.ac.id, alifiulathin@ub.ac.id, ifah_sosio@ub.ac.id

Abstract

Otang tengka is a Madurese ethnic tradition synonymous with the role of married women in giving and receiving donations from groceries to those with special needs, such as for births, marriages, and even funerals. In practice, this tradition imposes economic demands as there is an obligation to participate in donation activities, mainly when the community's financial condition is middle to lower. This study aims to identify the forms of resilience developed by women who play essential roles in carrying out traditions, especially in Besuki Village, Besuki District, Situbondo Regency, East Java – the focus of this research. Bonnie Benard's resilience theory examines the various forms of women's resilience. This study adopts qualitative research methods, utilizing observation and interviews for data collection. The findings indicate several forms of resilience developed by married women, including engaging in trade as a form of autonomy, negotiating as a problem-solving strategy, managing family finances as an expression of purpose and future orientation, and socializing as a manifestation of a sense of humor.

Keywords: Otang Tengka, Women, Resilience, Madurese Ethnic.
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Introduction
Tradition is the people’s habits that passed down and transmitted from one generation to the next, and preserved by the community.\(^1\). One of interesting tradition is helping each other known as 'gotong royong', which continues to preserve in rural communities. Gotong royong itself is seen as local wisdom that positively develops within the community to assist fellow human beings.\(^2\).

Tengka is kind of gotong royong tradition, which is still being preserved, especially in Besuki Village (Desa Besuki), Besuki District, Situbondo Regency, and East Java, where the majority are Madurese. The concept is called as Otang Tengka. Otang means debt, while Tengka represents behavior that must be repaid. This tradition holds various meanings, especially in the context of Madurese society from diverse social layers and religions. However, generally, it can be interpreted as rules, manners, and responsibilities that every member of society bears.

In the life of the Madurese people, otang tengka, interpreted as a norm and symbol of respect in social-religious ceremonies, describes the chronology of human life worldwide. It includes significant events such as pregnancy, childbirth, marriage, and death.\(^3\).

In Desa Besuki, the community practices otang tengka as a charitable activity aims to ease the burden on the owner of the events (hajat), such as those who celebrate a baby's birth, marriage, or even the death of a community member. This tradition also has been passed down or inherited from one generation to the other. The people of Desa Besuki believe that by donating to others, these good charity will also be returned to the donor if they have the same intention.

Therefore, the otang tengka tradition in Desa Besuki has been preserved by the local community, particularly by married women, who are essential in carrying out social and cultural functions. In contrast to men, who solely fulfill economic roles as breadwinners and do not interfere in the process or implementation of traditions, women have a more complex task in maintaining these traditions.

According to Sztompka (2007), a tradition can be preserved if certain actors or communities maintain it, and women in particular, play a crucial role in preserving the tradition. Women contribute directly or indirectly in implementing the local community traditions, such as the otang tengka tradition in Desa Besuki.\(^4\).

The women’s role in otang tengka is associated with domestic responsibilities, including processing food ingredients into a ready-to-eat food, serving dishes, baking cakes, and cleaning cutlery, known as rewang. Women participate in charitable activities and assist others. The donation in otang tengka is recorded with notes. These notes are intended to ensure that the owner of hajat remembers everyone who has contributed to this event. The notes contain comprehensive details, including the giver's name, the type of items provided, the unit of

weight, the quality of the product, and the brand. This form of donation is called *sabe’en*, which means giving to another person so that this good will can be returned to the giver one day. Meanwhile, the return of this good will is called *belien*. This practice is known as reciprocal or reciprocal debt.

A similar tradition, especially related to donations, has also been done by the community in Desa Pimping, Hulu Sungai Utara Regency, which is known as the *Basasanggan* especially on marriage tradition. The implementation involves three stages of process: first giving *Basasanggan*, second receiving and recording and returning *Basasanggan*. It is also known as *bhubuwen* or *buwuh*. *Bhubuwen* is a social safety net for the people of Madura Island, where people believe that if they are involved in this tradition, they will get social security in carrying out their life processes. In other words, the community will continuously preserve this tradition because it is considered as a good value of life.

Recording donations in *otang tengka* is considered as a responsibility of married women. Therefore, every family in Desa Besuki keeps and shares the notebook from generation to generation, ensuring the seamless recording and continuation of the donation process to the next generation. Consequently, the implementation of *otang tengka* indirectly assigns women the responsibility for all issues related to *tenga*.

One notable consequence of implementing *otang tengka* is an economic challenge where women must adeptly manage their family's finances to meet life's demands and fulfill the traditional needs of their residence. This condition causes many women to have difficulties in managing family finances.

In most of Madurese tradition, the domestic role is the primary sector associated with women in social life. Most married women choose not to work and rely on their husband's income instead. As a result, women should be preoccupied with household affairs and responsibilities of caring for children as mothers and wives. Generally, married women are not permitted to work, as decided by their husbands, parents, or parents-in-law. Being a breadwinner or working is not considered as a woman's duty and is seen as demeaning to their husbands and parents-in-law. In contrast, the public role is conventionally assigned to men as the family's primary breadwinners.

However, in Desa Besuki, Situbondo Regency, women have been able to work and assert themselves in the public sphere as breadwinners for their families recently. The *otang tengka* tradition has indirectly encouraged women to engage in public spaces to generate additional income. This situation arises from various conditions that motivate women to work, enabling them to contribute to fulfilling their family's living needs and meeting social and cultural requirements. These often involve participating in local community traditions, necessitating financial resources, as exemplified by the *otang tengka* tradition.

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The challenge of married women in Desa Besuki ultimately encourages the resilience or survival strategies. These strategies serve as adaptive measures to address life problems or crises. Resilience, as defined by Benard (1991), is a positive response exhibited by an individual when facing pressure or adversity. This response characterizes resilient traits such as social competence, problem-solving abilities, autonomy, a sense of humor, and a sense of purpose and future. Furthermore, Benard (2004) describes social competencies as responsiveness, communication skills, empathy and caring, compassion, altruism, and forgiveness.

The concept of women's resilience is also related to the role of women as catalysts for change and rescue valves for the community, family, and society around them. Resilience also refers to her ability to self-efficacy, cope, and have a sense of belonging, contributing to women's resilience. Several factors affect the resilience of adult women, including livelihoods, land ownership, housing, kinship relations, health inequalities, spirituality, gender roles, norms and stereotypes about older women, and their independence and dignity.

This paper aims to portray women's resilience to respond to the social reality, including how women play a significant role in improving their quality of life and family. Married adult women become a source of strength for their families, allowing them to survive in challenging conditions. Thus, women are perceived not merely as a vulnerable group but as a group that has high resilience, both for themselves, families, and their communities.

This paper uses qualitative research methods, which are instrumental in seeing society's social reality in more depth with data collection techniques like observation and interviews. This qualitative research is considered more suitable for explaining women's experiences in social life. The informants in this study were married women or housewives, namely AG (27 years old), KN (38 years old), and RA (45 years old), all of whom are native residents of Desa Besuki and have a sequential marriage age of 5 years, ten years, and 15 years. The three informants were determined according to purposive sampling or selected based on the purpose and focus of the research. With the difference in the length of the marriage, researchers collected data from different perspectives related to the resilience of married women in facing economic difficulties caused by the demands of otang tengka tradition.

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Forms of Women's Resilience in Desa Besuki
Women's Autonomy through Working

Entrepreneurship is the most common occupation for women in Desa Besuki. Women engaged in trade demonstrate their ability to develop businesses as entrepreneurs. The following is an excerpt from an interview that illustrates this reality. The informants work as traders at the Besuki Public Market.

"Selling cosmetics, beauty tools... Thank God I feel happy. I can make myself and my family happy; just don't get confused (about money) every day. Instead of just being idle, it is better to work." Interview with KN (36 years old), November 14, 2022.

"Relax if you have a job because money is coming in daily. Anyway, that makes my heart happy." Interview with AG (27 years old), November 14, 2022.

KN said she feels happy working as a cosmetic and beauty equipment trader. She utilizes the income generated from her business to bring joy to her family. This situation reflects the informant's positive sentiments toward her work, aligning with AG's feelings. AG expressed a sense of calm and happiness while working, indicating that her motivation is to achieve peace of mind and be free from economic difficulties.

RA also shared a statement consistent with the sentiments expressed by the two previous informants in the following interview excerpt:

“It's always cramped at home, sis, it's real; rather than being cramped, I'd rather be at the market, get some money." Interview with RA (45 years old), November 17, 2022.

RA finds greater happiness working at the Besuki Public Market than staying home. Remaining at home makes her even more miserable because she cannot contribute additional income to her family.

According to Benard (2004), the statements the three informants above explicitly indicate the existence of female autonomy to support economic resilience and livelihood. Women who act on their own volition, driven by personal will rather than external coercion, exemplify how autonomy operates. While the primary motivation for women entering the public sphere as workers is the existence of economically demanding traditions, finally, women can independently decide on their actions, such as seeking additional income separate from their husband's work.

Problem Solving with Negotiation

Negotiation is a form of bargaining activity that aims to reach an agreement between two or more parties. The otang tengka tradition, which demands involvement in giving and returning donations, poses challenges for many people, especially women responsible in managing their family finances. This is because their husbands' wages are only enough to meet basic needs such as food rather than traditional necessities. Nevertheless, these challenges can be overcome through women's ability to negotiate with fellow otang tengka participants.

"Usually agree first; when can you return the donation? You will be waited on, and as long as you don't pretend to forget when you have to return it, that usually makes enemies." Interview with AG (27 years old), November 16, 2022.

"Yes, visit her house and speak with care. You generally don't have any debts when it comes to providing donations. Apologize and explain that you cannot contribute right now." Interview with RA (45 years old), November 17, 2022.
The primary key in implementing *otang tengka* is that someone who owes a donation must return the donation, and someone asking to donate must make a donation. However, problems may arise if one party cannot commit to return or donate. Therefore, negotiation is a common way for informants to find a solution.

In the interview excerpts above, AG and RA negotiate by agreeing with the host who has a *hajat*. The agreement revolves around when they can promise to return the goods. AG mentioned that being honest and agreeing with the host or event owner is the best solution, rather than pretending to forget about the ownership of the donation debt. RA added that the agreement must be based on logical reasons and not contrived, ensuring it is well-received without conflict.

Benard (2004) regards women's ability to negotiate as a problem-solving skill or an effort to overcome challenges, constituting a part of women's resilience. Informants stated that negotiation is the most effective means to avoid social sanctions. Women develop this negotiating ability by agreeing on the promised time to donate or return items if they cannot provide monetary contributions. This action proves highly effective, the informants can adhere to the *otang tengka* tradition successfully without endangering anyone.

*Sense of Purpose and Future as Financial Regulator in the Family*

Women are often associated with domestic work, caregiving, and household maintenance. Similarly, managing family finances enables women to formulate plans more effectively than men. This aptitude is attributed to women, who think more about long-term considerations. The following are excerpts from interviews conducted by researchers:

"A man cannot handle money, especially when it is spent on buying cigarettes. Money allows you to obtain food, settle debts ('otang tengka'), and purchase goats." Interview with AG (27 years), November 16, 2022.

AG mentioned that she serves as the financial manager for her household, citing a compelling reason for taking on this role. AG believes she is more adept at handling money and can allocate money to enhance family assets. She has bought a small goat as kind of ‘investation’ from her income. AG noted that her husband tends to prioritize short-term needs, such as cigarettes, rather than long-term ones.

Women's ability to manage family finances aligns with the nature of resilience, as Benard (2004) referred to as a sense of purpose and future. A sense of purpose and future can be defined as the ability to direct actions based on future orientation. Other elements evident from the informants included a clear direction or purpose, motivation for achievement, and creativity. AG wants to have a stable economic condition in her family, especially for the family's future. For this reason, she also developed her business as an entrepreneur at the Besuki Public Market and invest some money in the form of home farm business.

In other words, the role of women as managers of family finances is a positive one, show their resilience in navigating challenging conditions. Having such financial difficulties enable women to set long-term goals and motivate them to achieve them, encouraging the development of various forms of creativity in their plans. This resilience not only benefits women individually but also contributes to improving the resilience of their families as a whole.
Sense of Humor through Social Interaction

Otang tengka is a social ethic within the Desa Besuki community, carried out through donations for individuals related to events such as births, marriages, or deaths. However, these donations also lead to economic pressure to the community, as most people in Desa Besuki are from the middle to lower economic income. Regarding these social burdens and the demand of tradition, sometimes they have to develop resilience by gathering with friends or neighbors to share jokes laughter, and alleviate stress and fatigue. In this context, socializing becomes a form of resilience, manifested through the sense of humor exhibited by the women.

"When you get together with neighbors or other friends, the stuffiness is gone, so as much as possible, don't fight with neighbors because it's not nice not having friends." Interview with KN (36 years old), November 14, 2022.

"It's not nice to have "conflict" with neighbors, like people who do not have friends and no one greets them; if you have lots of friends, the stress goes away, you can joke around." Interview with AG (27 years old), November 16, 2022.

The resilience emerges when a person has full autonomy or control over themselves. A sense of humor is essential to help women free from stress or pressure. KN and AG raise their sense of humor while socializing or interacting with their neighbors. It explains that joking is a strategy for women's resilience in overcoming the stress caused by the demands of otang tengka.

The sense of humor of women in Desa Besuki can be interpreted as a form of psychological resilience. Finding humor in challenging situations can be an effective coping strategy, reducing stress and strengthening mental resilience. Meanwhile, their problem-solving skills indicate proficiency in addressing everyday issues, a critical aspect of resilience.

Women's Resilience from a Gender Perspective

The resilience of women from a gender perspective reflects their ability to overcome challenges and pressures that may arise due to patriarchal social norms. It involves resilience in facing discrimination, limited gender roles, and unequal access to education and employment. Women's resilience also encompasses the ability to ignite spirit under challenging situations, advocate for their rights, and create space for active participation in social and economic life.

Situations in Desa Besuki reflect the dynamics of women engaged in the tradition of mutual contribution while navigating changes by entering public spaces. The tradition of mutual contribution may create hope for women to play a role in the domestic sphere while in the public spaces the challenge of gender equality is not always easy.

Resilience among women in Desa Besuki can be viewed as a response to the mismatch between the demands of tradition and the realities of social change. They develop resilience strategies by exploring public spaces to seek

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economic support and social opportunities.\textsuperscript{15} This reflects a shift in the concept of gender roles, where women are not only seen as bearers of domestic roles but also as active and empowered actors in community life.\textsuperscript{16} When connecting gender theory, particularly Judith Butler's perspective, the concept of women's resilience in difficult times can be understood as a framework that helps women form their identities and respond to life challenges. According to Butler, gender is continuous performativity enacted through everyday actions.\textsuperscript{17} In the context of resilience, women may adopt or create gender roles that enable them to overcome challenges appropriately. In these actions, they can find strength and resilience within the gender identity they choose or create. In the framework of gender theory, these changes create space for women to construct a more inclusive identity and expand their roles beyond traditional boundaries.\textsuperscript{18} Despite potential obstacles and resistance from existing patriarchal norms, the resilience of women in Desa Besuki generates the potential for broader social transformation.

The increased resilience of women in Desa Besuki is reflected in several key aspects, including self-autonomy development. The ability of women to take initiative and manage their own lives signifies a positive step in facing challenges and social changes. Furthermore, the presence of a sense of purpose and future indicates that these women have a clear vision and motivation to achieve goals, which can serve as a driving force for success in overcoming obstacles.

Overall, the resilience of women in Desa Besuki includes not only physical toughness but also psychological and social skills that enable them to face changes with determination. It depicts the adaptability of women in confronting challenges and their potential to shape a better future. The situation of women in Desa Besuki, demonstrating their high resilience can be seen as a critique of patriarchal system. While patriarchal system assert that men dominate social structures and provide advantages to them, the reality is that women in Desa Besuki are capable of developing self-autonomy, a sense of purpose and future, a sense of humor, and problem-solving skills.

Firstly, the growth of women's self-autonomy indicates that women are not merely passive in roles prescribed by patriarchal structures. They can take control of their own lives, overcoming limitations that may arise from patriarchal norms. Secondly, the sense of purpose and future signifies that women not only accept traditional roles dictated by patriarchy but negotiate with them. They have personal goals and motivations that may contradict expectations arising from patriarchal structures. Lastly, the sense of humor and problem-solving skills among women in Desa Besuki also reflect a diversity of abilities and responses to pressure, which may not entirely align with the stereotypical portrayal of women in patriarchal contexts.

Therefore, women's resilience in Desa Besuki can be considered counterproductive to the predictions of patriarchal society, providing evidence that women have the influence and capacity to overcome constraints associated with patriarchal-dominated social structures. Stereotypes about women need to be abandoned in this modern era because they not only fail to reflect the diversity and complexity of women as individuals but also hinder the overall development of society as a whole. Discarding stereotypes leads to gender equality. Stereotypes often confine women to predefined roles, limiting their potential and contributions in various fields. Furthermore, overcoming stereotypes opens opportunities to support inclusivity, enabling women and men to pursue their interests, talents, and aspirations without rigid expectations. This can result in a more dynamic, innovative, and equitable society.

In the modern era, emphasizing justice and equality and abandoning stereotypes about women align with progressive values that support human rights and individual freedom. This change can create a positive environment where everyone can have equal opportunity to thrive and contribute, regardless of gender. With an inclusive understanding of gender and women, we can shape a more just society that values diversity and promotes sustainable growth.

Simone de Beauvoir\textsuperscript{19} states that the concept of "Man is the Universal, Woman is the Other" which reflects the patriarchal condition is deeply rooted in the history of society. She criticizes the notion that women are considered objects or "the Other," defined by men. In this context, stereotypes about women are seen as a result of this perspective, creating a gender hierarchy. Beauvoir emphasizes the need to liberate women from traditional roles defined by men and encourages them to seek their own identity. Beauvoir's gender analysis supports the idea of abandoning stereotypes as a step towards liberating women from the constraints of patriarchal structures that limit their potential and freedom.

With Beauvoir's perspective, we can better understand that rejecting stereotypes is not only a matter of justice but also a critical step to liberate women from roles imposed by patriarchal society.\textsuperscript{20} Gender analysis, according to Beauvoir, demands recognition of women's freedom and agency and a shift in how we understand and approach gender issues in the modern era. In many societies, women often face economic barriers associated with gender norms.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, the resilience of women in facing economic challenges related to tradition has already demonstrated that women can seize existing opportunities, develop skills, and even create their own opportunities.\textsuperscript{22} In Desa Besuki, Situbondo Regency, women are involved in various economic initiatives, ranging from micro-enterprises to entrepreneurship, in response to limitations in

\textsuperscript{20} Safitri, M. A. The Girl in The Girl from the Coast as the Second Sex in Patriarchal Society Seen from Feminist Perspective (Doctoral dissertation, Program Studi Satra Bahasa Inggris FBS-UKSW), 2017.
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traditional employment structures. Women's ability to adapt to economic changes, uphold traditions, and create financial sustainability reflects strong economic resilience. In the social environment, women's resilience is a proof that they have capacity to build networks, overcome stereotypes and discrimination, and contribute to social change. With the demands of the 'otang tengka' tradition, women receive support from their husbands to participate in employment as breadwinners.

The social resilience of women is also obvious in their ability to form solidarity with fellow women, create safe spaces, and support each other. This can be observed in the women's communities in Desa Besuki, the majority of whom are workers and not limited to being solely homemakers. Women also receive equal treatment when appearing in public spaces as empowered individuals. This condition is undoubtedly linked to the benefits gained by each family due to the participation of both spouses in work, rendering the notion that women should stay at home no longer relevant.

Conclusion
This study reveals that women in Desa Besuki, particularly the married ones, demonstrate various forms of resilience when facing challenges, notably those linked to the otang tengka tradition. These resilient qualities encompass autonomy, adept problem-solving skills, a strong sense of purpose and future vision, and a remarkable sense of humor. From a gender perspective, women's resilience reflects their strength and ability to thrive amid the complexities of gender norms. By actively supporting and promoting women's resilience, societies can shape a more just and equitable future, ensuring equal opportunities for all individuals to grow and contribute.

This research significantly contributes to understanding women's empowerment in social life. The findings illustrate that women can actively participate in the public sphere as workers, thereby enhancing the resilience of family livelihoods. Contrary to prevailing stereotypes, this study aims to foster shared knowledge about the strength and abilities of women as resilient figures. Moreover, it is crucial to continue challenging these stereotypes and explore further avenues for research in women's empowerment.

In addition, this study underlines the need for an educational approach to enhance community awareness regarding the diverse roles of women and the values of resilience they embody. This includes promoting educational programs that support women's empowerment, focusing on skill development, knowledge enhancement, and capacity building in the public and economic spheres. Moreover, it also essential to advocate for policies that support women's access to public spaces and create a conducive environment to women's resilience, including equal access to employment and education.

Furthermore, encouraging a holistic approach is essential. It involves integrating health, economics, and education into women's empowerment efforts. The active involvement in community decision-making and promoting women's participation in social and economic forums should be encouraged. These recommendations serve as a foundation for developing effective strategies and policies to promote women's empowerment and strengthen their resilience in the social and economic dynamics.
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