THE REPRESENTATION OF THE HYBRIDITY OF JAVANESE WOMEN IN THE "TILIK" FILM

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Abstract:
In the era of globalization, foreign and local cultures meet each other. The meeting caused some controversy regarding the existence of local culture and identity. Globalization will undoubtedly affect the position of the Javanese and their identity now. The Javanese now are hybrid Javanese who can take and accept and filter cultures outside of Javanese culture. Javanese women face more problems than Javanese men. Javanese women face patriarchal domination and the problem of Javanese women's identity in the era of globalization. The film "Tilik" is a short film that went viral during the Covid-19 pandemic. This film represents hybrid Javanese women present in the life of Javanese society today. The purpose of this study is to explain how Javanese women, like hybrid Javanese, can overcome all currents of globalization by absorbing, mixing, following, and modifying cultures outside Java without abandoning the noble values of Java. This research method uses descriptive qualitative with critical discourse analysis. The results show that Javanese women are hybrid women formed from various cultures and globalization but still adhere to Javanese cultural values in their daily lives.

Keywords: Representation, Hybridity, Women, Javanese

INTRODUCTION

Previous studies reported many different cultures in distributed areas of Indonesia. Nevertheless, few did report the women of Javanese culture represented in movies. Thus, women in Javanese culture are fascinating to discuss. Of course, Javanese culture with a feudal and patriarchal system becomes a fascinating study related to the position of Javanese women today. Are Javanese women still bound by the feudal and patriarchal systems in the Javanese system? Considering that this century prioritizes women's rights and gender equality in critical (Budiati, 2010a, p. 51).

Javanese women are still bound by the cultural values inherent in their lives, find it difficult to find their identity, and do not dare to realize their potential. (Budiati, 2010b). So far, the division of tasks in family and community life is based on traditional misunderstandings, namely the natural differences between men and women.
Women in Javanese culture cannot be separated. Often feminist activists are very sharp about the dominance of the patriarchal system on Javanese women. The term *konco wingking* has been heavily criticized by the feminist view. They assume that women are only complimented by a husband, meaning they only play a role in the household (Pudjianto, 2017). She does not have autonomy in the family, limited to kitchen affairs and her husband's complement. The husband still carries out the holder of economic control. So the man or husband has full command over domestic life. The solid patriarchal system raises the stereotype that a good woman is a woman who is smooth, obedient, speaks politely, and always serves her husband.

Women's responsibilities in the family, such as cooking, cleaning the house, or taking care of children, have become women's obligations, which are more due to gender misunderstandings in social traditions (Putri & Lestari, 2016). It does not mean challenging existing cultural values and positioning all women as having a position above men. This problem can lead to conflict and social change, which is understandable because the patriarchal system in all societies places women in a culturally and structurally disadvantaged position. Women face problems in household and reproductive matters such as housework and child care.

Does the Javanese now represent the original or pure Javanese culture that is 100% Javanese? The purity and authenticity of Java is a very long discussion, and purity and authenticity are very difficult to prove to represent the cultural identity. So the question is, who are the real Javanese? Hybridity is a necessity that occurs in Javanese society because Javanese people can cross space and time. Pieterse (2001, p. 223) historically explains the areas that foster the development of hybridization discourse. Hybridization is a long process of hybridity.

Hybridity in Javanese culture cannot be denied. Globalization and the flow of information have become effective channels for hybridity in Javanese women's society. Hybridity was initially interpreted negatively as a postcolonial influence and is now starting to have various views. Clothier (2006, pp. 19–21) describes cultural hybridity as a product culture in the third space that is unique and cash and not just a mixture of the two cultures or more. It can be: (1) a critique of the postulate of cultural authenticity; (2) a sign of cultural dynamics, where cultural boundaries fuse and transcend each other in the third room; (3) a form of
cultural creativity that always develops beyond the boundaries that exist between existing cultures; and (4) form of authenticity new from a community culture.

Society has no option but to avoid globalization. In the context of globalization, Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) explain that local communities in postcolonial countries have the creative ability to negotiate and clarify the entry of a global culture with Western nuances for the benefit of their respective places. This process is called "glocalization." However, cultural hybridization occupies most of the space in the social sphere. The local people want to continue to carry on the local culture and customs inherited from their ancestors. They cannot wholly reject the existence of an increasingly diverse, engaging, and dynamic global culture.

Has the representation of Javanese women undergone a change or hybridity? Judging from the process of hybridization later became hybridity. Javanese women today are hybrid Javanese women. Cultural hybridity forced and unavoidably influenced the hybridity process of Javanese women. Javanese women today have a form of a long process of cultural hybridity. The mixing of cultures from the impact of globalization cannot be denied (Kraidy, 2006). Javanese women are currently part of a Javanese identity that no longer expects a level of originality as a Javanese society. With the existence of cultural hybridity, early women can now be manifested into forms of women that do not escape globalization. Javanese women may become feminists, and intellectuals, reject patriarchal power, become company leaders, political leaders, and so on.

This article will discuss the representation of the hybridity of Javanese women as reflected in the film "Tilik." The "Tilik" film became viral in 2020, and Indonesia, including the whole world, experienced the Covid-19 pandemic. Several social media influencers made this film viral and uploaded it on YouTube in 2018. This "Tilik" film is set in the Bantul Regency area. Of course, the atmosphere of Javanese culture and society is very thick. Moreover, the film uses Javanese dialogue.

This film tells about a group of housewives who are going to visit Mrs. Lurah. She was sick in the hospital. They went by a sand truck. The storyline comes to life. What is interesting about this film is the representation of Javanese women in the "Tilik" film. After watching the "Tilik" film, there seems to be a change in the image and stereotype of Javanese women.
The importance of conducting this research is to contribute to understanding how hybridity has become a means of inheriting local identity alongside the emergence and construction of globalization through literary and film works. This research is predicated on the premise that hybridity can be a powerful tool for holding cultural and local identity. This study is positioning Javanese women in globalization as hybrid Javanese women. They face intercultural influences, still hold their Javanese values, and blend with globalization.

The research focuses on four problems: 1) How does the representation of hybridity blend with Javanese social class? 2) How is the representation of Javanese women's views on sexuality? 3) How does globalization impact the Javanese social condition? 4) How does representation of the Javanese identity?

METHOD

Design
This study uses qualitative descriptive methods. The goal of qualitative descriptive studies is a comprehensive summarization, in colloquial terms, of specific events experienced by individuals or groups of individuals (Lambert & Lambert, 2013). Qualitative research methods are research methods carried out in the setting of certain things that happen in real life, focusing on investigating and understanding a phenomenon, like what, why, and how it happened (Charivari, 2009).

Data Collection
The data source for the study is the film "Tilik." Conversations and image data from the film would be maintained in several stages, called technique’s realization.

Figure 1. Research Framework
The study tracked a previous model of analyzing literatures and movies. The process mainly employs the researcher as the main instrument for both synthesizing literatures and arranging of sources in proper citation system (Turmudi, 2020).

**Data Analysis Technique**

In this study, all data types are qualitative (Ridder, 2014). As all needed articles were selected and filed, I did some steps to support the analysis process; the study to do is 1) describes the contents of films in outline; 2) analyzes a form of representation of Javanese women hybridity built-in film; 3) describes the inner ideology the movie—review of studies with qualitative descriptive research method using point of view representation studies. The representation uses language to say something meaningful to others (Ida, 2018).

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

In the "Tilik" film, the representation of the hybridity of Javanese women influences various lines of Javanese life. Hybridity impacts changes in social class, lifestyle, technology mastery, identity, and conserving myth.

**Hybridity in Javanese Social Class.**

The social class of Javanese society in the 19th century and earlier was divided based on land and land tenure. In Wahyono et al. research (2017) socially, rural communities in Java in the 19th century were divided into very rigid social classes. Although each region has different terms for describing its social stratification, the point is that people in rural Java are divided. In two contrasting classes in binary opposition, namely the landowners and the landless class, Some Western scholars refer to in terms of "the have, and they have not ." The pattern of land tenure determines social stratification in rural communities in Java. In Java in the 19th century, the land was primarily communal, and the village head determined the right to work on communal land. In some areas of Java, communal land is given to residents' mandatory workloads, which in this case are those who already own the land.

In "Tilik" film, the primary and additional characters have different social class backgrounds. Mrs. Tejo comes from the upper-middle class social class. It can be seen from the plot of the film "Tilik ." Mrs. Tejo wears many gold bracelets on both her right and left hands. The appearance character of Mrs. Tejo is very different from others. The jewelry indicates that Mrs. Tejo comes from the upper-middle class and has more wealth than them.
In other words, Mrs. Tejo is the richest among the other characters. Her wealth will dominate among them. Mrs. Tejo is very vocal and provocative. People around him will believe it. The other characters believe in Mrs. Tejo more than Yu Ning. She always counters Mrs. Tejo's provocative and hoax/false statements. Meanwhile, the social class under Mrs. Tejo will always be the maximum to the class above. They tend to be passive and wait for momentum.

Mrs. Tejo:
Karena itulah saatnya kamu meningkatkan pengetahuanmu melalui internet.
Jadi, kamu tahu apa yang kita bicarakan
Mrs. Tejo: (English translation)
That is why it is time to improve your knowledge through the Internet.
So you know what we are talking about (Scene 2:22-2:30, "Tilik" Film, 2018)

Mrs. Tejo's representation as the dominant class among other housewives can also be recognized by how far of gadgets mastery and digital information she has. The information always guides Mrs. Tejo gets from the Internet; this technological mastery makes her different from others. The hybridity of the social class of Javanese society is now more complex. Javanese social class is not only influenced by *Priyayi*, *Santri*, and *Abangan* in Geertz (1981), but they are very complex. Social class is not only measured by wealth and position. For the Javanese people, knowledge and mastery of information technology are also determinants of society in certain social classes.

**Javanese Women's View on Sexuality**

Talking about sexuality seems to be taboo for Javanese women, and it is because the patriarchal system is very dominant. As discussed at the beginning, women only become sidekicks for men (Maulana, 2020). There are even things that are very discrediting for women, namely the terms *macak*, *masak*, and *manak* (Thiono, 2019). The term is considered the grip of authority for Javanese women who only concern with beauty, the kitchen, and reproduction. Domestic activities are women's territory.

The "Tilik" film is fascinating. There is a shift in the value of women in viewing sexuality. During the trip, the women who were going to visit Mrs. Lurah also discussed sexual matters. The conversation starts with gossip about Dian's character, a village flower girl who is considered quite disturbing to the village women because of her beauty. In their discussion, they asked what if their husbands fell for their Dian's beauty. One of the housewives immediately replied that she was willing if her husband chose Dian over her. It surprised the other housewives. One of them answered that they accepted that her husband fell
into Dian's arms because she understood her husband's condition. She explained that her husband had no *attahiyat*. *Attahiyat* symbolizes the husband's strength in medical problems; his husband has experienced erectile dysfunction or even cannot get an erection.

*Yu Sam*: aku sih engga takut kalau suamiku naksir sama Dian. Suamiku kan udah ngga bisa *attahiyat*.
*Mrs. Tejo*: Ya Allah.... diobati sana.
*Yu Sam*: ya besoklah.

**English Translation:**
Mrs. Sam: I do not care if my husband falls in love with Dian. My husband cannot *attahiyat* (erection) anymore.
Mrs. Tejo: Oh God... he needs a treatment
Mrs. Sam: next time (Scene 12.09-13.11, "Tilik" Film, 2018)

This statement implies that Javanese women today no longer feel taboo about discussing sexuality and even their privacy. The husband's privacy, which should be tightly closed, can now become the consumption of conversation among Javanese women in their daily lives. So if you read it, Javanese women today do not consider sexuality taboo. Sexuality is present in everyday life and is one of the things that adorn the lives of Javanese people in common.

The hybridity of Javanese women's views on sexuality has changed. The influence has come from many ways, including the media. It makes women not hesitate and feel ashamed to talk about sexuality. Of course, this is a mixture of foreign and local cultures, although in the form of views and thoughts.

Infidelity or having an affair is a strong issue in the "Tilik" film. The main topic of conversation among housewives on the way to the hospital is infidelity. Mrs. Tejo, as the main character, provokes the housewives that the girlfriend of Mrs. Lurah's son, Fikri, has an affair with Dian. Mrs. Tejo sarcastically suspects that Dian is pregnant out of wedlock with Fikri. In addition, Mrs. Tejo received information that Dian was also in an affair with an older man. So, they concluded that apart from being considered a wrong woman. Dian was also considered a prostitute, based on confusion about Dian's job information.

At the end of the story, there is a scene of Dian getting into the car and having a conversation with an older man who was allegedly Mrs. Lurah's husband. It indicates that Dian does have an affair with the husband of Mrs. Lurah, the father of Fikri, and Fikri is Dian's boyfriend.
So, what is the relationship between infidelity and the representation of Javanese women today? The affair that occurred was an affair with a female subject. Women are no longer objects of infidelity. In the “Tilik” film, Dian's character becomes the subject of an affair. As the representation of a woman, Dian has the role of the subject of infidelity; She is not the object of sexuality. Women are no longer sexual commodities. Javanese women now have the authority to do whatever they want. Javanese women are no longer constrained by Javanese rules, which, from a feminist perspective, are considered restraints of the patriarchal system. The noble Javanese rules were broken by the Javanese culture today. Indeed, the stories of infidelity in Javanese culture are not new. Dian's character represents a Javanese woman who has experienced modernity as a villager. It turns out that she has positioned herself as a woman who destroys noble values in Javanese society.

**Technology Mastery and Digital Divide as the Impact of Globalization**

Information and communication technology has been developed to connect various media, such as television, computers, cell phones, etc. Today's computers can be connected from one computer to another via the Internet.

Dholakia et al. (2004). Internet as a social product and other technologies have an important role in culture, norms, and social values. The values and norms of technology and the user determine how the technology is used. Technology products and services tend to be more masculine than feminine and have a gender-related digital divide. In addition, men and women have different cultures, specialize in different occupations, and have different aspirations (Dholakia et al., 2004). These differences interact and affect the users of the Internet. The analysis also shows that gender inequality, as measured by the ratio of male and female internet users, tends to be increasingly disproportionate. Cultural factors influence women's participation in decision-making at all levels, namely at the family, organizational and national levels.

The issue of inequality has become a long-lasting and debatable issue. The digital divide is unequal access to computers and the Internet between groups based on one or more social and cultural identifications. For example, the digital divide shows the difference in Internet access content between women and men. Several factors have caused the digital divide for women, the level of skills and education, language problems, time constraints, and cultural and social norms (Wahyuningtyas & Adi, 2016).
In "Tilik" film, information confusion is commonly known as "hoax" information. Mrs. Tejo, as the main character, tells information based on valid information. The validity of Mrs. Tejo's information is based on the information he received from the Internet, although only from social media chats.

The representation that can be studied is that contemporary Javanese women have the same knowledge as men in accessing information technology. Indeed, in the "Tilik" film, the information technology issues are simple, and the issues are many of the news that spreads to social media. However, this indicates that mastery of technology is important in the lives of Javanese people today, especially women. The following is an excerpt from the dialogue from Mrs. Tejo.

Mrs. Tejo: 
*Kamu perlu belajar menggunakan ponsel tidak hanya untuk pamer, tetapi juga untuk mencari informasi, oke?*

Mrs. Tejo: *(English translation)*
You need to learn how to use a mobile phone not to show off, but it is used for searching for information, don't you? *(Scene 2:22-2:30, “Tilik” Film, 2018)*

Awareness of the use of gadgets is very well understood by Javanese women today. Gadget ownership is not only a social identity but also functionality itself. Javanese people are open to the progress they experience today or tomorrow. An attitude that can accept all changes (modernity). Javanese women can now merge with information technology. It is a characteristic of hybridity in the sign of cultural dynamics, where cultural boundaries fuse and transcend each other in a third space.

Javanese women can answer the "Digital Divide" issue in stages. However, Indonesia's digital divide is strongly influenced by the uneven distribution of infrastructure development in various regions and the uneven supervision of communication networks. There are differences in the lifestyles of urban and rural communities in developed areas. Urban communities in developed areas have better information technology skills and knowledge than those in disadvantaged areas. In addition, rural communities in developed areas have slightly more knowledge of information technology than those in disadvantaged areas. However, the digital divide can be overcome by Javanese hybrid women. Javanese women can release the shackles of values considered noble but misleading for Javanese women when Javanese women only focus on the domestic field (household).
Hijab as a Hybrid Identity of Javanese Muslim Women

Social standards for women's bodies are also inseparable from the transformation process of external influences, namely globalization. It indirectly weakens conservative local values and produces innovations in line with increasingly dynamic social developments. The human body and social life often get new social judgments through clothing, which can improve the body's image and personality. As part of the image of the bodies in social space, clothing changes dynamically based on human development. The freedom of expression that the bodies gain through clothing explains how humans can make dispositions.

*Kebaya* is a type of Javanese clothing for women, especially in the culture of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in Central Java. According to Rositadewi (2020), *Kebaya* is daily and ceremonial clothing worn by noblewomen and ordinary people. *Kebaya* is a traditional dress widely known throughout Indonesia. The models and types of *Kebaya* are different in each area of Java. Wearing a *Kebaya* will make the woman who wears it become a woman elegant and independent woman. The transformation of today's women is to adapt to their owners' circumstances, just like Indonesian Muslim women who have to wear a headscarf or hijab as a cover and juxtapose two materials that have different meanings in *Kebaya* and hijab. This modification brings a new style to the type of Javanese dress.

Javanese culture cannot be separated from the culture of dressing. Like clothes, *Kebaya* and *Beskap* are Javanese clothing styles that we know. Do the Javanese today still use it as an identity? Yes. We can see this when the Javanese have weddings and traditional events. So what about everyday life? Maybe we rarely see it in everyday life. Javanese people, especially Javanese women, no longer use *Kebaya* daily. Javanese women will often be seen wearing headscarves or hijabs for those who are Muslim. From the lower to the upper class, the veil has become a way of dressing for Javanese women today. Of course, the trend of using the veil is indeed influenced by Islamic culture (Meyrasyawati, 2013). However, this trend must indicate how pious the veil wearer is in carrying out Islamic law. The veil became a trend in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, something is interesting among Javanese women wearing this veil. Javanese women who wear this veil are usually married. So when asked what Javanese women wear today, the answer is to follow the context of their lives. *Kebaya* is no longer a sign that the Javanese should wear it. Maybe Javanese women in other parts of the world also do the same thing. They are free to follow the social context in which they live.
In "Tilik" film, the veil is a very distinctive garment for each character. From Mrs. Tejo to Gotrek's wife, truck drivers carrying women also wear headscarves, and the female characters all wear headscarves except Dian. As explained above, the marker of the veil is a married woman, and meanwhile, Dian, in this film, is not married.

(Figure 2. The women characters in "Tilik" film)

(Figure 3. The character of Diah in "Tilik" film)

From the description of the "Tilik" film, the way Javanese people dress, especially women, have no longer always emphasized a rigid identity. They have to wear Kebaya and other traditional clothes. The hybridization of the Javanese way of dressing is now taking from all currents of dress styles. Javanese women no longer see clothing as something that cannot be negotiated. They are free to bring out their hybrid Javanese identity by freely wearing clothes according to their meaning. Cultural identity can be mixed with other cultural identities.

For example, Javanese Muslim women wear to cover their aurat. Because in Islamic teachings, most believe that covering the aurat is more important than just a fashion issue. In a Javanese Muslim community, wearing a headscarf is an obligation and, at the same time, an identity that she is Muslim. The influences of Islam in this decade have greatly influenced the Javanese Muslims in every way, be it being Islamic, dressing Islamically (covering the aurat),
and having an Islamic view of life. Although they were born from Javanese culture and life, they made Javanese culture a second layer after they believed in Islam. In the last decade, "Javanese clothing" has been fewer than hijab sales outlets.

Has this phenomenon eroded Javanese culture? It is not a part of destroying Javanese culture. Javanese people and women today are a hybrid and global society, able to capture and absorb all cultural influences outside of Javanese culture. We do not need to debate which one is originally Javanese or not. The flow of globalization has brought Javanese people and women into fluid individuals. Javanese society is part of a global society. Javanese identity is no longer reflected in the physical aspect but in how the noble Javanese values and norms are firmly held.

**Myths among Modern Life**

According to Peursen (2000), a myth is a story that provides specific guidelines or directions for society. Stories can take the form of symbols depicting good and evil, life and death, sin and purification, marriage and birth, the afterlife, and heaven and hell. In terms of context, mythology can also be interpreted as something closely related to the mystery of humans surrounded by supernatural powers, namely the power of the gods of the universe or the power of fertility found early on in myth (Van Peursen et al., 2000, pp. 37–38).

In Peursen's view, it is also explained that the changes in cultural development mentioned above include three stages: the mysterious stage, the ontological stage, and the functional stage. It is often the top reason. So this stage is influenced by irrational mystery. At this stage of the human cultural journey, extraordinary supernatural powers are given to humans by gods. The ontological stage is a continuation of the previous stage, and mankind has entered the stage of constructing a theory (ontology) based on everything. The stage of belief is the stage of human development influenced by the philosophy of science. The next stage is the functional stage which leads to modern humans. In other words, prioritizing research is to find people who match the nature of their roles. This stage is almost completely rational, so the first two stages are not feasible. This stage is a window for the growth and development of a modern culture that is very different from the previous culture.

From the information above, (Alam & Qudsi, 2017) (2017) concludes that myth comes from the power of reason because of human's curiosity. However, at the beginning of exploration, humans still need to use reason, prioritizing imagination and fantasy fully. Therefore,
mythology appears in the mysterious stage of this stage, and humans are still limited to mysterious things, which leads to assumptions about magical objects and the ability to give good and bad things.

In the "Tilik" film, Javanese women still believe in myths. Myths are very closely related to the life of the Javanese. Even today, where Javanese people live in modern life, they still remember past myths. Mythical representations are also shown to color the storyline. Dian, who became the gossip of mothers, was considered to have susuk (magical implants) by Mrs. Tejo. The susuk functions as a male charmer (Hanifuddin, 2019).

Mrs. Tejo:  
Jika hanya tentang wajah cantik, itu tidak cukup.  
Semua lelaki jatuh cinta padanya, itu pasti karena susuknya.

Mrs. Tejo: (English translation)  
If it is because of the beautiful face, it is impossible.  
All men are falling in love with her because of her susuk. (Scene 16.35-16.58, “Tilik” Film, 2018)

Irrationality is always present in the life of the Javanese people. Irrationality is the answer to problems that cannot be answered (temporarily) by rationality and logic. The implant myth (susuk) becomes an easy answer when women can attract men. Although Mrs. Tejo's statement tends to be tendentious, the representation of Javanese women who believe in myth is still legible. They live in the modern world.

Although the flow of information and globalization continues to hit and fuse in every aspect of people's lives, especially in Java, supernatural, occult, and myths seem to mingle in the lives of Javanese people today. Supposedly if hybridity is something negative or, in this context, co-opts identity, globalization destroys the irrational myths that develop in Javanese society. In fact, on the contrary, society blends in with myths in the flow of globalization and information.

CONCLUSION

Javanese women still hold their identity as Javanese even in modern life. Of course, Javanese today is different from past Javanese. They are hybrid now, and they have transformed from exclusive into inclusive people without leaving their Javanese values and culture. Javanese people face new realities. They are open and not exclusive, so they are capable and acceptable from all over the world. Javanese people are fluid-like liquids that can
adjust and fill any space and shape when placed. So it can be said that the Javanese now are hybrid, and they do not forget the noble values of Javanese culture.

**Limitation**

This study discussed two formal objects, the hybridity, and the Javanese women. The discussion of Javanese women should be more comprehensive than this study. This study should have covered the Javanese women's values more deeply. If the next researcher continues this study, it will be better to analyze the transformation of the traditional Javanese woman to modern Javanese women's values. This study should have comprehensively covered the transformation of traditional to modern Javanese values and practices. Further research can expand the hybridity of Javanese women not only in the "Tilik" film.

**Implication**

This study reveals that the identity of Javanese, especially women, cannot be generalized like what general people's perspectives and views on Javanese woman stereotype. Javanese women are not like a rigid pattern, a general stereotype of what people believe in. Javanese women's stereotype binds the progress of Javanese women themselves. This finding also opens that Javanese women are hybrid people. The new identity of Javanese women is open. The current research still regards that cultural identity conserved as the original one. On the other hand, globalization and the freedom of information access create a hybrid identity.

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