

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH REPORT

A. Research Preparations

The preparation of this research started with the establishing of subject criteria that is fitting for this research. Criteria was established by taking into consideration the background of research as well as the aim of this research. Based on that fact, it was established that the subjects would be people within the age of 18-25, both male and female, who are either of full Javanese descent, part Javanese descent, or has resided in a predominantly Javanese area their whole life. After establishing the subject criteria, the next step is to seek said subjects, who are willing to provide time and information for this research by means of possibly multiple face-to-face interviews.

The next step that follows the establishing of subject criteria is determining the interview questions. Due to the method of this research being a semi-structured interview the guide that was made was not designed in question form. This leaves room for addition and adaptation of questions depending on the subjects' answers. Even so, the interview guide includes key topics that covers aspects provided within the research framework. A mobile phone was also prepared for recording purposes.

The following step is to make appointments with each subject for the initial interview. Due to this research needing prolonged engagement between the subject and the researcher, any follow up

interview appointments will be made after the initial interview has occurred.

The next and final step of preparations is to prepare all necessary forms; research permits and consent forms. These forms are needed as proof of legitimacy to the subjects and as a research permit for the institution. They also need to be given to the appropriate people prior to conducting any data collection procedures.

B. Research Process

This research has an exploratory nature and is conducted with a qualitative approach. Data collection method within this research is done by way of conducting multiple interview sessions with each subject. The interview was done in accordance to the interview guide that has been made and the symbolic interaction theory that this research evolves around.

Data collection started in early July 2018 and ended in late July 2018. The interviews were conducted according to the schedule that has been agreed upon by the researcher and the subjects. The frequency of the interviews depended on how the previous interviews went and was conducted on a schedule that has been approved by the subjects. The duration of the interviews differed between subjects and was conducted for as long as the researcher could collect data with the cooperation of the subject. The interview schedules are as follows;

Table 1. Subject 1 Interview Schedule

No.	Interview	Interview Date	Time	Place	Duration
1.	Initial Interview	6 th July 2018	14.30 WIB	Subject's house	20:59
2.	Follow up Interview	9 th July 2018	19.45 WIB	Subject's house	01:50:39
3.	Follow up interview	21 st July 2018	11.30 WIB	Subject's house	48:13

Table 2. Subject 2 Interview Schedule

No.	Interview	Interview Date	Time	Place	Duration
1.	Initial Interview	11 th July 2018	10.27 WIB	Subject's friend's house	01:14:52
2.	Follow up interview	29 th July 2018	15.00 WIB	Subject's friend's house	00:40:38

Table 3. Subject 3 Interview Schedule

No.	Interview	Interview Date	Time	Place	Duration
1.	Initial Interview	18 th July 2018	14.49 WIB	Café Coco Madeleine	01:27:34
2.	Follow up interview	29 th July 2018	10.00 WIB	Taiwan Tea House	00:35:51

Table 4. Subject 4 Interview Schedule

No.	Interview	Interview Date	Time	Place	Duration
1.	Initial Interview	21 st July 2018	14.30 WIB	Café Coco Madeleine	01:44:47
2.	Follow up interview	26 th July 2018	18.00 WIB	Café Coco Madeleine	01:51:15

C. Results of Data Collection

1. Subject 1

a. Identity

- i. Name : LP
- ii. Sex : Female
- iii. Age : 22 years old
- iv. Address : Jeruk, Semarang
- v. Ethnicity : Javanese

b. Interview Results

Data collection for subject 1 consisted of three interview sessions. The initial interview had to be cut short due to prior engagements, so the basics of each sub-topic was covered more in the second interview. The third interview consisted of extra topics that was deemed necessary to clarify certain information from previous interviews. All interviews were conducted at the subject's residence.

The first interview was only able to achieve 20 minutes of interview time due to the fact that the subject had prior engagements. A few problems arose during the second interview, due to the fact that one of the subject's friend was in the room with us. The subject and her friend thought that the use of earphones would settle the problem (of the possibility of her friend hearing her answers), but her presence greatly affected subject 1's ability to answer. So, subject 1's friend was asked to move to another room. After that the interview went smoothly.

i. Culture

Subject 1 was born into a Javanese family, with both parents and their extended family being of Javanese descent. Subject 1 and her family have always resided in the Java area. She acknowledges certain Javanese customs such as *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama*. *Unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama* are Javanese customs that are applied when one is addressing or addressed by their elders. This Javanese custom teaches Javanese youth to be respectful to their elders. In subject 1's culture this respect for the elderly may be shown by greeting them should she come across elders she knows. Subject 1 has no particular grievance with this custom as she also sees it as a way of maintaining relationships with people of her community, such as her neighbors.

Subject 1 also knows of Javanese superstitions, such as one that claims sitting in front of a doorway would decrease or even eliminate one's chances of obtaining a spouse. Superstitions within the Javanese culture, although subject 1 may know of them, are not necessarily

acknowledged by her as she believes she only needs to take the relevant and beneficial aspects of her Javanese background. Unlike *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama* which she finds necessary to communicate within her community, subject 1 feels that adhering to Javanese superstitions provide no benefits for her.

Regarding how her culture affects her life, subject 1 merely acknowledges the many collective habits within her community of Javanese people but cannot detach herself from how deeply her culture is ingrained within her. Subject 1 knows of certain concepts and habits done by Javanese people like her, such as not giving her mother a drink that was previously drunk by her, but doesn't acknowledge it as a piece of Javanese culture due to the fact that it was mostly applied within her own family. Subject 1 feels like she would truly understand and feel the impact of her culture should she move to a place with a different cultural background. She doesn't feel any cultural impact in her daily life due to the fact that she feels no cultural differences within her community and acknowledges her familiarity as such, something that is simply known and familiar, and not specifically Javanese culture.

ii. Family

Subject 1 is the youngest of two daughters. She has lived in the same house ever since she was born with her mother, sister and father, while he is home. Both of subject 1's parents work, although her father's job requires him to work abroad therefore not being home often. Due to

her father working abroad for long periods of time of her life, subject 1's mother is the more dominant parental figure in her life.

Subject 1 stated that her mother is *keras*. Her mother is a stern figure, and subject 1 thinks that it was due to the fact that her mother's father was also a stern figure, with him being in the military. Subject 1 claims that that might be the reason as to why her mother is very stern, because her mother had a stern upbringing and wanted her children to be like her. Subject 1's mother's sternness is shown when someone exhibits inability to do something that she deemed easy, which would result in the verbal reprimand of, "*Gitu aja kok nggak bisa?*". Although subject 1's mother was stern as subject 1 was growing up, she never had a restricted childhood. Her mother would let her go out and have fun as she would, implying a large amount of trust towards subject 1. Subject 1 stated that indeed her mother is very trusting, but once her mother's trust is broken she will never be able to trust that person again, explaining that this was the case with her mother and her sister.

Subject 1 has an older sister that she claims isn't necessarily that close to her. Subject 1 said that she never imparts any personal stories with her sister as she does with her mother. Subject 1 also spoke of how her sister has a strained relationship with her mother due to her sister being unreliable and untrustworthy. Subject 1's family's inability to rely on or trust her older sister results in more responsibilities being given to subject 1, which is uncommon for the youngest child within a family. Subject 1's sister tends to stay at home often but also doesn't interact with many people around their neighborhood, or outside of their house,

as subject 1 said she never acts like she's home when anyone comes around their house.

Regarding gender roles within her family, both her parents have an occupation. Which is why subject 1 sees it as a standard of living that she too works once she graduates, because both of her parents are workers, and she too was raised to become one. In the family, subject 1's mother is the cook of the house while subject 1's father is the general fixer-upper. Subject 1's mother would cook for the whole family every day and her father would be the one to go to should anything in the house needs repairing. As for her and her sister, they are more of a general around the house helper. Subject 1's sister knows how to cook and often cooks at home but most often she would just cook for herself, whereas her mother would cook for the whole family and subject 1 doesn't cook. Subject 1 is the one to go to when her parent need help of the more tech savvy generation, and while they can also ask subject 1's sister, subject 1's sister would most likely yell at their generational gap and inability to use technology.

Subject 1's family plays a big part in shaping who she is and values she holds. While, commonly, people wouldn't see it as a problem should a woman choose marriage rather than occupation, subject 1 feels like that would be a disappointment for her parents, which is why she now also holds the value that women should also work. She also believes that women should be independent because she witnesses her mother being that exact way, with her husband working abroad, her having her own job to go to, and two kids to take care of. She also believes that a

person's main value that should be upheld is to maintain prayer, because that was how she was raised.

iii. Social circle

Subject 1 categorized her social circle into; neighbors, E and B – her two close male friends, N – her female high school best friend, W and M – her childhood friends (both female), her current partner (male), and what she follows on social media. Subject 1 also spoke of her campus environment and people she hangs out with, as figures of her daily life but none are necessarily significant in her life. These are the groups of people she feels has an impact on her daily life and how she perceives certain things. Subject 1 feels that she obtains different types of information and values from these different groups.

Subject 1's neighbors are the people that she spoke about applying concepts of *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama* to. So, even though her parents are the ones who first taught her about those concepts, she also learns more regarding *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama* by applying those concepts to her neighbors. Subject 1 spoke about the necessity of applying *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama* to maintain relationships with people of her community. She felt that it was important to maintain a good relationship with her neighbors because neighbors are in a way also our family and not maintaining a good relationship with them may result in being left unaided in times of need.

E and B are two of her closest male friends. These people help her see how men are without having to wonder, seeing as they are also men.

She also feels like they help her maintain not-too-positive an outlook on men in general because they know how men tend to be. With E and B, subject 1 only speaks about her male problems because she feels she can obtain more of an insight when she speaks about men *to* men.

N is subject 1's high school best friend. Her friendship with N involves gossiping and talking about people, anybody that comes to mind. Subject 1 also talks to N regarding men but she states that when she speaks to N about men they both are only left wondering about why men are the way they are.

From her friendship with W and M, subject 1 obtains a lot of knowledge regarding sex. She also states that from these two friends of hers she understands that there is a stigma that views women by their *selangkangan* which means women are valued by their sexual history, and that is not how it should be. From this particular friendship she understands that a woman's virginity shouldn't be the be all end all in a relationship. Subject 1 states that, "*Kalo kamu suka sama cewek ya nggak usah ngurusin masa lalunya dan selangkangannya. Tapi kalo kamu nggak suka sama cewek, jangan jadikan itu alasan buat kamu nggak suka sama dia.*" This indicates that she acknowledges the inequality of women's virginity being questioned and that she disagrees with it.

Regarding her current partner, subject 1 uses him as a standard of comparison. Due to the fact that there is a possibility of them ending up together and becoming a family, she often finds herself comparing their upbringing. While she wants to work prior to and after marriage, also possibly after children, because she was raised so, her partner has

differing views. Subject 1's partner believes that while she may work after marriage, he prefers it if she doesn't work after they have children. He claims that this is because a woman's priority changes after she has children. Subject 1 feels that her partner holds these views because his mother was also a stay at home mother, therefore shaping his views of an ideal woman in the image of his mother. While subject 1 understands why her partner may hold those views, she feels there is a small clash between their views and worries that she may end up disappointing her parents should she end up quitting her job to raise children. Another difference in their upbringing includes providing for their family. While subject 1 was raised to give back to her parents, essentially providing some type of financial aid as a token of thanks, her partner was never raised that way. While discussing the topic of not working after having children she asked her partner about how she was going to consistently give her parents money if she doesn't work, to which her partner responded by asking if her parents own a savings account, again, due to the fact that that was how his parents were. Her partner's parents never asked or accepted his money due to the fact that they have their own savings account and therefore her partner feels that giving money to parents isn't ultimately necessary. Again, this clash with how subject 1 was brought up to always provide and share for her family, even if she was already in a family of her own. This difference in upbringing was important enough for subject 1 to note due to the fact that her responsibilities as her parents' child clash with her future responsibilities to her future husband and she has yet found middle ground.

Subject 1 also spoke of how the people she follows on social media affects how she thinks. She spoke of the envy she feels when she sees the people she follows are or have graduated, seeing as she is also currently striving to graduate. She stated that seeing such posts makes her want to unfollow them. She also spoke about how some social media famous stay at home mothers has shifted her perception on not working after marriage. While subject 1 is still fearful of her parents' disappointment should she quit working after having a child, her social media shows her that being a stay at home mother also has perks such as being able to see all of your child's development and just being with your child all the time in general.

Her campus environment affects her daily life by helping her maintain her religious obligations and enriching her religious knowledge. She also has people she hangs out with, but sees no significance of them in her daily life especially when talking about what values she takes away from them as she only sees them as friends and rarely speaks of anything personal to them.

iv. Sexuality

Subject 1 showed a limited amount of knowledge regarding sexuality. When asked about what she knew of sexuality she spoke of what she knew about sex, in which she then listed a few sexual activities. While exploring subject 1's knowledge regarding sexuality it was discovered that she never spoke of anything sexual with her parents, be it in an educational context or a recreational context. Subject 1 stated that

she was never given sexual education by her parents, and this becomes a source of worry for her for she fears not being able to provide sexual education for her own children. Being that she was never given sexual education by her parents her knowledge of anything sexual comes from the internet, friends, and social media.

Although subject 1's knowledge of the concept sexuality was minimum, she acknowledges that there are differences between how women and men are regarded once they become sexually active. She spoke of how women are judged more for losing their virginity prior to men in comparison to men for doing the same. According to subject 1, women are judged negatively for engaging in sexual behavior and women being sexually active is seen as something shameful. She also states the inequality of women's virginity being something that can be seen while a man's virginity is not. Subject 1 acknowledged all of these phenomena without knowing that all of these phenomena encompasses sexuality.

While she may not know that relationships are also a concept encompassed by sexuality, subject 1 knows of and bases most of her relationship cues and standards upon religious teachings. This is due to the way subject 1 was raised, to value the concept of religion, and supported by the fact that she currently goes to an Islamic university, which fortifies her religion-based knowledge regarding relationships. Her knowledge regarding relationships focuses on the roles of women and men within a relationship such as how a man is the provider of the family and a woman is the caregiver, which relates to how wills are

constructed in Islam where men would acquire more than women because they need to provide for their future family.

v. Gender Identities

Subject 1 identifies herself as a woman. When asked about reasons for her identifying as female she only stated biological reasons as to why someone can be identified as a woman. This exhibits subject 1's limited knowledge regarding gender and the fact that it encompasses more than just the general sexual organs.

vi. Gender Roles

Similar to the topic of culture, subject 1 exhibited acknowledgement of certain phenomena without knowing that those phenomena encompassed gender roles. The concept of gender roles in general and even her own gender roles are not seen as such because they were integrated within her under possibly a different contextual label which resulted in subject 1 having and possibly knowing certain gender roles, but not specifically acknowledging them as gender roles. This is shown in how subject 1 states that she helps around the house, specifically how she helps her mother when she cooks.

Even though subject 1 exhibited a limited amount of knowledge regarding gender roles, she knows of the roles held by herself, the people in her life and people in general. She acknowledges that women are ideally expected to be able to cook, even though she currently possesses no cooking skills. She also accepts the collective acceptance of women

not working and becoming full time mothers, although her personal upbringing causes her to shy away from that option. While she was raised in a household with two working parents, she agrees with the Islamic concept of inheritance distribution claiming that men will generally need more money than women due to the fact that they become providers within a family while women are the ones being provided by the men therefore men should receive more from an inheritance in comparison to women.

While she never labelled these phenomena as gender roles, subject 1 spoke of how her mother, as a woman, is the cook in the family. Alongside that, subject 1 also spoke of her father and how he is the family fixer-upper. Subject 1 unknowingly recognized roles of her parents that are also roles of other people of the similar gender.

vii. Stereotypes

While speaking about stereotypes, subject 1 also had difficulties similar to the discussion of gender and sexuality. Subject 1 knows of social expectations put on women by way of experiencing them firsthand, and seeing it in public, but has difficulty associating the phenomena with the label. Subject 1 knows that women are expected to be mothers and she also spoke of having children in the future. Subject 1 experienced the enforcement of a stereotypical prescription of not only having to have children but also simply focusing on solely being a mother. This stereotypical prescription was enforced by her current partner.

Subject 1's mother also enforces a stereotypical prescription onto her regarding the expectation of women being able to cook, although currently subject 1 faces no particular consequences from not being able to cook. This particular prescriptive stereotype is the more common out of the other things expected by subject 1's mother such as women working even after children, being independent, being educated, not depending on men, which are usually stereotypical prescriptions associated with men.

Regarding stereotypical descriptions, subject 1 at one point claimed that she felt that women are *manja*, in the sense that some women she has seen are too unnecessarily dependent on other people when it comes to things one should be able to do themselves. She spoke of it in a tone of slight annoyance, indicative of the negative implications the word *manja* holds.

c. Subject 1 Analysis

Subject 1 is a Javanese woman who grew up in a fully Javanese family in a Javanese area. Her social interactions mainly involved Javanese customs applied in Javanese settings involving Javanese people. This causes subject 1 to become both attached and detached to her cultural background; while she knows and applies Javanese customs in her daily life, she doesn't necessarily do them because they have certain values or importance to her directly. Subject 1 does them because these customs are simply what is done and are ingrained in her by means of constant interaction with people she encounters in her daily life.

Subject 1 sees no significance of her cultural background in her life because most, if not all, the people she interacts with daily are also of the same background and therefore tend to do and apply the same things during social interactions.

Subject 1 learns of her cultural background, and other concepts in relation to it, from interactions with her family and her social environment. These interactions taught her how to communicate with people in accordance to Javanese customs using *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama*. From *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama*, she learns of the importance of elders in her community, which is why subject 1 holds her parents in high regards. While subject 1 sees no direct influential significance of her culture that she procures during social interactions, there are other knowledge and phenomena which she finds significant that she picks up during social interactions.

When it comes to her parents, subject 1's mother is a dominant figure in her life, which means subject 1 places a lot of value and significance towards her mother and the interactions she has with her or observes her mother in. Subject 1's mother means a lot to her and therefore has become the center of subject 1's behavior and beliefs. Subject 1 believes that women should be independent and able to do anything and everything, or take care of her belongings to say the least. These are values that subject 1 has picked up from both direct and indirect interactions with her mother, because this is how she sees her mother. Subject 1 was both taught and saw her mother being an

independent woman who was able to do everything and was taught by her mother to strive for the same.

Subject 1 spoke of conflicting feelings caused by the differing ideals held by her family and her partner's family. The values subject 1 inherited from her family, specifically her mother, clash with the values held by her current partner. Subject 1 wants to be an independent, working woman, who still worked after giving birth, because that is how her mother was and how her mother raised her to be. She also wants to be able to provide for and give back to her parents in the future, once she becomes financially independent or married. While subject 1 has envisioned this particular future regarding her parents, her partner does not share the same values and course of action. Subject 1's partner does not see the need or the value in giving back to either of their parents, specifically financially, due to his assumption of parents having their own retirement funds. Subject 1's partner's assumption come from his personal experience; his own parents do not accept money from him due to them already having their own funds. This wouldn't matter in the grand scheme of things if it did not affect his views on working mothers. Subject 1 feels it necessary to work before and after having children so she can provide for her parents, while her partner believes that women should stop working after having a child, which subject 1 wouldn't mind if her parents were still well provided, in this case by her spouse, who seems to think it unnecessary.

The meaning subject 1 once placed on this life that she was raised to strive for has shifted from experiencing and observing other

interactions outside of the interactions she had with her mother. Subject 1 who once idealized a life of being a working mother like her own now has begun to wonder if becoming a stay at home mother would be so bad. Not only because of the fact that her current partner prefers mothers to stay at home, but also due to what she sees on social media, from people who are not directly significant to her personally but do hold some sort of social significance in general. She sees mothers on social media living contently as stay at home mothers, and wonders if she too may prefer that life. While she has these thoughts, she acknowledges that her parents would be very disappointed if she chose this particular path.

Regarding gender roles, subject 1 acquired her knowledge of gender roles from mostly her familial dynamics and religious teachings. There is also social influence in her knowledge and perception of gender roles. Subject 1 seems more in touch with her own gender related roles rather than those of other women's, as she could easily describe and explain her own situations, but had difficulty doing so when asked about other women within her environment.

Subject 1 has minimal knowledge regarding stereotypes, the word and the definitive concept, but she has knowledge of and even has her own perspective on descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes towards women's sexuality. Limited though subject 1's understanding of stereotypes may be, how they are developed and perpetuated within one's daily routine, she knows of and observes many phenomena surrounding women in society. Subject 1 spoke of the inequality she witnesses in the way society regards women's sexual activity; she claims

that men tend to judge women by their *selangkangan*, referring to sexual history, and the act of judging and the judgement that comes is to be accepted as a consequence of their deviant behavior. Subject 1's views does not align with this prescriptive stereotype, but she knows that it exists and finds it unfair and unnecessary. Her perspective is shaped through personal experiences of interacting with other people in her life; family, friends, neighbors, people in her educational environment while growing up, and her social media. Throughout the interview process, it can be seen that the most influential factor in subject 1's life that aided in the development of descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes are her family. Based on the information provided through research, subject 1 stereotypically describes women as being *manja*. She feels that she witnesses women being too unnecessarily dependent on others to do things she deems easily done by oneself. Subject 1's upbringing may be a contributing factor in the development of this perception of hers. She was raised to value independence, with her mother as her role model. Growing up witnessing her mother do many things independently provides a starkly contrasting media of comparison that will emphasize dependency in others. This also becomes the basis of her **stereotypically prescribing independence** as a needed trait in women; she was raised to be independent and sees the value in being raised so, therefore she generally expects women to strive for said beneficially necessary trait.

As for traits that subject 1 stereotypically prescribed towards women are; *masak, macak, manak*, which she hears often from her Javanese environment; becoming **working** women and mothers – being

both a mother and having an occupation; independence – as stated previously, a perception acquired from witnessing her own mother; and **intelligence**, specifically acquiring intelligence as an aid **to educate future children**.



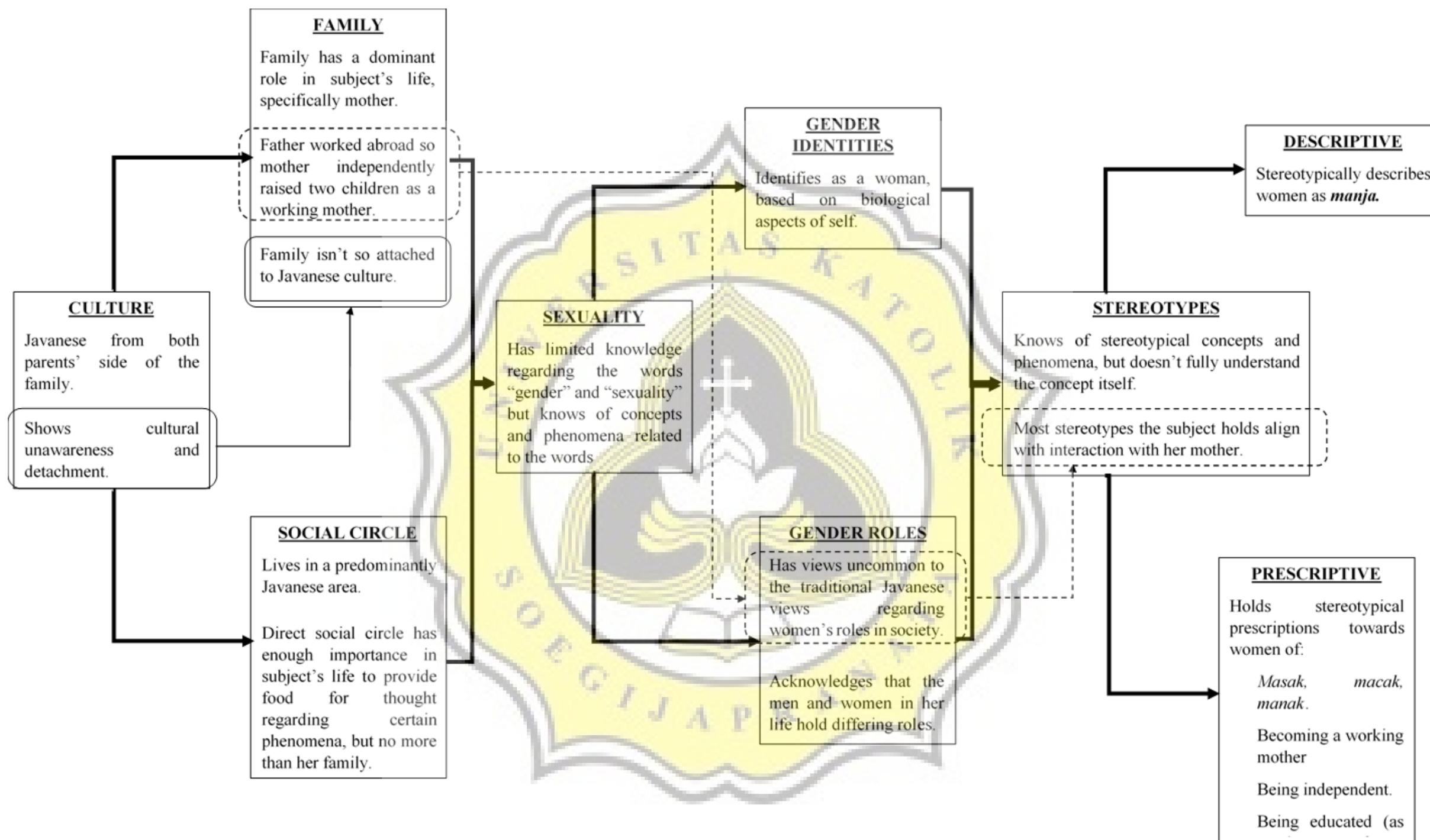


Figure 2. Framework of Subject 1

2. Subject 2

a. Identity

- i. Name : MR
- ii. Sex : Female
- iii. Age : 22 years old
- iv. Address : Gemah
- v. Ethnicity : Javanese

b. Interview Results

Data collection with subject 2 occurred in two interview sessions. Making an interview appointment was slightly difficult due to the fact that subject 2 was finishing her final assignments during that time. Even with the difficulty of setting dates for the interview, data was able to be collected within two interview sessions.

Subject 2 was very comfortable in answering the questions she understood, but got confused easily either by how a question was conveyed or due to her lack of comprehension regarding the question that was being asked. There were also many moments where she understood the questions or what was being asked but she couldn't communicate her answer due to it being questions regarding concepts she had experienced but had never had to consciously comprehend before.

i. Culture

Subject 2 is born of Javanese descent from both of her parents' sides and has resided in Semarang since birth. Her extended family is also of Javanese descent. As a Javanese person, she claims that she is only Javanese simply because she lives in a Javanese area. As to her being Javanese, she claims she isn't very *Njawani*, or doesn't necessarily go out of her way to apply Javanese customs in her daily life.

Even with her lack of personal acknowledgement towards her cultural background, subject 2 knows of Javanese customs such as politeness and *tata krama*, especially towards elders as that is seen as part of *unggah-ungguh*. *Unggah-ungguh* according to subject 2 is politely addressing elders regardless of them being right or wrong. While subject 2 knows of this custom, she claims that she doesn't personally practice it anymore, as she questions why youth aren't allowed to point out their elders' wrongdoings. Though she would once keep quite should someone older than her do or say something wrong, she is now more than likely to speak up against it. Subject 2 states that her knowledge of *unggah-ungguh* was obtained from her parents and her education in general. More specifically, her mother had a bigger part in teaching her the ways of *unggah-ungguh*. She personally feels that *unggah-ungguh* has become an excuse for elders to act however they like towards anybody younger without any direct consequence or rebellion.

When speaking of the application *unggah-ungguh* in subject 2's daily life she only spoke of how *unggah-ungguh* is used to handle arguments. She claims that while she knows it is against the norm to point

out an elder's wrongdoings that is exactly what she does to her own father. Subject 2 claims that she and her father often butt heads and her mother's way of teaching subject 2 *unggah-ungguh* was to prevent her from backtalking to her father. Apart from during arguments, subject 2 thought of no significance in the application of *unggah-ungguh* seeing as the relationship between her and her older sister are like friends, in which case *unggah-ungguh* is not needed, and she claims that her brother has no *unggah-ungguh*.

Regarding other customs, subject 2 is aware of the general act of *pamit* which is informing people of your current or soon-to-be whereabouts. While she is aware of this, she is unaware where this custom is from or if it is even a Javanese custom.

Subject 2 feels that Javanese people have communicating issues stemming from the fact that Javanese people tend to not communicate their problems in fear of being rude or stepping out of line. This becomes another reason that subject 2 feels unattached to her cultural background, due to the fact that she personally believes that good communication comes from communicating everything.

ii. Family

In her family of five, subject 2 is the second child out of three siblings. She has an older sister who is three years older than her and a younger brother who is four years younger than her. Subject 2 seems to be closer to her mother, rather than her father and closer to her sister rather than her brother.

Subject 2 spoke of how her mother is a very understanding person. If subject 2 were to point out something wrong her mother did, her mother would listen to her explanations and try to understand her point of view. On the contrary, her father does not react the same way when accused of wrongdoings and subject 2 and her father tend to get into more fights because of this.

Subject 2 and her sister, as subject 2 said so herself, have a friend like relationship but it is not the same case for the relationship between subject 2 and her brother as she claims that her brother is a “parasite” and “deviates from the social norms”, insinuating that her brother is problematic and she does not get along with him.

In her family, subject 2’s mother values the importance of learning and practicing religious values, whereas her father values education. There are some contradictory phenomena in her parents’ teachings as her mother puts focus on religiosity and claims, “*Sekolahe rak pinter ki rak popo, sing penting ki sholat, ngaji,*” whereas her father puts more value on education but subject 2 claims that he isn’t very big in religiosity or its application. Subject 2 feels that this fact affects her. The fact that her father isn’t very religious can be reflected on her, as subject 2 claims how someone is, or turns out, religiously can be seen by how the head of their family is religiously. As an extension of her mother’s religious teachings, subject 2 is taught to be generous when it comes to family and to help them should they need it.

Subject 2’s father often scolds her for displaying pictures of her and her boyfriend on social media but claims that he never gives any reason as

to why. She only assumes it may be due to the fact that it may ward off potential suitors of better quality. The fact that subject 2's father rarely explains himself results in subject 2 being more comfortable in communicating and sharing personal information with her mother.

Subject 2 claims that her mother is very caring and understanding, whereas her father is more stubborn and stern, a trait she feels she inherited. Subject 2 also inherited her father's way of speaking that sounds unintentionally *galak* even though she doesn't mean to come across as such. She also feels that she inherited traits from her mother such as she is a big spender and a good cleaner.

iii. Social circle

Subject 2's social circle is only categorized into friends she hangs out with and friends she goes to university with. These groups also seem to be contrasting; the people she hangs out with are the ones who introduced her to sex and clubbing, whereas she feels her university friends are calmer. She didn't speak of neighbors due to the fact that she had moved from her childhood home and doesn't engage with her current neighbors.

The people subject 2 hangs out with includes P, a female friend she met on Facebook and then proceeded to hang out with. D, male, a mutual friend of P's that soon also became friends with subject 2, and a few other friends she knew of from P and D. She claims that P and D are the ones who introduced her to clubbing, possibly even sex. This particular group of friends, subject 2 claims, are sexually active like her. When asked which

gender of this group of friends of subject 2's was the more sexually active she stated that both genders seem equally active.

Other social influences in subject 2's life are media and the environment she is in. Subject 2 uses the media, YouTube to be exact to watch religious teachings. Throughout the interview, while subject 2 understands the collective impact of her environment and surroundings growing up, she puts no significance in them. Which is why she often has "tip of tongue" syndrome due to the fact that the things she knows are so common and familiar to her that she pays in no mind and just accepts it as the status quo or common sense.

iv. Sexuality

While being a sexually active woman, subject 2 exhibited minimum knowledge regarding the concept of sexuality. When asked how she defined sexuality, she proceeded to list sexual activities. Subject 2 claimed that sex is never spoken between her and her parents, and her first knowledge of sex came from pornographic media when she was in primary school.

Delving deeper into her sexual experiences, it was discovered that subject 2 has experienced double standards in comparison to men when it comes to being a sexually active person. She claims that based on experience, men are more likely to be sexual and to be accepted for being sexual. Subject 2 then spoke of virginity, a concept that she thinks is simultaneously important and unimportant.

Subject 2 claims that virginity is an important concept because it basically has been taught as such all her life that it has become ingrained in her brain, along with other information related to virginity. Subject 2 also thinks virginity is unimportant because being sexually active herself, she has proven for herself many facts to be wrong. Subject 2 spoke of how society seems to be under the assumption that all virginal women would bleed once she loses her virginity and that a woman's vagina is less tight as she becomes sexually active, but she now knows for a fact that this isn't the case.

Subject 2 also spoke of how male virginity is not visible at all and never questioned in society. Whereas women experience a lot of backlash in the form of judgement and discrimination when it comes to her no longer being a virgin. Even a man who is no longer a virgin and frequently engages in sexual activities may harbor negative judgement on women who are no longer virgins, which subject 2 feels is highly unfair.

When it comes to sex, subject 2 feels that men tend to be very either greedy or competitive, due to the fact that they would always want to know what a woman has done sexually with past partners and would try to do more than what they have currently done.

v. Gender Identities

In regards to gender, subject 2's knowledge of gender only pertains to people being classified as women and men. These classifications, as far as subject 2 knows, are strictly about physical aspects of a person's gender. From this information it can be gauged that subject 2 has mistaken gender

for a person's biological sex. When enquired as to why subject 2 considers herself a woman she stated that it was an obvious thing that can be seen from her physical aspects.

vi. Gender Roles

Subject 2's knowledge of gender roles includes knowing that certain people hold certain roles, but she knows so without fully understanding the concept of gender roles itself. She says with conviction that men are *Imam*, which means head of the family. She knows so because it has been a teaching, specifically a religious teaching, taught to her all her life from her family and environment. This particular teaching affects her point of view of how she sees men, because the fact that men will eventually become head of the family, therefore how a man is will reflect from how his family become.

While subject 2 seems to have limited knowledge regarding the concept of gender roles, she acknowledges that the women and men in her life do certain things based on whether they are men or women. The closest form of experience subject 2 has come from her family. In her family, subject 2's mother is the one who cooks, cleans, and enforces religious teachings. From what subject 2 has explained, her mother seems to be the person who settles arguments that happen around the house. Subject 2's mother also has a job. As for her father, he is the main breadwinner of the family. While subject 2's mother enforces religious teachings, her father tends to enforce the importance of academic education.

Outside of its importance within her own family, subject 2 spoke of the importance of women's intelligence in raising a child. According to her, "intelligent children come from intelligent mothers", hence it is important for women, who she generalizes will eventually become mothers, to be educated.

vii. Stereotypes

Subject 2 didn't fully comprehend the concept of stereotypes although she knows of certain assumptions and expectations put on certain groups of people. When speaking of how women are, subject 2 describes women as being complicated, emotional, sensitive, and moody. She says this due to the fact that she feels she exhibits those particular traits too, and she is a woman.

When speaking of how women should be and expectations put on women, subject 2 spoke of how women will eventually become mothers. This expectation, in subject 2's opinion, places the importance on independence in women because if they were to take care of a child they should be able to take care of themselves first.

Subject 2 claims that her parents both taught her that women should be hard to get when it comes to men. Subject 2 would be and has been verbally reprimanded by her father when it seems that she is too showy when it comes to men. She also spoke of her parents telling her to not be too *galak*, specifically towards men, because she is a woman. Subject 2 has also been scolded for being too forward when speaking, which might result in offending men who are *gensinya tinggi*. Subject 2 said that her

parents spoke of the possibility of hardships finding a spouse or even *disantet* should she offend a man.

Subject 2 also acknowledges the stereotypical expectation put on women to be clean and able to clean. She claims that women should know how to maintain cleanliness of self and of her environment. Subject 2 was taught by her mother that a woman who knows how to take care of herself will make even an ugly man look good.

c. Subject 2 Analysis

Subject 2 is a Javanese woman who grew up in a Javanese area with a Javanese family. Her personal views and understanding of social values and norms have contradicted with her personal social experiences. She understands that parental figures in her life are significant figures, therefore things they do, say, or believe are also deemed significant. In this case, they also taught her the importance of *unggah-ungguh* and *tata krama*. Subject 2 understands that certain customs are in place to maintain the social norms such as speaking respectfully to her elders and acknowledging that they are always right, but this holds little significance to her, if at all, due to her own personal experiences. She places importance in the people who taught her these customs; adults who taught her that adults are to be respected because they are always right, but she had other experiences that was personally interpreted as; adults are not always right, and why are we not allowed to correct them the way they correct us? This has become MR's way of thinking and has caused problems with certain people, mainly her father.

Similarly, subject 2 was also taught the value of maintaining religiosity, pursuing academic excellence, and being an independent working woman, by both her parents. Even so, if her parents were to be depicted as being on a spectrum with academics on one end and religiosity on the other, they would be on opposite ends. Subject 2's mother places high value on the importance of maintaining one's religiosity to the point where subject 2 interpreted her mother's teachings as an allowance of being not too academically inclined as long as someone is religious. On the other hand, subject 2's father is the opposite; he expects and enforces academic excellence more than he expects, enforces, and in subject 2's father's case applies, religiosity in one's life. This has caused an interpretation cocktail of values that subject 2 now holds; now subject 2 deems both academic excellence and religiosity as both something that was taught to her to be important, therefore she understands the importance of it, but she also grew up seeing both parents doing fine in not excelling in what the other parent held value in, therefore she also deems them both to be unimportant. Subject 2, while not being academically incompetent, is also not academically excellent and sees no problem with that because while she is also not extremely religious, she sees herself as being religious enough.

Subject 2 is a sexually active person. There was a phase in her life during her first foray into sexual activity where she experienced cognitive dissonance in her sexual interactions due to the fact that she was always taught to value religion and its teachings, and sexual activity prior to marriage was taught to be forbidden. While she was experimenting, she

found sexual interactions to not be as bad as she once thought or as what other people have implied. Contradictions arise due to the fact two components in her life that she holds similarly high regards towards provided contradictory information. Subject 2's parents taught her, by way of religious teachings, that pre-marital sexual activity of any kind is a negative thing, but her close friends, who are mostly also sexually active has taught her and showed her otherwise. This resulted in subject 2 placing certain high value on the concept of virginity, although not necessarily her own, due to the fact that that was what has been taught to her but she had also experienced having no personal consequences of deviating from those particular teachings.

Due to subject 2's sexual experience she has less inclination to negatively view other women who are in similar situations as her. She holds no prescriptions towards women to stay away from sexual situations, but at the same time she expects women to not behave, in what she seems is a sexually promiscuous way, and frequently have different sexual partners where vaginal penetration takes place.

Subject 2 views women as sensitive, emotional, impatient beings because she views herself as being so and generalizes her own perception of herself as something she assumes can be found in other, if not most, women. She also views women as independent beings from experiences of being one, observing her working mother, and observation of her extended family's dynamics where most of the women are also occupationally independent. From these experiences and observations, she views the concept of being an independent woman as something that is

important, due to the fact that it aids in upholding other womanly values she holds of women becoming mothers.

Subject 2 places value in the importance of independence due to the fact that she places value in the importance of women not only being or becoming mothers but also being and becoming independent mothers. MR feels that women should be able to take care of housework and children because that is what she was taught and witnessed in her daily life: working, independent mothers.

Subject 2's views on descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes towards women come from experiences of both conforming and deviating from stereotypes, more so from deviating from certain stereotypes and not suffering lasting, if any, consequences. This can be seen from her beliefs on virginity, how she views it as both important and unimportant due to the strict teaching of its importance she received while growing up, but having it contradicted when she personally experienced losing her virginity. Subject 2's descriptive stereotypes towards women comes from her own personal projection of herself that she then generalized upon other women claiming that women are **complicated, emotional, sensitive, and moody**, because she is too. On the other hand, her prescriptive stereotypes towards women are influenced by her environment, mainly familial too, as she often referred to her family as she explained the importance of **working** women and women being **financially independent**. Subject 2 also feels that women are judged more by their sexual history therefore are stereotypically prescribed to remain as **innocent** as possible, by way of maintaining their virginity; a concept that doesn't necessarily apply to

men. As someone who does not conform to this particular stereotype, she has not received consequences due to the fact that her social circle consists of people being in the same situation as her, but she acknowledges that it is something she has to maintain carefully as there are known consequences.



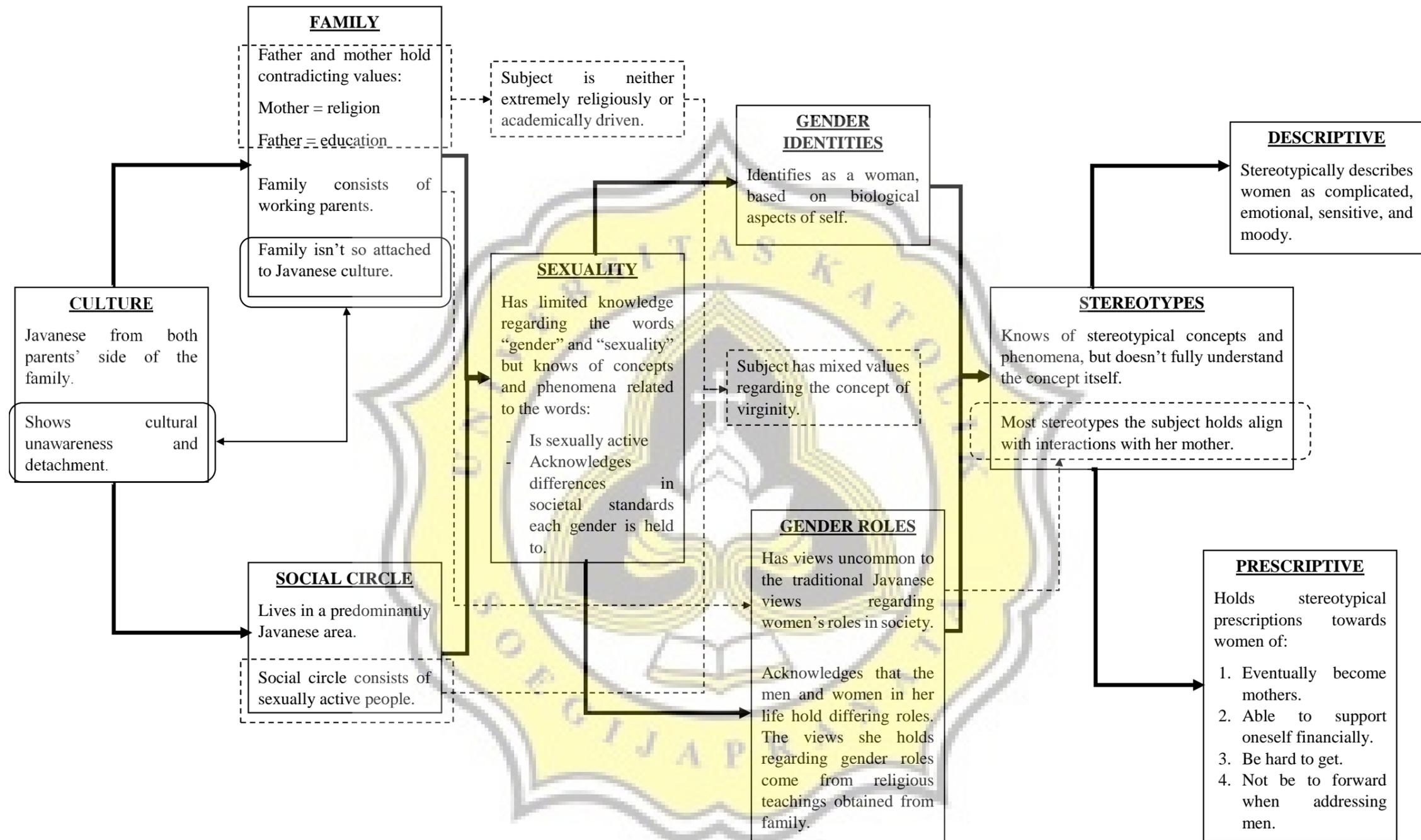


Figure 3. Framework of Subject 2

3. Subject 3

a. Identity

- i. Name : DH
- ii. Sex : Male
- iii. Age : 22 years old
- iv. Address : Banyumanik, Semarang, Jawa Tengah
- v. Ethnicity : Mother is of Betawi descent, Father is of Javanese descent

b. Interview Results

Subject 3's data was collected within two interview sessions. It was slightly difficult to arrange a time and place to conduct the interview, as he has other obligations as a café owner.

Subject 3 was comfortable in answering the interview questions, but at certain points had difficulty in answering the questions as they pertain to phenomena he deemed irrelevant. He often made jokes prior to answering the question that had been asked, but this particular observation was not indicative of certain patterns regarding the subject.

i. Culture

Subject 3 was born from a mother of Betawi descent and a father of Javanese descent. Even though subject 3 is part Betawi, he claims to be completely detached from his Betawi background to the extent that he never claims to be Betawi but only as Javanese. He claims that this

may be because of the fact that he has lived in a Javanese area all his life where he was raised by Javanese culture.

His family living in Semarang was a contributing factor to his mother never really being attached to her cultural background. On the other hand, living in a Javanese area most his life has no effect on cultural attachment for subject 3's father. Subject 3 claims that his parents don't seem too attached to their cultural background.

Although subject 3 doesn't seem to be too attached to his Javanese background, he acknowledges the influence of the Javanese language in his life. Subject 3 acknowledges that Javanese has different levels of language requirements used when speaking to different people, usually determined from the age of the person in the conversation. Subject 3 spoke of this as being a part of Javanese culture that values politeness to the extent that elders are not to be refuted. Subject 3 has had experience in being prohibited from talking back to his grandmother, though he couldn't remember what about. The Javanese language has also affected the way subject 3 speaks to his friends. Subject 3 will comfortably speak in *ngoko* to his male friends but feels it is disrespectful to speak to women in the same manner.

When it comes to culture as a concept in his life, subject 3 seems to be generally unaware of cultural influences in his life. He acknowledges that there may be certain customs, which he had difficulty naming but feels that they have become too common and integrated into his daily life that he feels significant enough to acknowledged specifically as something produced by his cultural

background. Subject 3 spoke of his father and how his father would feel disrespected should any important family matter be given from somebody other than him which may be a manifestation of the application of Javanese customs which hold elders in high regards.

ii. Family

Subject 3 is the youngest and only son in a family of four. His mother and father had moved to Semarang in the early days of their marriage, with his mother originally being from Jakarta and his father being from Yogyakarta. He has an older sister who no longer lives in the same house as him after getting married. In fact, he only lives with his mother due to the fact that his father had always worked out of town and has recently remarried for a third time.

When asked about family relationships, subject 3 claimed that he was only close to his birth family and none of his step family. Even so, subject 3 isn't very close to his family in the first place. His father had worked out of town since he was little so he was physically closer to his mother who lived in the same house as him, but he felt he had more of a bond with his father, but still subject 3 doesn't feel any particular closeness to either parent. Subject 3 also doesn't feel any particular closeness toward his older sister, explaining she was closer to his mother and assumed it was due to the fact that they were both women. Subject 3 also stated that the people who are close are the ones who don't live together, seeing as his sister is close to his mother and

he's close to his father, even though he lives with his mother and his sister has moved out.

Subject 3 isn't a very family-oriented person, meaning he doesn't necessarily partake in family functions, a trait he seemed to inherit from his parents who also rarely partake in family functions. He also had bad relationships with his step-family, both the current one and the previous one, mostly due to financial situations. Subject 3 spoke of certain values he personally holds regarding not putting anyone at a disadvantage, and it seems his bad relationships with his step family stem from the fact that they put him and his family at a disadvantage by being financially distrustful.

iii. Social circle

Subject 3 is a very social person, not in the sense that he has lots of friends, but more so in the way he spends most hours of his day out and about instead of being at home. More often than not, subject 3 spends 17 to 18 hours of the day outside of the house. He gauges that his social habits started around the time his parents separated, in his first year of high school.

Subject 3 feels that his friends, as part of his social circle, have more of a lasting impact in his life in comparison to his parents. He feels that even though his parents are the ones who teach you what to do and what not to do in life, his friends have a more lasting impact on his life as they are the people who go through the goings on of his life with him.

This was seen throughout the interview process as subject 3 would often answer in accordance to how he observed his friends.

iv. Sexuality

Subject 3 has never had the experience of having the “sex talk” with either of his parents, as it is not the norm. He also never speaks of sexually related things with his parents. Subject 3 claimed that when he had first experienced wet dreams he shared that experience with his male friends at the time. His first knowledge of sex related concepts came from his male friends during Junior High School.

When asked about what he knew of sexuality, subject 3 claimed that it was anything in relation to sexual activities, sexual preferences, or anything in between. Regarding sexual preferences specifically, subject 3 stated being straight or gay as sexual preferences people may have, with himself being straight. His heterosexuality is only limited to women who were born as female and remained female throughout their life.

Subject 3 is also sexually active, but claims that after being sexually active he rarely speaks of his sexual life with his friends because he “doesn’t need to”. While not speaking about his own sexual life with his friends, sex is a topic that sometimes arises as his friends are also mostly sexually active. Subject 3 claimed that while both his male and female friends tend to speak about their sexual life, his male friends are likely to divulge more details in comparison to his female friends.

On the topic of virginity, subject 3 personally feels that virginity is an unimportant concept. He also spoke of how women and men perceive sex differently and receive differing consequences for being sexually active. According to subject 1, women tend to use sex to receive love while men tend to use love to receive sex. Subject 1 also stated that women are judged more and negatively for being sexually active compared to men. He deems this unfair as virginity seems to be an unreliable standard based on what he once read on the internet that virginity, or the loss of, cannot be physically determined. Although he personally sees no importance in virginity, he acknowledges that people in his surrounding environment tend to place value on virginity. Subject 1 also pointed out difference in a woman's and man's reaction to becoming sexually active for the first time. He stated that men tend to be prouder while women tend to feel more negative emotions associated with loss resulting in attachment to the person she had sexual relations with.

v. Gender Identities

When asked about what gender subject 3 identifies as, he firmly stated that he identifies as a man. Followed up with as to *why* he identifies as a man, he claimed that it was what had been assigned to him ever since he could remember. Subject 3 assignment of the male gender had been done by his parents and the people around him.

Prior to claiming that he identifies as a male because that was what had been assigned to him, when asked why he identifies as male

his answer was to ask if he “needed to show it” implying that he has physical aspects to show that he is a male. This shows that while subject 3 may have knowledge regarding gender, what he associates most with gender is what is most commonly known as biological sex; the condition of being a male or a female based on the sexual organs.

vi. Gender Roles

Even though subject 3 mostly associates the concept of gender with the state of a person being classified as male or female by their sexual organs, he acknowledges that men and women seem to be assigned different roles in society. Even so, he doesn't seem to agree or think too highly of them, claiming that while they were maybe important once, they are not as important anymore seeing as any gender can fit into any roles. Subject 3 used the example of cooking and wearing makeup as roles generally done by women now being able by men too. Though he sees some, if not most, gender roles to be irrelevant nowadays, he acknowledges his father and the authority he holds being the head of the family from seeing how his father maintains his family.

vii. Stereotypes

Similar to how he views gender roles, subject 3 acknowledges the existence of stereotypes but doesn't think anything of its significance in society. In fact, he thinks that they either seem to be unfair or be used as jokes in social situations.

Regarding descriptive stereotypes, subject 3 states that women are to be regarded in high regards, and also mentioned how his mother was a very patient and accepting person, traits commonly associated with women. As a manifestation of his views of women being meant to be held in high regards, he speaks in Indonesian when speaking to women because he finds it more respectful. In addition to that, while he sees stereotypes to be unfair towards women, he also knows of the stereotype of “*tante-tante matre*”.

Similarly, subject 3 also acknowledges expectations placed on women in society. Subject 3 knows that women are held to the expectations of being able to cook and taking care of their spouses. According to subject 3, women are also expected to be able to deal with housework, maintaining their beauty and taking care of children. Based on his experiences with his friends he has also heard that women who are sexually active and or are deemed socially promiscuous, therefore not fitting into their prescriptive stereotypes are deemed as “*gampangan*” by others. This was the example that subject 3 provided to explain consequences faced by women who do not conform to their stereotypical prescriptions.

c. Subject 3 Analysis

Subject 3 is a man of Javanese descent from his father’s side of the family and Betawi descent from his mother’s side. Although his parents have different cultural backgrounds they have both lived in Javanese areas for most their lives. Subject 3 himself has lived in

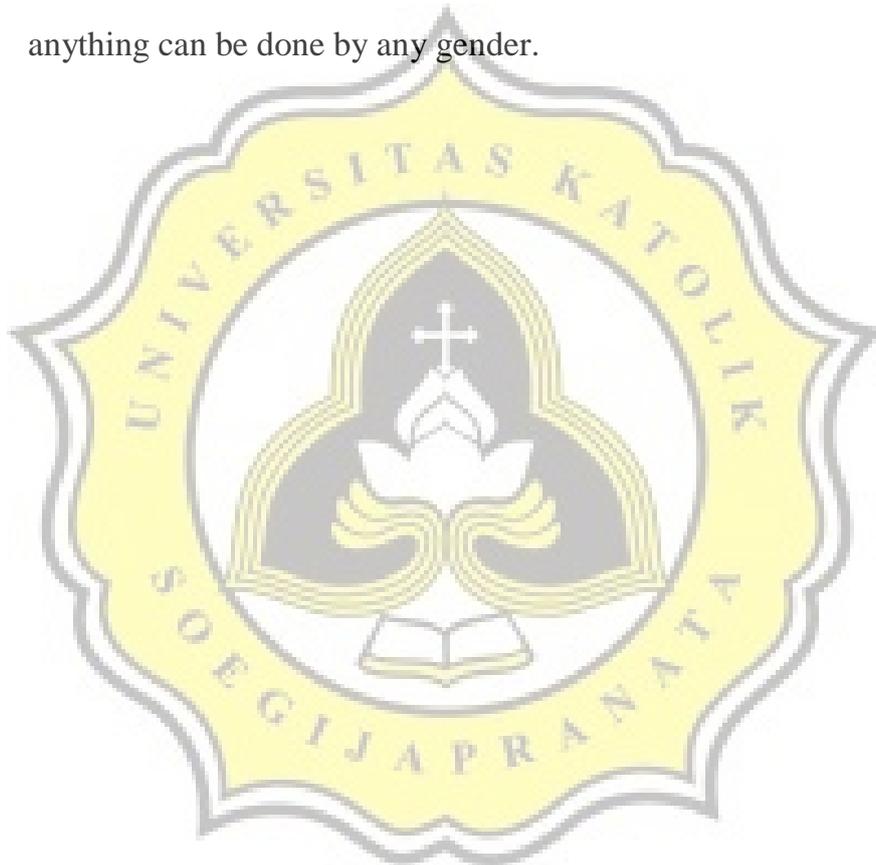
Javanese areas all his life. Due to his parents living in predominantly Javanese areas for most of their lives, subject 3's mother was never attached to her Betawi background, therefore she had no Betawi cultural wisdom to be passed down to subject 3 and his sister. Even so, living in predominantly Javanese areas had no effect on his father's cultural attachment either. Having both parents who aren't too attached to their cultural background contributed to his own unattachment to his cultural background. While subject 3 has no significant attachment towards his parents, he recognizes them as figures of authority and importance in his life, and seeing them not being too attached to their cultural background, if at all, caused him to also not become too attached to his cultural background.

Unattached as he may be, subject 3 acknowledges certain cultural values that he also applies in his daily life; speaking in accordance to the Javanese language's *unggah-ungguh*. Subject 3 sees the importance in the Javanese language, and how it is applied, in his daily interactions. Subject 3 spoke of how he was taught not to backtalk his grandmother, and how he speaks differently towards women than he does men. He feels like while it is appropriate to speak in Javanese *ngoko* to his male friends, that does not apply to his female friends. Subject 3 would most likely speak in Indonesian when addressing his female friends, due to the fact that he sees women as people to be cared for and also respected, and while his social interactions with his male friends give allowances for crass behavior and language, he feels it disrespectful to treat women the same.

Subject 3 holds the value of living a life that does not put others at a disadvantage. He holds this value from observing his father's job and how his father's work as an auditor was basically to right wrongs, and prosecute the wrong-doers. This value of his is also what shaped his view on how he deems social stereotypes as unimportant. While subject 3 knows and acknowledges the fact that there are certain social standards upheld in society, his beliefs come down to, "**anything men can do, women can do too**". Subject 3 doesn't seem to acknowledge any significant impact on social inequality because of this particular view.

Although subject 3 doesn't seem to consciously acknowledge any significant impact of gender roles and stereotypes in his life, he does describe his mother as a **patient** and **accepting** person, and also claimed women should be held in high regards. Subject 3 perpetuates this stereotype by differentiating the way he acts around women and men; that is, by being politer towards women. He also spoke of how he knows of the social expectation placed on women to be **able to cook** and **take care of their spouses**. Even though he knows of this stereotypical prescription towards women, he doesn't think much of it. Subject 3 sees women being able to cook and take care for one's spouse as a bonus should she be able to, but not a problem either if she is unable to do so. While he doesn't personally perpetuate those particular prescriptive stereotypes to benefit his own life, he doesn't mind the prescription. This shows that while subject 3 places no significant personal values on these social norms, they are integrated within him

regardless, and that they benefit him should it be fulfilled but doesn't necessarily disadvantage him should it go unaccomplished. His perception of descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes towards women are that they are somewhat insignificant concepts due to the fact that he believes stereotypes paint an unequal picture regarding women and men and what they can and cannot do, when in reality he feels that nowadays anything can be done by any gender.



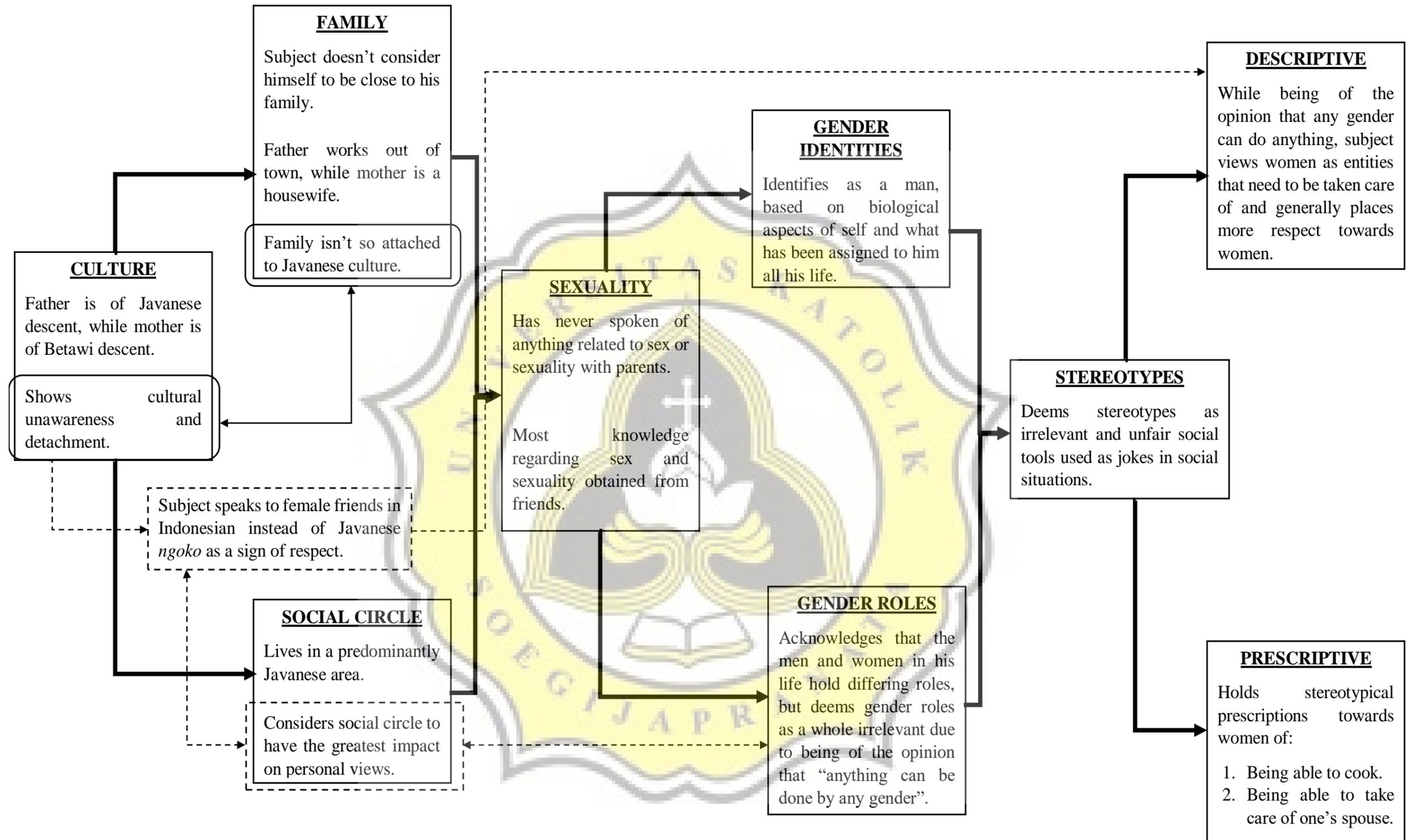


Figure 4. Framework of Subject 3

4. Subject 4

a. Identity

- i. Name : WA
- ii. Sex : Male
- iii. Age : 22 years old
- iv. Address : Manunggal Jati
- v. Ethnicity : Mother is of Javanese-Ambon descent, Father is of Javanese-Chinese descent

b. Interview Results

Subject 4's interview was the last out of all the subjects, with his interview rounds starting last and finishing last. Both interviews were done at Café Coco Madeleine, on different days. An appointment would be made to set the time and day of the interview and subject 4 would go straight to the location.

Subject 4 is a very knowledgeable man, but was often confused in finding the words to convey what he wanted to say. He also seemed to have a pre-conceived notion of the interview, as he often asked, "How should I answer that question?" referring to his knowledge of their being some kind of "right answer" to be said. Often times, he needed to be reminded that it was his answer that was needed and that there were no right or wrong answer. It also needs noting that during the first interview session, as the topic of sexuality was about to be discussed, subject 4 became quite shy. This resulted in the continuation of the topic within the second interview.

i. Culture

Subject 4 is the son of a Chinese-Javanese father and an Ambon-Javanese mother. He has lived in Semarang all his life and identifies as a Javanese. When asked about his views on Javanese cultures, subject 4 claimed that Javanese people are polite, friendly and *pekewuhan* by default. By default, in this case means, that it was just automatically how Javanese people were, and how they continue to raise their youth hence integrating these norms into concepts not seen by people as “norms” in the sense of rules governing their lives, but simply how they are. Subject 4 also states that this is how himself is and finds difficulty in explaining how it has become so.

Due to his parents’ difference in cultural backgrounds, although both are part-Javanese, their Chinese and Ambon backgrounds show some differences that subject 4 has observed. Subject 4 claims that his father’s Chinese background has molded his father into a hardworking man. Subject 4 spoke of how his father is categorized as First-Generation Chinese, and that these people are known to be very hardworking due to their history of starting from nothing on another person’s land. Subject 4 states that this has become the reason that his father is very firm and hardworking, although it is also the reason why he feels that his father tends to be *kolot*, in the sense that subject 4 considers him being traditional and conservative.

On the contrary, subject 4 spoke of his mother and her being better off in comparison to his father’s background. Subject 4’s mother grew up with a father in the military. Due to her family’s military background, her

mother's family is well off and lives a comfortable life. Subject 4 feels that this has become the source of difference between his father's traditional and hardworking tendencies and his mother's modern and more laid-back "*hidup nggak usah susah-susah*" tendencies. Witnessing both a hard-working and laid-back tendency from two differing lifestyles from his parents, subject 4 lives a life that embodies a mixture of both hard-working laid-back.

ii. Family

Subject 4 and his family have lived in Semarang for all of his life and most of his parents' lives. Subject 4 is the youngest of two sons, with three years difference in age with his older brother. While subject 4 claims to not be too close to either of his parents, he feels closer to his father than his mother.

When he spoke of his father, subject 4 stated that his father was a firm figure. While explaining his father's firmness, subject 4 described that his father's firmness came from his hard-working background. Working in the distribution business, subject 4's father is a hardworking, disciplined, and organized man, which subject 4 feels contributed to his own tendencies of being a structured and organized person. Subject 4 also explained that his father is very law-abiding, in a way where subject 4 also became a person who believes in the fact that wrong-doings are deserving of consequences. Subject 4 spoke of how he thought that his father was frightening when subject 4 was a child. Subject 4's father was never a person who got easily angered, but once he did get angry it would be bad. His father also had a

history of physically disciplining his children, subject 4 included, by way of belt-whipping and drenching them in the shower fully clothed. Subject 4 has become closer to his father nowadays, with the help of the news on TV being their source of conversation, but they never speak about anything personal. Now that subject 4 is closer to his father, he can understand why his father is the way he is, claiming that his father is “typical for a man his age”.

Subject 4's mother was described to be *bacotan* which was his way of explaining that his mother is a very persuasive person, able to convince anyone to do anything, a trait he claims he also inherited from his mother. He also claimed that he tends to be snarky towards his mother, which limits the probability of having personal conversations between subject 4 and his mother, not that he is inclined to it anyway. This is why subject 4 claims that he is not too close with his mother, because while he talks to his dad regarding the news and such but no personal topics, he rarely speaks to his mother about anything personal or otherwise.

Subject 4 spoke of how his mother works as a baker. She once worked at the bank but had to resign due to frequently needing to take time off work to take subject 4 to various doctor's appointments as subject 4 was a sickly child. Subject 4 feels that his mother resents him for that, as he claims it comes up when they have arguments. Subject 4 also claims that this may be the reason he doesn't like any type of dependency that may also be the cause of his issues maintaining both social and romantic relationships.

Regarding his brother, subject 4 and his brother being close in age does not make them close in person. While subject 4 stated that he himself is more like his father, his brother is more like his mother. The way subject 4 spoke of his brother showed that subject 4 feels that he is nothing like his brother. He claims that while subject 4 himself and his father are firm people, his brother is considered soft, even to the extent that his brother was easily manipulated. This adds up to subject 4's belief of his own brother's naivete. He feels that his brother's naivete has garnered more negativity in his brother's life. Subject 4's brother has never dated in his whole life, and subject 4 spoke of that phenomena as something he deems strange. Subject 4 also expressed his frustration of having to once helps his brother "chat-up" a girl. Subject 4 seems to feel that the process of courting a girl takes time and effort and the fact that his brother isn't attempting any of that makes subject 4 feel like his brother isn't doing anything with his time, considering that he isn't doing anything else.

In regards to familial relations and influence, subject 4 is closer and more like his dad in the sense that they are both firm, structured, and disciplined. Subject 4 is not too close to his mother, if at all, but he has inherited her persuasiveness. He feels like he inherited a combination of his parents' traits. While subject 4 has the ability and the need to be organized, a trait he inherited from his father, he is also a person of leisure and comfort, a trait he inherited from his mother, which causes him to sometimes be unable to commit to his own plans.

iii. Social circle

Subject 4 has a very small social circle, but acknowledges that the people he encounters in society are important in providing and aiding in applying his knowledge of societal norms. Subject 4 claims that while his parents are the ones who taught him values such as manners, interactions he observes and takes part in in society are ultimately what cements those lessons about values. Subject 4 receives information from people whose importance he acknowledges; his parents, and witnesses this information being applied by a significant amount of people.

Even though subject 4 seems to place a great deal of significance in the role society plays in shaping norms and values, subject 4 doesn't seem to have a specific group of people in his life who does this for him. His views on values and norms come from society in general and not his specific social circles. This is due to the fact that subject 4 claims he has difficulty maintaining relationships, and claims to have no friend that he deems close or significant enough. Even so, he is still able to acknowledge phenomena surrounding him from observing his friends and family, close as they may not be.

When asked about important figures in his life that helped shaped his views on life, he named one of his lecturers. Mr. R is a person subject 4 stated to be significant to him. Calling Mr. R an anomaly, subject 4 spoke of how Mr. R taught him about how Javanese women's roles have been deconstructed within society. The traditional roles of the Javanese women being the ones who were obligated to *masak*, *macak*, *manak*, have shifted

to being accommodating to every individual woman's competence, providing the example of women pursuing careers.

Small as his social circle may be, subject 4 is a very observant man. Subject 4 knows much of the goings-on in society, whether he agrees with it or not. He knows of many information and anecdotes that he claims he knows from the experience of witnessing or hearing it sometime in his life.

iv. Sexuality

Subject 4 has a history categorizing the girls he dated into the official and unofficial category. The ones he considered official were the ones where either he asked out or got asked out by a girl, whereas the unofficial ones are the ones where no asking out, or other romantic declarations, took place throughout the duration of the relationship. When asked if women were able to act as he did, subject 4 claimed that seeing as he could do such things then it should be accepted that he may have those things be done to him.

As subject 4 was asked of what he knew of sexuality, his answer was anything that related to sex, specifically sexual behavior or activities. Subject 4 knows of concepts of gender, both identities and roles, but does not acknowledge those concepts as part of sexuality, although he does know that sexuality encompasses sexual activity and sexual orientation. He also claims that he once read that there are 46 sexual orientations, although he simply identifies as straight. Regarding sex, subject 4 knew of many stereotypes and assumptions held by or projected towards certain people.

Subject 4 is sexually active, and spoke of some of his friends also being the same. He personally holds no importance towards the concept of virginity but acknowledges that some people do, and not only that they hold virginity to the utmost importance, but that they hold specifically women's virginity to a higher importance than the virginity of men. Subject 4 claims that this is unfair due to the fact that he claims the male virginity cannot be seen. He also states that due to the fact that he is no longer a virgin, it would be unfair of him to only expect women who are virginal, which is why he doesn't really mind if a woman, specifically the ones he is specifically pursuing, is sexually active or not.

v. Gender Identities

When asked about what he knew about gender, he claimed that gender was *jenis kelamin*, which is the Indonesian translation for sex. With that knowledge, subject 4 identifies himself as a male. Further enquiries as to how it came to that subject 4 identifies as male, he stated that it was because he has a penis, an inherently male sexual organ.

Based on the interview, subject 4's claims of how he identifies as male due to his sexual organs seem to not be the only indicator of how males are viewed as males. This is shown as subject 4 spoke of his brother, who is also a male, as being "not man enough", indicating that there is a measure to a male's masculinity indicated by other factors. In subject 4's case, his measure of how manly a person is is based on what stereotypically prescriptive male things a person are able or unable to fulfill.

vi. Gender Roles

Within his family, when asked what role each family member holds, subject 4 claimed that his family is like any other “classic family” implying that there is a standardized visual of families. In subject 4’s “classic family” his father works, his mother is the one who takes care of household chores. Subject 4 also stated that his mother doesn’t cook and that the family buys food from a neighborhood catering service. As for subject 4 himself, his role is the fixer-upper of the family. He didn’t elaborate upon his brother claiming that his brother was, “*rak cetho*”.

Subject 4 acknowledges that women and men are assigned different roles and labels in society. He also acknowledges that there are differences in how women and men are treated within society, but does not internalize those social stimulus as personal values. When speaking of what men and women do, or what their tendencies are, subject 4 holds the view of what men can do, there’s always possibility of women doing the same, and vice versa. His personal views aside, subject 4 acknowledges that society places certain roles on certain genders by way of stereotypes.

vii. Stereotypes

Subject 4 knows and acknowledges stereotypes within his environment. He claims that men are stereotyped to be workers, money-makers, fixers of things. In addition to those traits, he also claimed that men are stereotyped to be able to drive, and to be physically strong, although he does not see himself fitting the strong stereotype. Subject 4 claims that he knows of these stereotypes from his experiences and

observations, but cannot recall specific moments for specific stereotypes, but claimed that he doesn't think that his brother was much of a man, as reference. Subject 4's brother never finished his university education, causing him to drop out, works a job but has no income, and cannot drive nor change a tire.

On the contrary, when it comes to women, subject 4 claims that women are allowed to not be able to drive or change a tire. When it came to women, they are stereotypically prescribed to know how to cook and care for things. Women are also stereotypically described to be weak, which subject 4 claims helps and is helped by the cycle of tendencies to not giving women any work that is deemed too "heavy".

When asked about sexually specific stereotypes, subject 4 was able to come up with many that he claims he heard from hear-say throughout his life. Ultimately, he feels that women are held to more stereotypical prescriptions than men such as; having to maintain their virginity, or should they lose it remain with the person they lost it to, and receive greater consequences should said prescriptive stereotypes go unfulfilled.

Regarding stereotypes, subject 4 feels that there are consequences to those who are unable to fulfill stereotypes given to them. Subject 4 claims that due to stereotypes being a socially constructed concept, a consequence of not being able to live up to a stereotype is exclusion from social interactions; a man who was unable to live up to a certain stereotype would be overlooked.

While men would be overlooked for not being able to fulfill certain stereotypes, women are outright judged for similar discrepancies. When a

woman cannot live up to certain stereotypes judgements come from both men and women. This is why subject 4 feels that women should maintain some kind of persona that at least fits into the stereotypes to avoid unnecessary judgement that only gives them disadvantages.

c. Subject 4 Analysis

Subject 4 is a man who grew up in a Javanese area with a Javanese-Chinese father and a Javanese-Ambon mother. Being the most consistent and significant stimuli in his life, subject 4 was able to witness how his parents' cultures shaped them and internalize what he picked up from his parents. Subject 4 grew up acknowledging that his father has had a hard upbringing that shaped his father into a hardworking and organized man but subject 4 also acknowledged his mother's easier upbringing that shaped her into a more laid-back person. As a result, as a mixture of both his parents' seemingly contradicting tendencies, subject 4 is an organized man who is very prone to procrastinating.

Subject 4 claims to not be close to any of his parents, but is closer to his father in comparison to his mother. He acknowledges that his parents played a role in teaching him social values but he personally feels society had more of an impact in cementing those teachings in him. For example, while his parents' might have been the ones to first teach him about the importance of being polite while interacting with others, he experienced the importance of it while he himself was interacting in society.

Although subject 4 claims society has a more significant role in shaping social norms, whether he may have internalized them or not, subject 4 also holds personal values that stem from his interactions with his parents. Subject 4 claims that he has difficulty maintaining romantic or social relationships, which he stated was due to his dislike of both needing or being needed by others. This seems to be a manifestation of his childhood experiences as a sickly child that his mother had to take care of, to the point of resigning from her occupation at the time. Subject 4 claims that that seemed to be a point of resentment held by his mother towards him that has quite burdened him personally.

To further elaborate on subject 4's values, he also claims that he doesn't mind, even tends to want, women to have careers. Due to his dislike of dependency, he values independence. Subject 4 also seems to look down on his brother who he views as lacking independence. Subject 4's support of women having careers also stems from his acknowledgement of societal gender roles and how he views them as becoming irrelevant due to the importance of seeing people as individuals with individual potential not as a part of a certain group, in this case part of a gender, with certain expectations.

While subject 4 doesn't seem to acknowledge societal stereotypes, he does acknowledge that they do exist. Even more so, he also acknowledges the consequences that may come from the inability to live up to said stereotypes. Subject 4 claims that women are expected to be able to cook and care for things, and also that women are stereotypically described to be weak. When speaking of the possible consequences that

may befall a woman from not being able to live up to a stereotype, subject 4 claimed that women are more prone to be harshly judged outright while men are simply overlooked.

Overall, subject 4 is a Javanese man who grew up in a Javanese area with part Chinese and Ambon parents. Subject 4 has picked up many values from his family and from his social environment though he is unable to recall specifically who taught him what. A lot of what he knows he has difficulty explaining due to his belief of those beliefs being “common sense”. Most of the values he holds seems to come from personal experience of social interaction outside of direct parental teachings. This also applies to his perception of descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes towards women’s sexuality. He stereotypically described women as being **weak**, which he has personally witnessed and agreed to be true, but it doesn’t erase the possibility of there being a woman who was **strong**. The same goes for prescriptive stereotypes, women are expected to be able to **cook** and **care for things**, but subject 4 doesn’t see a problem with women who are unable to do so although he does acknowledge that other people in society may not be of the same perspective as him. He also personally values **independence** in a woman. Subject 4 knows and acknowledges descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes but does not think too much of them, if anything sees them as unnecessary as he feels that people nowadays are more judged by their individual talents and skills instead of the degree of stereotypical conformity.

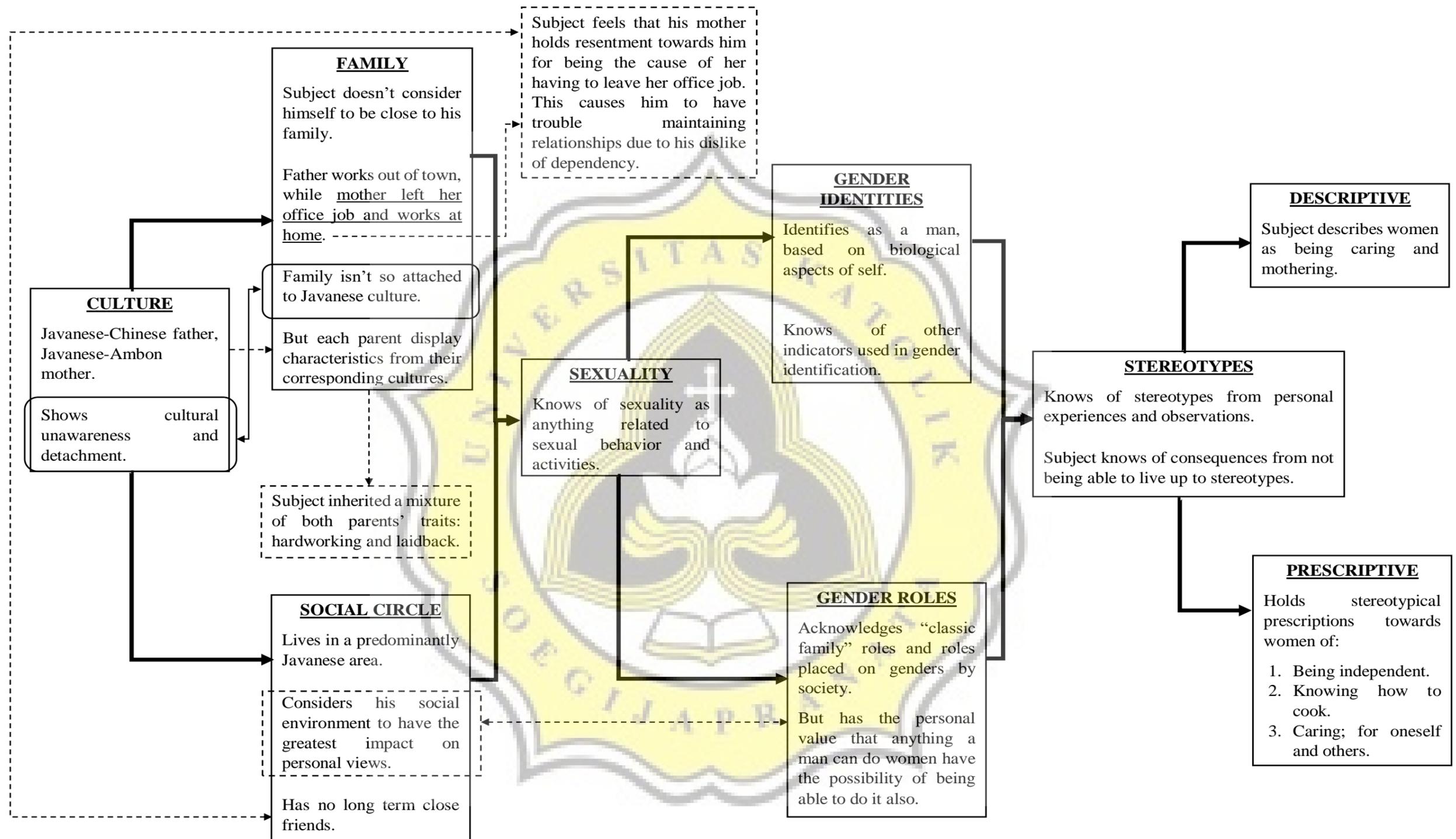


Figure 5. Framework of Subject 4