

**THE EXISTENCE OF MADURESE WOMEN IN THE DOMESTIC REALM IN THE SHORT
STORY COLLECTION *PARABAN TUAH* BY ELOK TEJA SUMINAR**

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ABSTRACT

This research analyzes the existence of Madurese women in the short story collection *Paraban Tuah* by Elok Teja Suminar through the perspective of Simone de Beauvoir's existential feminism. In contrast to feminism which focuses on the public sphere, existential feminism emphasizes the struggle of individuals in the domestic sphere. This qualitative research uses content analysis techniques to examine data in the form of information about the existence of Madurese women in a collection of short stories. The results show that Madurese women are positioned as subjects, objects, or both, with manifestations of resistance, submission, or resistance mixed with submission to men.

INTRODUCTION

The discussion about women is indeed inseparable from the issue of gender equality or emancipation. The problems surrounding emancipation are a form of women's rejection of the disparities they experience in various sectors, such as rights, obligations, and roles in life (Azzahra, 2022; Hannan, 2018). In the gender hierarchy, men are positioned as powerful, dominant, winners, and responsible beings in the public sector. On the other hand, the

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position and role of women are limited to the domestic sector (Hidayati, 2009; Mulyadi, 2011; Simons, 2006; Sudrajat, 2018). Purnami and Pramono (2021) reveal that the domination that occurs is reinforced in the family, environment, religion, and state. In various forums, women are in the second position, further marginalizing their existence.

Simone de Beauvoir introduced existential feminism, which views the position of women as fundamentally different from men in most situations. Beauvoir states that men are named "the Self," while women are "the Other" (Beauvoir, 1956; Fauziah & Nurizzati, 2022; Mujahidin, 2021; Munaris & Joko, 2021; Ratih, 2019). The Other is a threat to the Self, and therefore, women are considered a threat to men. Prameswari, Nugroho, and Mahadewi (2019) explain that one of the theories of existential feminism is the marginalization of women as the Other in a culture created by men, asserting that men are subjects while women are objects (Siswadi, 2022). Consequently, if men want to remain free, they must subordinate women.

The way for women to become the Self in society is by freeing themselves from their bodies, such as by refusing to spend their time solely to satisfy men. Women themselves must free themselves from the shackles of patriarchy. The goal of existential feminism is to make women aware that their existence is special and to make men aware that women are equal to men, that women are subjects, not objects, and that women are themselves. Women and men have equal opportunities, and men have no right to hinder them (Kusuma & Sudaryani, 2019; Rohmah & Ilahi, 2021). Existential feminism is the struggle of women through individual activism in the domestic realm and tends to differ from other feminist movements that fight in the public sphere (Siswadi, 2022).

Madura is one of the regions with a strong patriarchal culture. Women are symbolized as the dignity, power, and strength of men (Ihya'Ulummudin, Mawlana, Septiana, & Legowo, 2022; Navlia, 2020). In Madura culture, women must be guarded by men (*rèng biné' riya kodhu è jege*). In Madurese society, women occupy the second position after men. As a result, female children receive less attention and access to various life issues, particularly the opportunity to obtain higher education, compared to men (Anhary, 2023; Laili, 2018). Additionally, there is a division of territory between men and women. In general, men occupy public spaces, the area where men can become leaders. Women are confined to home, family, and kitchen and do not need to study further to expand their knowledge (Hannan, 2018; Jannah, 2020; Mardhatillah, 2014). Through the short story

collection "*Paraban Tuah*," Elok Teja Suminar aims to encourage other Madurese women to "fight" against wrong customs with their thoughts. The eleven short stories in the collection are interesting to examine in terms of the position of Madurese women in their lives.

Several scholars have researched the existence of Madurese women. Arief, Tabrani, and Paida (2022) researched the existence of Madurese women in the poems of Zawawi Imron. This study revealed that the patriarchal system is very strong in Madura, as evidenced by the division of interaction spaces between men and women, the idealization of maternal female models, and the protection of women. Further research was conducted by Mahmud (2022), who explored the image of women in Madurese folklore through feminist studies, identifying four images of Madurese women: attractive and intelligent, exemplary, religious, and agents of change. The third study by Sari (2022) examined the image of women in the novel "*Marlena Gadis Madura*" using feminist studies, finding self-images of Madurese women from various perspectives, such as physical, psychological, and social images in the family, and social images in society.

The similarity between this research and previous research includes the examination of the existence of Madurese women in literary works. The most fundamental difference between this research and previous research lies in the data sources studied. The data sources studied in previous research were diverse, including poetry, folklore, and novels. However, this research will focus on examining a collection of short stories because it undoubtedly presents many perspectives of Madurese women in one container. This research differs from previous research because it will focus on examining the existence of Madurese women in the domestic realm in the short story collection "*Paraban Tuah*." Additionally, Madurese women in each short story title will be classified into two types: women as objects or subjects to determine which is more dominant in the short story collection. Thus, this forms the essential basis for conducting this research.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative study. It falls under the category of qualitative research because it presents data analysis in the form of sentences or paragraphs about the existence of Madurese women in a collection of short stories from the perspective of Simone de Beauvoir's existential feminism. The data source for this research is a collection of short stories titled "*Paraban Tuah*" by Elok Teja Suminar, published in 2021, consisting of eleven short stories. The research data consists of information about the existence of Madurese women from the perspective of Simone de Beauvoir's existential feminism, obtained from behaviors, thoughts, narratives, and dialogues within the collection of short stories.

The data collection used in this research is a literature review. The steps involved in the data collection technique stage using literature review techniques include 1) intensive and reading to understand the collection of short stories "*Paraban Tuah*" by Elok Teja Suminar, 2) identifying data and coding the data source based on the research question, 3) creating a table for data analysis, 4) typing quotations that serve as data. The data analysis technique employed in this research is content analysis. The analysis includes the description, classification, and interpretation of the data collected from the data source.

FINDINGS

Research Findings

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Collection *Paraban Tuah*

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Orok

The short story Orok tells the story of a woman (the character "I") who had intimate relations with her father until she became pregnant. She did this because her husband didn't care about her at all. But after she became pregnant, her father didn't care about her. Finally, she poisoned her father and threw away the baby resulting from an illicit relationship with her father. In this short story, the character "I" fights against her husband because he doesn't pay attention to her at all. This is proven in the quote.

Am I, not just your food cook, I'm just your clothes washer, I'm just a nanny for your two children and I, I'm also the object of sexual desire when you want me (Suminar, 2021, p. 2).

This quote occurs when the character "I" is asked by Asnapun, her husband, about the truth of the news about I's baby dumping. The news about the character "I" throwing away her baby has been widely heard by all the villagers. The character "I" dares to fight against her husband by resisting her husband's questions. The character "I", who is usually obedient to her husband, now dares to have an opinion. Even though she was Asna's wife, she felt that she was only used as a cook, clothes washer, caretaker, and sexual object. In the short story Orok, the character "I", a wife, is initially positioned as an object. However, she dared to rebel and fight because she felt that her husband was not treating her well. Even though she had carried out her duties as a wife well. She fought back by arguing with her husband.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Kawin

The Short Story Kawin depicts Jati, a mother whose daughter is impregnated by someone. She then informs her husband to address the issue promptly. Until she finally finds out, Yayuk, her daughter, who is still in the first year of junior high school, is pregnant by Komaruddin, the son of Haji Sanewi, their religious teacher. Jati, as a wife, strives to be equal to her husband within the family. This is evidenced in the following quote.

"Hey, dear! You have no right to take pride in your job. You only come every month to collect your salary, but where is your responsibility? I'm serious. Stop drinking and think about your child. Yayuk is truly pregnant, look at this ... see for yourself." (Suminar, 2021, p. 20).

At that time, Jati had just found out that Yayuk was pregnant. She then informed her drunken husband. At that moment, her husband was in a drunken state. Selamat, Jati's husband, was shocked and half-conscious in responding to Jati. In this short story Kawin, Jati strives to be equal to her husband within the family. This is evident in Jati's attempt to convince her husband that this is a serious problem and must be addressed promptly. The

woman's usual position as an object is transformed by Jati, who strives to be equal, becoming a subject equal to her husband in a quiet diplomatic manner, convincing him with her opinion. Eventually, Selamat listens to Jati, as evidenced in the following quote.

"Bastard! Scoundrel! I will make that person regret his actions!" He cursed in her heart while thinking about something (Suminar, 2021, p. 21).

This quote indicates the success of Jati's efforts to persuade her husband. Selamat starts showing a response to promptly resolve the issue affecting their family. However, in this short story "Marriage," Jati's position is also simultaneously that of an object, as within their family, she remains a wife waiting for her husband to make decisions.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Semut

The short story *Semut* tells the story of the character "I," a woman who has a phobia of ants. According to her, ants are frightening creatures that can devour anything, including lizards, the food she prepares for her husband, and even herself. The character "I" has a husband who loves her deeply. Every time the character "I" prepares food for her husband, it is always devoured by the ants in her house. And whenever her husband comes home to eat, there is never anything left on the dining table. This short story positions women as equal to or even higher than men. This is evidenced by the quote:

"I also talk about my fears, the shadows in my head that ultimately make me insomniac, but he just smiles. His large and always red eyes rounded, staring at me" (Suminar, 2021, p. 28).

Every time the character "I" complains about the ants that make her fearful, her husband always listens, smiling. She tells how these ants scare her to the point of insomnia. In this short story *Semut*, the character "I" is truly positioned as a subject by her husband. This is evident as the husband never scolds the character "I" even when there is no food at home, and he tends to listen to his wife's complaints. Moreover, the husband is willing to do anything to get rid of the ants feared by his wife. This is evident in the quote:

"Dear, tomorrow I'll wake up in a new house. A house without ants. I have completely burned them until they are completely gone, you don't need to cry anymore. No one will eat our food. Nothing will make you scared and unable to sleep. Nothing anymore" (Suminar, 2021, p. 38).

This quote shows that the husband of the character "I" is willing to burn down their house so that the troublesome ants disappear. This proves that the position of the character "I" as a wife is crucial in their family. In the short story *Semut*, the character "I" is truly positioned as a subject. However, on the other hand, the character "I" also occupies the position of an object because she is essentially comfortable performing her duties as a good wife and does not resist her fate as a wife.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Mitun

The short story *Mitun* tells the story of a girl named Mitun who was tortured by her father. Since her mother died, Mitun has only lived alone with her father. When she lived with her father, she experienced unpleasant behavior. Starting from frequent physical and mental violence to being sexually assaulted by her father until she became pregnant. Not only that, when she was pregnant, her father tried to abort her pregnancy by calling Mak Yah to massage her stomach to remove her genitals. Because of her father's treatment, she decided to run away from home. Even after running away, she never met good luck. She was raped by someone she didn't know until she became pregnant and gave birth. Unfortunately, when she gave birth, she was found by a pedicab driver who turned out to be her father. She was taken home and the child was sold by her father. Mitun's resistance in this short story is that she dared to run away from home. Here's the quote:

Mitun immediately ran without thinking again. ... She only knows that she has escaped from the prison created by her father. She was free from the pressure that was crushing her, the barbaric actions of her father (Suminar, 2021, p. 43).

This quote explains Mitun's escape from home. She dared to decide to run because she could no longer stand the treatment of her father who made her the object of all forms of violence, both mental and physical. At that time, Mitun's father accidentally didn't lock

the door, so she thought this was her chance to be free from her father's restraints. Mitun's character dares to fight against her father by running away from home to gain her freedom. Here Mitun tries to reject himself as an object because according to her, it is best to be free from her father's restraints. However, in the end, Mitun still returns to being a woman as an object. Proven in the quote.

“Finally, I found you again, insolent child. ... you won't be going anywhere anymore (Suminar, 2021, p. 45).

This quote explains Mitun's father who found Mitun again after running away. Life after running away turned out to be no kinder than the house that had become hell for her. On the road, she remains an object and an easy target for predators on the street. In one case, she was raped by an unknown person. Not only that, she was also found by her father when she was giving birth to a child. So, Mitun will start her hell again as a woman who is an object.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Sarung Emak

The short story Sarung Emak is a short story that tells the story of Hamidah who likes the sarong her mother gave her. One day the sarong suddenly disappeared somewhere. Hamidah cried uncontrollably. Rusdi, the husband was of course shocked to see his wife crying. After he asked why his wife was crying, Rusdi laughed. He felt it was just an ordinary sarong. However, things are different for Midah, according to her, the sarong means a lot to her because the sarong contains her memories with her favorite mother-in-law. Even though Rusdi had replaced it with a new sarong, Midah was still sad because the new sarong was not worth anything.

One day, Rusdi told Midah the truth that he was the one who took the sarong to give to Maryam as a dowry. Hearing this, Midah was of course very disappointed. Finally, she decided to die by jumping out of the window. Proven in the quote.

Hamidah walked away leaving the remains of her smile at the window. A mango fell leaving a crashing sound on the ground (Suminar, 2021, p. 54).

Hamidah, who did not accept being married, ultimately decided to end her own life. This is a form of struggle to make herself a woman as a subject. In her life, she did not find true happiness. Instead of living with feelings of pain, she chose to die for her happiness. The decision to end her life for the sake of happiness, including a form of resistance herself as a woman as a subject.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Kambing

The short story Kambing tells the story of Masnunah who takes revenge on her husband for killing their child. The story begins with Masnunah's desire to prepare a goat to sacrifice during the holiday. Apart from that, on holidays, Tohir, his son who is studying, goes home. She asked her husband, Mursidi, to work on it. Mursidi finally decided to rob to prepare the goat for sacrifice. During the robbery, it turned out that Mursidi's target was Tohir. Proven in the quote.

“I slashed his neck. His head fell rolling near my feet. The blood spurted out onto my clothes. I threw that head into the river.... I swept his body away.... My son... Tohir, my son (Suminar, 2021, p. 69).

This quote shows the crimes Mursidi committed against his son. He slashed his son's head until his head rolled. Then he threw his child's head into the river. Don't forget, he also threw his child's body into the river. He did all this without realizing that it was his child whom he killed. Mursidi only found out that it was Tohir whom he had killed when his nephew recognized that the motorbike he had stolen turned out to be Tohir's motorbike. Due to this incident, Mursidi finally went crazy. Masnunah of course did not accept Mursidi killing Tohir, the child she loved most. She also fought back against Mursidi as proven by a quote.

Live longer to stay crazy. Always remember your evil deeds. I will always come to remind you of that (Suminar, 2021, p. 77).

Masnunah, who was very disappointed with Mursidi, decided to fight Mursidi by allowing Mursidi to continue living in madness. Masnunah was previously a very obedient

wife to Mursidi. When the robbery tragedy arrived, Masmunah finally changed. She, who was previously an object, turned into a subject by fighting Mursidi. She allowed Mursidi to continue living in madness so that Mursidi would continue to regret his actions against their son Tohir.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Bhubuen

The short story Bhubuen tells the story of Zain, a man with nothing to his name. He wishes to marry Laila, who comes from a wealthy family. One day, Zain says goodbye to Laila and Laila's parents to work abroad in Malaysia as a migrant worker to improve his life. Laila's parents disapprove because Zain comes from a less privileged family. Eventually, Laila is arranged to marry someone of her parent's choice. In brief, although Zain was initially sent back from abroad, several years later, he becomes extremely wealthy, while Laila's parents become poor. Laila's parents even owe a lot of money to Zain. Eventually, Zain asks Laila's parents to put poison in Laila's husband's drink. In this short story, the character Laila initially resists her parents' wishes. This is evident from the quote:

“Slowly and stealthily, she walked out of the room, opened the door, and closed it gently. Ignoring her bare feet, she ran quickly along the road, crossed the bridge, and ran again in the middle of the embankment. Her lover’s house was already visible” (Suminar, 2021, p. 85).

Laila is willing to defy her father's orders not to meet Zain. After harboring the desire to bid farewell to Zain all night, in the early hours, she stealthily walks out of her house and goes to Zain's house. This can be considered a form of rebellious act against her father's command. Laila, who is usually a very obedient daughter, dares to defy her father's order. However, in the end, Laila remains Laila, a woman obedient to her parents' commands, marrying the man her father has chosen. This is evident from the quote.

"Zain stood between them, watching Laila, his beloved, holding hands with another man. Laila looked radiant, her face glowing" (Suminar, 2021, p. 87).

This quote shows that Laila truly submits as an object. She does not resist for her happiness. In the end, she complies with her father's order to marry the man he has chosen.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Paraban Tuah

Paraban Tuah tells the story of a woman named Didin who has not yet married, causing her younger siblings to marry before her. Since childhood, Didin has been considered an unlucky child. One day, Titin, her second sister, wanted to get married, and she was asked to marry quickly by her mother so that her younger sister could also get married. According to Madurese tradition, a younger sibling is not encouraged to marry before the older one. However, Didin still did not have a prospective spouse at that time. So, she was reluctantly bypassed by Titin. When Titin already had a child, her other siblings, Ninik and Yayan, also asked to get married. Her mother became more worried about Didin, her eldest daughter who had not yet married. Several years after Ninik and Yayan got married, her mother started falling ill. During her illness, her mother realized that Didin was not an unlucky child. Her married children lived with their husbands, so no one took care of her. Didin was the only child who took care of her. Her mother apologized to Didin. The character Didin in the short story Paraban Tuah truly challenges the stigma in Madurese society that younger siblings should not marry before their older siblings. This is something that, if violated, would become a subject of gossip among neighbors. Didin truly does not care about this.

"Just marry Titin, Mom. I don't care about what people say." I left Mom, then locked myself in my room (Suminar, 2021, p. 93).

This quote shows Didin's resistance to the consequences she would face. She doesn't care about what the neighbors say. The woman in this short story positions herself as a subject. She dares to defy the societal stigma regarding marriage.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Kolor Zuma

The short story Kolor Zuma tells the tale of a marital conflict over underwear. The issue begins with Zuma, Mardi's wife, who is accustomed to placing her underwear anywhere. Mardi, feeling that this is unclean, advises Zuma. Upon hearing Mardi's advice,

Zuma, considering it normal, argues back with various arguments. Eventually, they end up in a heated debate about Zuma's scattered underwear in the house. The problem escalates to the point where Zuma, being a wealthy person's child, and Mardi, feeling unheard as a husband, results in Mardi eventually returning to his parents' home. The character Zuma is a dominant figure in the family dynamic between Mardi and Zuma. This is evidenced by her willingness to challenge Mardi's arguments, as shown in the quote:

"This is my house. I'm free to place anything here. Even my genitals if I want. Why should I care about people?" (Suminar, 2021, p. 100).

Zuma, being advised by Mardi, dares to defy because, notably, Zuma comes from a wealthy family. Even the house they live in belongs to Zuma's family. This demonstrates that Zuma's position in their family is a subject. Mardi feeling inferior in terms of material wealth and unheard as the head of the family, eventually decides to return to his parent's home.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Panggil Aku Abah

The short story Panggil Aku Abah tells the story of Haji Umar, who is upset with her new daughter-in-law for not addressing her as Abah, despite having performed the Hajj pilgrimage. The narrative highlights a common cultural practice in Madurese society, where an individual is addressed as Abah after completing the Hajj. In this story, Haji Umar insists on being called Abah, going as far as asking his wife, Saudah, to instruct their new daughter-in-law to address him as such. This is evident in the quote:

"Tell her! I've been on the Hajj, paid a hefty sum, waited a long time, and she still calls me 'father.' Look at other people's children and in-laws, they've already changed their titles to 'abah umi.' How can she not know!" (Suminar, 2021, p. 108).

This quote illustrates Haji Umar's reasons for wanting to be called Abah, emphasizing his struggles in earning that title, including the Hajj pilgrimage, considerable expenses, and a long wait. After being approached and informed by Saudah, Jiah, the daughter-in-law, eventually agrees to address him as Abah. This is evident in the quote:

"Oh, I see, I'm sorry if that's the case, Umi. Jia didn't know that after the Hajj, someone's title changes and it seems mandatory" (Suminar, 2021, p. 109).

Jiah, who is of Javanese descent and grew up in Jakarta, is unfamiliar with Madurese culture. She initially didn't understand the significance of addressing her father-in-law as Abah. However, she eventually complies, indicating that Jiah becomes a woman as an object, despite briefly questioning the importance of the Abah title.

The Existence of Madurese Women in the Short Story Setelah Kabur

The short story *Setelah Kabur* narrates the character "I" longing for her parents in the village. Additionally, it delves into memories from the character "I" past, highlighting her life with her father and stepmother. The character "I" expresses disappointment with her stepmother, leading her to decide to live with her biological mother in the city. After many years, now married and with children, she deeply miss both her father and stepmother.

The character "I" is characterized by a fear of poverty, rooted in her childhood experiences of living in impoverished conditions, as evident in the quote:

"I am deeply traumatized by poverty; my past life seems like a whip to me. Depending solely on my husband's salary would never be enough to enjoy life with six growing children. That's why I keep looking for ways to expand my business in savings and loans. Despite the significant risks, I can also reap substantial profits" (Suminar, 2021, p. 112).

Currently married to a military officer who held the rank of Prada at the time of her marriage, the character "I" recognizes the inadequacy of relying solely on her husband's salary to support their six children. Therefore, she actively work to expand her savings and loan business, acknowledging the risks involved. The character "I" in the short story *Setelah Kabur* holds a significant position in the family, choosing to be a working woman to contribute to the household.

DISCUSSION

D *The Position of Madurese Women in the Paraban Tuah Short Story Collection*

A collection of short stories titled *Paraban Tuah* presents various positions of women in Madurese culture. Some of them are portrayed as women as subjects, dominating over men. Others become subjects of male dominance. They play roles as both subjects and objects. Briefly explained in the following diagram:

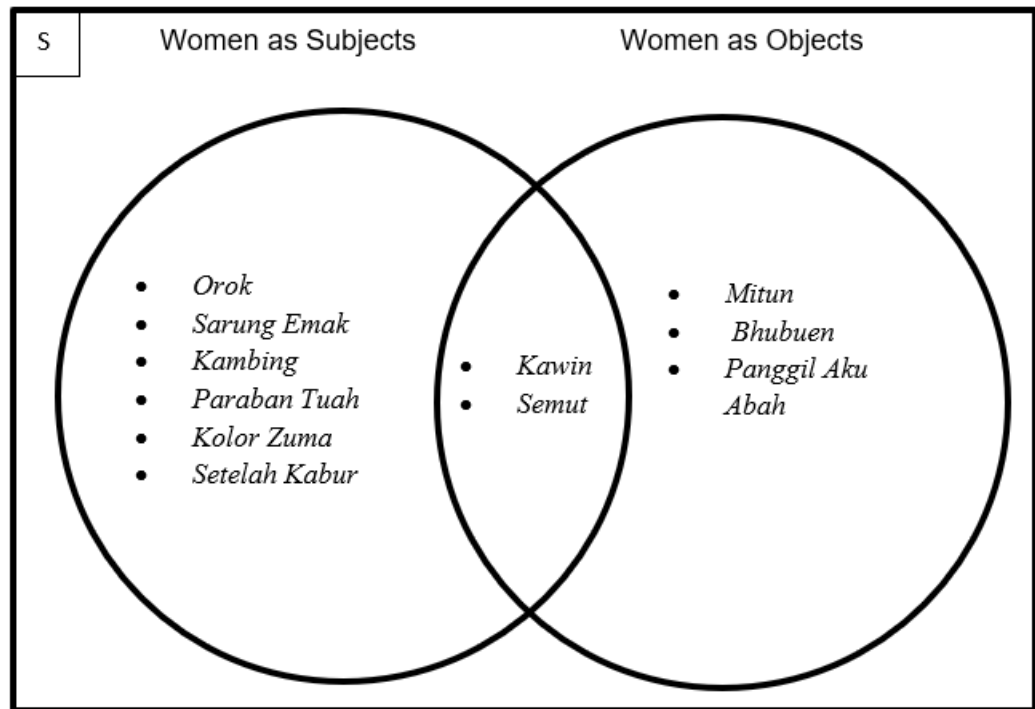


Fig. 1. Diagram of the Existence of Madurese Women in the *Paraban Tuah* Short Story Collection

Women as subjects are shown in the short stories *Orok*, *Sarung Emak*, *Kambing*, *Paraban Tuah*, *Kolor Zuma*, and *Setelah Kabur*. These short stories show the dominance of women over men. In the short story *Orok*, the character "I", a wife, is initially positioned as an object. However, she dared to rebel and fight because she felt that her husband was not treating her well. In the short story *Sarung Emak*, Hamidah, who does not accept being married, ultimately decides to end her own life. This is a form of struggle to make herself a woman as a subject. In the short story *Kambing*, after the murder of her child by her husband, Masmunah changes. She, who was previously an object, turned into a subject by fighting Mursidi. Didin's character in the short story *Paraban Tuah* shows that she positions herself as a woman as a subject. She dared to fight the stigma in society about marriage. The short story *Kolor Zuma* shows that Zuma's position in their family is a subject. Mardi felt that she had lost materially and

was not heard as the head of the family, finally decided to return to his parents' house. The woman in the short story *Setelah Kabur* has the same position in the family because she decided to become a working woman.

Meanwhile, women as objects are shown in the short stories *Mitun*, *Bhubuen*, and *Panggil Aku Abah*. In *Mitun's* short story, after running away, Mitun remains an object and an easy target for predators on the streets. Not only that, she was also found by her father when she was giving birth to a child. So, Mitun will start her hell again as a woman who is an object. *Bhubuen's* short story shows that Laila is truly submissive as an object. She does not fight for his happiness. In the end, she obeyed her father's orders to marry the man of her father's choice. Short story *Panggil Aku Abah*, Jiah, who is a Javanese who grew up in Jakarta, does not know Madurese culture at all. So, she didn't know whether to call her father-in-law Abah. But in the end, she agreed to call Abah. This indicates that Jiah became a woman as an object even though she questioned the importance of Abah's calling.

In the short story collection *Paraban Tuah*, women are also found as subjects and as objects, namely in the short stories *Kawin* and *Semut*. In the short story *Kawin*, Jati tries to be equal to her husband in the family. This can be seen in Jati who is trying to convince her husband that this is a serious problem and must be acted upon immediately. The position of women, who are usually as objects, this time is changed by Jati who tries to become an equal subject with her husband in a quite diplomatic way, namely convincing her husband with her opinion. However, in the short story *Kawin*, Jati's position is also an object because, in their family, she is still a wife who is waiting for her husband to make a decision. In the short story *Semut*, the position of the character "I" as a wife is very important in the family. The character "I" is positioned as a subject. However, on the other hand, the character "I" is also positioned as an object because she is comfortable carrying out her duties as a good wife and does not show resistance to her fate as a wife.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The existence of Madurese women in the short story collection *Paraban Tuah* is presented in diverse ways. There are women portrayed as subjects in stories such as *Orok*, *Sarung Emak*, *Kambing*, *Paraban Tuah*, *Kolor Zuma*, and *Setelah Kabur*.

Additionally, there are women portrayed as objects in stories like *Mitun*, *Bhubuen*, and *Panggil Aku Abah*. Some stories, such as *Kawin* and *Semut*, depict women in dual roles as both subjects and objects. The women in this collection not only demonstrate resistance but also exhibit submission and a combination of resistance while remaining submissive to men.

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