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An Ethnographic Study of Gender Relations in the Ngadas and Wonosari Communities in Malang, Indonesia

Aniek Rahmaniah
UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, Indonesia
arahmaniah@pips.uin-malang.ac.id

Ulfi Andrian Sari
UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, Indonesia
ulfiandriansari@uin-malang.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines gender relations in the agrarian communities of Ngadas and Wonosari in Malang, Indonesia, using a qualitative ethnographic approach. The study reveals that while gender subordination exists regarding customary rituals, the communities remain deeply committed to upholding traditions and performing these rituals while prioritizing harmonious communal life. Regarding belief systems, despite differing faiths, there is a high level of tolerance and mutual respect for one another's religions and beliefs. In the social and economic spheres, relationships are characterized by cooperation and complementarity, with gender relations structured around roles and status; conversely, the political sphere tends to be male-dominated. This study contributes to the discourse on gender relations by highlighting the importance of viewing them as practices negotiated

within specific contexts. The findings also demonstrate how cultural continuity and social change can coexist in shaping gender relations within contemporary agrarian societies.

Keywords: agrarian society, ethnography, gender relations.

A. Introduction

In agrarian societies, gender is seen as a societal construct with specific and contextual characteristics, distinct from the inherent and universal nature of biological sex, often referred to as nature or ordained in religious terms. However, scholars differ on how far biological differences, especially reproductive functions, influence one's characteristics and actions (O'Neil, Scovelle, Milner, & Kavanagh, 2018). Essentialists argue that gender differences logically follow from biological distinctions, while constructionists explain that biological differences influence men and women but are not permanent. Therefore, the differences between men and women are not as dominant as essentialist groups portray.

The primary concern in agrarian societies is whether gender constructions always lead to inequality. To understand inequality, it is essential to consider the indicators or measures used. Because gender issues and inequalities are contextual, they are not uniform, permanent, or eternal. Currently, gender inequality is perceived globally, not due to globalization but because of the global contestation of democratic values on one side and patriarchy towards industrial modernity on the other (Evans, 2017). This argument is reinforced by Illich's view that gender inequality is a specific problem of modern industrialized societies, where social values converge in the masculine public realm (Illich, 1982).

Moreover, Walby (2004) reminds us that the complexity of gender issues is further complicated by class, economic, and ethnic issues, and even nationalism. In the context of Muslim societies, for

example, gender constructions are closely related to various interpretations of Islam, ranging from fundamentalism to modernism and conservatism, including responses to gender issues. Religion is inherently flexible across cultural perspectives, so it is common to find aspects within one religious tradition that legitimize and perpetuate gender inequality. At the same time, it also contains teachings that can serve as a basis for gender equality (Dzuhayatin, 2007).

This study differs from previous research by focusing specifically on the ethnic dimensions of the distinctive culture found in multicultural and multi-religious agrarian communities. The villages of Ngadas and Wonosari were deliberately selected because they exhibit unique gender dynamics. On one hand, there are egalitarian relationships regarding roles and the division of labor in religious and socio-economic spheres; on the other, there are roles and social statuses that foster subordination within customary rituals and the political realm. Consequently, it is compelling to examine gender relations in Ngadas and Wonosari in the context of the communities' tolerance and diversity.

Broadly, this study aims to explore how gender relations within these distinctive agrarian communities—characterized by unique traits—can coexist harmoniously and foster mutual respect. The research contributes to the body of knowledge regarding gender relations, particularly within agrarian, multicultural, and multi-religious societies. The study was conducted in Malang Regency, East Java, Indonesia, focusing on two tourism villages: Ngadas, a traditional Tengger village near Mount Bromo, and Wonosari, a religious tourism destination known for the ancient tomb located near Mount Kawi.

This study employs a qualitative approach using an ethnographic method. The ethnographic approach was selected because it focuses on gaining an in-depth understanding of the culture and the lived experiences of the community members from an emic perspective—that is, the viewpoint of the cultural participants themselves (Spradley, 1997). Through a holistic description, the

study shows how gender is constructed and enacted in everyday life.

Field research was conducted in two multicultural agrarian villages in Malang Regency, East Java:

1. Ngadas Village (Poncokusumo District): A traditional Tengger village situated within an enclave of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (TNBTS) at an elevation of approximately 2,200 meters above sea level. The village has a cold climate, and the residents' primary livelihoods are horticulture farming (potatoes, cabbage, and leeks) and managing tourism activities related to Mount Bromo.
2. Wonosari Village (Wonosari District): Located on the southern slopes of Mount Kawi at an elevation of approximately 800 meters above sea level, with a population of 6,677. The village is an area for dry-land farming (specifically telo kawi or cassava). It serves as a center for religious tourism, hosting the tombs of Eyang Jugo and Eyang Sujo.

Data collection involved participant observation in agricultural fields, tourism sites, and ritual processions, along with in-depth interviews and document analysis. Informants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure representation of community elements from both villages.

In-depth interviews were conducted with informants from Ngadas Village (including the Village Head, Hamlet Head, and Traditional Elder/Shaman) and five women (the Village Head's wife, the leader of a religious study/rotating savings group, the head of an MSME association, a dance troupe member, and a Hamlet Head's wife/dry-field farmer). Informants from Wonosari Village included the Hamlet Head, the head of the Kawi Cemetery Foundation, and a mosque administrator, alongside five women (the Hamlet Head's wife/maker of funeral flower sachets, an MSME trader, a homestay owner, a monthly religious study organizer, and a telo kawi seller/dry-field farmer).

The ethnographic data analysis followed Spradley's

(1997) step-by-step analytical framework, comprising: (1) domain analysis to categorize questionnaire responses and field notes; (2) taxonomic analysis to map out the structure of gender relations; and (3) cultural theme analysis to identify the underlying values shaping residents' interactions. Data were analyzed across four key domains: socio-economic, customary rituals, religious practices, and village politics. Data validity was ensured through source triangulation (comparing data across informants) and technique triangulation (cross-referencing interview data with field observations).

B. Discussion

In the anthropological study of gender, sex is categorized as a biological differentiation, whereas gender is a socio-cultural construct subject to ongoing negotiation. An essentialist approach views gender roles as a natural outgrowth of biological reproductive functions. Conversely, the constructionist approach (O'Neil et al., 2018) asserts that the division of social roles between men and women is shaped by cultural norms, economic structures, and local traditions—factors that are dynamic and evolve with the times.

Modern gender theory often assumes that the formation of gender roles automatically gives rise to hierarchical inequality. However, Ivan Illich (1982) and A. Evans (2017) show that stark gender inequality largely stems from modern industrial capitalism, which centers social value on the market-oriented public sphere. In contrast, Suzanne A. Brenner (2012), in her study of rural Javanese agrarian society, notes that men and women often perform complementary roles and respect each other's social status.

To comprehensively analyze gender relations, the intersectionality framework (Walby, 2004) is employed to examine the intersections of gender, economic class, ethnicity, and religious belief. As Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin (2007) notes, religious practices and local traditions engage in a complex dialectic: while traditions can legitimize certain forms of leadership subordination,

religious teachings and local wisdom also provide a robust moral foundation for solidarity, equal social rights, and tolerance among citizens.

Ethnographic findings from Ngadas and Wonosari reinforce the argument that gender relations in rural Java cannot be understood through a simple binary categorization of oppression versus freedom. Drawing on the work of Suzanne A. Brenner (2012), these agrarian communities have developed mechanisms for contextual negotiation, wherein the division of labor is adapted to practical needs and the capacities of the residents. Women are not positioned as marginalized outsiders but rather as pivotal actors in the household economy and the continuity of rituals.

The emergence of tourism as a new economic force has created a dialectical space between cultural continuity and social change. Cultural continuity is preserved through respect for the Tengger customary structures and the traditions of Gunung Kawi. Conversely, social change has accelerated as women assume entrepreneurial roles in tourism, thereby enhancing their financial independence and awareness of their political rights.

This study identifies the following characteristics of gender relations: 1. in the realm of customary rituals: practically collaborative, yet subject to male authority at the highest level; 2. in the religious realm: egalitarian, tolerant, and autonomous; 3. in the socio-economic realm: equal and complementary; 4. in the political realm: open formal democracy, yet characterized by male administrative dominance.

From these two agrarian villages, an informant data related to gender relations can be obtained, as shown in the following table 1:

Table 1. Interview Matrix

Activities	Informant (Ngadas)	Informant (Wonosari)
Traditional Rituals	A distinguishing feature is that all traditional rituals are led by a	In 1 Suro activity, it was carried out by the entire community and invited

Activities	Informant (Ngadas)	Informant (Wonosari)
	dukun pandita (who is invariably male).	speakers from outside the area.
Religious Rituals	Religious observances are carried out individually, in accordance with each person's respective faith.	Religious activities are usually carried out simultaneously with traditional activities together with both men and women.
Socio-economic sphere	Men typically handle tasks such as transporting the harvest and selling produce at the market, whereas women may engage in any type of work, including hoeing the fields.	The people here are farmers and sell farm produce around the Mount Kawi burial site (both men and women).
Political Sphere	There has never been a female village head, although there have been female candidates for the position.	The village head is male, but there is a women's association which has quite a lot of members and holds events every month.

1. Traditional Ceremonial Rituals in Agrarian Society

In social life, humans are inherently intertwined with culture and traditions. The existence of culture is crucial as it serves as an identity and distinctive characteristic. Broadly defined, culture is the way of life within a group of people, evolving and passed down through generations. It constitutes a complex system encompassing knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, abilities, and habits acquired by individuals as members of a society (Tylor, 2016). Some argue that culture is a growing, evolving way of life within a group that shapes individuals' understanding of what actions are necessary. It functions as a system of order comprising meanings and symbols that controls behavior, conveys information, solidifies individual identity, develops knowledge, and influences attitudes (Geertz, 1992).

Ngadas hosts various traditional rituals, including the Kasada ceremony, where offerings such as Kusuma are presented. Attended by the entire Tengger tribe, this event occurs every 14th or 15th day of the full moon. Led by a dukun pandhita (shaman), the ceremony culminates in offerings of agricultural produce within the Bromo volcano crater. The ritual is followed by the ongkek (a procession featuring plant offerings). This ceremony takes place in adherence to ancestral traditions, with the social life of the community deeply rooted in customs and culture. Additional rituals in Gunung Kawi include malam senin pahing (Monday night ceremonies) and malam jumat legi (Friday night rituals), aimed at seeking blessings. Similarly, in Wonosari Village, the satu suro ritual is mandatory. Beyond sustaining the Wonosari community, this ritual is intended to ensure the overall safety of Malang Regency residents.

In both Ngadas and Wonosari, customary and religious rituals serve as vital spaces for collective participation and the reproduction of cultural identity. Men and women are observed participating collaboratively in various ritual activities, indicating that gender roles within these practices are not always rigidly demarcated. These findings align with recent research showing that gender relations in Indonesian agrarian societies are highly context-dependent and shaped by local social norms, household arrangements, and cultural institutions (Hanifah, Peralta, & Akzar, 2026; Qanti, Peralta, & Zeng, 2022). However, the absence of a strict division of labor in ritual activities should not be interpreted as evidence of full gender equality. The leadership role of the dukun pandhita, which remains exclusive to men, demonstrates that gender differentiation persists in at least one realm of ritual authority. This distinction matters because complementary participation does not necessarily imply equal access to authority, resources, or decision-making power (Leder, 2022).

In the two aforementioned regions, namely Ngadas Village and Wonosari Village, the communities exhibit distinctiveness. Both villages share similarities in

customs and culture, positioning them as tourist destinations in Malang Regency. Additionally, the cultural rituals of agrarian societies are passed down through ancestral traditions (Schmidt, Goetz, & Tian, 2021). Moreover, these villages embrace multiculturalism and multireligiosity. Ngadas, for instance, conducts numerous traditional and religious ceremonies nearly every month, with the obligatory Kasada ceremony uniting the entire village. Similarly, in Wonosari Village, various customary and religious ceremonies are observed, with the significant Satu Suro ceremony requiring universal community participation.

During traditional ceremonies, both men and women actively engage in every aspect. Activities related to the ceremonies are collaboratively undertaken without clear gender segregation. One distinguishing factor is the presence of a dukun pandhita as the ceremonial leader, invariably a male figure. The selection of the dukun involves specific criteria and is to stringent testing and selection processes conducted openly and witnessed by the entire village.

The findings reinforce Brenner's assertion that gender inequality is not prevalent in agrarian societies (Brenner, 2012). Men and women fulfill their respective roles without strict differentiation, complement each other, and respect each other's individual status. The study discovers that the distinctive culture and customs of the people in Ngadas and Wonosari Villages have shaped a community built on mutual respect and tolerance. In the Tengger community, existing research has documented women's significant participation in agricultural livelihoods, as well as ongoing gender-related empowerment challenges (Novikarumsari, Wulansari, Rokhani, Sofia, & Metalisa, 2024). Consequently, these findings offer a complementary perspective by illustrating how gender relations are negotiated not only through agricultural work but also through participation in rituals, customary practices, and culturally rooted forms of reciprocal recognition. The traditional and religious rituals they practice foster togetherness and contribute to a harmonious way of life. Culture, shaped by social

norms and anthropological conditions, plays a crucial role in the agricultural patterns of these agrarian regions (Sakalis, 2021).

2. Religious Ceremonies in Agrarian Society

The demographics of religious beliefs in Ngadas Village include 50% Javanese Buddhists, 40% Muslims, and 10% Hindus (Achadiat, David, Syukri, Purnama, & Paskarina, 2024). Most residents of the population in Wonosari Village practice Islam, with Hindu, Buddhist, and Konghuchu beliefs also present. Religious life in Wonosari Village is evident in the construction of places of worship, located in one area around the ancient tombs. A mosque, a kelenteng (Chinese temple), a pura (Hindu temple) and a vihara (Buddhist monastery) are located nearby. Wonosari Village gained fame for two ancient tombs of elders from the Mataram Kingdom, namely Eyang Jugo and Eyang Sujo. Eventually, Wonosari Village became renowned as a religious tourist destination in Malang Regency. This spatial coexistence provides an important context for understanding religious pluralism as a social condition experienced in daily life, rather than merely as a demographic characteristic. Studies on religious pluralism in Indonesia also show that religious diversity is negotiated through everyday interactions, interfaith engagement, and locally rooted social practices (Alifuddin & Amir, 2022; Koswara & Viktorahadi, 2022).

In addition, both areas have religious organizations, including Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic associations. During religious ceremonies, especially those related to major religious festivals, all villagers participate in the celebrations together, despite their different religions. For them, tolerance is a manifestation of gratitude to God, or what is commonly referred to as the circle of life (Riyadi, 2018). They believe that God has bestowed a fertile land with abundant harvest, so expressing gratitude involves respecting each other and sharing a portion of the harvest for communal enjoyment (Regel, Matheosz, & Deeng, 2019). Similarly, Dzuhayatin (2007) notes, religion in this multireligious agrarian

society has helped shape a community that respects and maintains tolerance, including between men and women. This interpretation aligns with recent studies on religious pluralism in Indonesia, which emphasize interfaith dialogue, social interaction, and community-based activities as mechanisms for maintaining religious harmony (Engkizar et al., 2022).

Culture primarily transmits heritage from ancestors. Culture and its elements are bound by time; they change based on cultural strength and interactions with other cultures. Some functions of culture include enhancing nationalism, fostering tolerance and empathy, promoting mutual respect in society, serving as a means of socialization, and facilitating mutual learning. Meanwhile, cultural elements encompass religious aspects, language, knowledge systems, tools and technology, social structure, livelihoods, and arts. This dynamic relationship between cultural sustainability and social transformation is also evident in the contemporary Tengger community, where tourism development and shifting livelihood strategies interact with deeply rooted cultural practices (Novikarumsari et al., 2024).

In various community activities and religious ceremonies, women in this village hold an equal position to men (Mugni, 2018). Women in the village also have religious organizations or study groups that are attended by a significant number of women. They organize monthly activities and bring in speakers from outside the region. Major activities in Wonosari Village peak during the month of Suro or Muharram, from the 1st to the 10th. During this period, activities include preaching, temple celebrations, artistic performances, communal feasts, and more. These activities aim to accommodate the community's customs, traditions, and beliefs in Wonosari Village.

3. Social-Economic Activities in Agrarian Communities

In socio-economic life, gender affiliation is not a contentious issue; they consider all members of society individuals deserving respect, including arriving guests in

their village. In agrarian societies, men and women attain their social status through different roles and values without direct comparison. They work together in farming activities (Akter et al., 2017). Therefore, role and value separation is not strict but complementary; no role is denied, and no value is contested (Elias, 2015). Women farmers in both villages positively impact family economies (Daulay, S Meliala, & Humaizi, 2019). Women's roles in agriculture also enhance economic independence.

In Ngadas Village, a significant portion of the population works as farmers. Women in Ngadas are primarily farmers who tend fields and rice paddies daily, cultivating various vegetables, potatoes, and mountain-specific crops. The produce is then sold to intermediaries, who, in turn, sell it at the sub-district central market, about a two-hour journey by motorbike or car. There's no clear division of labor between men and women; they work together in the fields, from hoeing and planting seeds to caring for plants and harvesting. Men mostly handle tasks like transporting fertilizers and harvests, as many women in Ngadas cannot ride motorized vehicles.

Besides farming, the Ngadas community has a secondary job providing various services for tourists visiting the village. As a tourist destination, many travelers passing through on their way to Mount Bromo stop in this village. Some residents take advantage of this by offering homestays, renting vehicles (jeeps), and selling processed agricultural products (potato chips and mountain-slope vegetables like broccoli, carrots, cabbage, etc.). Both men and women in the village are accustomed to welcoming tourists and offering the products and services they need.

Similarly, in Wonosari Village, most women are farmers working in plantation fields. Their famous produce is sweet-flavored Kawi yams, a commodity for tourists visiting Mount Kawi. The plantation products from Wonosari are renowned in Malang, thanks in part to a Dutch woman, the wife of Eyang Sujo, who taught villagers about various plants and farming practices.

As a tourist village, women in Wonosari also capitalize on tourist arrivals by selling locally produced items, especially agricultural products like yams, coffee, and bananas, as souvenirs. They also provide various necessities for tourists, such as layon (Peruvian lily) flowers for visiting graves, various offerings, and open food stalls for pilgrims. Meanwhile, men mainly serve as tourist guides, parking attendants, and security personnel. They typically divide their time; on Friday nights, they intentionally set aside time for these activities.

Economic activities are influenced not only by production factors such as labor, capital, and natural resources but also by social values and traditions in society. Conversely, economic activities can impact social structures within a community (Yunis, Hashim, & Anderson, 2019). Opening these areas as tourist villages has altered communities' economic activities, introducing additional sources of income. Interaction between the local community and tourists has also transformed social relationships into more open and modern knowledge systems.

4. Political Activities In Agrarian Communities

In the two research locations, traditional and modern organizations include karang taruna (community youth groups), the Family Welfare Empowerment organization (PKK), the Village Consultative Body (BPD), poskamtib (community security posts), and others. In terms of leadership, these organizations are open and do not differentiate by gender, except for some women's organizations (Tiominar & Afiff, 2021). In the village head election in Ngadas, a female candidate garnered significant votes, making women's presence in their respective roles a common feature in Ngadas Village.

This ideology contrasts with democracy, which is based on social equality, including women's and men's access to participation in all aspects of life. However, the modern industrial world creates a sexist competition with masculine values. No matter how strongly women try to compete with men, they still lag because femininity is

incompatible with the masculine public sphere. Moreover, capitalism places the public sphere as a source of value that relies on the economy and politics.

However, culture continues to evolve as both villages open as tourist areas, leading to adjustments in economic, socio-cultural, and political activities. In the process of interaction between residents and incoming tourists, the distinctive features and local culture can mutually influence each other. In the economic field, there is a development of livelihood systems, known as second jobs, which are jobs other than farming that adapt to the tourists' needs. In the socio-cultural field, various modern social community activities have emerged, such as educational activities, religious studies or study groups, the Family Welfare Empowerment organization, cultural performances, and the establishment of other community organizations. In the political field, there is an open system for expressing aspirations and a modern leadership election system through an electoral process.

This study indicates that environmental factors influence how women engage in economic, socio-cultural, and political activities (Clement, Harcourt, Joshi, & Sato, 2019). It also shows that women's social capital comes from activities in their environment and surrounding communities. Some traditional ceremonies and religious rituals demonstrate that their customs and religious beliefs are inherited from generation to generation and still maintain their sacredness. These activities then become distinctive features and enduring traditions.

From these two agrarian villages, a visualization of research data related to gender relations can be obtained, as shown in the following Table 2:

Table 2. Gender Relations

Activities	Ngadas Village	Wonosari Village
Traditional Rituals	Women take an active part in traditional ritual activities, but the traditional leader of a dukun pandhita is led	In traditional rituals, the roles of women and men are equal, there are modern organizations or customary foundations

Activities	Ngadas Village	Wonosari Village
	by a man.	that organize these rituals.
Religious Rituals	They work together and have a high tolerance for each other.	It is carried out jointly by promoting tolerance between existing religions and beliefs.
Socio-economic sphere	Both men and women equally carry out their respective roles and become the economic support of the family.	Men and women carry out their roles normally and become the economic support of the family
Political Sphere	A person's political position is openly sought and obtained in accordance with his capabilities.	Some Indigenous and religious leaders are men, including the village chief, but in this village there are quite influential women's religious organizations.

In the Table 2 above, it is explained that in both villages, Ngadas and Wonosari, there are community activities that can elucidate the position of men and women in terms of roles and social status. These communal activities include traditional rituals, religious ceremonies, socio-economic aspects, and political involvement. In traditional ritual activities, both men and women actively participate, with the exception that in Ngadas Village, the role of the ceremony leader is undertaken by a male shaman chosen based on his abilities and expertise, and women are subordinate. In religious activities, there is no distinction between men and women; they conduct religious ceremonies together and coexist in tolerance. In the socio-economic sphere, both men and women play collaborative roles as family economic pillars. In the political arena, leadership positions are obtained through democratic and open means, with both men and women able to acquire them based on their capabilities, but men are dominant.

C. Conclusion

This study found that gender relations in agrarian societies are mainly reflected in social roles and status. In terms of tradition, they strictly adhere to existing traditions and perform customary rituals, emphasizing harmonious communal life while also emphasizing subordination. In belief systems, although they have different beliefs, a sense of togetherness is still reflected in high tolerance and mutual respect.

In terms of socio-economic aspects, there is a complementary relationship between men and women in their roles. Each role fulfills its function, contributing to the smooth running of life. They believe in the circle of life, understanding that what they receive from nature should be utilized for communal living, including sacrificing some in traditional ceremonies to ensure the continuity of life. In the political realm, leaders are selected through open and fair processes, allowing those who can fulfill their roles wisely to occupy positions of authority. In this case, men are dominant.

This study has limitations in presenting a cross-sectional picture of gender ideologies within a community undergoing cultural and socio-economic changes. The research does not fully capture how gender relations evolve in response to tourism development, modernization, shifts in agricultural livelihoods, migration, education, or increasing digitalization.

Future research should examine how tourism, modernization, changes in agricultural practices, education, migration, and digitalization influence gender ideologies and the intergenerational transmission of culture. Such research could contribute to a more dynamic understanding of how agrarian societies negotiate the interplay between cultural aspirations, social change, religious pluralism, and gender relations.

Gender relations in the agrarian communities of Ngadas and Wonosari are shaped by complementary socio-economic roles and a high degree of religious tolerance, even as the subordination of ritual authority and dominance in formal politics persist. Synergy among the local government, the Tourism Office, and women's organizations is essential to foster sustainable gender equality in these rural areas characterized by an agrarian-tourism economy.

Based on ethnographic findings regarding the potential, capacity, and challenges of gender relations in the villages of Ngadas and Wonosari, this study formulates practical implications and strategic policies for three key stakeholders:

1. Malang Regency Government (Local and Village Governments): Formal Political Affirmation: Strengthening Village Women's Leadership Capacity: Organizing training programs on leadership, governance, and public communication for women to encourage active representation in Musrenbangdes (Village Development Planning Meetings), Village Consultative Bodies (BPD), and structural village positions; Agricultural Logistics Support: Gender-Responsive Agricultural Infrastructure: Developing access to appropriate agricultural technology and training in logistics mechanization to facilitate the mobility of women farmers in the distribution of fertilizers and harvested crops.
2. Malang Regency Tourism and Culture Office: Inclusive Creative Economy Development: Empowering Women-Led Tourism MSMEs: Guiding on homestay management, training on hygiene for local food products (such as processed Bromo potatoes and Kawi sweet potatoes), and digital marketing literacy for women entrepreneurs; Inclusive

Cultural Documentation: Recognizing Cultural Values in Tourism Rituals: Incorporating narratives regarding women's participation and contributions into the documentation and promotion of tourism-related cultural events (such as the Kasada and Satu Suro ceremonies) as a form of holistic preservation of local wisdom.

3. Women's Organizations (PKK, Majelis Taklim, Women's MSME Associations): Social Capital-Based Community Empowerment: Transforming Majelis Taklim (religious study groups) and Arisan (rotating savings and credit associations) into economic hubs by integrating financial literacy, savings-and-loan programs, and entrepreneurship training into existing women's religious forums that already possess strong social capital; Advocacy for Village Aspirations: Championing Women's Voices in Village Development Planning Meetings or Musrenbangdes by forming a consortium of village women's organizations to draft a list of gender-responsive village development priorities before the formal village deliberation meetings.

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