

## **Noken, Women's Identity Space and Strategy in Power Contestation**

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### **KEYWORDS**

female; noken; gender  
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### **ABSTRACT**

Asmat women have undergone a process of transformation due to contact with the agents present and changing the pattern of existing gender relations. This intersection has given birth to a new process of creation regarding women's space and identity. This paper will discuss the impact of the transformation of gender relations experienced by Asmat Women. The impact that occurs then needs to be seen in relation to the current context of the new conditions that occur in it, especially in the space of women's cultural identity which is now embedded and as if produced as a cultural identity for Asmat women, namely noken. Bourdieu's perspective is used to look at agents who fall into the scale of gender relations transformation, namely investors, traders, buyers and the many economic spaces that are also present in it. Noken as part of the results of the process of gender relations transformation occurred in Papua, especially in Asmat. The research method used is qualitative method of analysis. The results of the study show that Asmat Tribe Women find themselves in the process of identity reconstruction that they begin to interpret with actions and efforts on the awareness they have. The transformation process that occurs due to the intervention of agents is seen as part of a change that they cannot control but can manage for the benefit they are trying to achieve as "key players" in gender relations both reproductive roles, productive roles and social roles, through the production of noken

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### **Introduction**

The Asmat tribe is one of the major tribes in South Papua, has its own charm and uniqueness for the global world. The interaction of the Asmat people with the outside world has occurred since the 17th century, where explorers from mainland Europe traveled to visit the new world in search of spices and for colonization. The presence of outside "people" who constantly come to see, interact and write various things about the Asmat Tribe also affects how the evolution of civilization in the Asmat Tribe. In a study

conducted by (Dobratz, 2018) noted two phases of cultural and behavioral change of the Asmat Tribe in 1950-2001, the first phase was in the 1950s when the emergence of Catholic missionaries and the second phase when Papua officially came under the independent Indonesian government in 1963. The involvement of the two agents intervened and changed the way of life of the Asmat Tribe, especially in the act of war, the tradition of "head-hunting" or head hunting and cannibalism which was prohibited. This interaction also causes changes in the lifestyle of the Asmat Tribe to continue when the world through interest in Asmat wood carving art which is considered by the world to have unique characters and characteristics (Rumansara, Kondologit, Flassy, & Irianto, 2014). There was a change in the orientation of the Asmat Tribe community where they were no longer dominant in warfare but began to switch to animal hunting livelihood activities, carving arts, and farming activities.

The cultural transformation and behavior patterns that occur in the Asmat Tribe due to the intervention of the outside world is interesting to study. (Macintyre & Spark, 2017) underlines that the influence of colonialism brings significant transformation to gender relations in Melanesian society. Relations that previously tended to be egalitarian and complementary shifted to patriarchy and subordinative. In a study conducted by (Fenny & Gunawan, 2021) in general, Asmat men still act as heads of families and are required to go to war, while women work to meet the basic needs of the family. But since war activities are no longer carried out, the role of women as actors in fulfilling basic family needs has not been abolished and continues to occur. Changes in habitus caused by changes in agents are referred to by Bourdieu as cultural arenas. Arena is a dynamic concept where changes in agent positions inevitably cause changes in the structure of the arena (Bourdieu, 2010).

This study focused on one of the spaces of women's cultural identity that is embedded and ostensibly produced as a cultural identity for Asmat women, namely Noken. In Bourdieu's discussion, other agents who entered the scale of gender relations transformation that occurred were investors, traders, buyers and many economic spaces that were also present in it. But in this discussion, we will focus on noken as part of the results of the process of gender relations transformation that occurred in Papua, especially in Asmat (Kanem, 2018).

The issue of noken then becomes clearer in this study because in this exchange of relationship transformation Women begin to see that they are also present as actors in it. Asmat women began to become aware of the aspects of power and methods of obtaining it and how contestation should be carried out in their social environment. It is in this aspect of consciousness that later in chapter five we want to see about the strategies and aspects of strength and the changes that women try to make by the identity they acquire (Kanem, 2018).

## **Research Methods**

Methodologically, this study uses an approach or concept of the cultural arena according to Pierre Bourdieu. While the method used is a qualitative method with descriptive analysis. Descriptive qualitative research is used to examine the quality, value and meaning behind facts (Fenny & Gunawan, 2021). This research is also used to understand the meaning of a social phenomenon of actors or informants to gain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. The informants of this study numbered 15 people determined by purposive sampling techniques and consisted of 10 women, as key informants. This research was conducted

in Suruw and Yepem Villages, Agats District, Asmat Regency in South Papua. Data collection through literature study, in-depth interviews and participatory observation. Technically, interviews and observations were conducted from July 2021 to February 2022 using Indonesian and involving one of Asmat's native sons. Conversations in the interview process are recorded and then transcribed data. Furthermore, the coding stage is carried out to categorize the findings according to the fundamental questions of the study. Data analysis of this paper refers to data analysis of narrative presentation (Creswell, 2014) with six stages, namely (a) data organization; (b) memoing reading; (c) describe the data into code and themes; (d) classify data into code and themes; (e) interpret the data; (f) presenting, visualizing data.

## Results and Discussions

### Noken and Female Power Space

Noken and Papuan Women: Gender and Ideological Discourse Analysis by Marit, the noken tradition is an inseparable part of the daily life of the Papuan people. According to Marit, noken contains philosophical meaning for the Papuan people. Noken is defined as a symbol of relationships, kinship, identity, protection, economy, life, aesthetics and spontaneity. Noken in Asmat is called Ese. There are several ingredients that are often used to weave Ese/Noken. Asmat women usually use young sago leaves as well as special threads that can be purchased in stores. The young sago leaves used are usually taken from sago trees cut down by women (sometimes assisted by men). The felled sago tree is used for several needs. Young sago leaves are used as the basic material for noken / Ese, old leaves for roofing while the sago is in the lap and processed to become food. If the felled is a young sago tree, then only the leaves are taken for noken and roof while the sago tree is left to rot to become a place for sago caterpillars to be harvested later (Saiba et al., 2023).

All processes are done by women. The process starts from cutting down sago palms, taking young sago leaves, then peeling and drying. After the color is brown, it can be used to weave ese/noken. After completion, it is usually added with decoration and carved to make it more attractive. The colors displayed are black, white, red. White color is usually used chalk and smoothed snail shell. Red color usually uses saga or red ground fruit. While the black color is usually used charcoal. But uniquely with their concoctions and potions, the color does not easily fade or disappear. Sometimes the ese or noken that has been knitted is also henceforth with cassowary feathers so that it is more attractive (Kurniatama & Suyitno, 2019).

Noken seems to be a "new space" devoted to women, especially in this case the Asmat Tribe Women. Her position is a marker for agents to declare the involvement of Women in Development and at the same time become an expressive space that is also aligned as part of efforts to continue the magic phrase brought by outside agents, namely "gender transformation".

In this case, researchers tried to interview informants to find out more about how this noken has meaning for the Asmat Tribe Women themselves. Mama Adriana (AA) expressed her opinion:

For us, Papuan women are very important. De (noken) is important because we use it every day. We work anything or pig anywhere, noken we always use. We use it to fill and carry all our luggage. We can bring us pu children in noken, can also bring piglets in noken. So it is very useful, besides that noken also brings money for us. You could even say we women can earn money from selling noken. The point is that noken and

Papuan women or Asmat can be separated. Mama also feels happier because there is busyness too, especially those with results. Mama feels more can cost the kids too. Anyway, mama is happy and proud of mama as a woman.

Noken for Mama Adriana has given a certain portion in providing female contestation in her social environment. Women began to realize the power they could gain when with this noken they had access to economic independence. In addition, the narrative above also provides an overview of Noken which is an activity that is considered "dominant" for women because it is made from upstream to downstream by women. Asmat women began to look back at the novelty aspect of their identity that seemed blurred because of the dominance of masculinity seen from Asmat carving and cem houses .

Women's Identity Space enters a new world with the offer of gender equality in it. (Katjasungkana, 2018) stated that there are 4 indicators of women's empowerment

1. Access, in the sense of equal rights in accessing productive resources in the environment
2. Participation, which is participation in utilizing these limited assets or resources
3. Control, that is, that men and women have equal opportunities to exercise control over the use of these resources
4. The benefit is that men and women should equally enjoy the results of resource use—or development—equally and equally.

From the perspective of the above indicators, women began to be seen as subjects of development, as well as the urgency of agents of the Government, Church and the world for their interest in Papuans.

The perspective of "gender equality" that comes from the offers of these agents is also seen in the reporting that gender-based development is carried out in West Papua because women have been realized as part of the population which is one of the main contributors, as well as a source of revenue in the APBD, namely through taxes and levies (Muhammad, Suluki, & Nugraheni, 2020).

In addition, the process of forming a new world is also accompanied by various programs that enter for women, especially in the process of increasing women's economic productivity. According to (Marit & Warami, 2015) that Papuan noken as a source of creative industries, has classified the noken community into 3 (three), namely, inland communities, coastal / coastal communities and modern communities. Noken Papua is a source of community creative industries in the Land of Papua. The Papuan noken community is a group of noken artisans who carry out production activities using their creativity, knowledge and information about Papuan noken as an intangible cultural heritage treasure. The creative industry in Tanah Papua is being promoted towards the use of creativity, skills and talents of individuals and groups or social (ethnic) communities to improve welfare and employment opportunities, through efforts to produce and exploit the creative power and inventiveness of noken as the work of individuals and groups based on language Marit, Elizabeth Leny.

The creation of a new world for Women from these agents then forms a new, unconscious reality. Women began to enter the world of capital, just since UNESCO recognized noken as a world heritage, the identity of popular noken was built, not only belonging to Papuans but also from Indonesia in the world. According to Irianto (2016), due to the development of globalization and its relationship with the tourism industry, cultural products have been commodified by selling at face value, which will be

financially beneficial (Salhuteru & Hutubessy, 2020). Asmat women began to be exposed in the shadow world of the world economy through Noken.

Noken for me is important, because it can be useful not only to be used every day, but can be a source of income for me. Besides, noken is so so we pu identity. Talking about Papuan women without mentioning noken is strange. Even sa myself if you see Papuan women who tra pake noken iru sa taste funny. Try to see, now even many women who are not Papuans are even looking for noken and then dong buy. If our noken sells and we earn money, we are also proud of ourselves. At least we have our own money. It does not depend on the husband who has income (AP, 2023)

The narration from the AP informant above became part of what Asmat Women felt about the infiltration that occurred, that noken began to be in demand by many people outside Papua and at the same time became part of a new economic awareness for Asmat Women. Noken became subjects of capital and income that they could achieve with new power in increasing their role and position in economic terms, even if following the informant's narrative above, Women could replace men in terms of the task of earning a living and income by producing and selling noken.

Noken is also seen as a parable of expertise and symbols that are also well realized to be part of the life of Asmat Women. They realize that noken is his soul. Children try to see, who sell noken all Papuan mamas. No one else. That is proof that we Papuan women can escape from noken. We pu soul it's already noken. We tra can sell other tribe accessories because it's not us. We Papuan women are the same as noken. Moreover, I can weave noken, can decorate noken. If others sa tra can make (MD, 2023)

The growing perception for Asmat Women then that expertise in making noken is one of the important alternatives for women to continue to maintain their status and position in society. An informant told how to make a noken that has capabilities for Asmat women, For weaving Ese/noken it needs preparation. Starting from search de pu material. Usually sa use young sago leaves. Usually if we cut sago, then the young sago leaves or light green ones are what people separate to make ese or noken. Young sago leaves that have been taken, peel them first. Next, dry until dry. If the dried su is just weaving, all processes from cutting down sago trees to drying and weaving we make ourselves (AN, 2023).

Weaving noken or ese it must be done with preparation. This means that starting from the preparation of materials to weaving, it must run smoothly. Because so that de pu materials or materials stay long. Then you have to calculate from the beginning how much and what size so that the ingredients are prepared accordingly. In addition, you also have to be patient, careful so that the thread does not break. Men tra can make because tra patience. When it comes to ingredients, women themselves prepare it. Starting from cutting down sago trees, then take leaves and then make yarn, we all make it ourselves. Rarely do we ask for help from someone (man). At least just cutting sago. The rest we made ourselves. (MA, 2023).

In the process of making this, it can be seen how the expertise of Asmat women began to limit the space that has been "produced" as her identity as her own space without involving men in it. This can be seen as a strategy that women realize as a response of women to the social environment that pushes them further into this noken world. The process of space limitation is carried out by disseminating empirical symbols about the process of making noken that can only be done by women. First, in terms of material collection, news began to be disseminated about how the mastery of women's skills in knowing the location of good materials for making noken in the forest, the relationship

of how this noken is made with webbing and full of patience, while the other is that this noken requires calm and hand skills with cognitive creative power not only motor, making it with feelings not only with strength, typical on the socially produced symbols belonging to women.

This growing perception then continues on women's awareness of the control of "money" as a form of binding power in the household. Women began to use money for their needs to provide for themselves and their children. Women began to limit their "rights" in referring to areas where the right to money obtained through noken is women's property or called "women's money"

Related to the sales results of Ese/Noken. Noken is really work or the result of sweat from women. Therefore, the proceeds from the sale of noken fully belong to Women. Men cannot intervene, except by force or force. Usually the proceeds of the sale are used for various needs such as buying home needs, school children's needs, buying clothes etc., but there are also those saved in Credit Union (CU), a kind of church-owned cooperative. In essence, the money made from selling Ese or noken milik Perempuan and used to support the needs of their families. (MA, 2023)

In the statement of the Supreme Court above, that women limit their economic space obtained from noken to money that they are intended for the needs of themselves and their children. Although there is actually the potential for violence in it because women's high economic control also does not always give full power if money has reached the concept of family. Physical violence is often accepted by women because the man in his home does not want the woman to be disobedient and/or defiant towards her husband, there is financial jealousy that causes the man's ego to peak in the form of emotions. Therefore, the strategy of the Asmat women is to deposit the money into the Credit Union in the Church before they reach home so that it seems as if there is nothing to share at home.

Asmat women again limit themselves to the conception of women who are good at counting and saving money. The socio-cultural perception that women are the economic support of the family is also used to dominate the use of the money they earn from noken, in the form of the garden products they receive. Then the woman separates the money earned from the produce of the field is part of the money for the family, while the money obtained from the noken is her own, the result of her own labor. The absence of male interference during the noken production process is intended to be so. Women are well aware that this ability produced as a social label against women is used as a way to manipulate the pseudo-power they receive in the home.

### **Women's Group as a Form of Women's Existence in Asmat**

In the discussion above, it has been explained that in the socio-cultural conception of the Asmat people, to the concept of Big Man, that in the aspect of leadership, the Asmat people know that leadership can be obtained in various ways, namely, male gender status, genealogical kinship, and also in aspects of abilities and proficiency in it. Although in recent times, this conception is increasingly lost due to government intervention by formal leadership.

Noken, double interpreted by the Papuan people, especially also for the Asmat people as a symbol of democracy in it. Noken is used as a tool that is able to accommodate all ballot papers during elections, ballot boxes are replaced with noken so that the locality aspect is included in the formal system again, meaning that there is a new reconstruction that the community wants to create through the presence of noken. In the implementation of elections in Papua, the noken system is an election model whose use uses a traditional

bag hung on one of the woods to be used as a substitute for ballot boxes. The system used in this voting technique consists of two forms, namely handing over votes to bigman or tribal chiefs as representatives in voting or in the form of noken ikat or hanging, where the community can see directly the agreed votes entering the previously set pocket (Tarima et al., 2016). This noken election is often a political aspect that also negates women's participation if customary decision-making is in jew which incidentally is a male territory. Noken which is interpreted as a symbol of female fertility is reduced in this noken election system.

Even so, Asmat women still try to take the portion of democracy by looking at other paths they seek together. First, Asmat women believe that when the noken is present, and then "outsiders" are present and interested in the production of noken in Asmat women. Noken can be a way for women to gain leadership from their abilities, noken making skills. Optimization of skill-based mastery is prioritized by eliminating the influence and involvement of men in the cultural arena of women.

Second, this awareness of power continues in Chapter IV regarding the pattern of group assistance from the government which encourages the birth of groups, communities, groups, and brotherhoods between women in the noken forum. In the primary records found, there are at least several affiliated women's organizations within the scope of noken. Here are some Small Business Groups and Creative Communities in Asmat such as Mahos Wat, Alberta Noken, Ivone Noken, Yanti Noken, Aspura which are engaged in carving and sculpture,

In this phenomenon, Dewi Linggasari, a Papuan noken activist because of her duties as a state servant in this region, explained that actually the organization that was founded and consisted of indigenous women almost did not exist. What was found was a women's organization formed by the government, church, or certain institutions and then indigenous Papuan women were included or became members. Even so, it is in the portion of motivation that these women choose that we need to look at.

"The motivation to go is various. Some are invited by relatives or other women (who are not Papuans), some want to come alone. There are also those who want to learn because in the organization there are many positive activities for women. There are also those who participate because they realize that it is important to them. Some participate as "preparation" if he experiences violence, some "defend" him. Some just join the rame.

"The brave figure is a woman who dares to "fight" or speak up or speak up when defending women when experiencing violence. Or she also dared to fight for the interests or voices of women in meetings in Jew (because not all women can enter the jew), either traditional meetings or meetings with the government. He dared to protest and speak out when there were women who were oppressed. What is certain is that she is respected and respected in the circle of Asmat Women.

"There are many advantages as sa said in the second point above. In addition, dong can also learn from others, for example when on duty at parties or large events from the government or church. They can also gain knowledge when there are training or activities about family economics, about MSMEs, how to manage money etc. The shop is very useful.

Most aid is usually given directly to women who apply for assistance. Ordinary does not go through the organization. This is also due to the policy for direct assistance to the target. So women are not easy. The burden and responsibility is heavy because of all the things women work. We also can't upset men, because they already are.

We have to work hard for our children and families. We also had to go along with everything arranged by men. But we are also strong and hardworking women. We don't like to be lazy (MA, 2023).

If grouped, the motivations that arise to group within the scope of the noken environment are (1) the invitation of friends or relatives; (2) the pleasure offered when gathering together; (3) aware of the need for mutual protection among women; (4) practical advantages gained when participating in groups such as training; (5) accessibility to aspects of assistance that can be through this group channel; (6) There is a unity of fate regarding the cultural burden imposed by women.

Motivation that can also be part of this consciousness then gives rise to active movements that are mutually agreed upon. The above groups then work together in one main network, namely women's independence and solidarity in achieving accessibility, distribution and market control of noken. This is evidenced by the existence of several points of mutual understanding, First, joint deliberation carried out among all of them that it is agreed that there is the same selling price for the same quality product standards although it is not an exact number because noken in certain locations are sold with a door to door system or also on the street with a negotiable process. Second, it is determined to agree on the best market day to sell together. There are several important moments or opportunities in marketing or selling noken in large quantities.

1. During the Cultural Festival or Asmat Cultural Festival every October
2. During the Noken Festival. At that time, the finished noken will be sold in stands prepared by the government. But usually it is selected first, which one is worth selling at the festival. Usually mama-mama herself sells. The government in addition to preparing events and venues also helps promote and sell or also buy noken / ese woven mama-mama.
3. There are events such as exhibitions or cultural performances either taking place in Asmat, Papua or outside the region.
4. Major events such as PON Papua in 2021 where noken is used as an important accessory in the implementation of PON.
5. Important events in the area that allow the community to sell a lot.
6. Outside of these events, ese are usually sold in roadside vaks where anyone can buy them. Often ese or noken are also purchased by the church and stored or displayed in the church's cultural museum.

Third, it is determined about the flow of raw material needs for the production of goods so that they can be done in the scope of fellow women. Fourth, the agreement on savings and loans and money storage flows that help women to be able to secure money from the sale of their noken. Fourth, the group strategy also allows each individual Asmat woman to jointly build an image and raise joint strength in terms of information dissemination, education, and political strategic positions in their socio-cultural environment. When grouping, uoaya increases the existence of women's existence will be more prominent and increasingly known to the public. The impact of this is what we try to assemble that women have their own strength.

#### **Tsyem (Cem) as the space of Asmat Women's Existence.**

In the next discussion, the estuary of various activities carried out by women, Asmat tribal women also built their cultural arena in the house called Tsyem or commonly pronounced as Cem. A space where restrictions on male power are restricted. The Asmat tribe has a clear division between male and female cultural space, this dualism is manifested in the distinction of form and function of the jew and cem houses. The



structure within them gives an important idea of the existing relationship framework and the attitudes women take in it. First, the construction requirements of the Asmat Tribe Jew traditional house include:

1. The shape is in the form of a house on stilts.
2. Using wood material that must be built facing the river.
3. The area of his house building in general is 10×15 m.
4. Wearing a buffer pole made of ironwood material, then carved in accordance with the distinctive features of the Asmat Tribe itself.
5. Using a roof made of woven sago leaves or you can also use nipah leaves.
6. Development using rattan rope or can also use plant roots, and should not use nails

The residents or who must inhabit this Jew traditional house are men. That is why it is called a bachelor's house. As the name implies, people who inhabit this traditional house are bachelors or unmarried men. If there are 10 families in the village, then there must be at least 10 fireplaces in the bachelor's house.

Second, in the portion in the Tsyem house (Cem) in building this Tsyem house must use the same material as the material used in the bachelor house. The materials are natural or natural and do not use nails at all. This Tsyem traditional house was built around a bachelor's house and was smaller in size. The size and area of the house is only about 3x4x4 m. But the number of these houses can be more because the size is small. The main basic material is wood for the wall. While the roof uses nipah leaf material that has been woven first. To glue one part to another in this house is to use rattan or roots, so there is no need for nails in the construction of the Tsyem house. One thing that distinguishes between Jew's house and Tsyem's house is the provisions of the occupants themselves. For example, bachelor's houses only apply to footmen while Tsyem's house is for families. In general, this Tsyem house is inhabited by 2-3 pairs of families, which include 2 junior families and 1 nuclear family. As for the number of nuclear family members of the Asmat Tribe consists of 4-5 people or it can also reach 8-10 people.

Both discussions of the form of this structure want to illustrate that when Jew's house was built using large logs and with physical skill, Tsyem's house was built not using nails or only arranged to illustrate how women also limited themselves to the cultural spaces that belonged to them.

In the case of noken, this tsyem house is also seen as part of the command strategy in terms of leadership that women use in it. The informant below tells how women's leadership is played in this noken realm. This was conveyed in the following interview with the informant.

There is no fixed system. Usually only mama set as head in cem. Usually if you want a Cultural Festival or Noken Festival, almost all the time people use to make noken. At that time we used to make a lot and good. All the hard work to prepare because usually many people look for and buy (MA).

Actually, there is no standard system. The making of noken or ese actually only follows the calendar from the government, especially with regard to events such as the Cultural Festival or Noke Festival which is carried out every year. Usually the intensity and productivity of mamas will greatly increase at that time. Unless there is another big event like the Papua PON in 2021 yesterday. That's a lot of production (MA)

The manufacturing process is also not regulated by default. The point is that if it has been arranged for work by the head of Cem, then it must be all work. Starting from the beginning, take the ingredients until they are finished, including hial, then take them to the festival and sell them. Everyone works together. If male support is very limited, it

can even be said that there is none. Most are only asked for help when cutting down sago palms. Even if women can cut down, then they cut themselves (MA).

The head of Tsyem functions well socioculturally among fellow women. If traced to the narration and habituation of actors that have been carried out, in the production process the head of Cem serves as the leader who will determine when the production of the noken will be carried out. All women will follow this command as an unwritten rule.

In practical terms, the position of the head of CEM actually functions as an area of bargaining position that wants to be shown to the outside world when it comes to this woman's cultural plan. Asmat women are aware that noken has become an attraction and has become an established territorial identity for Papua. Of course, this makes noken a special need that must be present in every major event on the agenda of the Government of Papua. For example, as exemplified that on special occasions within Papua's big agendas, it is necessary to hold large-scale production that must be pursued together from Cem's house. Women must work hand in hand to provide for these needs and requests. The position of Chief Cem, became a bargaining position that attracted its relation in the process of power relations that existed outside its arena. Women begin to become aware of the reconstructions that are inserted into them and then at the same time they use this as a reinforcement of their bargaining position. The agents mentioned in the previous chapter began to have to "listen" to what women wanted because the production line of noken was in the hands of women.

The appointment of Chief Cem as the main communicator is also a strategy for women in anticipating their weaknesses. Not all women have fluent speaking skills and have established judgment. Therefore, it is usually voiced only by the head of the Cem or the woman who is respected or respected. Not all women can speak in public, or in meetings. The reason is twofold: tra can (cannot) talk and does not "have the right" to speak. We used to hear and follow the decisions of traditional elders or leaders. If there is an opportunity or heard, we will definitely be sad to convey (MA, 2023)

Space for access begins to open when there is a pull of demand and supply for noken, women can take part in it. This aspect of understanding also continues to be explored with the power to fight various social practices that are considered unprofitable. This strategy is also used by women to expand the resistance and speech rights they can use.

The freedom of the Asmat Woman is only in Cem. Outside there is none. Fortunately, now because there are many great women because schools are smart, so they can hold positions. Some are in the DPR, office employees, etc. But if you don't go to school, just bodok and then just follow what's there. So actually Women asmat iti tra no freedom (MA).

So the Asmat woman is not free and not easy. In cem also, if a man comes home su drunk, then he manages himself by force everything that the woman arranges. So there is a numbness in the asmat woman. It may be different if in a family that intermarries or from an educated family. But if in the original family of Asmat, let alone tra, school is difficult (M.Ad, 2023)

When there is violence in the household, or women know that violence can occur in the Cem space as a whole, women are aware to use their political power in dealing with cases that occur around them. Women's voices began to be voiced through this Cem Chief to rulers outside the Cem area. Asmat women knowing that they could not fight the "custom" that women were subordinate to men, women began to realize that they needed

to make a movement to gain access to power outside the home in anticipation of things they could not handle.

At the same time, at another level, women's voices began to be heard in public spaces and often received portions to listen to despite the many follow-ups they also received.

We are often also asked to talk or convey what are the needs and desires of women. You know you are invited to join meetings, etc., but just sit quietly and listen. We are actually happy or like to talk too, but opportunities are lacking (MA, 2023)

In organizations, for example, we usually learn to speak up when there are suggestions and inputs. We also learned to tell the wrong things in the organization. In addition, there are skills exercises such as cooking. We also learn about how we sell work such as noken or others. Learn how to save money at the bank or at CU, or learn other skills for women. What is certain is that we also learned about how to get along with others, learn to behave when serving guests at important events.

Women begin to realize and behave from the learning process they receive from the process of internalization and infiltration from many agents who enter and change the flow of mobility of gender relations in their socio-cultural lives. The change is realized to be done together with her fellow sisters, so that the organization becomes an effective space in building and developing Asmat Women.

#### **Reproduction, Reactivity of Asmat Tribe Women's Identity.**

Asmat women find themselves in a process of identity reconstruction that they begin to interpret with actions and efforts on the awareness they have. The transformation process that occurs due to the intervention of agents is seen as part of a change that they cannot control but that they can manage with the interests they are trying to achieve.

In this action effort, an overview can be obtained of the awareness that women play a key role in gender relations with the presence of noken. Gender roles when grouped into 3 (three), namely (1) reproductive roles (domestic) are roles that are carried out not to make money and are usually carried out at home, (2) productive roles (public) are roles that if carried out produce wages / salaries and (3) social roles (community) are roles consisting of activities carried out at the community level. Another problem that still shows the existence of biases gender, such as double burden, marginalization, subordination, stereotyping (labeling) and violence. (Marit, Elizabeth Lenny: 2016).

Asmat women are in the above three types of gender roles at once. The role of domestic, productive, and social society in the scope of fellow women. Reconstructive efforts made by women use noken as a way to gain a lot of access in it. Reconstructive efforts begin with the cult of women's cultural arena symbolized through noken. The noken tradition in the Papuan people constructs symbols that contain philosophical meanings of democracy such as: (1) as a symbol of relations, (2) as a symbol of kinship, (3) as a symbol of identity, (4) as a symbol of protection, (5) as an economic symbol, (6) as a symbol of life, (7) as an aesthetic symbol, and (8) as a symbol of spontaneity, honesty, openness, and transparency (Marit & Warami, 2015).

One of the noken traditions in the Papuan people is interpreted as a symbol of protection, where noken in its function by some inland communities as a tool / pouch to carry / hold a baby while doing other activities. This is so that the baby is protected when the woman (mother) does other activities. Noken used by women, able to hold / hold their babies in the front and lift their garden products on the back or side. So, women seem to be in a masculine world similar to men who try to lift weights on their burly bodies (physically)noken as a type of bag tool that really helps women perform productive roles

(public) namely doing business selling in the market, noken is used to load garden products to be sold as well as noken is used to hold their babies. This gives birth to the view that women are able to compete and do not need men's help to perform their productive roles (public). Bourdieu revealed that the process of cultural reproduction will not be separated from the concept of Habitus, Capital and Domain or better known as the theory of social practice. According to Bourdieu, Bourdieu has a formula, namely (Habitus x Capital) + Arena = Practice. (IAIN Kediri, 2020). Asmat women began to realize that their role, status, and position in the family and society were not very advantageous because women's positions were always below men.

Instead, more subordination is accepted by women in the form of symbolic violence they receive, such as what happens so that

1. Forced to continue producing
2. The pressure to earn more to meet the needs of the family, status and position of Women leads to severe action
3. Bernoken expertise determines the status and position of women. When they cannot master how to make noken and or market it to earn income, they are not called real women.

This social phenomenon in society shows indications that women's "dignity and dignity" are influenced by their social abilities and human behavior that women experience impoverishment both culturally and structurally (Mosse, Silawati, & Miftahudin, 2022).

After all the processes that occurred, then the women of the Asmat Tribe carried out a strategy to collect capital in their environment so that. In particular, Bordieu wrote that there are three types of capital in social practice: economic model, social capital, and symbolic capital. Being aware of these three capitals made women associate and form high school communities.

Bourdieu explained about mosal, that is, economic capital is capital that can belong to individuals so that it is more flexible to be inherited or given to others. This social capital is a social network owned by actors, whether it is individually or in groups, in a relationship with other parties who have power. Symbolic capital refers to reputation or honor that is said with knowledge and recognition. Symbolic capital is always associated with physical and economic power thanks to the consequences of a mobilization.

Asmat Tribe women are looking for ways to raise the three types of capital above. In terms of economic capital, noken is a support in activities celebrated in Papua, noken is able to provide economic results that are not small aka add considerable income.

In addition, in terms of social capital, institutional or community unions and assignments to leadership strategies of the head of cem became a way for Asmat women. Meanwhile, in terms of symbolic capital, constructive efforts on the power of women in skills make noken give the meaning of an established symbol to women's skills and abilities in practice and social environmenta.

## Conclusion

Women are beginning to understand that they can make access probabilities in line with the distribution of new power gained and also accompanied by the arrival of agents from outside. In this domain, noken is the basis of a benchmark that is able to provide the right explanation because of how this contestation and awareness is produced by Asmat Tribe Women to form a new world for them.

The new world created by Asmat Tribe Women is based on the awareness that they are beginning to enjoy the role of power given because the noken has become a symbol of new identity for the Papuan people since it was designated as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Women of the Asmat tribe began to carry out their tactics, namely limiting the noken production process to only be done by women, optimizing women's leadership based on the position of the head of Cem, and bargaining power on power relations outside the customary power in the Asmat tribe on the basis of noken as material.

Asmat women are looking for ways to accumulate three types of capital that they realize will increase their power. In terms of economic capital, noken is a support in activities celebrated in Papua, noken is able to provide economic results that are not small aka add considerable income.

In addition, in terms of social capital, institutional or community unions and assignments to leadership strategies of the head of cem became a way for Asmat women. Meanwhile, in terms of symbolic capital, constructive efforts on the power of women in skills make noken give the meaning of an established symbol to women's skills and abilities in practice and social environment

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