



Motherhood: Ideal Stereotypes of Arab-Indonesian Mothers

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Abstract

Purpose

This study aimed to identify the construction of motherhood among Arab-Indonesian women in Depok. In addition, this article also analyzed the subjectivity of Arab-Indonesian mothers on Arab-Indonesian families in Depok.

Method

This research used field methods with interviews as a data collection technique. In addition to primary data obtained from the field, this research also used secondary data in the form of literature studies to complement data sources. The research was conducted by combining the research methods of cultural studies and gender studies.

Results/Findings

This research showed the form of construction of Arab mothers in Depok which was influenced by patriarchal culture. However, mothers of Arab descent acted as subjects in carrying out the mothering role.

Conclusion

The construction of motherhood controlled mothers to be able to perform the mothering role uniformly. Mothers were expected to be good mothers in regulating emotions, prioritizing children in everything, understanding and comprehending the family, trying for pregnancy, and getting pregnant at the right age. However, mothers do not necessarily follow the prevailing construction.

Keywords

Arab Descendants, Gender, Mother, Subjectivity, Women

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Abstrak

Tujuan

Tujuan dari penelitian ini, yaitu mengidentifikasi konstruksi ibu pada perempuan keturunan Arab yang bermukim di Depok. Selain itu, subjektivitas ibu keturunan Arab dalam keluarga keturunan Arab di Depok juga dianalisis di dalam penelitian ini.

Metode

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode lapangan dengan wawancara sebagai teknik pengumpulan data. Selain data primer yang didapatkan dari lapangan, penelitian ini juga menggunakan data sekunder berupa studi literatur guna melengkapi sumber data. Penelitian dilakukan dengan memadukan metode penelitian kajian budaya dan kajian gender.

Hasil/Temuan

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bentuk konstruksi ibu keturunan Arab di Depok yang dipengaruhi oleh budaya patriarki. Walaupun begitu, para ibu keturunan Arab bertindak sebagai subjek dalam menjalankan peran mothering.

Kesimpulan

Konstruksi ibu mengontrol para ibu agar dapat melakukan peran mothering secara berseragam. Para ibu diharapkan dapat menjadi ibu yang baik dalam meregulasi emosi, mengutamakan anak dalam segala hal, mengerti dan memahami keluarga, mengusahakan kehamilan, dan hamil pada usia yang tepat. Namun, para ibu tidak serta merta mengikuti konstruksi yang berlaku.

Kata kunci

Gender, Ibu, Keturunan Arab, Perempuan, Subjektivitas.

المخلص

الهدف

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على بناء الأمومة لدى النساء من أصل عربي اللواتي يعشن في ديبوك. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم تحليل ذاتية الأمهات العربيات في الأسر العربية في ديبوك في هذه الدراسة.

الطريقة

تعتمد هذه الدراسة على المنهج الميداني مع استخدام المقابلات كأسلوب لجمع البيانات. بالإضافة إلى البيانات الأولية التي تم الحصول عليها من الميدان، تستخدم هذه الدراسة أيضًا بيانات ثانوية في شكل دراسات أدبية لتكملة مصادر البيانات. تم إجراء البحث من خلال الجمع بين أساليب البحث في الدراسات الثقافية ودراسات النوع الاجتماعي.

النتائج

تظهر هذه الدراسة شكل بناء الأمهات العربيات في ديبوك المتأثر بالثقافة الأبوية. ومع ذلك، فإن الأمهات من أصل عربي يعملن كرعايا في القيام بدور الأمومة.

الخلاصة

إن بناء الأمومة يتحكم بالأمهات حتى يتمكن من أداء دور الأمومة بشكل متساوٍ. ومن المتوقع من الأمهات أن يكن أمهات جيدات في تنظيم العواطف، وإعطاء الأولوية للأطفال في كل شيء، وفهم واستيعاب الأسرة، ومحاولة الحمل، والحمل في السن المناسب. ومع ذلك، لا تتبع الأمهات بالضرورة البناء السائد.

الكلمات الرئيسية

جنس؛ الأم؛ أصل عربي؛ امرأة؛ الذاتية

INTRODUCTION

As mothers, women experience oppression even in daily life. Mothers are always attached to domestic things. Everything related to children, husband, and home is delegated to the mother. This is because of the construction of mothers that exist in society. The maternal construct oppresses mothers (Brown et al., 1997; Elanda, 2021; O'Reilly, 2014; Priyatna et al., 2019; Rich, 1986), including mothers of Arab descent in the city of Depok who were involved in this study. Berg (2024) states that people of Arab descent in Indonesia have dual identities as Indonesians and Arabs. Even though they have been living in Indonesia for a long time and are part of Indonesian citizens, people of Arab descent still maintain their original identity as Arabs. Similar to their identity, people of Arab descent also have two cultures. The dual identity and culture of the people of Arab descent in Depok influenced the prevailing construction, including the construction of the mother. That way, mothers of Arab descent in Depok need to be observed so that the construction of mothers of Arab descent can be identified. Arab culture and local culture are assimilated and integrated, one of which is through marriage (Al Amin & Mahzumi, 2022; Berg, 2024; Nasser et al., 2020). Arabs who came to Indonesia married Indonesians and produced offspring. This practice has been happening for a long time (Berg, 2024; Majid et al., 2022), the distribution of people of Arab descent in Indonesia is massive. One area where people of Arab descent live in Indonesia is Depok, West Java.

The metropolis, Depok, is a city with a dense population. Referring to Depok Radar data (2024), the number of residents of Depok city in 2024 will have increased compared to the previous year. Its strategic location, neighboring the city of Jakarta, makes Depok a destination city to live in (Munawarah, 2023; Nurdin, 2021). More and more people from outside the area are coming and settling in Depok. Migrants from other regions to Depok make the city have residents of diverse cultural backgrounds. One of the cultural diversity in Depok is influenced by the increasing spread of people of Arab descent who settle down. The settlement of people of Arab descent in Depok brings together patriarchal Arab culture (Ardiza, 2021; Hagk & Kholilah, 2018) and local cultures that are also patriarchal (Andalas & Qur'ani, 2019; Eleanora & Supriyanto, 2020). In connection with the increase in the variety of cultures in Depok, the existing values and constructions have changed following this diversity (Nugraha & Sunjayadi, 2018). The meeting that occurred between Arab and Indonesian cultures impacted culture and gender. The connection of both cultures influences the strengthening of the patriarchal culture in Depok, especially in the families of Arab descent in Depok.

Patriarchy influences the view that men have a higher position than women, so women are marginalized. Women are always the ones who are demanded and restrained because of the prevailing norms. The norms that apply to people of Arab descent in Depok affect social construction, including the construction of the mother. Mothers are demanded to have similarities in the *mothering* process, so it can be said that mothers are considered as an institution that must have uniformity when becoming mothers (Rich, 1986). In addition, Ida (2001), Suryakusuma (2012), and Anto, et al. (2023) also explains that women are the ones who are demanded to fulfill all their roles, both roles in the domestic sphere, as wives and mothers, and roles in the public sphere, as workers.

Oppression against women occurs in various aspects, both in the political aspect (Yuwono, 2018), the communication aspect (Krisnawati et al., 2002), the sexuality aspect (Fujiati, 2016), and even in the family aspect (Aisyah, 2013). The demands of being an ideal person in various ways are pressures that women often get, even these demands also come from the family. Besides the demands given by the family, Millet, quoted by Prabasmoro (2006), argues that the family also has a role in preserving the subordinated position of women and this is also the case with families of Arab descent. Consciously or not, women experience discrimination in the family sphere. As happens to mothers of Arab descent who cannot pass on the surname to their children if they do not marry a man of Arab descent (Aribowo & Almasitoh, 2019). This statement is reinforced by Berg (2024)

who states that this is done to ensure the authenticity of their genealogy. The family, especially the parents, is involved in the process of preserving the identity of Arab descent through marriage.

Daughters of Arab descent are betrothed (Sila, 2014; Windariyah & Sutrisno, 2024) and married at a relatively young age (Jahan et al., 2023; Silas, 2014), these treatments are common and considered normal. Women of Arab descent have no power over themselves regarding marriage. After marriage, the responsibility of domestic work is fully delegated to women, as it is considered part of the role of wives and mothers in the household. Motherhood is a must for married women (Speier, 2001). Even Moraes and Pearce (2021) emphasized that the emphasis given to women does not stop at the status of motherhood, but is also required to get pregnant and then take care of children.

The role of intensive child care is emphasized and given to women as mothers (Aisyah, 2013; Moraes & Pearce, 2021). The oppression of women as mothers occurs because of the perpetuation of the patriarchal culture that considers mothers to be housewives and caregivers for their children (Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002; Moraes & Pearce, 2021). This view is in line with the idea of *motherhood as an institution* which comes from the concept of patriarchy (Sangha & Gonsalves, 2014). Rich (1986) supported by Tong (2004) explained that this idea affects the construction of mothers. Mothers are described as people who conceive, give birth, and take care of children. The idea also restricts women's movement. Mothers who are involved in the public sphere must still be fully involved in the domestic sphere (Prabasmoro, 2006). As experienced by mothers of Arab descent who are restricted in their movement in the public sphere. Although now their movement in the public sphere is not as restricted as before, the demands for fulfilling responsibilities in the domestic sphere are still obtained. This shows that women's subjectivity is more oppressive than men's subjectivity.

The subjectivity of women of Arab descent in Depok is marginalized when compared to men of Arab descent. The changes that always occur in women's subjectivity are caused by social and cultural constructions in society influenced by patriarchal culture. Patriarchy not only makes women's subjectivity dynamic, but also makes women have a position as *The Second Sex* (Beauvoir, 2022). The strata inequality between women and men is formed through the view that men are higher than women. The position of women is inferior because women are considered to be dependent on men, especially when women become wives and mothers (Suryakusuma, 2012). The gap got by women is because of the social construction of women that applies. Even for motherhood, it is not only the social construction that is attached, but also the construction of the mother (Widyawati & Astuti, 2023). Acts of subordination, oppression, and discrimination against women because of the influence of patriarchal culture are topics that have been discussed and discussed for a long time.

The acts of oppression against women of Arab descent has been discussed in Siregar's (2019) research, which states that acts of oppression against women are shaped by the perpetuation of patriarchal culture. In the study, girls in *Arab Peranakan* families did not have power over themselves. Siregar (2019) discussed the identity, ethnicity, and gender of women of Arab descent in two locations, namely Condet and Empang. Aribowo (2020) also discusses the oppression experienced by women of Arab descent. People of Arab descent in Indonesia are a group that adheres to patrilineal beliefs. A child can only inherit the family family line if the father is a man of Arab descent. So maintaining the family tree, people of Arab descent always ensure that their daughters perform endogamous marriages, which are marriages with fellow people of Arab descent. Given that the research of Siregar (2019) and Aribowo (2020) did not focus on one group of people of Arab descent, our research focused on women of Arab descent from the Alawiyyin group in order to conduct more in-depth research.

The construction of mother has also been a discussion for a long time. Some of the research includes discussing *motherhood* that exists in Indonesia. Widyawati and Astuti (2023) investigated the discourse of motherhood in women living in rural areas. In Teluk

Anwar Women experience economy difficulties that make mothers realize the importance of their role in raising children. They try to fulfill the mother's discourse well because they feel that the role of motherhood can lead their children to a better life. Priyatna, et al. (2019) discusses the representation of *motherhood* in magazines. Through the construction magazine, the mother was disseminated to the public. In contrast to these studies, our study identified the daily lives of mothers of Arab descent. The mother's daily experience is central to the information in this study. This study was conducted to identify the construction and subjectivity of mothers in families of Arab descent in Depok. The identification was conducted in order to examine the impact of existing cultural encounters based on feminist ideas and cultural studies by focusing research on the construction and subjectivity of mothers of Arab descent in the family.

METHOD

The research was conducted using a field research method in Depok. The criteria for the research subject were determined based on the issues discussed (Ristanty & Pratama, 2022). Four mothers of Arab descent living in Depok were involved as subjects in this study. Data were collected through interview techniques, namely semi-structured interviews (Maidiana, 2021). The type of semi-structured interview was chosen because through this technique we can still ensure that the interview theme is on track, but we can also explore the subject's response so that the data collection process is more accurate (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018). That way, we prepare research instruments first before the data collection process is conducted. After the instrument is completed, we perform a data collection process for the specified research subjects.

The interview process is performed offline so that observations can be performed directly. We went to the research subject's residence in Depok according to an agreement that had been made with the subject. Besides collecting data through interviews, we also got data through the observation method carried out. Anggito and Setiawan (2018) stated that through observation, data can be obtained not only through subjects, but also from the surrounding environment. Observations of the subject and the environment can help us obtain accurate data. Research data was also obtained from implementing FGD (*focus group discussion*) with research subjects in order to dig deeper information. FGD was carried out offline in Depok at the residence of one of the key informants. Besides field data which is the primary data source, we also use textual data which is the secondary data source of this study. Primary data in this study are as got from field research, such as interviews, FGD (*Focus Group Discussion*), and observations made on research subjects who are mothers of Arab descent who live in Depok. This research also uses secondary data of literature studies to complement the primary data so that the data obtained is more credible (Sugiyono, 2013).

Using three different methods in the data collection process in our research helps researchers in maintaining the credibility of the data collected. Data triangulation is used to maintain data validity and assisting us in verifying research data (Donkoh & Mensah, 2023). The data triangulation technique can help researchers in the analysis process because of the variety of data obtained. In addition, the researcher also ensured the validity of the data by asking the informants as the research subjects regarding the results of the analysis and conclusions made. Data re-checking to the expert team is also carried out so that researchers can ensure that the research is under the predetermined pattern.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The study was conducted on four mothers of Arab descent, participant one, participant two, participant three, and participant four, who lived in Depok with different backgrounds. Participant 1 is a mother of three children, a junior high school graduate, and has lived in Depok since childhood. Participant two is also a mother of three children, a bach-

elor's degree and an immigrant from Central Java. Participant three is a mother from East Java, a mother of two children and a junior high school graduate. Likewise, with participant four, he is also a junior high school graduate. Participant 4 is a mother of one child and a native of Depok. The discussion of *motherhood* and *mothering* in women of Arab descent in Depok is reviewed in this article. The participants' experiences before and during motherhood were the main sources used in this study.

Mother's Construction of Arab Descent

The polemic regarding *mothering* continues and is experienced by women of Arab descent in Depok who are involved as participants in this study. Conflicts in *mothering* also occur in the family, that is intergenerational conflicts (Zarit et al., 2005). The problem between generations in the family occurs between mother and child (Branje, 2018; De Los Reyes et al., 2012; Hollway, 2010; Stone, 2020) and this was also experienced by participants, especially participants two and three. Before the participants got married, there were several rules that were obtained and they did not agree with these rules. Therefore, the participants felt they would not apply these rules to children when they became mothers.

Based on the participants' experiences, there were differences of opinion between the participants and their mothers. De Los Reyes, et al. (2012) emphasized that the difference in views between children and parents is the cause of conflicts that occur between parents and children. The difference in views between mothers and children experienced by participants two and three before marriage was in the form of restrictions on time gathering with friends. In fact, they may not gather with a different sex. Participants two and three felt that the rules given by their mothers severely restricted their movements as children and felt that they should not be enforced. Participant 2 confirmed that the difference in views with their mother occurred during adolescence. This is in line with the argument of Branje (2018) who said that adolescents experience puberty, so that hormonal changes occur that trigger adolescents to separate themselves from their parents by fighting their parents.

The participants' disagreement with the rules applied made them plan to give flexibility to children when they become mothers. This shows that children assess mothering carried out by *mothers*. Stone (2020) emphasized that mothers are the parties who often get assessments, as well as participants who criticize mothers in terms of *applied mothering*. Although the participants thought not to apply the same rules to their children, but through the interviews conducted, when becoming mothers, the participants also applied the rules to children. Children have a tendency to imitate and resemble mothers because all children's actions are influenced by parents (Peterson & Roberts, 2003; Silalahi & Setyonaluri, 2018). This is because of the process of intergenerational transmission (Silalahi & Setyonaluri, 2018) and knowledge transfer (Erfina et al., 2022) that occurs between mother and child.

Polemics about *mothering* occur not only between mothers and children, mothers also often receive criticism and judgments from the social environment (Stone, 2020). As mothers, the participants received criticism and suggestions given by the surrounding people. The surrounding community participates in regulating and determining what should and should not be done by the participants, acting as if they were the mother of the participants' children (Widyawati & Astuti, 2023). The social environment controls and regulates all participants' actions as mothers because of the existence of maternal construction. The construction forms the standards in mothers (O'Reilly, 2014; Rock, 2007), the mother will be seen as a good mother if the mother meets the standards of a mother (Adams & Almonte, 2022; Küçükakın & Engin-Demir, 2022; Schmidt et al., 2023). One standard applied by Indonesian society to mothers to be seen as mothers is by being dedicated to the family (Suryakusuma, 2021). When we asked the participants about the image of a mother, all participants thought that a mother is a mother who can understand and

understand family members, especially children and husbands.

Participants said that a mother should know everything about her child and husband. Besides knowing and understanding her child, Aziza (2020) emphasized that motherhood regulates mothers to perform the role of mothers as fulfillers of children's needs. Motherhood based on patriarchal understanding requires mothers to know and provide everything needed by children (Brown et al., 1997; Elliott & Bowen, 2018) and husbands (Suryakusuma, 2021), both attention (Brown et al., 1997), food nutrition, and other material needs (Brown et al., 1997; Elliott & Bowen, 2018). These demands put pressure on mothers to fully understand their family. If not, then the mother feels guilty and feels like she is not a mother. Participant 1 recounted an incident when her child fell ill because she allowed her child to consume food that should not have been consumed. Participant 1 felt guilty about the incident because she thought that a mother should know everything about her child, including what the child should and should not eat. This assumption is influenced by the construction that puts pressure on mothers that mothers are the ones who understand the most (Brown et al., 1997; Rock, 2007) and can always meet the child's needs (Elliott & Bowen, 2018). These expectations are successfully attached by social construction to a mother, which makes the mother feel guilty for not being able to meet these expectations (Adams & Almonte, 2022; Rich, 1986), as experienced by Participant 1.

Besides being required to understand their families, mothers are also expected to be individuals in managing their emotions. Based on research by Brown et al. (1997), when asked what a mother is like, the participants in the study answered that a mother is a mother who is patient. Afiyanti quoted by Widyawati and Astuti (2023) also emphasized that a good mother is a mother who can raise children patiently. Participant 3 said that mothers are expected not to vent their emotions to their children. Participants explained that the reality of being a mother is not an easy thing. Mothering is very complicated and complex, so mothers need to prepare themselves thoroughly to perform a new role in life, namely mothering (Aziza, 2020; Mammadov & Erenel, 2021). As mothers, sometimes participants feel tired so they become more emotional. Mammadov and Erenel (2021) emphasized that women are more emotional than men, especially when they become mothers. However, a mother is expected to control her emotions well while carrying out the mothering role. Mothers who can regulate emotions are said to be evidence of mothers who love their children unconditionally (Rich, 1986).

O'Reilly (2019) strengthens Rich's argument (1986) that the form of evidence of a mother who loves her child is by making the child a priority in her life. In fact, Stone (2013) emphasized that the idea of intensive mothering requires mothers to sacrifice for their children. Intensive mothering depicts a mother as a housewife who dedicates herself to her family. This means that a mother is illustrated by a mother who fully cares for and takes care of her family. This depiction is in line with the understanding of motherism which makes mothers always have a bond with their husbands and children. Suryakusuma (2021) calls motherism a cultural value that illustrates the social construction of Indonesian women. Housewives are the greatest form of sacrifice for women. A mother who is willing to be a housewife means quitting her life to perform a role in the domestic sphere entirely. However, this does not mean that mothers who choose to work outside the home do not carry out the mothering role.

Two of the four participants, participant one and participant three, are housewives who fully care for and raise their children. Participant two and participant four are also mothers who work as traders, but all trading activities are carried out at home. Through interviews, participants emphasized that both mothers who decide to stay at home completely and mothers who work outside the home are still mothers. However, motherhood pressures mothers who are involved in the public sphere to continue to carry out domestic roles (Elanda, 2021) while still focusing on their children (O'Reilly, 2010). Likewise with the understanding of motherism that is cultural in Indonesia. Suryakusuma (2021) stated that this understanding controls women, especially mothers, to continue to carry out tradi-

tional women's roles. Women's bodies are disciplined by existing gender ideology, all movements are limited (Bartky, 2014), including the matter of women's bodies (Prabasmoro, 2006) and this discipline is also experienced by the participants in this study.

The discipline of the body experienced by Arab mothers in Depok has been going on since before they became mothers. Based on the interview results, the participants said that they received demands to fulfill the demands of the surrounding people, both husbands and extended families. Before Arab women get married, they receive demands from their extended families to only marry men from Arab families (Berg, 2024). This is done so that they remain included in the identity of people of Arab descent. Aribowo and Almasitoh (2019) said that if Arab women marry other than Arab men, the children from the marriage will not get a surname and the family tree will be cut off. Therefore, parents who have daughters will try to maintain the family tree by matching their daughters with Arab men. All participants in this study said that they also had arranged marriages. Participant 3 added that arranged marriages have indeed become commonplace in Arab communities and still occur today.

Unlike the usual forced arranged marriages (Sila, 2014), the participants emphasized that each of their marriages was performed with no coercion. The participants were first introduced to their prospective partners. Then, when the participants felt compatible and agreed to marry the prospective partner introduced to them, the marriage was carried out. After the marriage, women are expected to get pregnant and have children (Bennett, 2018) as soon as possible. This is because there is an ideal pregnancy standard based on the mother's age. Based on research by Tahir et al. (2022), the ideal age for a pregnant mother is between 20 and 30 years. Participant 4 said that she got married at 23. Therefore, after getting married she wanted to get pregnant immediately. Participant 4 felt that she got married at an old age. Rashad et al. (2005) added that Arab culture makes women who marry over 20 years old viewed as women who marry at an old age.

After successfully getting pregnant, mothers have expectations to give birth naturally, including the participants in this study. Participants 1 and 3 shared their experiences when giving birth. From the beginning, they received requests from their husbands to give birth naturally. Normal delivery is a natural method and is considered a way because the child is born with contractions. Varendi et al. quoted by Chen and Tan (2019) explained that the experience of contractions can improve the child's sensory abilities. This means that giving birth through normal delivery is considered having a positive impact on the child. In addition, positive impacts are also got by mothers who can give birth naturally. Mothers who can have normal deliveries are viewed as complete women by society (Malahayati & Zuraidah, 2024). This is because mothers who give birth naturally are willing to sacrifice for their children by experiencing pain during childbirth (Adams & Almonte, 2022; Malahayati & Zuraidah, 2024). Therefore, mothers are required to give birth naturally.

The participants tried to have a normal delivery even though participants one and three had difficulty giving birth. Participant 1 said that her husband and she wanted her to have a normal delivery. However, when the pregnancy was almost 11 months old, participant 1 did not experience any contractions at all. Participant one tried, both medically and culturally, namely mopping while squatting and visiting a midwife. Mascio and Al-Hafez (2022) said that pregnant women need to do pelvic muscle exercises in order to facilitate the delivery process. Based on the opinion of Mascio and Al-Hafez (2022), pregnant women in Indonesia also receive direction to increase movement. Like the advice that pregnant women get from social media, namely mopping while squatting. Participant one also said that she and her husband also visited a midwife and followed the midwife's instructions to bathe in myringa leaf water. These efforts were made because participant 1's husband wanted participant 1 to have a normal delivery. Participant one still did not feel any contractions at all. Finally, participant one and her husband went to the doctor to check the condition of the fetus in her womb. It was found that the amniotic fluid in the

womb was almost gone, so the doctor suggested that a cesarean delivery be performed immediately. Seeing the condition of the child and also participant one in the end, participant one's husband agreed to his wife having a cesarean delivery.

Body discipline in terms of movement was also experienced by the participants in this study, participant one was a housewife who was completely at home. Initially, before getting married, participant 1 had worked in a factory. However, after getting married, participant one stopped working because her husband asked her to. Based on the data obtained, it can be seen that participant 1 is a mother who is obedient to her father as the head of the family. Participant 1 followed her husband's instructions to become a full housewife after getting married. Mies quoted by Suryakusuma (2021) argue that women who become housewives are viewed as helpless. The assumption of the powerlessness of housewives is caused by the assumption that mothers can only depend on their partners. In fact, even if someone decides to become a housewife, they can still work at home. As was done by the participants in this study. Although participants two and four are housewives, they have businesses that are run at home. Household chores are often looked down upon by society (Suryakusuma, 2021), so mothers move to work amid their busy lives as mothers to be seen as those who do productive things, as participants two and four did. Carrying out dual roles immediately is difficult. So, Prabasmoro (2006) said that it is not a bad thing if a working mother sacrifices something, either work or the domestic duties that are attached. Mothers are required to be perfect by meeting all the standards of an ideal mother, but this is very impossible (Elanda, 2021).

The construction of motherhood creates discourse and norms formed from the patriarchal system (O'Reilly, 2019). Motherhood tries to standardize mothers, but in reality mothers cannot be standardized. This is because each mother has her own experience (Rock, 2007). Widyawati and Astuti (2023) added that, without realizing it, there was a change in the idea of motherhood because of the many objections received. Objections were given to the idea of traditional motherhood so that mothers could feel their lives again, as well as mothers of Arab descent in Depok. The family and social environment create norms (O'Reilly, 2014) to create guidelines that can be passed down from one generation to another for mothers (Brown et al., 1997; Silalahi & Setyonaluri, 2018). However, mothers may choose what norms are applied in the mothering process based on the experiences of each mother. The attitudes and decisions made by mothers in carrying out their mothering role show mothers act as subjects.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research that has been conducted, the researcher found data that the standard of mother in the Arab descent group in this study follows the construction of Indonesian society. Although the Arab descent mothers in this study have dual identities and cultures in their daily lives, they still follow the same construction of mother as mothers in Indonesia. Arab descent mothers are greatly influenced by the understanding of motherism that has been believed in by Indonesian society for years (Ida, 2001). This understanding makes mothers always try to always be obedient and obedient to their husbands.

Besides the understanding of motherism, the stereotype of Arab descent society which is closely related to religion also increases society's expectations of Arab descent mothers. Besides prioritizing their husbands, Arab descent mothers are also required to prioritize children in their lives. The construction of mother controls mothers so that they can carry out the mothering role uniformly (Küçükakın & Engin-Demir, 2022). Mothers are expected to be mothers in regulating emotions, prioritizing children in everything, understanding and comprehending the family, trying to get pregnant, and getting pregnant at the right age. Mothers are required to follow these standards in order to be ideal mothers. However, currently, the mothers in this study do not follow the prevailing construction. They sort and choose the discourse of motherhood that is under the mothering experience

they have gone through. This is done so that mothers can perform the role of mothering happily and without pressure. Slowly, the mothers in this study perform the negotiation process with their husbands and also the surrounding community through light conversations.

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