

UDC 332

PRODUCTIVE WORK OF SAMAWA (AN ETHNIC GROUP IN WEST NUSA TENGGARA) MARRIED WOMEN IN IMPROVING HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to investigate the productive work of married *Samawa* (an ethnic group in West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia) women from an ethno-economic perspective. This study used qualitative ethnomethodology to identify the ethno-economic factors that encouraged these women to be productive. The sources of data were collected from married women from the *Samawa* ethnic group (key informant), their family members, and related individuals (for validity testing). The findings revealed that ethno-economic factors affecting these women's productivity included their level of education, local wisdom, wages, their husband's salary, and their ownership of household assets. The women had a positive attitude towards being a working woman as it increased their self-esteem and self-worth, and encouraged them to pay close attention to their appearance and to appreciate their husband's work. Being a working woman also improved the women's relationships with their spouses. *Samawa* women worked to maintain household economic security and for social reasons rather than for gender equality. They considered working as a devotion to God. Men were still considered as the head of the family and the breadwinner, while women played multiple roles as wives (reproductive work) and working women (productive work). From this ethno-economic perspective, a double income was more beneficial than a single income.

KEY WORDS

Multiple roles of women, *Samawa* ethnic group, Indonesia.

The *Sumbawa* or *Samawa* are an ethnic group living on the west side and in the center of Sumbawa Island (Sumbawa and West Sumbawa Municipality), West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Sumbawa is one of the largest municipalities in which the *Tau Samawa* (one of the native ethnic groups of West Nusa Tenggara Barat) lives. The *Tau Samawa* claim that they are native to Sumbawa, but they are individuals who were born and grew up in Sumbawa even though they do not belong to the *Samawa* ethnic group. An individual belongs to the *Tau Samawa* when they feel that they belong to Sumbawa. The *Tau Samawa* have had interactions with various ethnic groups in Indonesia, and these interactions resulted in cultural assimilation, which later developed into the *Tau Samawa*. *Samawa* culture is influenced heavily by the cultures of the Bugis and Makasar ethnic groups, for example, in the traditional ceremonies conducted by a *Samawa* noble. However, the traditional arts and architecture of the *Samawa* culture have been influenced by the Melayu culture. Javanese culture, brought by the Majapahit Kingdom, has also influenced *Samawa* culture.

The majority of *Samawa* people are Moslems, and the *Samawa* ethnic group follows a bilateral kinship system, a system where kinship is based on paternal and maternal ancestors simultaneously. In this system, the paternal and maternal families are classified as one. *Misaleaq* is the elder sibling of one of the parents, while *nde* is the younger sibling of one of the parents. *Pata* refers to male and female second to sixth cousins, and Sumbawa people acknowledge *sepupu satu* (*sepupu* = cousin, *satu* = one), *sepupu dua* (*sepupu* = cousin, *dua* = two) up to *sepupu enam* (*sepupu* = cousin, *enam* = six).

Most *Samawa* people are farmers. They work in their rice fields using traditional tools such as *cangkul* (hoe), *bingkung*, *rengala*, and *kareng* (plow pulled by cows or bulls). Others are fishermen or forage by walking through the forest to collect root vegetables, *buyak* (rattan

shoots), *cramping* (palm stem extract), honey, mushrooms, and herbs for traditional ointments. They also raise livestock such as horses, cows, and bulls.

Samawa women look after the children, and men are the breadwinners. If their husband works, the wife stays at home doing household chores. Working outside the home or in the public sector is seen as complementary for *Samawa* women, and most of them take a domestic role in their family.

In the past, it was very unlikely that married women worked outside their homes, for instance, as religious leaders, soldiers, police officers, or pilots. Things have changed a lot in recent years, and now *Samawa* women work outside their home doing what was traditionally considered as men's work. Economic, social, political, and cultural development has brought changes in values, and these developments raise the question of whether *Samawa* husbands tolerate working women.

The *Samawa* ethnic group believes that men are the breadwinners, and husbands will lose their pride among society if their wife plays the role of breadwinner. As "queen of the house," women should stay at home. Being outside their home for long periods is the norm for men, but if women do this, there is a negative backlash.

Before globalization, there was a fine line between the roles of men and women. Women were responsible for carrying babies, giving birth, feeding, taking care of children, and doing household chores. They were responsible for domestic work, a role that did not have any economic value. On the other hand, men were responsible for making money. As a consequence, women made fewer contributions to national development than men.

In the past, there was a clear separation between the responsibilities of men and women. Men should make money, while women should take care of the house. Entering a kitchen used to be a taboo for men. Similarly, working in the public sector was uncommon for women. The role of women used to be associated with the "three URs": *dapUR* (kitchen), *sumUR* (well, the main source of water for people in the past), and *kasUR* (bedroom). Women's association with the "three URs" becomes stronger once they were married, and it was known as *jampang bale para* among the *Samawa* people.

Now, the number of working women is increasing, and the roles of men and women are becoming more flexible. However, in West Nusa Tenggara, most people strongly believe that making money is a man's responsibility. Women can choose whether to work or to stay at home, but the man should work outside the home. This is a common belief system in the area, and as a consequence, domestic roles are always associated with women. Article 31 of the 1974 Act on marriage stated that the husband is the head of the family, and the wife stays at home (housewife). This stereotype remains today.

The productive role of married women can be used as a parameter to measure women's participation in economic activities. Researchers and development experts have paid attention to working women because of the significant contribution made by women to development (Amoateng, 2003). The number of housewives, female employees, and female job seekers shows the participation of women in an area. The number of working married women is indicative of women's participation in productive economic activities (Mantra, 2011).

Married *Samawa* women have limited participation in the labor force due to their domestic role. This means that fewer women than men are employed as society believes that taking care of the home and doing household chores are the sole responsibility of women. For a woman, access to productive, money-making activities is an important instrument for increasing her position (Polachek and Robst, 1997). Furthermore, working is a medium between economic growth and opportunities for human resource development (UNDP, 1996). One factor that has encouraged growth in Indonesia is the rapid growth in the participation of women in the labor force (Young, 1995).

This assumption can also be associated with different ideas about working between Indonesia and Western countries (developed countries). Western countries are influenced by capitalism, and thus, they define working as having a fixed income and working hours. In contrast, in Indonesia, working women may not have a fixed income or fixed working hours. Income and working hours have yet to become a consideration for Indonesian women, and

whether or not women should work has become a long and tireless debate. Until recently, society thought that an ideal family consisted of a working husband and a stay-at-home wife.

The stereotype that when both the husband and wife work outside the home is that they will no longer have time to “work” on their marriage sparks debate. Working will have an impact on marriage, and one solution for minimizing this impact is to prevent wives from having a double role – caring for children, and making money. Creating a support system for working women will prevent women from being faced with this dilemma of having to choose between work and family.

The decline in the relative or absolute economic status of women results in ethical implications and long-term economy. When an economic program fails to increase public welfare, one of the main objectives of development, women often bear the brunt of this failure. In the long run, this decline can hinder economic growth (Todaro, Smith, 2011). Azid, Alikhan, and Alamsi (2010) proposed that women were often neglected and forgotten. Consequently, women experience more severe poverty than low-income men in their communities. Women who act as the head of the family have far worse experiences. When they become divorced, or their husband passes away, unemployed married women become poorer than working married women. Most of these unemployed women become victims of discrimination in the labor force. This means that they have limited access to available economic opportunities. Increasing numbers of women as stakeholders will result in more gender-responsive local programs and policies leading to religious, peaceful, competitive, and prosperous communities in West Nusa Tenggara.

There are two main reasons why this study focused on married *Samawa* women. First, previous researchers had not analyzed the working participation of the ethnic group. Second, *Samawa* women have a lot of potential if allowed to participate in the labor force and contribute to local development. Unfortunately, *Samawa* women have yet to reach their potential, particularly in productive activities such as working or money-making activities.

Gender discrimination towards women takes place throughout the world (ILO, 2014) as a result of patriarchal cultures. In general, women are forced to accept lower pay, poorer working conditions, and lower job security than men, and this particularly affects uneducated women. Uneducated women living in cities often work as factory workers, while those living in villages often work as farm workers. Discrimination against women takes place through a combination of low levels of education and other factors. Employers often give women work in particular sectors and types of jobs because they can pay women less than men for these jobs.

The women’s empowerment program in Sumbawa Municipality (where *Samawa* people live) was designed to improve the quality of working women and allow women to contribute to the development of the municipality. The women’s empowerment program aimed to create able, independent women who had the same position as men in society (Kartasmita, 1996), taking into consideration local values and customs. Women should contribute to their household and the local economy.

The objective of this study was to identify the factors that encouraged productivity among women and to analyze the economic and social implications and the benefits of women’s participation in the labor force. An ethno-economic perspective was adopted for this study allowing an ethnic perspective of social and cultural factors, such as the women’s level of education, local value, and economic factors, such as the income of employed women, family income, and non-labor income.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Ethno-Economic Perspective of Working Women

From an ethno-economic perspective, an individual should allocate some time to carrying out both productive and reproductive activities. Becker (1965) explained individual behavior by dividing a person’s time into conducting various activities. Becker stated that there were three types of activities – first, an individual needs time for consumption (non-market activity) such as sleep, eating, drinking, and resting; second, an individual needs

some time for market activities, for example, working; and Ketiga, individu membutuhkan waktu untuk investasi modal manusia (*investment in human capital*).

Both men and women are responsible for house chores, and any belief system in which men are responsible for making money while women are responsible for house chores is inaccurate. Fiqh explained that a woman deserves rewards for breastfeeding her children, except for breastfeeding babies on the first day since colostrum is essential for developing the immune system. This does not necessarily mean that Islam teaches women to ask for rewards for caring for their babies; instead, it represents how precise female is (Kalyanamitra, 1995).

From an ethno-economic perspective, a woman works because her family cannot rely on her husband's salary. Wives work as farmers, small vendors, housekeepers, factory workers, and office workers. In other words, a low income encourages husbands to make money, changing their role from the domestic to the public sector (Munandar, 1985). Many factors influence women's participation in the family economy, and these factors can be seen from educational, socio-cultural, socio-psychological, and socio-physical perspectives (Munandar, 1985). Sayogyo (2002) supported Mundar's viewpoint and stated that socio-economic pressure, husband's salary, is a type of inability caused by numerous factors, such as level of education, type of job, professionalism, and work experience.

Women's participation in the public sector has a positive influence not only on the household economy but also on the spousal relationship. It allows women to have a significant role and position in both her family and society. The family is the most important primary group in society. It is a group that consists of a fixed sexual relationship to carry out activities related to being parents and caring for children. One view of the family is that it is a social union that consists of a husband, a wife, and their children (Ahmadi, 2003).

An individual works to achieve a certain socio-economic condition. A socio-economic condition is a situation or position based on social manner and places an individual in a certain position in the social structure. This position comes with a set of rights and responsibilities (Koentjaraningrat, 1992). The social level covers non-economic factors such as culture, education, age, and gender, while the economic level covers income, occupation, education, and investment.

Munandar (1985), Sayogyo (2002), and Koentjaraningrat (1992) postulated that socio-economic position comprises three factors, occupation, education, and income. The types of self-actualization available to women are working and participating in social functions. Despite its cause, working women will affect the husband, children, and family. Moser (1995) made the following points in relation to women's activities:

"The following is explanation on triple role of woman. In most low-income household, woman is responsible for both reproductive (giving birth) and productive (making money for her family) activities. Ones living in rural areas work as farmers, while those living in the cities work in informal sector at or around their house. As an addition, woman also takes active participation in social activities around her neighborhood. Different roles between male and female have different implication toward authorities; many times, the authorities neglected the triple role of woman. Woman find it difficult to maintain a balance between these three roles as society does not consider either reproductive activities or participation in social events as work. Most society members associate work with productive activities."

Jenkins, Thosby, and Tucker, cited in Daskon and Binns (2010), discussed the role of culture in economic and development analysis from an ethnic perspective. Jenkins investigated development and found that culture and tradition were considered as a hindrance towards entrepreneurship and limited development interventions. Jenkins stated that this conventional analysis could not successfully express the complex interactions between economic performance and culture.

It was mentioned previously that half of the members of society considered a woman's decision to become a stay-at-home mother to be "a noble decision." The term "queen of her

house” is derived from this viewpoint. Many have questioned this stereotype and challenged the close association between reproductive work and this “noble decision” and between this “noble decision” and women. Until recently, society believed that reproductive work was the sole responsibility of women, and norms and traditions saw the domestic sector as a woman’s obligation. This viewpoint was supported by the educational system, religious institutions, and the mass media. Not many people have challenged this norm, and very few people have taken into consideration the economic value of household chores (Rahima, 2014).

Often, the public sector “neglects” the reproductive responsibilities of both men and women. Some examples are the long working hours and a lack of childcare or a nursing room at work. Even though maternity leave is given to all women, some organizations think it has a negative effect on the organization. Consequently, some organizations prefer to employ men or unmarried women rather than married women (Rahima, 2014).

Reproductive work is mostly carried out by women, but it plays a pivotal role in the development of a country and humanity in general. Adjustments to the social system are vital in preventing people from viewing marriage and having children as a burden. Sangat penting pula demokratisasi institusi keluarga, termasuk di dalamnya peningkatan peran serta laki-laki dalam kerja reproduksi dalam rumah tangga (Rahima, 2014).

Becker (1976) argued that women have a comparative advantage in non-market household activities, while men have a comparative advantage in a more traditional labor market. The root of this pattern is an agricultural and patriarchal society where men are seen as strong and thus work well in labor-intensive farming. At the same time, women are seen as not as strong as men, and thus, household chores are seen as more suitable for women.

Becker (1964) developed a time allotment model to explain the impact of participation in the labor force. This model assumed that the household was an economic unit that maximizes utility. Household utility arises from a combination of consumption (both goods and services) and the available time for the household. Households spend time on three activities – the first is a productive role (productive work) or labor market activities, the second is other household production or a reproductive role, and the last is consuming goods and services.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

This study used qualitative methods and employed a research design that used descriptive data gathered from the conversations, writing, and observable behavior of the research subjects. This approach has been used successfully in previous related studies. Qualitative research allows the investigation of cause-effect relationships in social processes (Yustika, 2006).

Ethnomethodology research studies how social order is produced through social interactions. It is an approach that involves the interpretation of real behavior. Each society has its own characteristics, organization, stereotypes, and ideologies, which include race, social class, and gender. This approach is leaning toward lower classes with a very populist ideology. The most suitable method is dialogue.

This study focused on interactions between individuals involved in the labor market. The subjects of this research were married women who belonged to the *Samawa* ethnic group, their interactions on entering the labor market, and their attitudes towards and perceptions of working in the labor market.

The study areas were Sumbawa and West Sumbawa Municipality and Mataram, the capital city of West Nusa Tenggara, where *Samawa* women lived. The unit of analysis was the productive work of married *Samawa* women in the labor market. The informants were married *Samawa* women (key informants), their husbands, children, and other family members living in the same household as these women (for validation testing).

The data collection methods used were interviews, observations, and literature analysis. Triangulation uses various sources of information to verify and strengthen the data. Triangulation was used to ensure the validity of the data in this study, for example, by using

more than one data collection method and involving more than one group of informants. The validity and reliability testing were consistent with positivism and used four criteria (credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability) (Moleong, 2001). Conversation analysis was used to analyze the data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of Productive Married Samawa Women

Modern *Samawa* women were similar to other people in West Nusa Tenggara. They worked in various sectors, including weaving traditional Sumbawa sarongs called *Kre'sesek*, which are made from various fibers. This weaving technique began during the Sumbawa Kingdom, and Istana Dalam Loka devoted a special room to weaving *Kre'sesek*. This traditional sarong is worn with the traditional clothes of Sumbawa. There are at least three *Kre'sesek* weaving villages in Sumbawa, Moyo, Lengas, and Poto. *Kre'sesek* is often bought as a souvenir from Sumbawa, and *Kre'sesek* weaving is the preferred job among married *Samawa* women because it can be done at home. In other words, these women can work and take care of their household at the same time.

Another productive activity, which married *Samawa* women did in their spare time, was *beranyam* or mat weaving. The mats are made from dried pandan leaves, and weaving them has become a tradition among *Samawa* women. The village of Tepal is particularly famous for pandan leaf mat weaving.

Beranyam usually takes place in the rainy season when farmland requires less work than usual. Pandan leaf mats are used for bedding and decoration, and on certain occasions, guests sit on the mats. *Samawa* people believe that *beranyam* prevents women from wasting their time.

Another iconic activity closely associated with *Samawa* women is *Kre Alang*. Sumbawa is well-known for its traditional handicrafts, and *Kre Alang* is a well-preserved tradition that has been passed down through the generations and provides additional income for the *Tana Samawa* people. The village of Poto is famous for *Kre Alang*, and this handicraft has become an icon of Sumbawa Besar.

Samawa women are also skillful in songket weaving, a skill which has been passed down through the generations. Weaving, sewing, and embroidery are closely associated with *Tana Samawa* women. There is an old saying *lokal lamin no to nesek, siong tau swai*, which means a true woman is one who can weave. This saying distinguishes the different roles of men and women – men are responsible for herding cattle and plowing.

Some weaving craftswomen in Poto mentioned that weaving was developed initially in the 1970s. Making money was the objective of weaving *Kre Alang* at that time. The people living in Poto could make ends meet because of their *Kre Alang* weaving skills, and this enabled them to afford education for their children. *Kre Alang* craftswomen immediately sold their work after it had been woven as tourists bought it as a souvenir. In the past, gold thread for making *Kre Alang* was difficult to find, but nowadays, the thread is becoming more available and affordable.

Modernization has changed the *Samawa* people's view of traditional weaving. Nowadays, traditional weaving is a means of making money. To preserve their traditional weaving principles, elderly *Samawa* women give meanings to each ornament and pattern of the *Samawa* traditional sarong and songket. Each individual will die, and therefore, our possession is temporary. As a result, each individual should respect each other and live harmoniously.

Married *Samawa* women work in various types of jobs, including as migrant workers. Some of them, particularly those living in rural areas, decided to work overseas to earn higher a income for their family. Furthermore, high unemployment rates, issues of farmland ownership and poverty also forced these women to leave their families behind for work. Migrant workers make a significant contribution to the foreign exchange of Indonesia.

Studies have shown that women who live in rural areas become migrant workers (as housekeepers or in other blue-collar jobs) because these jobs are readily available, have

relatively few requirements, have opportunities for networking, and offer higher salaries than jobs available in their home village. Other driving factors are a lack of education, poor access to jobs in the agricultural sector, and other economic-related factors. Family members support women in taking these migrant jobs.

Both married and unmarried women have positive attitudes towards becoming migrant workers in Asia-Pacific countries. Recently, the number of *Samawa* women working as housekeepers in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia, and the Asia-Pacific region, particularly Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, has been increasing.

There is a higher demand for workers in informal sectors, such as carrying out household chores, in developed countries due to the rapid growth of the world economy. Such work is usually considered to be suitable for women as the socio-cultural constructs and gender norms that apply in society usually identify domestic work as the responsibility of women. Most migrant workers from Sumbawa (the *Samawa* ethnic group) worked as housekeepers in ASEAN countries (Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Singapore) to improve their financial condition. Lack of job vacancies and resources forced them to work overseas. Migrant workers also worked on plantations, in construction, and in factories. Other factors motivating these women to work in abroad included earning money for developing a future business their own, financial independence, building houses, paying off debts, and even looking for work experience.

Lack of education forces women to work as housekeepers. In some places, like Sumbawa, a person's level of education does not determine the types of jobs they can do. The *Samawa* women who went overseas to work were not poorly educated. Most of them were high school graduates, and some had even finished their one-year program (*Diploma 1*). Despite their level of education, these women worked as housekeepers overseas because it was the only available job.

Once they were able to make money, women could participate in important decision-making in their household, for example, building and renovating the house, education for family members, and purchasing a piece of land. These discussions became the basis for work distribution and decision-making in the household. The husband was willing to play a reproductive-domestic role, whereas the wife played a productive-public role.

Other types of occupation (economic activities) for married *Samawa* women were teacher/lecturer, nurse, medical doctor, attorney, government officer, police officer, soldier, and bank staff. These women helped to support their husbands rather than replace their husband's role as the breadwinner. Their husband was still responsible for fulfilling the household's needs. Instead of replacing their husband or insisting on gender equality, these women worked because it fulfilled their economic and social needs both in their household and in society. The number of married *Samawa* women who currently work outside their house is growing. Some of them work because their family cannot rely solely on their husband's income.

Sumbawa people also worked as sellers, a job that was once performed by Arabic and Chinese people, and people from Selayar, and Java. Recently, the number of individuals working as craftsmen, for instance, making *romong* or rice baskets, rattan chairs, *ampat* or fans, and traditional cloth weaving has been declining.

The most desirable occupation for *Tau Samawa* is government officer or mine worker. The macro-influence of Hinduism on the *Tau Samawa* (the majority are Moslem) was evident in their strong orientation to social status rather than the work ethic. As a result, people were valued according to their appearance and material possessions (Sumbawa news.com, 2014).

Ethno-Economic Reality of Productive Married Samawa Women

In general, married *Samawa* women tended to choose occupations, which, in terms of socio-cultural constructs, resembled their domestic roles or products they frequently bought. Irrespective of their status (stay-at-home or working mother), these women selected jobs that had a positive impact on their family, particularly if it did not damage their self-worth as a woman and a wife.

Many of the women believed that economic factors were not the sole reason for an individual (men and women) to work. Even though money motivated people to work, there were other far more important socio-cultural (ethnic/non-economic) factors, such as appreciation, reward, pride, and prestige. In fact, certain occupations (particularly government officers) could sometimes result in arrogance and shows of disrespect for other individuals (particularly unemployed individuals).

The participation of married *Samawa* women in the West Nusa Tenggara labor market was not solely personal preference. There were various factors influencing why these women decided to work in the public sector (both formal and informal). Some ethno-economic factors that caused married *Samawa* women to participate in the labor market were their level of education, their husband's level of education, the local culture, income, family income, non-labor income, and household spending.

The Level of Education of Married Samawa Women that Encourages Productive Work

Among the *Samawa* people, there was a belief that well-educated people should work. This view was consistent with the statement that education is a means to improve the quality of human resources. Well-educated married *Samawa* women were expected to be critical and adept at using new technology. Their level of education represented their action and rationale. Well-educated women were also seen as being able to make use of economic opportunities, having a good work ethic, and being productive. The higher their level of education, the more likely it was for a woman to work. Most well-educated women preferred to work outside the home rather than being a stay-at-home mother.

Working in the public sector seemed to be a requirement for well-educated married women. Many people thought that these women wasted their education if they decided to become stay-at-home mothers. In short, education encouraged women to participate in the labor market. Both intrinsic and extrinsic (parents) motivation were factors in determining whether educated women entered the labor market. The growth of technology provided a lot of jobs for women. Easier access to education has also made a positive contribution to the participation of married *Samawa* women in the labor market, and financial factors also encouraged more women to become productive.

The Husband's Level of Education that Encourages the Wife to Participate in the Labor Market (Productive Work)

The husband's salary affected the married women's decision to work. If the whole family could not rely on the husband's salary, improving the financial situation became the major reason why a wife worked outside the home. Conversely, if the whole family could rely on her husband's salary, a wife would work to improve her independence or to make her husband proud of her.

Bellante and Jackson (1990) stated that increases in the husband's salary tended to decrease the participation of married women in the labor market. However, Bellante and Jackson's view was not always found among the *Samawa* people since a *Samawa* woman's husband was proud of his working wife. Thus, married *Samawa* women could still work even if her family could rely on her husband's salary. In this case, her reasons for working were not economic. For married *Samawa* women, working was a means to channel their skills and hobbies, and they decided to keep working even though their family could rely on their husband's income.

Kangila Rara Kagampang Bola or Kangila Rara Kagampang Sugih: Local Culture that Encourages Married Samawa Women to Work

The most desirable types of jobs for the *Tau Samawa* were government officers and mine workers. The macro-influence of Hinduism on the *Tau Samawa*, despite the majority of them being Moslem, was evident in their strong orientation to social status rather than the work ethic. As a result, people were appreciated based on their appearance and material possessions. One husband (Mr. Ade) stated:

“When they work, married Samawa women are highly appreciated and well-respected by society. As a result, they work to gain some respect or appreciation from society. A working married woman becomes the pride of her family and herself. Society will gossip about stay-at-home married women. This is related to our local culture, kangila rara kagampang bola atau kangila rara kagampang sugih”.

Tau Samawa people were embarrassed by their poverty, with the result that when they lived below the poverty line, *Tau Samawa* people would try to hide their financial situation with old sayings such as *kangila rara kagampang bola* or *kangila rara kagampang sugih*. Cultural value plays an instrumental role in rationalizing certain values in organizations. Applicable value is consistent with situations and conditions that enable individuals to develop and control various socio-economic systems in society.

Income from Productive Work

This research showed that income was a consideration for married *Samawa* women in deciding whether to participate in the labor market. These women worked to send their children to school, and some were willing to work as migrant workers, leaving their families to gain higher incomes.

Family Income as a Source of Household Income. A married woman was responsible for her family and, as a result, her income was categorized as family income, rather than independent income. Married women considered themselves as part of the collective economic unit for their household, even if their husbands did not require them to spend their salary on their family. These women believed that their family was their responsibility (although the husband was still seen as the breadwinner). They were willing to make sacrifices for the economic security of their household.

Women played a vital role in the family; not only were they responsible for household chores, but they were also responsible for their family's finances. In the past, men were responsible for making money, and the husband worked outside the home, while the wife stayed at home and did all the household chores, gave birth and took care of any children or elderly parents. A lot has changed these days. Even though men were still expected to be the main moneymaker, women had a new role and position. Women were expected to be able to take care of their household and help their husbands in making money for their families.

Financial issues were not the only reason why married women decided to work. There were other non-economic reasons, such as pride and satisfaction in helping their family. Household income encouraged married *Samawa* women to participate in the labor market, and it had become the major indicator of the socio-economic condition of a household. Despite the relationship between household income and the participation of married *Samawa* women in the labor market, women whose families could rely on their husband's income decided to keep working. The majority of married women worked to support their household economy.

Non-Labor Income of Married Samawa Women. Non-labor income refers to retirement benefits, unemployment benefits, and income from accumulated wealth (Graddy,1991). In this study, non-labor income referred to retirement benefits and the ownership of assets. Non-labor income was one of the factors that encouraged married *Samawa* women to participate in the labor market. A household with a non-labor income had greater economic security and, as a result, could fulfill its needs. Studies showed that there was a tendency for married women whose family barely owned any assets or whose family did not have any non-labor income/non-wage income to work in the productive sector, particularly the informal sector.

Household Expenses of Married Samawa Women

The number of family members determined the size of the household income. The number of children and dependents (dependents were family members of the head of the family who they should take care of) affected the household needs. The more children a

family had, the bigger its household expenses. The more household income needed for these expenses, the more likely it was for women to enter the labor market. Dependents were one of the main reasons why married *Samawa* women decided to work and increase the income of their families to help their husbands. Household expenses were an issue for low-income families but were less important for families with a stable income.

CONCLUSION

Married *Samawa* women generally had three types of responsibility reproduction, productive responsibilities, and community management. For married women from low-income families, working was a way to make ends meet, so that they could afford food, clothing, and housing. Increasing household expenses forced poorly educated women to work in the informal sector. They were unable to find jobs in the formal sector as these jobs required particular levels of education and skills. Rather than taking their husband's position as the main breadwinner, these women participated actively in the labor market to help their husbands make ends meet.

Modernization and increasing household expenses were the two main reasons why married *Samawa* women bore the economic burden of their family. There should be an alternative to solve economic issues in a household. Well-educated people had better opportunities than poorly educated people or those with no education. Furthermore, women whose families had a steady income did not have any problems in fulfilling their needs. In contrast, women from low-income families had to work as housekeepers overseas with the expectation that she could help to overcome the financial issues of her family. This meant that she and other family members complemented each other.

Women played multiple roles, both in the public and domestic spheres, by providing for their families. In other words, their activities were not limited to the household but also contributed to society. A lot of *Samawa* women had a high position in society, and married women actively participated in economic activities to make money for themselves and their families.

Besides the economic issues, some women worked for socio-cultural (ethnic) reasons applying what they had learned in school in their adult life, for instance, by becoming a medical doctor or teacher. Others worked because they found household routines monotonous and wanted to gain higher status and make more friends. Career women had a higher position in society than stay-at-home mothers.

In terms of ethno-economic, productive work, *Samawa* women had a positive effect on their family, society, and the area where they lived. Married *Samawa* women played instrumental roles in their family's life. Not only were they wives, who were responsible for household chores, but they also contributed to the family income. Although both the husband and wife were responsible for making money, women had a dominant role in the domestic sphere. A married *Samawa* woman had multiple roles – being a wife and employee.

SUGGESTIONS

The government should acknowledge the potential of women and conduct women's empowerment programs to allow women to contribute to the local government. Women are increasingly spending their spare time working to improve the financial situation of their families and to increase their social status in society. Women need a certain level of education to find a job or to maintain their own business. The government should conduct training sessions and workshops that target women so that they can improve their skills.

The government should also conduct training sessions on household economic security and its impact on women, their families, and society. Women's participation in the public sector labor market supports the government's poverty eradication program and shows that one method to eradicate poverty is female empowerment. Furthermore, both the government and companies should ensure fair access to the economic sector for women. They should ensure that the rights of working women are respected, for example, by granting maternity leave for

six months (the minimum recommended period for exclusive breastfeeding). In practice, it is expected that the government has an integration program in its empowerment policy for married women.

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