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Surviving the Sambas Conflict:
Gender Relations in the Context of Resettlement in West Kalimantan

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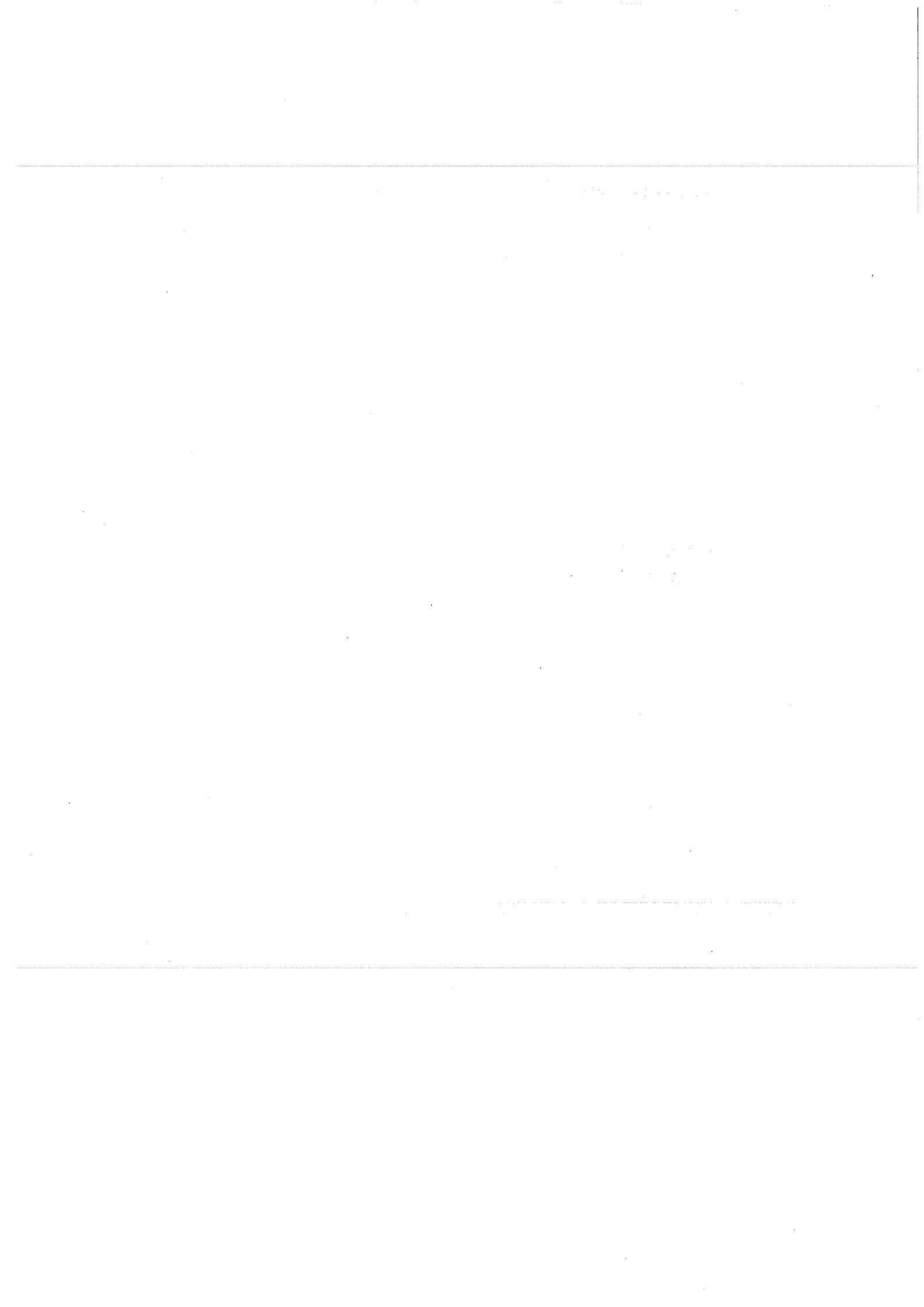
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ABSTRACT

Using a gender approach to bargaining power, this study illustrates how Madurese couples that were evicted from Sambas are adjusting to the new environment, and processes in which gender relations are altered. The couples' main concerns on decision making were related to the migration patterns during the post-Sambas conflict, the allocation of household labor, and the allocation of money after they resettled in Pontianak.

The findings show that a woman from a well to do household has higher power to influence her husband, because it is the middle and upper class households that seem to hold on to the kinship ideology of matrilocal living arrangements. Mixed marriages with the Javanese seem to offer more flexible living arrangements, which also provide more space for the women to bargain. As time passes, decisions on migration patterns shift from merely trying to find a place to run for safety to destinations that can also provide suitable income.

Bargaining on the allocation of household labor is highly influenced by cultural and religious beliefs, where gender roles and what is perceived to be proper work for women come into play. However, what is perceived to be proper is inconsistent as the couples try to deal with reality of poverty. As some of the men realize the importance of women engaged in paid labor, their perception of men being the sole provider for the household is altered. Unfortunately, women are still left to sectors with low economic returns. Most of the couples believe that access to income translates to control over the income earned. Therefore, economic resources are important to increase one's bargaining power. However, social resources are also important, as it functions as a source of security during the conflict, an access to escape the conflict and a safety net for women who intend to become migrant workers abroad after resettlement.

There are differences in coping strategies when facing marital conflict. The individual with the weaker bargaining power tends to use indirect coping strategies, where the strategy may be a form of 'resistance' or a form of 'preference'.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring the integrity of the financial statements and for providing a clear audit trail. The text also mentions that proper record-keeping is essential for identifying and correcting errors in a timely manner.

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3. The third part of the document discusses the importance of transparency and communication in financial reporting. It emphasizes that providing clear and concise information to stakeholders is essential for building trust and confidence in the organization's financial performance. The text also mentions that transparency is a key component of good corporate governance and should be a top priority for all organizations.

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

This study discusses the dynamics of gender relations between married couples within the context of resettlement by using the framework of both structuralism and individualism. Through four case studies of Madurese couples that have now resettled in Pontianak District, West Kalimantan¹, it tries to explore the patterns of decision making among these couples, and ways in which extra household institutions frame how their tasks, responsibilities, and entitlements are perceived, carried out, redefined and renegotiated.

1.1. Problem

1.1.1. History of Ethnic Group Relations in West Kalimantan

The euphoria of reform in 1997-1998 forced President Habibie to introduce fundamental decentralization measures in 1999 in the hope of overcoming the threat of separation movements (Sakai, 2002:1). However, decentralization was itself a major cause of political struggles between various ethnic and religious groups at regional and local level to gain the power that was transferred from the central government into the hands of the local people. These political struggles led to physical conflicts between various groups, in various parts of Indonesia. Therefore, many analysts tend to believe that the major causes of conflict are rooted within Indonesia's political-economic constellation, ranging from forced transmigration programs, suppression during the New Order, and the unreliable justice system to cultural and religious clashes (Nooteboom, 2004: 2).

Specifically in West Kalimantan, Djajadi (2004) points to decentralization and the reduced power of the state as causing instability, where the various ethnic groups try to dominate and gain power. The emergence of group identity politics throughout the history of West Kalimantan has significantly increased the friction between four main ethnic groups, which are the Dayak, Malay, Chinese, and Madurese. The Dayak and Malays are considered to be the original inhabitants of this area, while the other two

¹ Madurese couples here refer to both husband and wife being a Madurese, or either one being a Madurese while his or her spouse is non-Madurese (Javanese).

ethnic groups are considered to be migrants². Specifically for the Madurese, the migration to West Kalimantan had begun since the early 20th century, where they became workers for the Malays. Around the 1950s, more of the Madurese started to go to West Kalimantan as low skilled migrants, because job opportunities in the informal sector were still wide open. Most of the Madurese decided to migrate based on their own free will, but many also migrated based on familial influence (Sudagung, 2001: 93).

Because of the ongoing friction between these ethnic groups, three major ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan had emerged in 1967, 1997 and 1999. The 1999 conflict occurred between the Malays and Madurese in the city of Sambas. The Dayaks who have been suppressed during the New Order had tried to gain back their power after the reformation through the formation of various political movements. The Malays did not want to be left behind and demanded that the other 'migrant groups', referring to the Chinese and Madurese, respect the Malay laws. The Chinese however, are in a more advantaged position than the Madurese. Not only are many Chinese superior in their economic position, but they have also gained more political power during the reform era through various political channels. Like the Dayaks and the Chinese, the Malays gained power after the fall of the New Order and seem to have embraced a new conception of territorial claims, which was further reinforced by the introduction of decentralization (Djajadi, 2004).³ Sambas happens to be one of the territories that the Malay claim to be theirs, leading to demands among some Malays that the Madurese to leave 'their' land during the 1999 conflict.

1.1.2. Government Policy during the Post-Conflict Period

The last ethnic conflict in 1999 had the greatest impact, forcing about 27.0000 Madurese to flow to Pontianak out of Sambas. This conflict was divided into 3

² Though there are other ethnic groups such as the Javanese, Batak and the Buginese, they are not prominent ethnic groups in Sambas or in West Kalimantan in general. People from other ethnic groups who are Moslem or convert into Islam and are able to adapt to the 'Malay ways' are considered to be Malay (Petebang et al, 2003). The Madurese are not considered to be Malay though they are Moslems, because they have religious and cultural patterns which sometimes stand out in contrast to those of the Malay (Sugandi, 2003: 9-10).

³ Decentralization opens opportunities for provinces to create new regions, and therefore stronger geographical boundaries between ethnic groups. For example, Singkawang (mainly dominated by the Chinese) used to be a part of Sambas. In 2002, it had become a separate region with its own administration, leaving Sambas as exclusively 'owned' by the Malays.

episodes ranging from 17 January 1999 until 20 March 1999. In all of the episodes the riot was triggered by personal conflicts between a Madurese and a Malay which spread into a communal conflict (Surata & Andrianto, 2001:83-91). Because of this conflict, even wives or husbands of Madurese who were Malay or from other ethnic groups left Sambas to be with their family. Up to the time of conducting this study, there seems no hope of reconciliation, because the majority of Malays in Sambas still refuse any Madurese coming back to Sambas. There is a popular saying among the Malays for the Madurese who still intend to come to Sambas, known as “*datang kami sambut, pulang tinggal rambut*” (we welcome you when you arrive, but you’ll leave with just the hair on your head). This means that any Madurese that insist on returning to Sambas, even if it is just to see their land or assets they have left behind, will run the risk of being killed by the Malays.

The wave of displacement after the conflict forced the government to set up seven refugee camps in Pontianak to accommodate the IDPs. In August 2001, the government re-counted the number of IDPs living in the camps in Pontianak. Though around 27.000 were estimated to have left Sambas, only 20.771 people were living in the refugee camps (Kompas, 2001). It is assumed that the others found accommodation elsewhere in West Kalimantan, or went back to either Madura Island or East Java.

Not long after the evacuation of the Madurese from Sambas, the government designed a program to resettle the IDPs among the local community in Pontianak, which was divided into seven resettlement areas⁴ (Tim Gabungan Kalbar, 2001). After some time the camps were closed and the Madurese were transferred from the camps to the resettlement area from 2001 until 15 June 2002. The government had two programs to offer to the Madurese, the “empowerment program” and the resettlement program. The empowerment program offered the Madurese 5 million per family to find accommodation on their own, while the resettlement program offered the Madurese a home and 2.5 million rupiah. The plot of land provided to the IDPs in

⁴ Tebang Kacang SP2, Tebang Kacang SP 1, Parit Haji Ali, Sumber Bahagia, Parit Sidomulyo, Pulau Nyamuk, Tanjung Saleh, and Puguk .

the resettlement area differs according to the type of resettlement program⁵, which is divided into the farming program and the non-farming program.

The location of the study, Bhakti Suci is classified as a non-farming program, which provides each household head 200 square meters of land, and a 20 square meter wooden house with a 1 square meter terrace (Tim Gabungan Kalbar, 2001). Unfortunately, not all of the IDPs were willing to be reallocated to the areas that the government had offered them. Many were reluctant to be moved to those areas because the resettlement locations are far from the city, while many had acquired jobs in Pontianak City. The 5 million for the empowerment program was also considered to be too small an amount to buy a house and land, which basically left the Madurese with no choice but to stay in the camps (Pontianak Post, 2002). However, with the threat of forced eviction from the public places in mid 2002, all of the IDPs slowly moved out and joined either the empowerment program or the resettlement program.

1.1.3. Adjustment in the Resettlement Area

As in many other displaced communities, there seem to have been adjustments in livelihood strategies. The men who have previously been involved in the agricultural sector had been reported to be active in “industrial production” after displacement (World Food Program, 2002:6-7)⁶. Even after resettlement, the men in Tebang Kacang have continued to work as laborers in the city of Pontianak. The women are then left to cultivate land in the resettlement area that had been given to them by the local government. As the men engage in circular migration, there seems to be more space for women to attain access to productive resources, and thus experience a change in gender roles as a mechanism for survival. Noveria and Romdiati (2004: 41-44) reports that many Madurese women in resettlement areas in Pontianak had experienced changes in gender role, from only playing the traditional domestic role while they were in Sambas to playing both a domestic and economic role after being displaced. This phenomenon occurred due to lack of work opportunities for men in the resettlement areas, which had forced women to also support the household

⁵ Based on the interview during the study, the land can only be used by the IDPs, but it has not been officially recognized as theirs.

⁶ It is not mentioned in detail what kind of work is included in the “industrial” production sector, but it is stated that most of the IDPs in the industrial production category were working in construction sites, which strictly speaking is not “industrial” employment.

economy and may enhance opportunities for women to attain external resources and control over those resources. Therefore, despite the fact that it places a double burden on women's shoulders, this study assumes that the change in gender roles might improve women's bargaining power in the household. A change in gender roles and access to resources, however, does not necessarily mean a change in perception of gender roles. Perception of gender roles is believed to be the main cause of gender inequalities because it is the foundation for how gender relations should operate.

1.2 Justification

Many studies have been conducted after the Sambas conflict to try to explain the causes of conflict, its implications, and the government policies carried out to deal with this situation⁷. However, only a few studies have paid attention to the personal experiences of the Madurese that were forced to leave Sambas, especially concerning the consequences of conflict and displacement for women. During times of crisis such as in conflict situations, there are important decisions to make in the household, especially concerning the destination to migrate and how to maintain a livelihood. Unfortunately, many studies in relation to bargaining power and decision-making in the household have tended to focus on the outcome of bargaining without paying much attention to the process in which the decisions were made⁸. This study is crucial to understand how the process of negotiation in the household takes place during a period of crisis and adjustment.

1.3. Objective

This study intends to see the dynamics of gender relations in a situation of adjustment by focusing on how extra-household institutions influence the perceptions of gender roles and how gender roles are performed, how gender roles have changed in the lives of internally displaced persons, and how bargaining power is influenced by both gender role and perception of gender roles.

⁷ Setiadi et al (2003), Sudagung (2002), PPSK (2003), Surata and Andrianto (2001), Djajadi (2004) Noveria and Romdiati (2004) etc.

⁸ see *Household Decisions, Gender, and Development: A Synthesis of Recent Research* (Quisumbing, 2003b)

1.4. Concepts

The concepts outlined in this section will focus on three important variables (gender roles, perception of gender roles, and bargaining power in the household), all of which are relevant to the objective of this study. Because there may be different definitions to each variable, it is important to explore the different definitions attached to each term, and to explain which of these definitions are then used in this study.

1.4.1 Gender Roles and Perception of Gender Roles

Gender Roles can be referred to as “behaviors required by persons occupying the male or female status”(Witt, 2004) or “everything a person does to express his or her gender identity” or “behaviors and responsibilities prescribed for each gender by society” (Wikipedia, 2004). In this study, both definitions of gender roles, as a form of self expression (individualism) and as a forced behavior formed by society (structuralism) will be used because gender itself is social construct which may be perceived and expressed differently by each individual. Therefore, there is always an ongoing dynamic between the individual and the social context in which he/she lives.

Perception of gender roles is then referred to as what people perceive gender roles are supposed to be like, what responsibilities, rights, and values are attached to the roles performed (Bharat, 2003: 165). So in this sense, perception is an attitude towards a particular set of gender roles, and not the actual expression of gender role itself.

1.4.2. Bargaining Power in the Household

Theories of bargaining power in the household began with the assumption of households as a unitary unit, where a benevolent dictator is acting in the interest of all the household members. This assumption was then rejected, as households consist of different individuals, thus resulting in different power relations within the household. There are conflicting interests and cooperation among members of the household to attain a certain goal. The cooperative model of the household focuses on how cooperation is needed in order for individuals in the household to achieve their own personal interest (Sen, 1998).

On the other hand, the non-cooperative model of the household can be understood in terms of how it confronts both social construction of gender (patriarchy) and limitations of individualism (Hart, 1995: 55). Women are often seen as behaving in the interest of all the family members but there is doubt that woman's altruistic behavior is purely intended to be in favor to the family alone, without looking out for her own personal interests. Kandiyoti (1998: 139) points out that these maneuvers are needed due to the existing gender ideologies maintained by society, and therefore do not actually reflect the full agency a woman has over her life.

The existence of patriarchal structure in society and within the household will imply that women tend to use indirect, non-rational or a unilateral type of influence tactics in order to maintain the balance of the relationship. This type of power would be closer to the covert strategies that Lockwood refers to (Marshall, 1998: 519-520), and tends to focus on limitations of women in acting as agents. The limits of women acting as agents and their focus in maintaining the balance in relationship is because changing the balance of the relationship usually involves conflict between those who are involved in the relationship before it reaches a stage where a new balance is found. It happens that in many societies, a woman does not have an adequate fall back position (Sen, 1998), which puts them at greater risk when a conflict emerges, especially if it leads to a break down in their marriage.

A gender approach to gender relations within the household does not view gender relations as bounded within the limits of patriarchy. It focuses on how norms and rules about what claims, responsibilities, and needs are constantly renegotiated, and therefore, views how women can act as agents during that process. It also recognizes the role of extra-household institutions in affecting gender relationships in the household (Hart, 1995: 56). While other theories tend to focus on outcomes of bargaining (and thus, assume the rationale behind those outcomes), the strength of this approach is that it recognizes the process in which bargaining takes place. It also acknowledges that there are different individuals within a household with different levels of power. It tries to seek the strategies individuals take to alter the power relations and why those strategies are used. Gender is central in this approach to understand the differences in power relations, which I find it to be a more comprehensive approach in understanding bargaining power compared to previous

theories. While keeping in mind other theories in bargaining power, this approach is used as the main analysis tool to open up the 'black box' on the processes of negotiation in relation to rules of gender relations, especially considering that life is indeed a process of continuous adjustment.

1.4.3. Determinants of Bargaining Power

To understand the determinants of bargaining power, another classification of power can be used. Jenkins (2000: 5) organizes the power construct according to the level of the social system that is emphasized, which is the individual, the institutional and cultural level. According to Jenkins (2000: 5), the individual level deals with personality, such as the 'dominant personality' through skills and other competency a person has, which enhances his/her self-esteem (Smith and Mackie, 2000: 116-117). Women with higher self-esteem are assumed to be able to act as agents in their resistance to social and cultural pressures (Connell, 1987: 49-50). However, an encounter with different people will also have a different power dynamic, so power can be relative (Jenkins, 2000: 5-6). Focusing on the relations between married couples, Beegle et al (2001) mentioned the importance of the husband's perception of the social and economic status of the wife's family before marriage on the wife's bargaining power.

"Institutions and culture provide social roles and social status that legitimize powerful action toward others who are structurally less powerful by virtue of their role" (Jenkins, 2000: 5). Roles therefore open access to other resources that will enable an individual to gain basis for power, such as economic and social resources. Economic resources may come from income, inheritance, bride price/dowry (Beegle, et al, 2001), or even from community in the form of *arisan*⁹ (Saptari, 2000: 295), and believed to play an important role in providing a higher level of bargaining power, because they provide a fall back position in times of crisis (Sen, 1998).

Aside from economic resources, social support coming from people around an individual can also improve one's bargaining power (Tisdell et al, 2001: 44). Yet, it can also be a constraint if they are not supportive towards the needs and rights of the

⁹ *Arisan* is a regular social gathering whose members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money (Echols and Shadily, 2002: 29)

woman. This can be seen in patrilocal living arrangements after marriage, which limit space for women to exercise power (Li, 1999: 29). Though access to resources is important, control over resources are of more importance in exercising power (Quisumbing 2003a: 13).

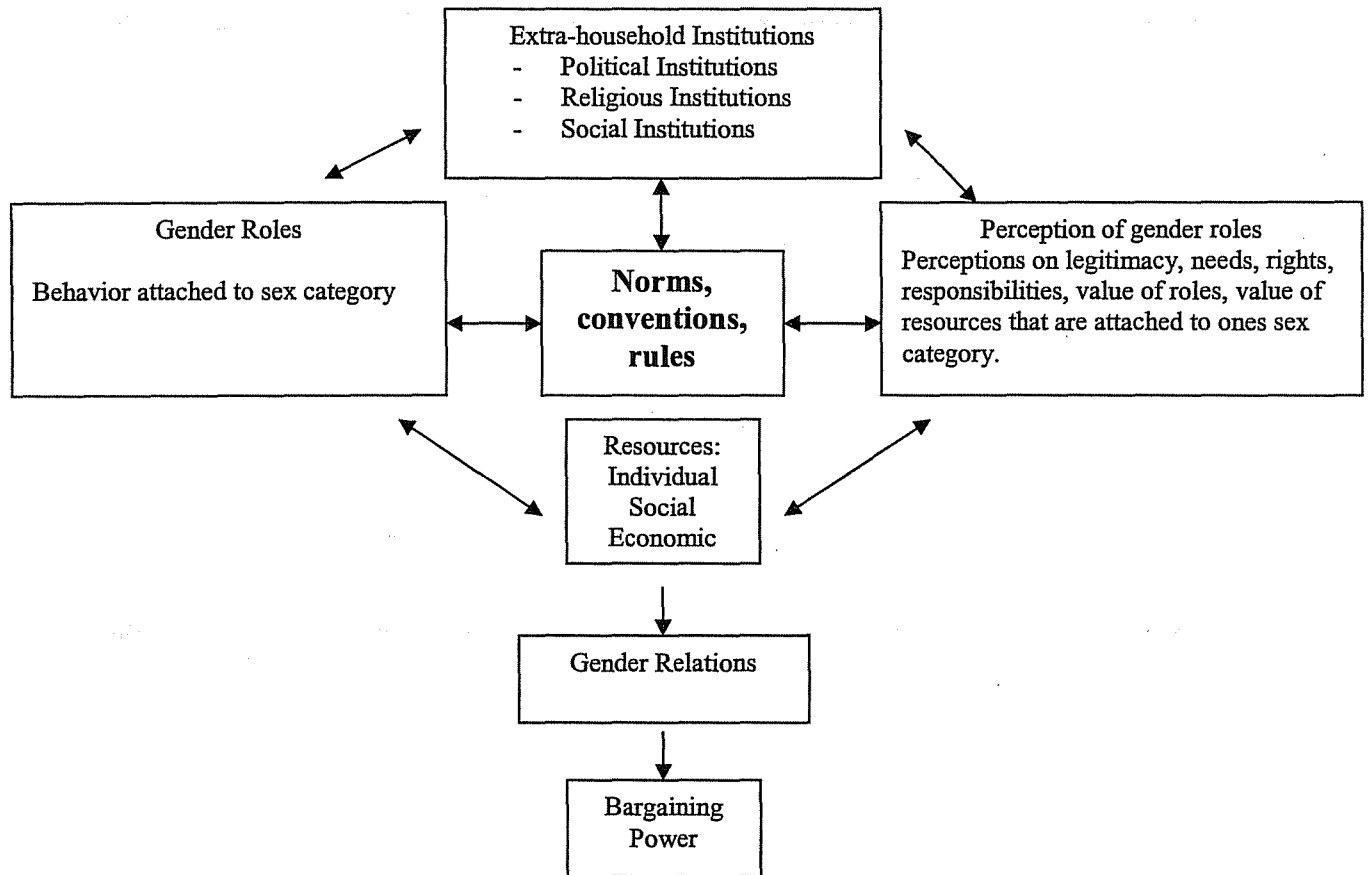
With regard to bargaining power, it certainly cannot be denied that access and control over economic and social resources are important. However, it is even more crucial to understand the roots that inhibit women to gain access and control of those resources.

1.5. Methodology

This study intends to see how gender roles and perception of gender roles influence women's bargaining power in the household by using a bargaining theory approach. Using the analytical framework below, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do gender roles and perception of gender roles influence the bargaining power of internally displaced women in Pontianak?
2. How do extra-household institutions shape gender roles and perception of gender roles?
3. How does gender roles affect the bargaining power of women?
4. How does perception of gender roles affect bargaining power of women?

Analytical Framework



1.5.1. Location

To answer the questions above, eight married couples in Tebang Kacang living in nuclear families were interviewed. Tebang Kacang, Pontianak District was selected because it is the nearest resettlement area to Pontianak City. Therefore, it is the most accessible resettlement area. Aside from that, 500 households live in Tebang Kacang,¹⁰ the largest number compared to other resettlement areas (Setiadi et al, 2003: 7).

Tebang Kacang consists of two resettlement areas, Tebang Kacang SP1 and Tebang Kacang SP2. Bhakti Suci, a part of Tebang Kacang SP2, was chosen for this research based on its location. Compared to other places in Tebang Kacang, Bhakti Suci is the closest to the main road and reachable even during rainy weather. Rainy weather can hamper reaching other resettlement areas within SP2 due to flood or mud. Based on the time limitations, Bhakti Suci seemed to be the best choice for this research, because it is accessible any day of the week.

1.5.2. Sampling

Purposive sampling based on different domination patterns within the couples was used. To attain information on the different domination patterns, a community cadre was asked to select households with the domination pattern required. Four couples from among those identified by the cadre as showing a husband dominated pattern and four showing wife-dominated patterns were selected. The basis for selecting 8 couples was the assumption that each couple would take one day to interview. This would leave more room for the interviewers to become familiar with the community during the first week and for revisits during the last week, as only 3 weeks was allocated to conduct the study.

The interview carried out tried to capture several factors, including perhaps a change in gender roles and perception of gender roles, that enabled the wives of wife dominated households to have higher bargaining power. Though eight couples were interviewed, only four cases were selected to be written in this research paper. The

¹⁰ Though the written data shows there are 500 households in Tebang Kacang, during the fieldwork it was found that some families have migrated to other places, leaving some houses empty and unused.

decision to use four case studies is based on the categorization of gender relations found. Three patterns of gender relations between the married couples that were interviewed were found, one being a relationship that was wife dominated which then turned into a husband dominated pattern, the second pattern is a husband dominated pattern that shifted into a more balanced relationship, the third case illustrates a couple whose relations had not changed since the journey from Sambas (still husband dominated), while the last couple is a couple whose relations had not changed and was still highly influenced by the wife.

The findings show that out of eight married couples, one was a relationship that changed from a wife dominated pattern to a husband dominated pattern, two case studies that show a husband dominated pattern that turned to a more balanced relation, and the rest show relations that did not changed. Because Ridwan and Maryam's case was the only case study that showed a change from a wife dominated to a husband dominated relationship, this case study was used for the first pattern. Rita and Mahmud's case was used as a representative for the second pattern, because the other couple that showed similar patterns did not provide as rich a data set than the case of Rita and Mahmud. Kholik and Maya's case was used as one of the representatives for the last pattern because Kholik is the community's religious leader that influences how the other community members shape their views on gender relations between married couples. However, to capture the experience of the non-elite part of the community within the last pattern, Suratman and Atun's case was selected. Because Kholik and Maya's case was a husband-dominated pattern, Suratman and Atun's case was chosen because it represents a wife-dominated household that had not changed throughout the process of adjustment.

1.5.3. Methods

The main methods used in this study were oral history and observation. The oral history method in this research provides information on the course of migration the informants went through, and what their experience means to them. Nonetheless, subjective experiences such as individual feelings and perceptions are still maintained according to one's own personal experience, as gender relations are very subjective and personal. The observation method provides information on the physical appearance of the informants, what their activities are, how they relate to each other,

and other physical details on their surroundings (their yard, their house, etc). All these small details are important to paint a more comprehensive picture of each informant.

The fieldwork started on the 11th of August 2004 and ended on August 29th 2004. The first week was mainly used for observation and introducing the researchers to the community. The interviews were conducted by three interviewers, including the researcher. One interviewer was a male, while the other two were female (including the researcher). The same sex interviewer interviewed the informants, in order to make them feel more comfortable in answering personal questions. Each interview was recorded and transcribed before being analyzed.

1.5.4. Limitations

1) Unlike quantitative studies that are able to generate information from a large number of people, this study was limited only to a small number of cases, which then cannot be generalized to the same extent as quantitative studies. However, there was effort to represent all kinds of women (from housewives until full-time working women who were married), though in the end it was not entirely possible to do so. Out of the 8 cases, most of the women were housewives, who either never worked, have once worked or are now working part time. All full time working women who were asked to be interviewed refused to do so, because they were already too exhausted from working. Full time working men were a lot easier to interview, because they enjoyed staying up late, chatting, while drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes.

2) The oral history method itself has limitations too, in which reliability and accuracy of memory may be a problem when trying to collect actual facts. Because memory is selective (Yow, 1994:21) sometimes a couple may have different memories on their own migration pattern, and what their activities were in each place. In cases like these, interviewing two people was likely to bring the content of the interview closer to the truth by cross checking two different sources of information.

3) Another limitation that needs to be acknowledged is the researcher's own bias in perceiving the answers given by the informants. Different people may be interested in different kinds of information, resulting in various parts of the interview being

presented differently by different researchers. The interpretation process is also highly influenced on what material is selected to build an argument, and how a researcher interprets it.

4) Because a community is always hierarchical, the women interviewed tend to be women who are articulate enough to participate in the interview process. For instance, there was a man who was able to provide very good data and the researcher hoped that the couple would make a good case study. However, his wife refused to be interviewed because she only spoke Madurese. The women who spoke good Indonesian or Malay were ones who were more or less educated. Women who had very low education levels or did not attend school at all could not be reached in this research.

5) The limitation of the research team was not only that the members did not speak Madurese. None of the team members were from Sambas, and therefore did not speak Sambas Malay¹¹. This affected the process of transcribing where certain quotes in the recorder were in Sambas Malay and not understood. Because one's native language is usually used to express strong emotions, the research team had to conduct special revisits to ask what the words in Sambas Malay mean.

¹¹ Though the informants were Madurese, most of them were born and raised in Sambas. So many were multilingual, speaking Madurese among themselves, speaking Sambas Malay when communicating among other ethnic groups in Sambas, and using the Malay language when communicating with those outside Sambas.

Chapter 2: THE DYNAMICS OF GENDER RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF RESETTLEMENT.

2.1. Ridwan, Isti, and Maryam : The Fall of a Wife Dominated Household

Ridwan is a young man, quite handsome, and still boyish in his ways. One would not expect him to have gone through a painful experience of a broken marriage and losing two children. He seemed shy around the female interviewers, but quite open to personal questions concerning his marriage and his past relationship with his first wife when relating to the male interviewer.

Trapped

Land is considered to be one of the symbols of status in Madurese community, which enhances one's self esteem (Subahianto et al, 2004: 52). Families who are able to own vast pieces of land are considered to be of high social status and therefore gain respect from others. The first case study shows how a poor man who married a woman from a wealthy family (determined by ownership of land) had lower bargaining power compared to his wife. Matters become worse for him when he was forced to live with his in laws due to the matriloc¹² living arrangements, which are common in the Madurese community to protect and care for their women. (Wiyata, 2002: 40). Though traditional arrangements place women in a powerful position due to family protection, it runs the risk of marital conflict, as in the case study below.

In Sambas, Isti belongs to a wealthy family, for she comes from a family of landowners. On the other hand, Ridwan was only an assistant to his parents in tapping rubber from the wood.

"I didn't want to be with my first wife. I didn't even force her to marry me. If she wanted to marry me, I would do just that, but if she didn't want to, it would have been fine by me. I know I am not a wealthy man, while she comes from a wealthy family. I find myself unsuitable for her" (R)

¹² In families which have many daughters, the living arrangements are usually uxomatrilocal, where the married daughters live within her parents' yard (Wiyata, 2002: 42)

When the conflict occurred, Isti asked him to come with her to her parents' house. He stayed in his in laws' house for 2 months before the conflict started to spread to his in laws'. As soon as the news of conflict reached his in laws' region, his in laws decided to take him along with them to Siantan, North Pontianak. He lived for another two months with Isti's family in Siantan and claims that he had no say in almost everything, including the decision to migrate to Siantan. While he was taken to Siantan, his parents were living in with one of his older brothers in Semudun, near Mempawah¹³. Not long after living with Isti's family, he decided to leave.

"Maybe she regrets having married me. One day I came home from work, she didn't prepare anything for me. I was in my in-laws', and I felt embarrassed having to search for coffee or food on my own. I accused my wife for not loving me anymore, and she immediately agreed to my accusation. On the spot, I decided to leave her" (R)

For the Madurese, a woman has to place herself within the domestic sphere. Because a woman is always protected by male family members (Wiyata, 2002: 44), her main duties are therefore to maintain service for the men in the household. Serving food or coffee late or not serving them at all to a husband is considered to be a symbol of disobedience and disrespect¹⁴. This can be seen by how Ridwan reacted to Isti when he found out that Isti did not have the decency to prepare him coffee and a meal after coming home from work. Taking Isti's perspective, however, it seemed that Isti also wanted Ridwan to leave her, and not serving coffee and food is used as her weapon to get Ridwan to leave.¹⁵

Turning a New Leaf

After leaving Isti, Ridwan went to GOR UNTAN (University of Tanjungpura Sports Hall), where many of the IDPs were living. It is in this place that Ridwan met

¹³ Mempawah is the capital of Pontianak District

¹⁴ In interviews with three other households, not serving coffee at the right time can be a source of conflict between married couples. Husbands use this excuse for prohibiting their wife to work, as coming home from work late can cause a delay in a wife serving coffee to the husband.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, Ridwan's first wife was not able to be interviewed. Therefore, data on how she perceives her own family's social status and how it affects her bargaining power could not be obtained. It is not clear from Isti's side why she says that she does not love Ridwan anymore.

Maryam (21 years old) in 2001. Only 3 days after meeting her, he asked for Maryam's hand, a woman coming from a family of farmers. Maryam immediately agreed to his proposal and they carried out a simple wedding ceremony.

During their stay in GOR UNTAN, Ridwan obtained a job as a construction worker, working from morning until evening. From 6 o'clock in the evening until 12 o'clock midnight he would help Maryam look after a cigarette stall, owned by Ridwan's parents. Three years later, Ridwan suggested to Maryam that they move to Bhakti Suci. Ridwan already had the information on the resettlement area, and decided to take Maryam with him. For the first time in his marriage life, Ridwan was able to make an important decision for his own household.

“ My husband said if we agree to live in the resettlement area, it would be better for us because we have shelter there. (He said) this is just a refugee camp, the place is dirty, we can't plant anything, it would be better if we just moved. I agreed (with his decision) because most of my family were moving to the area too.” (Mry)

Children as Assets

When resettled in Bhakti Suci, Ridwan tried to maintain his job as a construction worker in Pontianak City, while Maryam became a housewife. Ideally it would have been better if she could have worked to gain income, but her physical conditions prevent her to do so. Maryam gave up her job selling cigarette. She says that she is physically weak and working the whole day selling cigarette as she did before will make her tired. Ridwan and Maryam both believe that her weak body is the reason to why she lost two of her children. Though interviewed separately, both of them showed a deep sorrow when asked about their children. Maryam and Ridwan explained that they had two children who died not long after being born. She said that the incident brought on a great deal of pain for her, and she feels very unworthy as a woman.

“Now I will follow wherever my husband goes, because as a woman, I feel that I have not been able to give anything to him. I am not able to give children, I can't work hard, I don't like to farm, I am afraid

to be a trader. I feel very sad. When I am angry or sad, I take a book, a pen, and I start writing... when there are no more pages to my book, I burn it... when another book is complete, I read it and then burn it again.” (Mry)

However, Maryam stressed that if one day God does give her children, it will never give her ultimate power. She explains that her parents taught her that the husband is the leader of the family and it is the husband’s right to have the final say on everything that goes on in the household.

“Even though I am able to have children, I still have to follow and obey my husband, because that is what my mother taught me...that the husband is the leader, I have to obey him. Though my husband understands my condition (not being able to give him children), it is also my own feeling... my own feeling (that) I will never have full power in the household though one day I am capable of having children.” (Mry)

Maryam’s low bargaining power compared to Ridwan is due to her feelings of incompetence of not being able to give children to Ridwan, especially considering how important children are to Madurese people in order to maintain familial ties¹⁶ (Wiyata, 2002: 56-57). Aside from that, the perception that women are supposed to fulfill their roles as mothers becomes another factor that increases Ridwan’s bargaining power, but decreases Maryam’s. She perceives herself as not being able to fulfill her obligation as a wife for Ridwan, and therefore is not entitled to demand her rights or to bargain.¹⁷

On the contrary, Ridwan does not think that it is the husband that should decide on everything. It would depend on who is earning the money. In fact, he would be

¹⁶ Marriage among the Madurese are usually arranged marriages among their own group or family. Because familial ties are important to maintain, children can become are an asset that could serve that goal.

¹⁷ Maryam said that Ridwan is a nice man and never undermines her. But it is her feelings of inferiority that keeps her from demanding too much from her husband.

pleased if Maryam was able to earn money to support the household economy because she would then be able to decide what to do with her own money.

“It would be better if she could earn money. It wouldn’t be a problem, she can do as she likes, the money is hers. I don’t even mind her being a migrant worker. It’s just that she is too weak to go. (So) if the money is my money, then I get to decide on what the money is used for. At the moment because I am working, I get to decide on everything. My wife only does what I tell her to.”¹⁸(R)

Maryam’s weak physical condition has also inhibited her from helping support the household economy as she once did while living in GOR UNTAN. With no access, let alone control over money, Maryam’s position to decide on household matters (especially on the allocation of money) became weaker. However, Ridwan’s experience during his first marriage seems to have given him the empathy to give more room for his wife to bargain. Ridwan sees access to money as the most important factor for a woman to gain power to decide, because his view of women’s role is not constrained within the reproductive role. This can be seen by his approval towards Maryam being a migrant worker if she were physically capable.

2.2. Rita and Mahmud: Rising from the Domination of a Husband

Meeting Rita for the first time is like seeing an old friend. Rita is very talkative, attentive to other people, and very confident of herself. Mahmud on the other hand, is rather quiet, but friendly. When Rita is in front of Mahmud, she usually lets Mahmud start out the conversation and she will add to what Mahmud is saying. Mahmud does not seem to mind Rita responding or even correcting what he says.

Rita’s house is arranged very nicely with pictures of her activities she participated in and the certificates of her participation. Like many other households in Bhakti Suci, her house was renovated from the original house. She now has several rooms that were not a part of the original house.

¹⁸ During a revisit afterwards, Ridwan admits that he gives all of the money he earns to Maryam but it is he who decides what the money is used for.

Families and the Decision to Migrate

The power of families in the Madurese community can be traced back to the time when they first migrated from Madura to West Kalimantan. A study on motivations to migrate from Madura to West Kalimantan indicates that many Madurese decided to migrate to West Kalimantan due to suggestions from their family who were already living in West Kalimantan (Sudagung, 2001:93).

The importance of a family in deciding where to migrate can also be seen in the case of Rita's family. Unlike Ridwan, Rita's household decision making on where to migrate does not show too much domination from either side of the family. Whether it is Rita or her husband that decides where to go would depend on which of the two has a family willing to take care of them, especially in the place of destination. Through the different course of migration, it can be seen that the couple took turns in deciding where to go. However, when they resettled, Rita had more room to decide and was willing to fight back when she disagrees on a decision made by her husband.

Rita (32 years old) comes from Tanah Hitam, a small region in Sambas. After being married to her husband, Mahmud (35 years old), she moved to her husband's house in another part of Sambas, Paluh. With her two children, she lived there as a farmer, farming on land owned by her husband's uncle. Her husband used to work as a bus conductor, earning around 6000-7000 rupiah per day.

One day while he was working, Mahmud heard from other Madurese in the area that the conflict was about to spread from Jawai to other parts of Sambas. In the midst of panic, he remembered one of his cousins that were ready to leave Sambas and begged his cousin to bring his family along with him to Pontianak. His cousin agreed to take Mahmud and his family to a seteher¹⁹ in Pontianak, where they stayed for 3 nights. After reaching the center of Pontianak, Rita and Mahmud were taken to one of Pontianak's sports hall known as GOR (*Gedung Olah Raga*) Sultan Syarif. They have only been in the sports hall for one night when her husband decided to move the

¹⁹ A harbor especially made for small boats to dock.

family to Siantan, North Pontianak. Mahmud has an uncle who found a long house²⁰ there for them to stay in with the help of a *kyai*²¹ who lived in the area.

During the first move from Sambas to Pontianak, it was mostly Rita's husband that took the decisions. Unlike the common Madurese system where the husband moves into the wife's family environment, Rita instead stayed with her husband's family. Before migrating from Sambas, she even farmed on the land belonging to Mahmud's uncle, because the land that she inherited is in Madura. As in other Madurese families, Rita is entitled to a room in her parents' house along with a piece of land. The area of land given to a daughter is usually as large or sometimes even a bit larger than land given to her brother.²²

From the description above, it can be seen that with a patrilocal living arrangement, Rita's access to social resource, such as relatives is mostly in Mahmud's hand. Therefore, Rita just followed upon his decisions, for she did not have any other options at that time. In all these decisions, both Rita and Mahmud agreed that Mahmud was the main decision maker while Rita was left to follow.

Rita only stayed for about two weeks in Siantan, because she had to live with her husband's uncle, his mother, his neighbor, and his sister all of whom had their own family to support. During this time, none of the IDPs had a job to sustain their daily living costs. They relied heavily on assistance coming from the government. Living in a crowded place with nothing to do made Rita distressed. One day, her brother in law (her sister's husband) asked her to come to GOR UNTAN and stay with some of the other family members there. Though her mother and father immediately went back to Madura after being escorted to GOR UNTAN from the woods of Malaysia, there were still other family members there that Rita could rely on. When she asked Mahmud to move to GOR UNTAN with her family, he did not refuse. Rita and Mahmud stayed about a month in GOR UNTAN.

²⁰ Usually known as *rumah panjang*, a traditional Dayak house which is divided into several rooms to accommodate extended family members.

²¹ Islamic religious leader

²² In Islam, a male sibling is supposed to be given twice the land given to a girl. But in the Madurese culture, the same area of land given to both a daughter and a son is a form of protection from parents to secure the livelihood of their daughters.

Nonetheless, staying in a crowded refugee camp made Rita uncomfortable again. She asked Mahmud to move the family to Madura Island, where her mother and father are. Rita felt that they would perhaps have a better life in Madura Island, because her parents have a plot of land in Madura that she can help work on. Mahmud understood how insecure Rita felt, so he agreed to go to Madura with her.

“ I just followed her suggestion (to go to Madura), I understand (her feelings), and her father and mother are there. I feel sorry for Rita.”(M)

Though Mahmud agreed to go to Madura, he had no money left at that time for the boat trip to Madura. He left Sambas with just a land certificate and the clothes he was wearing. Rita had on some gold jewelry and managed to bring 100.000 rupiah with her when they ran for safety out of Sambas. The money was all gone, so Rita was forced to sell all her jewelry that amounted up to 10 grams for the trip back to Madura.

In Madura, Rita worked as a farmer again on one of her grandmother's land. She tried hard to adjust to the ways of farming in Madura, but she never got used to it. Rita also complained about the lack of water, the hard soil, and the fact that she was not able to earn any money from her work. Because her status there was a family laborer, she was only able to attain a small proportion of the harvest. Mahmud used to help Rita's family plough the soil or work at construction sites in Madura. Like Rita, Mahmud was also a bit frustrated there because during the course of 8 months in Madura, he was only able to save 350.000 rupiah. He admits that there were much assistance for the IDPs who fled to Madura, but not much of the assistance actually reaches them. It would be better for him to go back to Pontianak, where he is able to obtain more assistance for his family. In the beginning of 2000, Mahmud then decided to go back to Pontianak by himself and search for a job there. He did not plan to take Rita along, but she insisted on doing so. Mahmud again agreed to Rita's plea to go back with him to West Kalimantan. Their main destination was to GOR UNTAN once again. Mahmud had relatives there, so it would be no problem for them to move back to the camp.

Changing Relations

In 2002, Rita and Mahmud came to Bhakti Suci. The decision to move to Bhakti Suci was based on Mahmud's idea, because it was Mahmud's friend who provided the information Mahmud needed. Rita is now working on a paddy field that she is renting from one of the local community members. Because Bhakti Suci is a region classified as the non-farming resettlement program, the land is not sufficient for farming. Some of the people planted vegetables in their small yard, but it was hardly enough to earn a decent amount of money. Because of the low income one can attain from farming in the area, most of the farming is left to the women.²³ Because of this, the value of farming is perceived to be lower while working outside the area is considered to be more prestigious.²⁴

During the last days of the fieldwork, Rita was working hard moving the rice seedlings that were planted in her yard to the field which she rented. She said that she will be leaving for Pontianak City for 5 days on a training session, and will then be assigned to other resettlement areas to collect data on the number of children under 2 years old. This assignment is given by one of the NGOs that were working in the area for quite some time, in which Rita is a cadre. In the meantime, Mahmud is working on construction projects based on orders. During the fieldwork, he was working on a neighbor's house. However, he usually works outside the area, leaving Rita behind for a couple of days.

Mahmud admits that there was a change in gender relations compared to the days when they were still in Paluh, Sambas.

"I feel that there has been a change. In Paluh I always made the decisions in the household. But here, (we decide) together, because I am out a lot. Also because she is now with the NGO. She knows more than I do" (M)

²³ In some cases, farming around Bhakti Suci also keeps women from leaving their domestic chores, which is usually the main reason that men ask their wives to farm. In Rita's case, this reason does not apply, because Mahmud allows her to go for days for training or for data collecting with the local NGO.

²⁴ The same condition can be found in North Sumatera, where migration outside the village was considered to be of a higher value compared to farming (Rodenburg, 1997: 177)

Though there used to be many programs involving various NGOs in Bhakti Suci, Mahmud rarely participates in any of them. Coming inside Rita's house, one can see how active Rita is in all the NGO programs by taking a look at all the certificates hanging on the wall. Most of the NGO programs that Rita was involved in are programs concerning family health. Out of around 10 certificates on the wall, only one has Mahmud's name on it.

Working Permit: Whose Entitlement?

Though Rita is given the authority to decide on matters concerning family health and children, when it comes to working outside Bhakti Suci, Mahmud still has the final say.

"I wanted to be a migrant worker in Saudi Arabia. My father called me twice encouraging me to go there, but my husband would not let me go. So I told my father that my husband forbade me to do so. So my father said 'You're now owned by someone else. You are no longer my responsibility. You are your husband's responsibility. If your husband lets you go, then go. If not, then let it be.' My husband is only thinking of our children. My husband said 'Does it seem right for me to take care of the children while my wife is out there somewhere working? No, it does not. Though I make a little money here, though we only eat salted fish, the important thing is that we are together'" (Rt)

Rita does not seem to mind that her husband did not let her work in Saudi Arabia. In Sen's (1998) terms, Rita's reaction to Mahmud's prohibition is a form of perceived interest response, where she feels that it is also for her own good to stay behind while taking care of her children. Though Mahmud approves of Rita being involved in the activities which prevents her from coming home in a matter of days, Mahmud's views about Rita going out of the area and earning income with the risk of leaving him and the family for a significant length of time shows how he is still bounded within the traditional gender roles. It would be fine for him to go outside the area, and leave Rita behind to take care of the children. But for Rita to go would be a big problem for him.

As in the case of Ridwan and Maryam, the influence of parents in forming how a woman's places herself in front of her husband is very strong. However, in Rita's case, her family is not as protective towards her as Isti's family is²⁵. This can be seen by the way her father said that Mahmud is now the main person responsible for Rita's well being, and it is he who is entitled to give permission to Rita if she wants to go abroad.

Meanwhile, Rita also feels that her husband is a good husband by not gambling with cards or by involving himself in *sabung ayam*²⁶, and therefore is entitled to her compliance on matters that he disagrees with. She despises any form of gambling, and she stresses that she would rather leave her husband instead of being married to a gambler.

"Many husbands play (cards or sabung ayam), and if he were one of them, I would leave him. There is only one thing that I ask of him, which is to never gamble. " (Rt)

There is definitely a stereotype of Madurese men as gamblers²⁷, which according to Rita is actually against Islamic laws. Staying out of the gambling arena has awarded Mahmud with Rita's compliance of not working in Saudi Arabia. This shows a typical form of a conjugal contract²⁸ among the couple, which keeps their marriage together. As Rita said, the main threat to their marriage would be if her husband gambled, while disobeying Mahmud frontally would also be a threat to Rita's marriage as Rita mentioned when asked how she deals with conflicting interests.

Rita says she is compliant to the demands of her husband when it comes to her working outside, but on other matters that the couple disagrees upon, she is likely to put up a fight. She never wants the fight go on for too long. If her husband still disagrees on her demands, she would be silent and keep to herself. She says that fighting all the time can lead to a divorce, which might have the consequences of

²⁵ Ridwan's first wife (see the first case study).

²⁶ *Sabung ayam* :A game common in the Madurese culture, which is gambling by arranging cock fights.

²⁷ This information was obtained during a conversation with a Madurese student whom I met at University of Tanjungpura.

²⁸ Conjugal contract is an implicit contract which is related to familial norms (Chhachhi, 2004)

losing both her husband and children. In this sense, cooperation seems to be a better option for Rita, considering the costs she will have to pay if her marriage breaks down.

Perceiving Household Chores

Mahmud, who looks up very much to Kholik²⁹, the religious leader in Bhakti Suci, also says that a good wife is a wife that submits to a husband's desire. Therefore, it is very rare that Rita gets her way, even during the times she tries to influence him into getting what she wants. One of the examples of conflicting interests with her husband is a conflict concerning the household division of labor.

"When I'm working in the field, he never comes to help me cut down those big stumps³⁰. I remember a time when he was constructing a house in SP3³¹. Every 2 nights he would come home. Because he is tired, he never helps, and I get angry when he does that. He would stay silent when I'm angry. He just says 'I'm tired'. That's it. There was also a time when he hasn't been working for a week. He only helped collect the wood and burn it. But it was me who cut down the stumps." (Rt)

Mahmud remembers that during the time that he did not work, Rita and he did fight many times. Rita wanted him to go to Pontianak to work, but he refused to do so because he had no vehicle to go there. He became angry that Rita kept on pushing him to work in Pontianak, and it was then that Rita stopped pushing him. However, she did not speak to him for a while. She completed her duties, such as cooking or bringing him coffee, but she stopped talking.

At home, Mahmud would help Rita cook, but not for other housework. Rita and Mahmud both feel that his status as a man will be degraded if he sweeps or mops the floor when Rita is there to do it for him.

²⁹ see the third case study: Maya and Kholik

³⁰ Opening up a paddy field means cutting down tree stumps, and burning the wood.

³¹ A sub village of Tebang Kacang

"I cook, even in front of other people. But for sweeping and mopping, I only do if Rita is not at home. If there is a guest, the floor is dirty and Rita is not at home, I will do it to respect the guests. But if she is at home, without me asking, she will clean the floor. (She will do that) because she feels that that is a job for women." (M)

"My husband will help cook if I had just come from the market. But for mopping, he will never do. Even if he wanted to do so, I would never let him do it. If the neighbors see that, I feel uncomfortable. The same rule applies for washing clothes." (Rt)

2.3. Maya and Kholik: Husband as the Leader

When a household does not have any family members they can rely on at the place of destination, having friends can also be a source of power for a person to decide where to go. This can be seen in Kholik's case, where it is he who makes the decisions to migrate based on the networking he has. Without having any other alternative destination to go to within West Kalimantan, his wife tends to comply with his decisions on where to go.

Kholik (30 years old) is known as the coordinator of Bhakti Suci, and the *kyai* of the area. In the Madurese community, a *kyai* is respected and has great influence over the political, economic, and social lives of the community. Kholik's main job is teaching religion to children and preaching on Islamic teachings from one city to another. His wife explains that he is usually asked to preach in far away areas, and it is from there that he is able to attain extra money. According to her, the money he gets from the pupils (*santri*) he and Maya teaches in Bhakti Suci is hardly enough to get by.

Though he is only a junior high school graduate, Kholik has a charisma of a powerful leader. Kholik married Maya (29 years old) in 1996, a woman he met in Malang (East Java) where he studied religion in a *pondok pesantren*³² called Al Inaroh. Maya who comes from Jember (East Java) also studied in the same *pondok pesantren* for 3 years, after she graduated from Primary School. Unlike Kholik who is very careful in

³² *Pondok pesantren* is an Islamic Boarding School.

his words, Maya seems to be more open and comfortable in answering the questions asked. However, she respects her husband very much and is careful never to comment negatively upon her husband.

In 1998, the couple came to Kholik's hometown, Sambas. Maya explained that they did not immediately leave for Sambas because there was an agreement between her family and Kholik that after getting married, both of them would have to stay with Maya's family for some time. Maya sees her parents as being overprotective, and admits that she would have liked to follow Kholik wherever he goes. But Kholik agreed to wait a couple of years before taking Maya with him to Sambas.

The Power of Networking

Kholik and Maya finally came to Sambas to visit Kholik's family. They were in Sambas for only 3 months when the conflict started to come their way. Without any relatives in Pontianak, the couple had to run for safety into the woods of Sambas. But not long after, they were picked up by the army and were escorted to GOR UNTAN, Pontianak City. Kholik and Maya did not have any choice but to go wherever the army took them. They only stayed in the camp for one day, because Maya's parents asked Kholik's friend (who were alumni of the same *pondok pesantren* he went to in Java) to look for them in refugee camps provided by the government. These friends decided to stay in Pontianak after their study in the *pondok pesantren*, so they were able to come to the camps in a short time after Maya's parents called for help.

As Quisumbing (2003b: 20) noted, the ability to mobilize interpersonal networks can support one's bargaining power. In this case, it was mostly Kholik who controlled the interpersonal networks because according to Maya, building and maintaining relations outside the household is mainly Kholik's domain. Maya sees herself as a timid and naïve person because her parents never let her out into the world. The world she knows is only of her family and the *pondok pesantren*. She feels that she does not have the social skills to build and maintain relationships with an outsider, and does not have any intentions to try to do so.

When the couple met their old friends from the *pondok pesantren*, they were immediately taken to Sungai Jawi³³, where they stayed at one of the friends' house. Kholik decided to come along with their friend to Sungai Jawi because he felt sorry for his wife.

"Kholik was thinking of me (when he agreed to stay with friends in Sungai Jawi), he was thinking of me. In Java, I never went out, he felt sorry for me if I had to bathe (in the river)... (I get) scared, embarrassed...I went with his decision to leave" (My)

On the contrary, Kholik says that he never makes decisions on his own, including when it comes to moving.

"I discussed (every move) with my wife, where would be the best (place to go). This means that we make the decisions together... we try to see the positive and the negative side of each decision we make" (K).

In the year 2000, another conflict emerged between the Malays and the Madurese in Sungai Jawi.³⁴ Afraid for the life of his family, Kholik ran for safety with his family to GOR UNTAN. He was there for only 3 days when another conflict came to the surface.³⁵ The last conflict was not very big, so Kholik tried to stay in UNTAN for a couple of months more. Four months after the incident, a government official with some local people from Tebang Kacang came to the camp to ask if any of the Madurese in UNTAN were willing to be resettled in Tebang Kacang. After many agreed to be resettled to the location, Kholik was chosen to be the coordinator of the area.

Kholik says he did not mind being in charge, because he was also tired of living in the camp. When the time came to decide whether to stay in the camp or join the others to

³³ A region in the eastern side of Pontianak City.

³⁴ This conflict is usually known as the 2000 Conflict, involving a Madurese bus driver and a Malay motorcyclist. The personal conflict again spread into an ethnic conflict.

³⁵ The badminton court burning triggered by a robbery by a Madurese around the area.

the resettlement area, it was mainly Kholik who brought up the initiative and decided where to go.

Idealism of Gender Relations

Resettling in Bhakti Suci made Kholik's role in being a *kyai* even stronger, because he had permanent followers. Regarding gender roles, Kholik makes a distinction between the domestic and public domain, believing that men should be involved in the public domain, while the women should pay more attention to the domestic matters.

Both Kholik and Maya agree that it should be the man's job to attain income, but women are allowed to help. According to Maya, if the breadwinner of the household is the woman, it can be a threat to the husband's bargaining power. Only if a woman still respects her husband and the husband has no other option but to stay at home is it appropriate for a woman to become the breadwinner of the family. Maya herself teaches religion to children at the mosque beside her house, but she does it without pay (though some of her pupils give her money in the form of charity)

Kholik also complemented Maya's opinion by saying that only under conditions where the husband is ill (physically, mentally, or socially) can a man be relieved of his duty as a breadwinner.³⁶ However, he disagrees with Maya about the influence of women working on their bargaining power.

"I do admit that earning money may influence a woman's bargaining power, but not to a significant level." (K)

Even though ideally, a couple should discuss the allocation of money regardless of who earns it, Kholik's perception of gender roles have guided him into separating what percentage a husband is entitled to when making decisions on the allocation of household money.

³⁶Kholik refers socially ill as a condition where there is no access for work even when the husband has made every effort to find one.

"In the end, I make most of the decisions. If I put it in a form of percentage, it is 70-30." (K)

When Maya does not agree towards Kholik's decision, she rarely confronts him. She would rather stay quiet, because she considers that a wife that answers back to what a husband says and decides is not a good wife. Her parents taught her that a wife that defies a husband would be a material for people to gossip about. That is why she tends to keep quiet even though she does not agree with what Kholik decided. She considers it to be in the best interest of everybody to stay quiet.

2.4. Atun and Suratman: Underneath a Wife's Influence

Atun (32) and Suratman (54) are both illegal members of the Bhakti Suci community. They are living in an abandoned house next to Atun's niece's house but they have not registered themselves formally to Kholik because they are not planning to stay.

Atun started her story by describing her life in Sambas. She explained that Suratman's main occupation was a teacher and a part time worker for shipping logs into Malaysia, while Atun had her own *warung*³⁷. When the Sambas conflict was starting to spread to where this couple lived, Suratman actually wanted to stay while Atun desperately wanted to leave. Suratman wanted to stay because he feels that they have managed to secure their livelihood in Sambas, especially considering that he went a long way from Java to search for a living. But Atun was scared for her family's life. In the end, Atun succeeded in persuading Suratman to go to Pontianak with her. They used the boat owned by Atun's brother who carried out the logging business in which Suratman works in.

" I told him that it was not possible to stay. Immediately my parents and my older brother asked me to take my husband and my family (to Pontianak)" (A)

When they reached Pontianak, they stayed for one night in GOR Pangsuma. The next day, Atun's relatives who lived there picked them up. After 3 months living with

³⁷ A small shop or food stall.

Atun's family, the couple decided to move to Suratman's city, Pasuruan, East Java where they lived among his family. Atun did not feel comfortable living in a big city such as Pontianak, because she is used to living in a rural surrounding with clean water. Having to bathe with the dirty water in Pontianak City had been a terrible experience for her.

Confident with the remaining money she brought from Sambas, Atun initiated the move to Pasuruan. Suratman agreed to it after his family was willing to take them in. When the couple reached Pasuruan, they barely had any money left, because the 900.000 Rupiahs that Atun brought from Sambas was already gone to maintain their livelihood in Pontianak City and for the journey to Pasuruan. In Pasuruan, Suratman worked as a pedicab driver and as bus conductor, while Atun became a housewife.

Though the couple stayed for quite some time in Pasuruan, Suratman went back to Pontianak in mid 2003. He found it very hard to obtain sufficient income in Java, so when one of Atun's relatives asked him to come to Pontianak, he decided to go. He told Atun that he needed more income to keep the family alive, and Pontianak seemed to be the solution to that problem. Suratman once again lived with Atun's relatives in Pontianak City. Back in Pasuruan, Atun did not mind being left with Suratman's family, as long as she was safe. All the decision-making processes that concerned the household, such as their children's education was left to Atun.

“When we were in Pasuruan, my first child wanted to go to kindergarten, but we didn't have the money to buy the uniforms. So my husband told me to wait until next year. I didn't mind his suggestion, but my sister bought the uniform for my child. For the school fee, my other sister in Pontianak pitched in. I never told my husband about this when it was planned. I told him after (receiving the money). He didn't say anything, because he realized that he did not have a job at that time” (A)

Only in cases where she has to spend a large amount of money will she ask permission from Suratman. As far as Atun remembers, this happened only after Suratman attained a job in Pontianak.

“(When he left for Pontianak), all the decisions were left to me. Only when I had to spend around 1.000.000 rupiah to install electricity in one part of the house is that I asked his permission. He did not mind at all.” (A)

Though she was left behind in Pasuruan, Atun followed Suratman to Pontianak two months later.

“All my relatives are here, it would be better for me to come home. My husband did not agree at first, because he wanted me to take care of his father (in Pasuruan). But I told him that he has another brother that could take care of his father. My parents also wanted to see me. So, finally he gave in.” (A)

When Atun came, Atun’s niece who was living in Bhakti Suci, informed her that there was an abandoned house next to hers. Atun did not want to take the offer, because she felt that she would encounter problems with the rest of the community for she never registered formally to be resettled in Bhakti Suci.

“I was about to rent a house in Siantan for the family. Atun did not like (the idea of moving to Bhakti Suci). I said to her ‘what’s so wrong about moving (to Bhakti Suci)? We can save money’” (S)

Atun decided later on that Suratman was right. Instead of wasting the money on rent, they could use the money on other necessities. In Bhakti Suci, Suratman was unemployed for 3 months. He survived by borrowing money from Atun’s relatives during that time. But later on he worked on various jobs, such as being a bus conductor, a crew for shipping logs, a construction worker, etc. In the meanwhile, Atun has opened a tailoring service in Bhakti Suci, but she says that it is very rare that people come to sew their clothes. She also plants some vegetables in her yard for subsistence. She says that life was much better in Sambas, because there, she had her own money, so that she was able to spend her money freely. Now, she relies on what Suratman can give to her every week.

“Now that I can’t really earn anything, I find it hard to make decisions on what to buy for the household. There is only the money my husband gives to me every week... I have to manage the money so it is enough.” (A)

So, there is not much to depend on from both jobs in Bhakti Suci. Because the couple felt that it was difficult to obtain a sufficient amount of income in Bhakti Suci, Atun suggested to Suratman that they leave the country and become migrant workers.

“I plan to go to Brunei, alone, without the family. My wife is going to go to Malaysia. At first I wanted to go to Malaysia with her, because we want to be together, but I was refused to go to Malaysia. They say I’m too old... It was her idea for us to leave. I have a friend in Brunei, he will come and take me around Ramadhan... My children will be taken care of by Atun’s relatives. All of this was planned out by Atun. I just followed...” (S)

“When I came up with the idea, he refused. He said, ‘let me go instead, mind the children’. I replied ‘there’s someone to take care of the children, let’s go together’. And so he gave me permission. That’s the important thing... permission from the husband” (A)

When asked why he followed his wife’s decisions most of the time, Suratman answered:

“My relationship with my wife is like that of a bus driver and a bus conductor. If the conductor says stop, it is inappropriate for me to keep on going... Though I am the leader of the household, I try to find the best solution (to a marital conflict), which is the husband giving in. Giving in does not mean losing.” (S)

Chapter 3: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.1. Decision-Making

There are basically three areas of decision-making in the household that came up in all the interviews and what seemed to be the crucial aspects for survival after the Sambas conflict.

3.1.1 Deciding the Destination of Migration

Running for Safety

During the times of crisis, couples do not have much choice but to go with whatever decision will provide them the opportunity to survive. The decision maker is usually the person with the appropriate resources, either in the form of economic or social resources. In the first case, it cannot be denied that economic resources owned by Ridwan's in-laws are one of the bases for acquiring power. Control over land is a symbol of superiority and social status, which influences how Ridwan feels about himself in front of Isti's family, and therefore, what he is entitled to demand from them.

Though Isti's family lost all their land during the conflict, Ridwan was still economically deprived and was left without any option but to follow his in-laws' decision in migrating out of Sambas. Ridwan could have chosen to live with his parents in GOR UNTAN instead, but the power of Isti's family over Ridwan was supported by the matrilocal living arrangements practiced in Madurese community. Aside from asking for her 'right' to live among her natal family, Isti also seems to be searching for a sense of economic security from her family, which Ridwan is not able to give. Isti's economic dependency that she has upon her husband has led her to feel frustrated when she knew that Ridwan could not fulfill the responsibility of securing her livelihood. He says that he had no confidence in front of his wife because of the different status, which affected on how he bargained with her. This is in line with what Quisumbing (2003b: 19) noted, where attitudinal factors, such as self-confidence and self esteem does contribute to one's bargaining power.

Though Isti's decision may reflect a purely economic one, it might also be the case that Isti's decision to move in with her parents was initiated by her natal family. It would be an embarrassment to the Madurese if they knew their female kin was not

well taken care of, and they did nothing about it (Wiyata, 2002: 41). However, it is important to keep in mind that her parents' action may not be purely voluntary, but placed within the obligations and sanctions of kinship relations. If so, the obligation of taking in Ridwan and Isti might be a distressing situation for her natal family, whose social and economic status has fallen with the loss of land during the conflict. It also seems tough on Isti, who looks down upon her husband for not fulfilling his role of a responsible husband by earning 'proper' income. Trying to balance between her roles as a wife and daughter, Isti decided to take on the gender role of a daughter instead of a wife, which gives her more claims of securing her livelihood. Because of this, Ridwan was denied of his rights as a husband (such as not being served coffee), and divorce was the only way out of the conflicting situation. Because Madurese women tend to be well taken care of (at least ideologically), their fall back position is rather high. In societies such as India, divorce is almost an impossible option because it is difficult for wives to initiate a divorce and assets usually fall into the husband's hand after the divorce. Even in cases where the women are able to retain their assets after divorce, they hardly are able to control it. This situation has made it difficult for women to bargain and therefore, it gives them a limited choice in deciding (Tisdell et al, 2001: 43-44). Though divorce for the Madurese women might also be an unfavorable step because it may run the risk of losing their children to the husband as Rita mentioned, there is still an opportunity for Madurese women of gaining protection from their natal family once divorced. Therefore, Madurese women seem to take divorce as one of the alternatives to escape from an unsatisfactory marital relationship.

Ridwan's bargaining power changed once he was remarried to Maryam, who came from the same social and economic background as him. This illustrates that gender relations are not stable, and can fluctuate as time goes by. Ridwan's bargaining power towards Maryam became stronger when they moved to the resettlement area. The relationship had built his confidence in deciding for his own household. Though Maryam was also living among her family in GOR UNTAN, her family's influence in the decision to be resettled was very low because living in a public place means that a family does not have a sense of total control of the area. Therefore, Ridwan may not feel as if he is a free rider in his in laws' territory, and along with the balanced family background, Ridwan managed to enhance his self-esteem and initiate the move to the

resettlement area. However, it is not only his increased self esteem that gave him more bargaining power, but the information about the resettlement area that only circulated among the males in the IDP camp gave him the knowledge to acquire alternative migration patterns, or in French and Raven's term expert power (Forsyth, 1990). This indicated an asymmetrical access to information grounded within the structure of government policy, which regards men as household heads. Therefore the government preferred to distribute information to the men based on the assumption that they are, or should be, the decision makers in the household.

In Mahmud's case, the decision maker was mainly the one who had access to relatives (social resources) in the place of destination. This case illustrates the dynamics of renegotiation upon rules concerning living arrangements for married couples. Since the days the couple lived in Sambas, they lived among Mahmud's natal family, which is not common in the Madurese society. During their flight out of Sambas, decisions on where to migrate did not regard matrilocal living arrangements as the main basis on deciding the destination of migration. Rather, the decision of migration just after the conflict occurred depended on the location where relatives exists, no matter whose side the relatives come from. This phenomenon can be seen in other lower class households, where the obligation of a female's natal family to take her in is not as great as it is among the more well to do households, because the female's natal family may not feel that a husband is irresponsible for being poor as long as he carries out an effort to secure his family's livelihood. For example, Isti's family holds on to the notion that a responsible husband should be able to secure a wife's livelihood according to particular standards set by her family. If he is not able to, shame will be placed upon the natal family for not living up to their obligation of taking care of their own daughter when she is living in poverty. Therefore, the living arrangements for the poor are not strictly defined, but are more flexible according to a location that will enable them to survive (either among the husband's family or the wife's family). So one of the functions of social resources in the outburst of conflict is a source of security, either in terms of personal security or in terms of economic security.

Aside from functioning as a source of security at the place of destination, social resources can also function as an *access* to escape the conflict such as having relatives

that have the appropriate means to provide assistance during the migration process. This can be seen both in Mahmud's case, where he asked for help from his cousin to go to a *seteher* in Pontianak, and also in Atun's case, where she had a brother who was able to take the couple out of Sambas with the boat he owned. In both cases, it was the person who had access to the relatives that made the decision on where to migrate.

A different pattern can be seen in the other two cases, where the marriage is mixed between a Madurese and a Javanese. Kholik and Maya had no relatives in Pontianak, which left him with no other choice but to go with the army. Like in poor Madurese households, it can be seen that the matrilocal living arrangement was not a dominant factor in weighing their alternatives of destination. Because post-marital residence for the Javanese is also flexible (Williams, 1990: 47), it is not an obligation for a married couple to live among the wife's natal family. Atun and Suratman, for example, decided to stay among Suratman's family in Java instead of staying with Atun's relatives in Pontianak after the conflict occurred. Kholik and Maya on the other hand, agreed that they would not go back to Java, because Kholik already fulfilled his promise of living with Maya's family. Therefore, they relied on Kholik's friends within West Kalimantan to survive in Pontianak. For Maya, it is in this situation that the past history of differing gender roles play a significant influence in her capability to bargain with Kholik. Coming from a *pondok pesantren*, where she was raised to maintain herself within the domestic area, Maya lacked contact with the outer world. Her perception of proper gender roles for women also inhibited her from even trying to attain social and economic resources to guard her for future purposes. Without any relatives in West Kalimantan and no economic asset to bargain, Maya had to rely on Kholik's social contacts to survive the conflict. Kholik's networking with friends from his former boarding school provided him the power to bargain on the destination of migration.

Seeking Independent Economic Security

As time passes, economic considerations of how to attain a livelihood without having to rely on relatives or the government started to surface. The existing assistance from the government and the uncomfortable living conditions in Pontianak was not a sufficient condition to live in. Alternative destinations start emerging, especially to

places where relatives *and* a considerable livelihood opportunity exists. Rita for example, initiated the migration to Madura to where her parents were. She bargained her way with Mahmud by selling the opportunity of attaining a better life by working on the family land in Madura. The jewelry that she sold to enable the family to move to Madura was also a factor that supported her in realizing her decision to go back to Madura. Both land and jewelry are economic assets that were used to bargain her way. The same situation is seen with Atun who initiated the migration to Pasuruan, East Java. With the left over money she managed to bring from Sambas, she had the economic resources to fulfill her wish to leave Pontianak.

The importance of improving one's living conditions is also illustrated in Atun and Suratman's case. When they first decided to leave Sambas for Pontianak, their main reason was to search for security from being killed by the Malays. Being a Madurese, Atun was the one that decided to leave, for she feared for her life. Atun again initiated the move to Java where Suratman's relatives were, using the remaining money she brought from Sambas to support her decision. Suratman agreed to this, but after living in Java, the couple realized that they were not gaining sufficient income. Though they could rely on support from Suratman's family, Suratman decided to go back to Pontianak, while Atun stayed behind until she was sure that the conditions in Pontianak was secure. When Atun finally joined Suratman, they decided to go to Bhakti Suci where Atun's niece was and where they could save some money by living in an empty house. Renting a house in Siantan would be too costly for them. Unfortunately, Bhakti Suci was not a good choice to enable the couple to live securely. The plan to go to Malaysia was again Atun's decision, and realizing that he was not able to provide for his family very well, Suratman agreed to go with her as a migrant worker to attain better opportunities. The limited economic resources that Suratman was capable of bringing to Atun lowered Suratman's bargaining power in front of her, especially considering that many women still perceive that a man's proper role is to be the breadwinner of the household.

3.1.2. Deciding "Appropriate" Work in Bhakti Suci

Deciding on the allocation of labor between couples after they resettled in Bhakti Suci seemed be highly influenced by one's perception of gender roles. However, the

perception of proper gender roles is not consistent and changes according to the situation faced by the couple, and the assets that one has to change this perception.

In many of the case studies, the men were reluctant to have their wives work to secure the livelihood of the household, or at least they try to give the impression of it being so. While men tend to seek *what kind* of work he should do, a woman's first question relating to non-domestic labor would be *whether* she should work or not (Kabeer, 2000: 330). Whether or not a woman should work is not a free choice, but bounded within the norms and values placed by religion and society. All the women interviewed pointed out the importance of having a husband's permission if they were to work outside, not only on whether they are allowed to work or not, but also *what type* of work they are allowed to be engaged in. In all the cases, except Maryam's, all the women preferred to work if they were given a choice to do so. However, the question of *what type* of work they should be doing reflects the variations of what is perceived to be 'proper' work for women, framed within the perception of gender roles. For example, the religious couple, Maya and Kholik seems to be the most conservative of all the couples interviewed. Though he put his best efforts in giving the impression of how democratic he was, he has very strong feelings about women having a superior economic position compared to their husbands. Maya was only allowed to work near the house, which will not prevent her from conducting her household chores and which will also 'protect' her from the 'dangers' of the outside world. This shows how important it is for the Kholik that she remains within the role of a 'homemaker' while Kholik maintains his role as the traditional breadwinner. His views seem to reveal his fears of losing his authority if by any chance he brings less income to the household.

Though he said that a wife who has higher income would not automatically have higher bargaining power, he seems to realize that in reality this is not the case. In Islam, a husband is not a leader unless he is able to provide sufficiently for his wife and children.³⁸ Though this may seem as if Islam is supporting the household division of labor that places husbands in a superior economic position, Islamic law demands

³⁸ See Koran An-Nisa: 34

that husbands respect the needs and wishes of their wives.³⁹ Because the term 'sufficient' is also very subjective, it gives room for the women to be engaged in paid work if a wife feels that she is in great strain to allocate the money provided by her husband. Kholik's permission for Maya to work as a voluntary religion teacher may be based on the fact that her work is only voluntary. Therefore, it will not threaten his position as being the breadwinner of the family, and thus the 'leader' of the household with the decision making power attached to it. It seems that his fears are not only grounded within the strings of religious thought, but also on the opportunities that will open for Maya to claim 'partnership' in her relation to Mahmud if she is able to have access and have control over economic resources.

Mahmud and Suratman also refer to the traditional gender roles of their wives being a mother in deciding whether or not they should give permission for their wives to become migrant workers. In Rita's case, her obedience was supported by Mahmud's 'good' behavior of not joining any type of gambling activities, which she perceives as a factor that earned Mahmud his entitlement to forbid Rita from working in Saudi Arabia. Kholik and Maya even dismissed women working under normal conditions, where a husband is capable of attaining 'sufficient' income for the household. But no matter how powerful Kholik is in shaping the way the community in Bhakti Suci thinks, there are always adjustments to how individuals actually perceive proper gender roles. Mahmud, for example, idolizes Kholik and appreciates his preaches. However, he has no objection in Rita working, even if it may not be based on primarily economic considerations. Instead, his reasons for permitting Rita to work are based on his understanding of the importance of Rita enjoying life outside the house and providing her the opportunity to attain new experiences.

Rita's activities with the NGOs did not only give her the chance to earn money, but has also been an opportunity to acquire knowledge about family care. On the one hand, it gave her the privilege of deciding on matters that she was not involved in when she was still in Sambas (such as deciding matters related to her children's education), but on the other hand, it also reinforced the notion that women should be responsible and therefore trained in dealing with domestic matters. Mahmud's

³⁹ See Koran An-Nisa: 19

support for Rita's involvement with the NGOs might also reflect the fulfillment of his self-interests, where he is relieved from the burden of the household decision making processes he used to have, thus enabling him to work peacefully when he is not in Bhakti Suci. Meanwhile, Atun finally obtained Suratman's permission to be a migrant worker, under the condition that their children will be taken care of by Atun's relatives. So during the period of resettlement, extended families can function as a *safety net*, which provides access for women in redefining the rules upon working far away from their children.

Though couples can negotiate on whether a wife should work and if so, what type of paid work they do, labor market opportunities within Bhakti Suci sets limitations on the alternative of work opportunities available for them. Unlike the men who are able to work beyond the limits of Bhakti Suci, all of the wives interviewed were restricted to work opportunities within Bhakti Suci. This does not leave them with very much choice but to work on agriculture like Rita and Atun, or work for charity at the mosque next door like Maya. Unfortunately, the agricultural sector does not offer significant improvements in sustaining the livelihood of the couples, which are due to the limited land that is given by the government to plant on. Planting vegetables on the small land is only enough for subsistence. In the meanwhile, Rita has to wait for almost a year to attain her income, for harvesting paddy only happens once every 8 months. To make matters worse, women like Rita are planting on a local's land. This means that she will only get part of the income from the paddy harvest. These conditions have placed women in an inferior economic position compared to their husbands, and considering the importance of economic resources in renegotiating the rules in gender relations, it seems that there is a need to break the geographical boundaries to where a woman should be working.

However, labor market opportunities outside of Bhakti Suci are not an easy area to penetrate. In the case studies, education seems to be an important asset to gain access to employment outside of Bhakti Suci. Atun, who has attained a high school level of education, is capable of being a legal factory worker in Malaysia. Weighing between the costs of being apart from her children and the money she might be able to gain from working in a factory in Malaysia for 2 years, Atun seems to be able to bring back quite a sum of money. On the other hand, Rita, who is a primary school graduate

and planned to take up a job as a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia, may have considered that the costs (of being apart from her children and the reluctance of Mahmud in her working abroad) may not be in balance with the money she expects to earn from the job abroad. Therefore, the level of education a woman has may enhance her labor market opportunities, and it may give her more power in reasoning with the husband to permit her to work abroad if the returns are decent enough compared to the cost of being apart.

In the interviews, the issue of household division of labor relating to household chores also came up. All the men in the case studies say that they do not mind helping out their wives carrying out their household chores. However, it is this notion of 'helping' that gives them the power to choose what household chores they are willing to carry out. The strongest data on this matter came in Mahmud and Rita's interview. Even during the time that he was not working, he still perceived that Rita's work is complementary to his. Not only is this based on the common belief that men are the breadwinners of the family, but it seems that the agricultural sector is considered to be a less prestigious sector compared to the sectors in which the men are involved. This view seems to emerge from the fact that the income from agriculture is far below the income gained from construction sites. Therefore, Mahmud left Rita to carry out the harsh work of cutting down the big stumps. Mahmud's perceived contribution response (Sen, 1998) seems to undermine Rita's actual contribution. Because working outside is valued more, Rita's hard work in the fields (especially in cutting down the stumps) was not paid much attention to. His unwillingness to help Rita carry out physically tiring housework⁴⁰ and Rita's acceptance on his attitude is mainly do to the boundaries on which men are allowed to help in the household, set by cultural norms.

3.1.3 Deciding the Allocation of Household Money

Deciding the allocation of the household money is also an issue brought up in three cases. Ridwan insists that the decision on the allocation of household money should depend on whoever brings money into the household. This means that Ridwan views that whoever has access to money will automatically have control over the money one

⁴⁰ Mopping the floor is usually done by taking a cloth, getting down on one's knees, and pushing the cloth back and forth throughout the wooden floor. Laundry is still washed traditionally with the hands near the river. Both of these housework duties need more physical strength compared to other duties such as cooking or sweeping.

brings in. If this is so, Maryam's bargaining power in this matter can be considered quite high. Unfortunately, she is still bound within the idea that a husband should make the final decisions in the household. Extra household institutions contributed to how Maryam perceives her position. Subahianto et al (2004: 54) explain that Madurese culture stresses the importance of obeying one's parents, usually known in the saying *buppa'-bhabbhu', ghuru, rato* (father-mother, teacher, king/queen⁴¹). The saying shows the hierarchy of whom to respect and follow, with parents holding the highest position within the hierarchy. In this case, Maryam's parents advise to obey her husband under all conditions, reinforces her weak bargaining power in front of Ridwan. Ridwan's openness in enhancing Maryam's bargaining power therefore, does not have much influence in changing her position. Matters are worse for Maryam, because she also feels that not being able to fulfill her role as a mother has not earned her the entitlement to demand too much from Ridwan. While in front of Isti, Ridwan was unsure of himself, during his marriage to Maryam, the situation is reversed.

Though access to income does not always translate into control over money, Suratman seems to have the same concept as Ridwan, in which access to money does lead to control over it. Atun reinforced this view by saying that she felt distressed when she was not able to earn money in Pasuruan, because it was also becoming harder for her to decide the allocation money that was not hers. But when Suratman was not able to provide the money Atun needed, Atun had the courage to go behind his back by asking money from her relatives. Though Suratman might have been upset, he did nothing to confront Atun, because he was unemployed at that time. Thus, he was in no position to claim his entitlement as a 'leader' of the household. However, the situation changed when Suratman was able to acquire a job in Pontianak. Atun had to ask his permission to use the money he sent to her when she had to spend a large amount of that money.

Kholik on the other hand, does not seem to think that a wife's access to money means control over the allocation of money. Though he says that this rule applies both ways, in reality, he admits that only 30% of all the decisions concerning allocation of

⁴¹ *Rato* or in Indonesian known as *ratu* (meaning a king or a queen) in this context refers to a formal leader

money is made by Maya. This shows that Kholik's ideology may not always be in line with the reality, and it also signifies the importance of income earner in deciding the allocation of money.

3.2. Coping Strategies

The coping strategies one uses when relating to other people provides a picture on the power relations that exists. This can also be seen in the cases above, where the spouse with a lower bargaining power tend to use indirect coping strategies when facing marital conflict. Ridwan uses the escape strategy by divorcing Isti, Maya withdraws by keeping silent when facing conflicts with Kholik, and Maryam displaces her sorrows by writing them in her diary and uses avoidance⁴² when in conflict with Ridwan. The avoidance strategy is a strategy commonly used by women in Indonesia to cope with their marital problems (Hakimi et al, 2001). Maryam's efforts in displacing her anger and sadness in a diary is a healthy way of coping with her condition for the time being⁴³, but if her bargaining power were higher, she might be able to express herself more freely in front of Ridwan.

However, in Suratman's case it seems that the strategy he uses is a preference, which may have emerged from his Javanese ways. The Javanese tend to stress the importance of balance in life, where submission is not considered a loss, but a form of power a person has to control his or her 'inner beast'. Though Maya is also a Javanese, her 'choice' of coping strategy seems to be the result of a combination between religious teachings that stress the importance of a women's obedience towards her husband, her lack of economic and social resources, and her cultural background as a Javanese. The difference between Suratman and Maya is that Suratman tends to accept his submission with an open heart, while Maya still holds a feeling dissatisfaction when she has to submit to Kholik's desires.

⁴² In Falbo and Kipnis' theory, Maryam's strategy may be considered a form of withdrawal, which is non rational, unilateral, and indirect. In James Scott's term, it can be considered as a covert form of resistance (Scott, 1985).

⁴³ Freud uses the term sublimation to refer to 'healthy displacement' (Benson, 2002: 58)

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

The findings in this research show that there are three main issues concerning household decision-making in the context of resettlement. Deciding post-conflict residence is heavily influenced by the kinship ideology of 'protectiveness' for Madurese women. While middle and upper class households tend to hold on to this ideology by practicing matrilocal living arrangements rather strictly, the lower class households in this study were more flexible in their living arrangements. Therefore, the influence of a wife's natal family coming from a middle or upper class household may tend to be quite high in determining the post-conflict living arrangement. However, couples engaged in mixed marriages with a Javanese were also more flexible in their post-conflict living arrangements. Aside from class and ethnic differences, post-conflict residence decisions also depends on who has access to relatives or friends who are either able to take them out of Sambas or who are living in the place of destination.

As the couples resettled, issues concerning the allocation of household labor and allocation of money came into place. Government policies that resulted in lack of land for farming in the resettlement area forced men to migrate for jobs in the city, leaving the agricultural sector with low returns to the women. The low labor market opportunities for women outside the resettlement area also provided less access for women to attain and control economic resources, and the asymmetrical information given to women on public affairs have reinforced the separation of the public and domestic affairs based on gender identities. All of these factors have constrained the bargaining power of women in the household, as the cases show that economic resources tend to lead to higher bargaining power, especially after resettlement. Because the effects of public policies penetrate into the household, and even the individual sphere, the government needs to realize the importance of weakening the stark separation between the public and the private domain when implementing its policies. Many NGOs provide trainings that are beneficial to increase individual resources for women, but they tend to reinforce traditional gender roles. While providing training on domestic affairs is indeed important, the trainings should also focus on material that will enhance women's job opportunities so that they are able to gain more access to resources.

Religious institutions in Bhakti Suci have also played a role in shaping perceptions of gender roles by placing women within the domestic domain and men in the public. However, perception of gender roles influenced by religious messages can be interpreted in different ways, often affected by historical backgrounds (especially internalization of values from parents), on how gender relations are understood. It is also important to keep in mind that perception is inconsistent, and the cases above show that as the weaker attains access to resources, perceptions on what is proper or not is altered. Perception of gender roles can either have indirect influence towards bargaining power (by defining what gender roles are proper, and thus access to resources) but it may be also be direct (by defining on how access to resources can be transformed to control over the resources). On the other hand, gender roles tend to function as an indirect factor that influences bargaining power by providing access to resources.

Different coping strategies tend to exist between couples, which may reflect their power relations with their spouses. Some of the coping strategies used by those with lower bargaining power in decision making may be a form of 'weapons of the weak', but it may also be a matter of 'preference', shaped by cultural values on the importance of submission as a form of power.

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